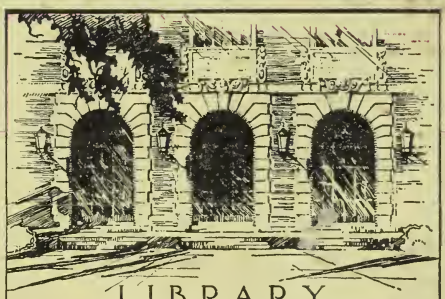
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HISTORY OF THE WORLD

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VOLUME II.

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DEATH OF CAESAR

CYCLOPÆDIA OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE CAREER OF THE HUMAN RACE FROM THE BEGINNINGS OF CIVILIZATION TO THE PRESENT TIME. FROM RECENT AND AUTHENTIC SOURCES

By JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.,

AUTHOR OF A POPULAR HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, ETC.

ROMAN ASCENDENCY

VOL. II.

DARK AGES

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Preface to Volume II.

I NOW purpose to resume the narrative of historical events by recounting in the first half of the present Volume the marvelous story of Rome. This will involve, first of all, the transfer of our station from the countries of South-eastern Europe, dominated for several centuries by men of the Hellenic race, to the great central peninsula of the Mediterranean. Without pausing in this connection to sketch even an outline of the Roman Kingdom, the Republic, and the Empire, I merely mention the point of view from which the narrative is to be composed, and note the unusual circumstance that the history of Rome, viewed in its whole extent, reaches far across the domain of what are usually known as the Dark Ages.

Having completed the story of the Ancient World, the narrative, under the plan adopted, will next lead us to consider the social and political condition of the Barbarian Races, and the various kingdoms which they established, by way of Feudalism and the Crusades, to the Free Cities of Mediæval Europe.

In following out this plan, it shall be my aim not only to produce a succinct narrative of the leading events which may claim our attention, but also to consider, from time to time, the *causes* which have determined them and the *relations* by which they are bound together. Without such linking of fact to fact, without such tracing of the ofttimes obscure lines of antecedence and consequence, any narrative of historical events must, of necessity, be of little interest and value.

But why, and for what end?

No fact is more patent in the literary tendencies of our times than the growing demand for historical writings. The eagerness of the average intelligent reader to widen the horizon of his knowledge by learning something of the past, has become almost a passion. He seizes and devours whatever presents itself as History with a hunger quite phenomenal. It is natural that this avidity for historical works should tend to their multiplication and improvement.

This disposition of the American people to seek the more solid literature of History augurs well for both the present and the future. It indicates, first of all, the existence of an improved taste among the masses, and a more healthful hunger among the few. The death of a vicious literary appetite in a people marks the beginnings of their solid strength and prosperity, just as the birth and prevalence of that appetite mark the germinal stages of decline in the virtue and vigor of a State.

But what of the historian and his work?

This: The writing of history exercises a powerful influence in subduing the irrational prejudices and passions of human nature. The writer, if actuated by motives that may be openly avowed, will not have proceeded far until the truth-telling impulse becomes dominant over every other disposition of mind. To ascertain the truth, and to speak it without fear or favor, kindles a torch in which all minor considerations are consumed as moths in a flame. The eager preference which the

historian feels at the beginning to have events result in this way or in that expires in the glow of a nobler enthusiasm. The original anxiety to find things other than they are is first neglected and then forgotten.

The tyro in history feels that, whatever else may be at fault, his own party, his own sect, his own country, are, and have ever been, infallible. Soon, however, he begins to be disabused. He sees the cause to which he has been so ardently attached infected with the same weakness as the other cause which he has so vehemently opposed. He beholds his party deliberately espousing the wrong principle, simply because that principle promises success; his sect, revamping a dogma because it is expedient; his country, narrowing the limits of human liberty because it is profitable.

At the first the writer is shocked at these discoveries. To find that the cherished is no longer the true seems to be the proclamation of returning chaos—the moral and political ruin of the world. For the moment, the writer is ready to condemn himself as the chief of sinners, simply because he has made a discovery.

Anon the sky begins to clear. Facts, principles, events, begin to appear in a new light. The historian becomes willing to learn. He sits down patiently at the feet of the Past. Soon his agitated nature feels no further alarm. His discoveries trouble him no more. He becomes calm and confident. He reverses his long-cherished convictions and feels no horror. He finds himself able to say without a shudder that Cæsar the patriot was killed by Brutus the parricide. He writes without compunction that the Reformation was mixed with dross, afraid to avow its own principles of action, content to stop with a half-emancipation of the human mind. He recites without alarm the coarseness and brutality of the sterling Cromwell and the elegant philanthropy of the profligate Charles II. He fearlessly writes that the French Revolution, with all of its bravado and frenzy, was the grandest event of modern times—the Renaissance of Man; and that the old Slave-holders of the South were provoked and tantalized by those who were not slave-holders themselves only because they were born and bred in a happier latitude. To admit all this, and a thousand things still more appalling, is not to introduce a social and moral chaos into the world, not to reverse or confound the principles of right and wrong, not to despair of the grandeur and glory of human nature. It is merely to be taught instead of to teach; to hear instead of to speak; to accept fallibility as the law of human intelligence and character; to cast the demi-gods and devils out of the historic drama, and to accept Man as the actor.

The historian must either lay down his pen or cease to be a partisan. The alternative is before him. The two qualities of partisanship and historical truthfulness can not long coexist in the same mind. The one will expel the other. In such a case a divided sovereignty is impossible.

As with the writer, so with the reader of History. A certain kind of literature tends to excite in the minds of both author and reader those very prejudices and passions which ought to be allayed. Of such sort is the American party newspaper, whose motto is to concede nothing and to speak the truth when it is necessary. A little above this level is the independent journal or magazine, whose independence is generally maintained until what time the political caldron begins to boil. Thenceforth its neutrality is little less than a profounder partisanship, cloaked under the assumption of judicial fairness. It remains for history to stand aloof from the petty broil, and to hold up as a patient rebuke to the present tumult the lessons of the tumults past.

The historian sees—must see—all things in a different light from that by which the multitude is guided. To him the delusion of the passing hour is nothing. It is impossible for him to yield to the current whim, the preva-

lent passion. He understands in a general way that the old party is wrong; that the new one will soon become the old, and will be just as abusive and proscriptive as its predecessor. He knows that the attempted alignment of an old party or sect on a new issue—concerning which, in the nature of the case, there can be no conscientious accord, no enthusiasm of conviction—is an outrage against reason, a crime against civilization. But he is compelled to see his protest overborne and trodden under foot of men.

All these considerations have tended to give to historical writings, especially those of the last century, a tone of calmness and candor for which we should search in vain in any other class of productions. How poor and pitiful, how worthy of nothing except contempt, must appear that alleged history which libels the past for the sake of flattering the present! Such a work is fitted for no place so well as an obscure corner in the Library of Universal Vanity.

Not only should the historian be above the narrow prejudices of his party, his sect, his local station; he should also be the friend of freedom and of man. Understanding, as he does, that freedom is the prime condition of happiness, he should, in every case wherein the question relates to the enlargement of human liberty, send from his bugle the tocsin of no uncertain sound. He that believes that man is as free as he ought to be should choose some other profession than history. He who would force back the currents of human life into the narrower and shallower channels through which they have flowed in the past, may make an apostle of pessimism, but can never make a historian. Little as there has been in the records of our race to kindle the enthusiasm and inspire the hopes glowing in the better nature of man, yet has there been enough to furnish a ground for faith and to lay a foundation for philanthropy. In an age when the pessimist is abroad, sowing ashes in the gardens of promise, teaching a tempted race to mock at trust, to doubt truth, and to despair of human goodness, it is the high office of the historian to put away the evil prophet and to hold on high that inextinguishable torch which shineth in the darkness.

Time would fail to enumerate the qualities which are essential in the historian and his work. By common consent the historical narrative is regarded as the most serious and elevated species of literature in prose. To the meretricious methods, freely adopted by writers on a lower plane, to stimulate curiosity and excite a flagging interest, the historian must be and remain a stranger. Albeit, he becomes accustomed to the clear mountain air in which things are revealed as they are. He is satisfied that the ruined tower, the villages clustered in the valley, the porch of the distant Capitol, the army marching,—shall be seen in the classic outline of reality, the naked chastity of truth. He hopes that others, like himself, may come to prefer the unadorned beauty of the real to the distempered masquerade of shadows and phantoms.

I repeat, therefore, that the growing taste for historical writings is one of the most healthful signs of our times. It indicates the appearance, if not the prevalence, of a spirit among the American people to which the last generation was a stranger. It foretokens the overthrow of superstition and the downfall of the demagogue. It marks the limit of the growth of those political and social vices which, like the deadly nightshade, distill their poison in the dark. Such a hunger in our people for a knowledge of the past and its lessons shows an anxiety for the present and a care for the future of our country.

Since it is granted to the author to speak freely in his Preface, I may say that the hope of presenting to the general public a clear and readable, if not elaborate, account of the principal events in the History of the World—believing as I do that such a work, if successfully accomplished, may contribute something

to the welfare and happiness of men and to the perpetuity of institutions—has been and is the inspiration of the beginning, as it will be of the completion of this work. I shall take leave of my task with no need to be reminded of the imperfections of these volumes, but with the earnest wish that they may, notwithstanding all blemishes and defects, prove to be a source of pleasure and profit to readers of every class. I trust, moreover, that the critic, though he find much in these pages to be condemned, may also find somewhat to commend; and that the reader, though he be disappointed in many particulars, may realize in other parts of these volumes at least a partial fulfillment of his expectations.

J. C. R.

GREENCASTLE, *March*, 1890.

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Introduction to Volume II.



MONG the States and kingdoms which men have reared as the political bulwarks of progress and civilization, Rome has an easy preëminence. The structural qualities which gave to her her rank and grandeur were permanence and colossal magnitude. If we reckon from the founding of the city to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, we have, in *time*, a span of more than twenty-two centuries—a greater reach of duration than has fallen to any other civil organization known to history. If we measure from the mountains of Wales to the borders of Parthia, we have, in *space*, a stretch of fifty-three degrees of longitude—a breadth of territorial extent only rivaled by that of the United States and the Russian Empire. If we consider her physical development, we find in her martial valor and successful conquest a record unsurpassed in the annals of mankind. If we study her political system—her law-making, her methods of administration, her legal procedure and constitutional habit—we note a structure as broad-based as the confines of human reason, as regal and majestic as the Pyramids. From every point of view the mightiness of the Roman power stands forth in tremendous outline, against the background of the past. Above her brow is set a tiara of significant emblems, and at her girdle are hung the keys of the subject kingdoms of the world.

The beginnings of the history of Rome are set in the prehistoric shadows. Myth, tradition, legend of men and fable of the gods, are mixed and mingled in the story. A city is founded on a hill by the wolf-nursling twins of Rhea Sylvia and Mars. There are half-robber heroes struggling for the mastery—Roman, Sabine, Etruscan—descendants of tribal ancestors of unknown name and station. There are interceding women with disheveled hair, strong as their armored brothers, brave as their warring lords. Then comes a line of kings, mostly mythical, fabled in the Vergilian hexameters—in the Augustan rhapsody—in which the Trojan blood is made to rule in Latium three hundred years. Glimpses of truth flash here and there on the hill-tops, until the Elder Brutus comes and Tarquin skulks away.

More brilliant—less fabulous—is the story of the Republic. The Age of the Consuls is the age of rising fame. In mere prowess a greater than the Greek is here. Without the artistic genius of his rival—without the subtlety, the wit, the intellectual acumen, song-craft, and tongue-force of the son of Hellas—the sturdy republican of Rome surpassed him in stalwart vehemence and the stroke of his sword. Stand out of the wind of that strong weapon, O Barbarian! for it is sharp and swift!

From the times of Africanus to the age of Cæsar the strength and majesty of the Republic were displayed to the best advantage. If Julius could have had his way, there might have been still greater exhibitions of individual and national renown. If peace came by empire, glory did not come by despotism. Doubtless civilization flourished under the first Cæsars, and the ponderous genius of Rome struggled to find expression in letters and the arts. But the Latin race was wanting in originality. What the Greeks did with so much ease under the inspiration of nature, that the Roman artists and literati strove to effect by imitation. The old robber instincts had to be evoked ere Rome was made splendid with the canvas-visions and stone-dreams of Hellas. The trophies of all lands were swept into the Eternal City, and her palaces shone with foreign gems and borrowed raiment.

It is the judgment of Gibbon that, on the whole, the happiest period of history was the Age of the Antonines; that then the comforts of human life were more generally diffused, and its sorrows, misfortunes, and crimes fewer and more tolerable. Had the historian lived a century later he might have changed his verdict; but it can not be doubted that in some fair degree the Empire was peace; nor is there any period in the Imperial course more worthy to be commended than the middle of the second century. From that time forth the decline was manifest. The crimes of the earlier Cæsars were the crimes of violence and audacity; those of the Imperial *régime* were the colder, but not less deadly, vices of a depraved court and a decaying people.

Coming to the times of Justinian, we note with admiration how the robust genius of Rome still asserted itself in the perfection of her jurisprudence. It is at this point that the Roman intellect is at its best, not indeed as a creative force, but as a great energy, producing order in the world and equity among men. Here was elaborated that massive civil code which Rome left as her best bequest to after ages. From the luminous brains of Justinian's lawyers were deduced those elements of jurisprudence which, abbreviated into text-books and modified to meet the altered conditions of civilized life, have combined to furnish the *principia* of the best law study in the universities of modern times.

The later history of the Roman Empire has much of melancholy in its texture. Not without sorrow will the reflective mind contemplate so majestic a ruin. The reader is destined to see a narrowing territory and a decaying national life. He must witness the crushing in of the Imperial borders by a race of barbarians. He must hear the hoarse growlings of the Teutonic warriors as they pour at last through the passes of the Alps, and, farther on, the shouts of the sons of Islam as they hover in clouds around the capital of the East. Rome had dealt roughly with the nations. She had been a harsh schoolmistress to the Gentiles. The barbarians and the men of the desert had learned from her that pity is folly, and humanity a weakness. For a season they ravened as wolves about the contracted ramparts of civilization, and then broke through and devoured the remnant. The harsh cadences of a speech most guttural were heard in the palaces of the Western Cæsars, while distant a thousand years the shadow of the semilune of the Prophet was seen rising over the towers of Constantinople.

Great, however, is the change of aspect from the old ages of history to the new ages which follow. The Ancient World went back—seemingly—into primitive chaos and deep darkness. The wheels of evolution lagged, stood still, revolved the other way. Black shadows settled on all the landscape, and civilization stumbled into ditches and pitfalls. The contemplation of the eclipse of old-time greatness by the dark orb of barbarism may well fill the mind with a melancholy doubt respecting the course and destiny of the human race. It is only because the eye of philosophy is able to see beyond the apparent retrogression and to perceive that the real motion of humanity, like that of the inferior planets, is ever onward, that confidence returns and hope sits again serenely smiling amid the ruins of the classical ages.

For the collapse and downfall of ancient society two general causes may be assigned. The first of these was the decay of those peculiar virtues which constituted the ethical and intellectual strength of the Græco-Italic races. These virtues were ambiguous in some cases and immoral in others, but they formed the basis and strength of the famous peoples who first civilized the peninsulas of Southern Europe. In course of time the vital principles around which, as a nerve system, the States of Greece and Rome had become organic and risen to renown, began to weaken and fail. From that day the diathesis of apoplexy may be noted in the florid features of Ancient History. It was merely a question of time when some incidental violence, done to the obese and swaying body of antiquity, would precipitate the fatal catastrophe.

The second cause of the collapse was the impact of barbarism. For centuries the silent Nemesis—she

"Who never yet has left the unbalanced scale"—

bottled her wrath against the offending peoples who held the Mediterranean. At last the seals were loosed, and the barbaric tornado was

poured out of the North. Through the Alpine passes came the rushing cohort of warriors, each with the rage of Scythia in his stomach and the icicles of the Baltic in his beard. The great hulk of Rome tottered, fell, and lay dead on the earth, like the stump of Dagon.

It is with the *débris* of this great convulsion and overthrow that we shall be occupied in the after-half of the present Volume. Rather is it with the new barbaric life, which began at once to grow among the ruins of Roman society that the reader will be most interested and most instructed. In the humus and mold of antiquity the roots of a rude but vigorous nationality spread themselves, and a new civil order sprang into being in Western Europe. The wild tribes of the North, ceasing at length to ravage, settled on the soil. The Teutonic warriors built for themselves castles, became hunters of wild beasts as of old in the German woods, masters of serfs and vassals.

In this after-division of the present Volume, embracing the first five Books of Mediæval History—the reader's attention will be directed, first of all, to the ethnic origin, the tribal life, the manners, customs, and institutions of the Northern Barbarians. The story of the inroads of those fierce free-booters will be briefly recited, and a sketch will then be given of their attempts at reörganization. This will involve an outline of the history of the Herulian and Gothic Kingdoms in Italy, the conquests of the Longobards, and the establishment of the Vandals and Visigoths in Spain and Africa. From this we may turn to the incoming of the Franks and the founding of their kingdom in Gaul. The annals of the Merovingians—one of the darkest chapters in the age of darkness—will next demand our consideration, down to the time when the battle-axe of Martel, whirling in the sun, shall spread terror among Arabs on the field of Poictiers.

A profound interest may well be taken in the establishment of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain. Here, half-hidden in the fogs, drenched with perpetual rains, dwellers in rude huts by the banks of muddy rivers, and under the oak-woods, the rude forefathers of the English race planted themselves, never to be shaken. The account of these warlike, half-piratical, man-hunting Anglo-Saxons, progenitors of civil liberty, makers of the Witenagemote, ale-horn rioters, brawling singers of war-song and sea-lyric—mere outbursts of barbaric vehemence—will ever be to the man who speaks English an Epic of the Dawn.

The struggle of the Franks with the Saracens in Southern Gaul forms the connecting link between the history of the half-civilized barbarians of Western Europe and the more refined Mohammedans of Spain and Africa. The Poictiers battle-field makes the transition easy from Paris and Aix to Cordova, to Mecca, to Baghdad. The Arabian Prophet may furnish the theme of the ensuing chapters—he and his compeer warriors and enthusiasts. Doubtless the story of Islam may seem to Western readers in some measure haze-clouded and remote; but to him who takes a philosophic view of the movement the rise of Mohammedanism and its early vigor will ever furnish a theme of wonder and profit. The story has its value and interest in this, that it presents the Semitic race in its highest stage of progress and achievement. If the age of Moses and the Prophets is the Heroic Age of Shem, the time of the early Caliphs is the Augustan Era of Semitic civilization. At this high period of Islam the Crescent stood for knowledge, urbanity, and art.

The first successful effort at the reörganization of Western Europe was made by Charlemagne. That great warrior had the true Imperial genius, and his struggle with the barbaric chaos which he inherited was worthy of the man and the occasion. Could he have drawn his lessons from history and philosophy instead of the monkish unwisdom of the age, the present aspect of the States of the West would doubtless be different from what it is. The error in his plans was the error of misinformation, and the shadows in his mind were a part of the cloud-mist of the epoch.

The age succeeding that of Charlemagne was politically—but not socially—the lowest bend in the downward curve of the Dark Ages. All bonds were loosed; disintegration was complete. Nothing was left but lands and people. The individualizing tendency was triumphant, and all political units stood apart. There was no longer a civil aspect; and that which, under other conditions, *would* have been the civil aspect, became—Feu-

DALISM. The study of this strange institution, with a sketch of the Feudal States reared upon it, will occupy our attention for a considerable space in the present Volume.

Shrill was the clarion which, near the close of the eleventh century, sounded in the ear of Western Europe. It was the call of Christendom to rise against the Turk. Islam was triumphant in the East. The war-torch, lifted high in Arabia, had been seen as far as the confines of Parthia, the Thracian Chersonesus, the Straits of Mandeb, the Pillars of Hercules. This flaming beacon was a menace and an insult to the followers of the Cross, and they bitterly resented the taunts of the Moslem. The field of Tours had become a tradition of pride to the Christians and of wrath to the Mohammedans. The occupation of Jerusalem by the Islamites weighed heavily on the heart and conscience of the West. The sacrilege was not to be endured. Doubtless if the Christians had been permitted still, as of old, to visit and revisit the tomb of their King, the outbreak of rage might have been postponed for a season. But the time came when the mild-mannered and polite Arabians were themselves obliged to give up the Holy City to another family of the sons of Islam, different as might be from the men of the South.

These were the Turcomans, the Barbarians of the East. What the Huns had been to Western Europe in the times of Atila, that were the iron-forgers of the Altais to Syria in the times of Togrul Beg. Jerusalem was taken by them. The Holy Sepulcher was profaned and the Western pilgrims treated as dogs. This transfer of the City of David from the hands of the urbane Arab to the hands of the ferocious Turk was a fire-spark to the barbaric magazines of the West.

It is not needed, in a brief Introduction to the History of the CRUSADES, to give more than a passing notice to the prime fanatics who organized the insurrection. They were men of passion and vehemence. Their work was to incite to frenzy, to kindle beacon-fires, to play upon the superstitions of the multitudes, to raise the storm-cloud and fan the tempest. Such were Peter of Picardy, and Walter the Penniless; and such, on a higher plane, were Urban and Godfrey. The movement which they directed has no parallel in history. The Western kingdoms were agitated as if shaken by a great wind. Whole districts were depopulated. Nations rose, took arms, and marched. A wild fanaticism flamed in all minds, insomuch that not to burn with the common zeal, was to be a reprobrate and traitor. Gradually the excitement worked upward from the peasant's hut to the baron's castle, from the hamlet of the vassal to the city of the suzerain, from the serf to the king. The First Crusade was a national mob of half-crazed enthusiasts under their own chief fanatics; the Third was led by the great princes of Christendom.

In the last Book of the present Volume the story of the Crusades will be given from their beginning, in 1096, to the collapse of the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem, in 1291. We shall trace in their order the successive expeditions on their march by way of Rome or Venice, Constantinople or Alexandria, to strike the infidels in Asia Minor and Palestine. Many are the exploits, the episodes, the side adventures with which these annals teem. The reader will hardly fail to note that, as soon as the fiery zeal of the first attacks is over, a spirit more rational takes possession of the Crusaders, and in proportion as this spirit prevails the crusading fervor abates and disappears. Each assault is less vindictive than the preceding, and the rage of murder gives place to the courtesy of war.

Involved with the common current of this history is the closely related account of the rise and development of the Orders of Knighthood. Salutary in their origin, striking in their progress, dangerous in the culmination of their strength, these orders dominated in the East, and greatly changed the course of subsequent events in the West. In their history they present the common spectacle of organizations which at first exist as a means unto an end, and afterwards as an end to which all things else are but the means. Worthy of sympathy and admiration in the beginning, they become, in the course of time, worthy of little but distrust and antagonism. Albeit, the history of the Knights presents some of the finest examples of heroism and devotion known in the annals of valor.—Such, then, are the great themes which, in their elaboration, are to furnish the subject-matter of the current Volume.

CYCLOPÆDIA

OF

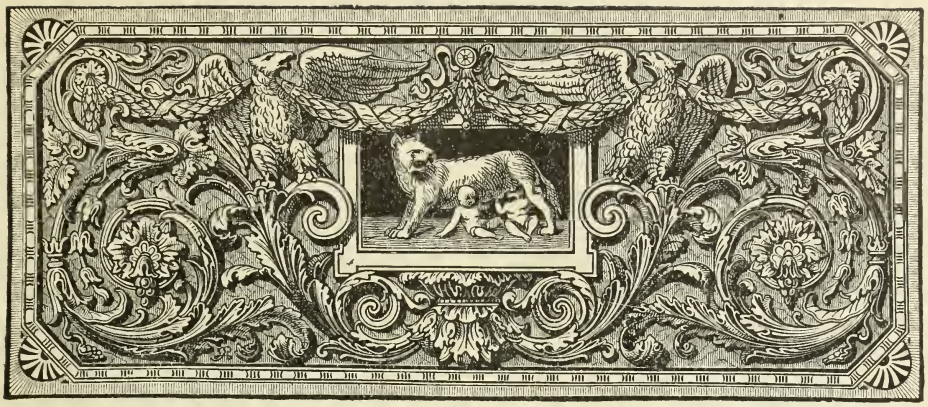
UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

VOLUME II.

ROMAN ASCENDENCY.

DARK AGES.


East 18 from Greenwich.
RHAETIA
VENETIA
LIGURIA
PANNONIA
DALMATIA
ILLYRIA
ADRIATIC SEA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
IONIAN SEA
Gulf of Genoa
GULF OF TARENTUM
Straits of Bonifacio
Straits of Otranto
Corsica
Sardinia
SICILY
Mt. Blanc
Mt. Rosa
Mt. Iseran
Mt. Cenis
Mt. Viso
Alps
Apennines
Geneva
Simplon
Lugdunum
Allobroges
Valentia
Vercellae
Augusta Taurinorum
Comum
Brixia
Verona
Patavium
Aquileia
Altinum
Cremona
Mantua
Placentia
Parma
Mutina
Bononia
Faventia
Ravenna
Rubicon R.
Pola
Segestica
Sirmium
Salonae
Tader
Scardona
Narona
Issa
Corcyra Nigra
Melita
Brattia
Pharus
Scodra
Epidamnus
Apollonia
Genua
Nemausus
Avenio
Arelate
Aquae Sextiae
Massilia
Narbo Martius
Nicaea
Pisae
Luca
Pistoria
Florentia
Arretium
Cortona
Volaterrae
Populonia
Ilva (Elba)
Volsinii
Clusium
Perusia
Camerinum
Sena Gallica
Ariminum
Pisaurum
Ancona
Numana
Castrum Novum
Atria
Interamna
Reate
Aequi
Corfinium
Teanum
Capua
Beneventum
Venusia
Canusium
Cannae
Arpi
Barium
Gnathia
Brundisium
Tarentum
Thurii
Sybaris
Crotona
Consentia
Tempsa
Terina
Hipponium
Lipara I.
Messana
Rhegium
C. Zephyrium
Caulonia
Metapontum
Heraclea
Grumentum
Potentia
Pandosia
Acherontia
Venusium
Matera
Taxetium
Neapolis
Cumae
Mt. Vesuvius
Capreae I.
Pestum
Velia
Arpinum
Minturnae
Tarracina
Antium
Ostia
ROME
Tiber R.
Veii
Faliscum
Vulsinii
Statonia
Mariana
Aleria
Olbia
Carbia
Nora
Caralis
Neapolis
Balearic Is.
Major
Minor
Drepana
Panormus
Segesta
Thermae
Himera
Lilybaeum
Naxos
Mt. Aetna
Nebrodes Mts.
Sicilian Sea
Ionian Sea
Tiber R.
Arno R.
Rubicon R.
Metaurus R.
Aufidus R.
Tifernus R.
Frento R.
Sangro R.
Aternus R.
Vomanus R.
Matrinus R.
Tronto R.
Aesis R.
Metaurus R.
Crathis R.
Sinus R.
Drilo R.
Drinus R.
Danube R.
Drave R.
Save R.
Isara R.
Durance R.
Rhone R.
Var R.
Macra R.
Ticinus R.
Adda R.
Oglio R.
Mincio R.
Athesis R.
Tagliamento R.
Timavus R.
Lake Benacus
Lake Verbanus
Lake Larius
Lake Sebinus
Lake Trasimenus
Lake Fucinus
Lake Volsinii
Lake Sabatinus
Lake Albanus
Lake Lucrinus
Lake Avernus
Lake Salpinus
Lake Lesina
Lake Arethusa
Lake Pantanus
Lake Curtius
Lake Cutilia
Lake Velinus
Lake Reatinus
Lake Fucinus
Lake Trasimenus
Lake Volsinii
Lake Sabatinus
Lake Albanus
Lake Lucrinus
Lake Avernus
Lake Salpinus
Lake Lesina
Lake Arethusa
Lake Pantanus
Lake Curtius
Lake Cutilia
Lake Velinus
Lake Reatinus
Volcae
Helvii
Taurini
Insubres
Cenomani
Boii
Lingones
Senones
Umbri
Sabini
Aequi
Volsci
Latini
Hernici
Marsi
Paeligni
Frentani
Marrucini
Vestini
Picentini
Samnium
Apulia
Lucania
Calabria
Bruttii
Salentini
Messapii
Peucetia
Daunia
Liburni
Japydes
Dalmatia
Illyria
Scale of Miles.
0 50 100 150
MAP VII.
ANCIENT ITALY.
From Thalheimer's Ancient History, by permission.
H. H. V. DEL.



Book Tenth.

ROME.

Part I.—The Kingdom.

Chapter LII.—The Country.

FROM the Alps to Cape Bruttium, there lies Italy. The great midmost peninsula of Southern Europe, dropping from the north into the Central Mediterranean, stretches between the parallels 46° 30′ and 38° of north latitude, and the meridians 6° 35′ and 18° 30′ east from Greenwich. The length of the peninsula, from the Rhætian Alps to the Strait of Messina, is six hundred and sixty miles, and the greatest breadth of the Italian *leg*, measured in the latitude of Tuscany, is one hundred and seventy miles. The area of the peninsula proper is 94,160 square miles, and of the same, inclusive of Sardinia and Sicily, 114,850 square miles.

The length of the Italian coast line is a little more than two thousand miles, and the same is throughout its whole extent regular and well-defined. It is thus in a remarkable manner discriminated from the coasts of Greece, the latter being in every part broken into bays and inlets. From the shores of Italy, except the so-called *spur* and *heel* and *toe* in the extreme south, not a single considerable peninsula extends into the sea; and we look in vain into the surrounding waters for the multitude of little islands which everywhere cluster about the coast of Hellas.

The name Italy is variously interpreted. According to Timæus and Varro, the word is derived from the Greek *italos*, meaning a calf, a country in which cattle abound. Thucydides and Dionysius of Halicarnassus derived the name from a mythical King Italus, by whom the country is said to have been ruled in prehistoric times.

The great fundamental facts in the physical structure of Italy are the Alps and the Apennines. By the former it is separated from the rest of Europe. All the way around from the Gulf of Genoa to the head of the Adriatic, beginning with the Maritime chain and ending with the Carnic range, these tremendous barriers circle about the valley of the Po, shutting out the colder regions of the north from the land

of the vine. The peninsula itself is supported through its whole extent, from Genoa to Reggio, by the Apennines, which, winding from the north, and constituting a continuance of the Maritime Alps, bend down the center of the *leg*, until they divide above the Italian *instep*, the western branch being deflected in an almost southerly course through Calabria to the strait of Messina, and the other forming the back wall of Apulia. Italy is thus divided into two great slopes—the eastern, with the broad valley of the Po at the north, falling away to the Adriatic; and the western, descending to the Gulf of Genoa and the Tyrrhenian Sea. From the backbone of the Apennines, on either side, lateral ridges branch off toward the coast, and between these the Italian rivers, gathering their waters from the central highlands, make their way down to the ocean.

Geographically considered, the peninsula is divided into three parts. The first is NORTHERN ITALY, or the Valley of the Po. From the Maritime Alps, along the northern shore of the Gulf of Genoa, the Apennines trend to the south-east, almost reaching the Adriatic at Ariminum. From this natural barrier to the Alps on the north stretches a vast low plain, two hundred miles in length and about sixty miles in breadth. The whole region is drained by the river PADUS, the largest in Italy, which with its more than twenty-five tributaries, great and small, sweeps down, in a due easterly course, from the foot-hills of the Swiss Alps, in the extreme west, to the Gulf of Venice. The broad valley is at its mouth, measuring from the nearest approach of the Apennines to the Adriatic northward to the Carnic Alps, about a hundred and twenty miles in breadth. This great division of Italy includes the ancient provinces of CISALPINE GAUL, LIGURIA, VENETIA, and ISTRIA, and is one of the most fruitful regions in all Europe. On the south it was bounded, next the Adriatic, by the Rubicon, and next the Gulf of Genoa, by the Magra.

Reaching southward from the two streams just mentioned—at which point the Italian peninsula proper may be said to begin—extending along the west coast from the Magra to the Silarus, and on the east from the Rubicon to the Frento, lies the next major division of the country, called CENTRAL ITALY. Strongly discriminated is this region from the great Padus valley of the north. Instead of the broad, open plain, with its many streams converging into one, we have here the massive shoulders of the Apennines heaved up in every part, filling with their central range and lateral offsets almost the whole peninsula from east to west. The plains and valleys are numerous, but small, and irregular in outline. The central mass of the mountains is broken up chaotically, especially from the main ridge towards the west; but on the east the ridges descend with greater regularity to the sea. This complicated structure of the mountain range becomes more noticeable towards the south. Below the forty-fourth parallel of latitude the ridges reach within forty miles of the sea. The greatest valleys of Central Italy are those of the ARNO and the TIBER, which rivers, the largest in the division under consideration, have been properly called the "key to the geography of this part of the peninsula."

Perhaps no other region in the world presents, within equal geographical limits, so great a variety of climate as does Central Italy. While the snows still lie on the uplands of Samnium the corn ripens in the plains of Campania. All along the Tyrrhenian shore, the olive flourishes, but within forty miles of the coast line it disappears. On the Samnian hills, no more than a day's journey from the genial bay of Naples, the scenery is that of highlands, and the fingers are bitten with the piercing air. In these extremely variable conditions were laid the foundations of that tribal diversity which characterized the early races of Italy. The mountaineers of the Sabine hills, rude and simple in their manners, and warlike in disposition, were strongly discriminated from the softer and more luxurious people of Campania, Latium, and Etruria.

Central Italy comprised the countries known to the Romans as ETRURIA, UMBRIA, PICENUM; the state of the *Sabini*, *Vestini*, *Marsi*, *Peligni*, *Marrucini*, and *Frentani;* SAMNIUM, LATIUM, and CAMPANIA. Of these various

provinces an extended account will presently be given.

Southern Italy embraces all the lower part of the peninsula—the *ankle* and *foot* of Italy. The natural boundary on the north is, on the Adriatic coast, the river Frento, and on the Tyrrhenian sea the Silarus. The mountain ranges in this part of the country sink gradually to lower levels, and the plains have a wider extent. The Apulian district, next the *Mare Superum* of the ancients, is a low-lying country, spreading out to the sea from the declining ridge of the Apennines. The Bruttian region, however, is nearly all mountainous in character, and Lucania is traversed from north to south by a range of no mean elevation. Around the shores of the Gulf of Tarentum, especially on the north and west, a multitude of streams gather their waters from the Italian *instep*—a plain country of great fertility—and discharge into the sea.

The principal of the ancient states embraced within the limits of Southern Italy were the greatly elongated province of Apulia on the east, including its subdivisions of *Daunia, Perecentia, Calabria*, and *Iaphygia;* Lucania on the west, and Bruttium on the south, the latter being the *foot* of Italy. The sea coasts of these states are of the greatest beauty and fertility, but the interior mountainous districts are comparatively sterile and inaccessible. In Calabria, which constitutes the *heel* of Italy, there is a great want of running streams, but the proximity of the sea, superinducing rains and copious dews, renders the region of superior fertility, in so much that Strabo represents it as "bringing forth all things in great abundance."

As already intimated, the climate of Italy varies greatly with the elevation of the particular district and its distance from the sea. Considered as a whole, the country is one of the most beautiful in the world. The condition of its sky and air was not dissimilar to that of Greece. Though Italy, of all the European countries, has the greatest annual rainfall, yet the sky is the bluest and most beautiful to be seen anywhere in the world. The atmosphere is singularly pure. The rains come in storms of excessive severity. The rivers run a rapid course, and under the influence of sudden hurricanes are swollen into floods, which sweep all before them. But the atmosphere with the morrow clears to its profoundest depths, and the beholder sees above him only the cerulean curtains of the fathomless heaven.

The Alps and northern Apennines receive great quantities of snow. These, with the approach of warm weather, melt and descend in yellow torrents, which spread a layer of slime over the river-beds and adjacent valleys. The proximity of these snowy mountains to the surrounding seas tends powerfully to temper and vary the climate and to adapt it to nearly all the products of Central and Southern Europe.

The ancient Italian seers and bards were specially enthusiastic in their praises of the loveliness of their native land. Ever and anon the verses of Vergil respond harp-like as they are swept by the invisible fingers of nature. Dionysius and Strabo, though little given to ecstasy and rapture, take fire under the inspiration of Italian landscapes, and in modern times the immortal verse of Byron has borne its rapturous testimony to the splendor of this land of song and art:

"The clouds above me to the white Alps tend,
And I must pierce them and survey whate'er
May be permitted, as my steps I bend
To their most great and growing region, where
The earth to her embrace compels the powers
of air.

Italia! O Italia! looking on thee,
Full flashes on the soul the light of ages,
Since the first Carthaginian almost won thee
To the last halo of the chiefs and sages
Who glorify thy consecrated pages."

In fertility the plain of Campania possessed a soil which rivaled the fecund valleys of Egypt and Babylonia. Along the lowlands of Apulia olives grew, not surpassed by those of any other land under the sun. The vineyards of Etruria, as well as those of the Falerian and Alban hills, yielded such fabulous clusters of grapes as are said to have been brought out of the land of Canaan by the spies of Joshua. On the slopes of the highlands and in the northern valleys were the richest pastures, in which flocks of sheep and goats gathered unlimited supplies of herbage. Higher on the mountain

sides were magnificent forests of timber, and for the transportation of this to the ship-yards of the coast the numerous rivers furnished unlimited facilities. The hills were stored with valuable minerals, and the streams were alive with fishes. The average temperature of the year, marking extremes of neither heat nor cold, ranged with pleasant vicissitude through those medium degrees under which the bodily spreading out toward the Great Dipper and the more refined peoples of the peninsula. The harbors on both shores, without affording too great facilities of approach, were sufficiently numerous and commodious. The general position of Italy, moreover, situated midway between the great empires of the East and the rising nations of Western Europe, made her a vantage ground for the development of polit-



ITALIAN LANDSCAPE.

and mental powers of man present their greatest vigor and perfection.

It will be seen, moreover, by the thoughtful student of history that politically considered, Italy had a powerful foundation in nature. On three sides her position was insular; the enemy must approach by sea. On the north, the vast bulwark of the Alps, sweeping around from sea to sea, stood an impassable barrier between the barbarous races, ical power. Nor can it be said that these great natural advantages of situation have been lost with the lapse of time and the shifting of national centers. To the present day the Italian peninsula retains all the native resources requisite for the germination and growth of a mighty state, the antecedents of preëminence, the suggestions of empire.

The present climate of Italy has been somewhat modified from what it was twenty centu-

ries ago. It is evident that the classical writers in describing the climatic excellence of their country, used as a standard the countries of the East—Greece, Asia Minor, Babylonia, Egypt. This fact will account for the praises often bestowed upon the Italian summers as free from excessive heats. It is clear, however, that in Modern Italy the average temperature is considerably higher than in the days of the Roman Republic. Horace describes Socrate and the Alban hills as covered with snow. The Tiber is spoken of by Juvenal as having, even at the approach of winter, a sheet of ice from bank to bank. Nor is it to be conceived that these distinguished and critical writers, poets though they were, would have departed in their descriptions from the truthfulness of nature.

Another change, from ancient to modern Italy, is the introduction of pestilential conditions into various districts of the country. In some provinces, which formerly supported large and flourishing populations, miasmatic influences are now so prevalent as to forbid any other than a desultory and imperfect cultivation of the soil. This is especially true in the Roman Campania and along the fertile coasts of Southern Italy. The latter region, where once flourished the finest of Greek cities—Sybaris, Crotona, Rhegium—has been depopulated by pestilential causes. It is likely, however, that even in the days of the Republic, the Roman states, especially the low-lying provinces near the coast, were afflicted with malaria, and were frequently wasted with violent pestilences.

In the times of the Roman ascendency, the volcanic forces were more actively at work in and around the peninsula than at the present day. Timæus states that eruptions of Ænaria still occurred after Greek colonists had settled in that neighborhood. The traditions relating to Lake Avernus evidently point to similar convulsions of nature. Nor is the current opinion that Vesuvius only began to be an active volcano with the great eruption of A. D. 79, founded in fact; for the authority of Strabo may be cited in testimony that the mountain from time immemorial had given, at intervals, the lava of his heated caverns to the surrounding plains. Earthquakes were alarmingly frequent, though their violence was as a usual thing not such as to occasion great losses to the people. The visitation was generally in the nature of the subsidence of large tracts of land, the toppling down of rocks and precipices, or the sudden change of a river-bed to some other part of the valley. At intervals, however, the shocks were so great as to throw down towns and cities and scatter dismay through the whole peninsula.

The volcanic regions of Italy are divided into two sections. The first includes what was the larger part of the ancient Latium, or the modern Campagna of Rome, and also the southern portion of Etruria. The other embraces the remainder of Old Latium, the Vesuvian region, and the hills surrounding Lake Avernus. Between these two districts extends the chain of the Volscian mountains, being an offset from the Apennines. The former territory is about one hundred miles in length by fifty or sixty miles in breadth; the latter is considerably less in area.

The productions of the Italian peninsula—to which several references have already been made—will be more fully considered under the heads of the various provinces. For the present it is sufficient to note the fact that a large number of the products of Modern Italy most valued by the present population are of recent introduction, and were either unknown or disregarded by the ancient Romans. The corn and rice, to the raising of which the plains of Lombardy are now so largely devoted, were not known, or at least not cultivated by the people of the Republic. The same may be said of the oranges which abound in Liguria and in the vicinity of Naples. In the southern provinces the aloes and cactuses, which now so greatly adorn the sea-coasts, were no part of the ancient vegetation. The mulberry tree was well known to the Romans, and was to some extent valued for its fruit; but its chief use began subsequently to the introduction of the silk-worm, in the thirteenth century. It only remains to add that a considerable number of the fruits and other products which were common in the times of Roman greatness were exotic; but

the larger part were indigenous to the peninsula.

The mineral wealth of Italy was by no means fully developed in the classical ages. It seems, indeed, to have been the policy of the government to discourage the exploration and opening of mines. This is to be accounted for on the theory that before the Romans became predominant in the peninsula the knowledge of the existence of such mines would tend to incite invasion, and after the Roman ascendency was established the armies of the Republic could take the treasures of other states more easily than to dig them from the earth.

Grains of gold were found in the beds of some of the streams descending from the Alps. Silver also existed in a few districts, though not abundantly. In Etruria were valuable mines of copper; and this metal, as is well known, was the one chiefly used by the Romans in the coinage of money. In Noricum and at Ilva were fine mines of iron, but the production of this metal was greatly retarded by the difficulty of extracting it from the ore. The other minerals most valued by the Romans were cinnabar, calamine, and white marble, the latter being produced from the quarries of Luna of a quality which, for the purpose of sculpture, was reckoned superior to that of Greece.

Such was the physical character of the Italian peninsula as to forbid the formation of great rivers. The Padus, or Po, is the only stream of the first class, according to the European standard. The Arno and the Tiber, though among the most celebrated in history, are less than many of the tributaries of the Rhine, the Rhone, and the Danube. The rivers of Northern Italy, fed as they are with the perpetual snows of the Alps, maintain throughout the year a comparatively constant volume; but the streams which descend from the Apennines, though frequently in the winter season swollen to roaring torrents by the prevalent rains and snows, sink into their beds in summer, and become mere insignificant brooks. In this respect the Italian rivers are to be classed with those of Greece.

The great central basin of Northern Italy is traversed through its whole extent from west to east by the Padus. This river is about three hundred and eighty geographical miles in length, though the direct distance from its source in Mount Vesulus to its mouth on the Adriatic is but two hundred and thirty miles. The volume of the river, near its confluence with the sea, is very great; for the stream has, meanwhile, been swollen by numerous tributaries descending on the north from the Alps, and on the south from the Apennines. Of these auxiliary streams no fewer than eighteen are enumerated by Pliny, and to this list modern geography has added quite a number.

Of the rivers of Northern Italy which do not join their waters with the Po, the most important is the Adige, the ancient Athesis. Its general course is parallel with that of the Padus, and its volume, though not at all comparable with that of the parent stream of the great basin, is by no means contemptible. To the east of the last named river are found in succession the Brenta, known in classical geography as the Medoacus; the Piave, or Plavis; the Tilavemptus, and the Sontius. In that part of Liguria south of the Apennines, are a few small streams, the most considerable being the Varus, the Rutuba, and the Magra, the latter constituting the southern boundary of Northern Italy on the west.

All the rivers of Central Italy take their rise either in the main ridge or lateral branches of the Apennines. The most important of these streams are the Arno and the Tiber. The latter flows through a valley spreading out in a southerly direction, from its sources in the mountains on the borders of Etruria and Umbria to its mouth at Ostia. The whole length of the stream, which is the most important in this division of the peninsula, is, in a direct line, one hundred and forty miles.

The most important of the smaller streams of this region taking their rise in the hill-country between the Arno and the Tiber are the Cæcina, the Umbro, and the Arminia. South of the Tiber, the more considerable streams are the Lirus and the Vulturnus, both of which flow through the Campanian plain. Further down the coast is the Silarus, which forms the boundary between Southern and Central Italy. The remaining streams of the western coast are mere

mountain brooks, which roar and plunge along for a brief season in the winter, dwindle in spring, and run dry in summer. The longest of these creeks is the Laüs, which divides the provinces of Lucania and Bruttium.

On the eastern or Adriatic side of the peninsula the rivers are many, but of small importance. Between the borders of Cisalpine Gaul—where the Rubicon forms the boundary between that province and the peninsula proper—and the *heel* of Italy, are sixteen rivers, which enumerated from north to south and designated by their classical names are as follows: the Ariminus, the Crustumius, the Pisarus, the Metaurus, the Aesis, the Potentia, the Flusor, the Truentus, the Vomanus, the Aternus, the Sagrus, the Trinius, the Tifernus, the Frento, the Cerbalus, and the Aufidus. The Frento constitutes the boundary between Central and Southern Italy. The Aufidus is by far the longest and largest of the sixteen streams which fall into the Adriatic.

In Northern Italy the melting snows of the southern slopes of the Alps are in several parts gathered into inclosed valleys, which must be filled brimful before they can overflow into the tributaries of the Padus. Thus are formed those celebrated Alpine lakes which are reckoned among the most beautiful in the world. The principal of these are the Lacus Verbanus, the modern Maggiore; the Lacus Larius, or Como; the Lacus Sebinus, or Iseo; and the Lacus Benacus, or Garda. These sheets of water are long, narrow, and deep, and reflect from their placid faces the shadows of beautiful shores, the image of cerulean skies.

Very different in shape and character are the lakes of Central Italy. These are collections of waters in the craters of extinct volcanoes, generally without an outlet, circular in form, small in area, but very deep. The largest of these volcanic lakes is the Lacus Vulsiniensis, the modern Bolsena. It is in Southern Etruria, and has a circumference of about thirty miles. Other lakes of similar sort are the Sabatinus, or Bracciano; the Ciminus, or Vico; the Albanus, the Nemorensis, and especially the Avernus, in Campania. In the same province are the Lacus Trasimenus and the Lacus Fucinus, both of which are formed by an aggregation of waters in natural basins of non-volcanic origin.

The principal mountains of Italy, detached from the regular chain of the Apennines, are Amiata, in Central Etruria; Ciminus, a group of volcanic heights; Albanus, Vesuvius, Vultur, and Garganus. Of these peaks the highest is Amiata, which rises 5,794 feet above the level of the sea; and the lowest, the Mons Albanus, which has an elevation of three thousand feet.—Such in brief is a sketch of the principal physical features of the peninsula of Italy.

Turning to the consideration of the Roman provinces, and beginning at the north, we have, first of all, the great district of CISALPINE GAUL. The name so used distinguishes the country from Gallia Transalpina, or Gaul Proper, lying beyond the Alps. The province is bounded on the north and west, by the mountains; on the south, by Liguria, the Apennines, and the northern boundary of Umbria; on the east, by the Adriatic and the province of Venetia. The vast country thus defined consists of the great and fertile valley of the Padus, and viewed as it respects extent, is by far the largest, and as it respects agricultural resources, the most important, of all Italy.

The second province of Northern Italy is LIGURIA. It is bounded on the west by the river Varus; on the east, by the Magra; on the north, by the Po; and on the south, by the Gulf of Genoa. It thus includes the whole of the Maritime Alps and the upper portion of the chain of the Apennines. The former mountains descend almost to the sea, and the lateral branches form headlands along the coast throughout a great extent of the southern boundary. The whole province, except on the north, where the slopes descend into the valley of the Po, is exceedingly mountainous. The Ligurians were a race of highlanders who, from their situation as well as disposition, participated but slightly in the momentous affairs of Italy.

The remaining state of the North was VENETIA, at the head of the Adriatic. It extended from the foot of the Alps, where they descend to the sea, to the mouth of the Po, and westward to the river Adige. The boundaries of

the province were somewhat variable. At one time the whole district was included in Cisalpine Gaul. At another it was consolidated with Istria as the Tenth Region of the Empire. Even when the Adige was settled upon as the western limit, the district of Verona, lying on the right bank of that river, was included with Venetia. On the east the boundary was the country of the Carni. The general character of the province was similar to that of Cisalpine Gaul, from which it is separated by no strongly marked natural features. The country is a plain extending to the very foot of the Alps. The streams are fed from the snows of the mountains, and pursue a short and rapid course towards the sea. The coast is bordered by a tract of lagoons and marsh-lands, and in these several of the streams wander aimlessly till they are lost in swamps.

The province of Istria, sometimes included in Venetia, and sometimes considered as a separate state, was for the most part a peninsula dropping from the north into the Adriatic. The natural limits of the province were clearly marked except on the north, where the boundary was fixed by a line drawn from the Gulf of Trieste to that of Quarnero. The district thus defined was about fifty miles long and thirty-five miles in breadth. It was not a country of great natural fertility, the soil being calcareous and rocky. Nevertheless it was well adapted to the production of olives; and the oil of Istria was considered superior to any produced in the country except that of Venafrum.

Passing into Central Italy and proceeding down the coast of the Adriatic, we come to the province of Umbria. It extends from the seashore to the valley of the Tiber, which river constitutes the greater part of its western boundary. On the south the district abuts against the country of the Sabines, the northern boundary being Cisalpine Gaul. The province is traversed centrally by the Apennines, by which it is divided into an eastern and a western slope, the latter falling off toward the Tiber valley, and the former descending to the Adriatic. On the east the boundary is Picenum and the sea. Umbria is one of the most ancient provinces of Italy, the people being regarded as the oldest of the Italian races. The language spoken by the Umbrians was related to the Oscan and the Latin, but strongly discriminated from the speech of the neighboring Etruscans. The country, even from primitive times, was a land of pastures and flocks. The sheep and cattle were regarded as the finest of all Italy. The southern portion of the territory between Etruria and the Apennines was well adapted to the cultivation of the vine and the olive. In this part of the country were fine orchards, and the general fertility was such as to give it a reputation among the most desirable tracts of the peninsula.

The province of Picenum extended along the Adriatic for a distance of one hundred miles. On the west its boundary was the central ridge of the Apennines. On the north and south the natural boundaries were the rivers Æsis and Natrinus. This territory was known in the times of Augustus as the Fifth Region of Italy. It is a district of great fertility and beauty. Backed on the west by the loftiest portion of the Apennine range, it falls away in rolling hills and gentle slopes to the seas. The forests on the mountain sides are among the finest in Italy; while on the lower levels near the coast rich pastures are interspersed with olive orchards, vineyards, and fields of corn. The Picenian apples were celebrated by Horace and Juvenal, and its olives were reckoned the best produced in Italy.

To the south of Picenum and Umbria lay the large state inhabited by the five tribes—the *Sabini*, the *Vestini*, the *Marsi*, the *Marrucini*, and the *Peligni*. The country had the Adriatic for an eastern boundary, and Etruria and Latium on the west. Its geographical features were not dissimilar to those of the two states on the north. The Apennines stretched through the territory centrally from north to south, leaving the Sabines on the west, and the other tribes on the Adriatic slope. The district of the Sabini was a rugged region about eighty-five miles in length, but the soil was more fertile than its situation in the hill-country would have indicated. The principal products were oil and wine, and the plant known in modern times as savin (*herba Sabina*) has here its native home. The Sabines, how-

ever, were a pastoral rather than an agricultural people. The mountaineers reared herds of goats, and among the foot-hills flocks of sheep and droves of mules bore witness to the interest taken by this primitive people in the breeding of stock. The other tribes in this part of the country devoted themselves to like pursuits; but the Vestini and Marrucini devoted more attention to the tillage of fields than to the raising of animals.

The state of APULIA was one of the largest, and, historically considered, not the least important in Italy. The limits of the province were very variable. By some geographers it has been made to include the whole of South-eastern Italy, from the country of the Frentani on the north to the extremity of the peninsula. This would embrace the whole of the district known to the Romans as Calabria. It does not appear, however, that such an extension of the name Apulia is warranted by the facts. The physical features of this part of Italy were strongly marked, and contributed, no doubt, to shape the history of the country. The northern half of the province, extending from the Tifernus to the Aufidus, is a continuous plain, sloping from the mountains to the sea. In one part the Apulian Apennines, here broken into isolated masses, reach the Adriatic, and, rising in Mount Garganus, constitute the *spur* of Italy. The hill country is covered with forests. The plain of northern Apulia is a district of great fertility. The whole province was noted for its fine breeds of horses and sheep, the latter being regarded as the best in Italy.

The district known as CALABRIA constitutes the south-eastern portion of the Italian peninsula. By the Greeks this province was called Massapia, or Japygia. It is the *heel* of Italy. It may be considered as extending from the promontory of Garganus to the frontiers of Lucania. On the west it was limited by a line drawn from the Gulf of Tarentum at a point a little west of the city of that name to a point on the Adriatic between Egnetia and Brundusium. From the position of these boundaries it will be seen that Calabria was very nearly identical with the present province of Otranto. Virgil has described the Calabrian landscape as "a low coast of dusky hills." The soil is calcareous, but is well adapted to the cultivation of the olive and the vine. The country was also noted for its abundant yield of honey. The Calabrians, like their northern neighbors, were famous breeders of horses, and the cavalry service of the Republic and Empire was frequently recruited from this province.

On the west, between the Gulf of Tarentum and the Tyrrhenian sea, lay the large State of LUCANIA. On the south it was bounded by Bruttium; on the north, by Samnium, Apulia, and Campania. This province was originally a part of the ancient Œnotria, the name Lucania being unknown until after the time of Thucydides. The physical character of the district is, like that of so many of the other Italian states, determined by the Apennines, which traverse the whole country from north to south, rising in the group of Monte Pollino to the height of seven thousand feet above the level of the sea. Between the central chain and the western coast, the whole country is filled up with rugged mountains, but on the eastern coast, the hills fall off more gradually, and near the borders of the Gulf, extensive plains stretch from the foot-hills to the shore. The products of the province are almost identical with those of northern Lucania, the olive and vine being the chief gifts of nature to the husbandman.

BRUTTIUM constitutes the *foot* of Italy. By the ancient geographers, the name of the people, the Bruttii, was always used to designate the country, the word *Bruttium* being invented by more recent writers. The land so named was bounded on the north by Lucania, and all other sides by the sea. Along the Lucanian frontier the breadth of the district is no more than thirty miles, but further south the width is considerably greater. The entire length of the peninsula is about sixty miles, and its shape has been immemorially likened to a boot, the heel of which is formed by Calabria on the other side of the Gulf. The country is traversed through its whole extent by the Apennines, now broken into irregular masses, and in the northern part scattered from coast to coast. The mountains are cov-

ered with forests, but the timber of this region is less valuable than in the districts further north. The climate is very mild and would be still warmer but for the highland character of the region, and the recurring storms of wind and rain. In early times Bruttium was more subject to Greek influences than any other state of Southern Italy.

Before passing to the consideration of the remaining provinces of Central Italy, a few words in general respecting the country of MAGNA GRÆCIA will be appropriate. This name was given by the Greeks to those countries of Southern Italy in which they had established colonies. These settlements were planted on the shores of the Tarentine Gulf, in different parts of Bruttium, on the western coast of Lucania, and at Cumæ in Campania—though by most authors Magna Græcia is not regarded as extending beyond the northern frontier of Lucania. A few writers have included the Greek settlements in Sicily with those of the main-land, though they are generally considered as distinct colonies.

The geographical description of this country known as Great Greece, together with a sketch of its climate and products, has already been given in the paragraphs on Calabria, Lucania, and Bruttium. The country at a certain epoch was one of great importance, involving the relations, and at that time uncertain predominance, of the Greek and Latin races in the West.

One of the oldest Grecian colonies established in Italy was that of CUMÆ in Campania. Its date has been assigned to the year B. C. 1050. It was by its position isolated from the other settlements of the Hellenes in the Italian foot, and with its two dependent towns of Dicæarchi and Neapolis has a history of its own.

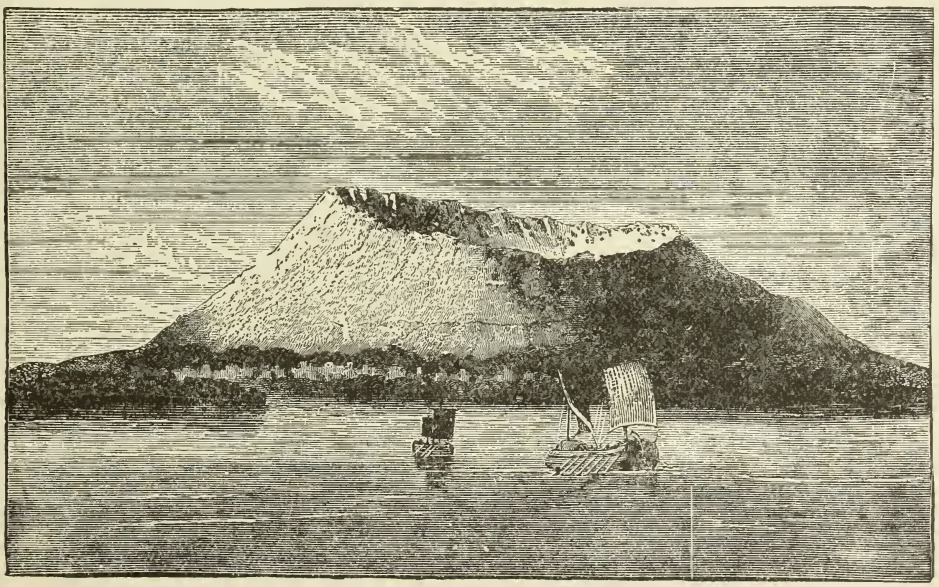
Next in order of establishment were the Greek colonies in Sicily, which, according to current chronology were planted between the years B. C. 735 and 685. The most powerful of these settlements was the city of SYRACUSE, situated on the east coast of the island about midway between Catana and Cape Pachynus. Second in importance to this was the colony of AGRIGENTUM, on the south-west coast, between Selinus and Gela. On the main-land, that is, in Magna Græcia proper, the principal Greek city was SYBARIS, on the western shore of the Tarentine Gulf. It was one of the oldest of the Hellenic colonies, its founding bearing the date of B. C. 720—only a few years after the planting of Rome. The Sybarites claimed an Achæan origin; but the Trœzenians also constituted a part of the original colony. The city grew to be wealthy, luxurious, powerful. Its period of greatest splendor was from B. C. 580 to 560, at which time it was one of the chief cities of the West.

Only second in importance to Sybaris was CROTONA, on the eastern coast of the Bruttian peninsula. This, like the sister city, was founded by the Achæans, the date being about B. C. 710. The settlement grew rapidly into a powerful colony. The walls measured twelve miles in circumference. The authority of the city was extended across the peninsula, and other colonies were sent out from the parent hive. Like Sybaris, Crotona became wealthy and luxurious. During the sixth century she was recognized as one of the most civilized and powerful of all the Western cities. The situation was one of the most healthful in Italy, and the manner of life adopted by the citizens—modeled after the severe system of discipline prevailing in Peloponnesus—conduced to give to the inhabitants a robust development and manly character. Six miles distant from the city was the famous temple of the Lacinian Juno, said to be the oldest in Italy. The site is still marked by a single Doric column, which from its bold position on the headland, is seen far out at sea, and constitutes a landmark for sailors.

Next in rank among the Hellenic colonies of Magna Græcia was the city of LOCRI. It was situated on the south-east coast of the Bruttian peninsula, near the southern extremity. As the name indicates, the original colony was composed of Locrians from Central Greece. The date of the foundation was about B. C. 700. Of the early history of the colony not much is known; but if tradition may be trusted it was here rather than in Hellas that the first code of written laws was formulated by a Greek. It is said that a certain Zaleucus, a kind of Solon of the West, prepared a statute

for the city, and that the equity of the laws thus framed gave great peace to the colony. Certain it is that the work of Zaleucus was heartily praised by Pindar and Demosthenes as a model worthy of imitation. The lawgiver is said to have flourished about 660 B. C. Of the general character of the Hellenic cities in Magna Græcia something has been already said in that part of the Eighth Book relating to the Sicilian expedition of the Greeks; and not a little remains to be presented hereafter.

Resuming the consideration of the geography of the Italian states, we come on the northwest of Lucania to the coast province of



MOUNT VESUVIUS BEFORE THE GREAT ERUPTION OF 79 A. D.

Campania. It is bounded on the east by Samnium, on the north by Latium, and on the west by the sea. The coast line is more broken than that of any other part of Italy. A large portion of the district is that celebrated plain noted anciently for its productiveness, and in modern times for its malaria. It is the most beautiful and fertile province in all Italy. The climate is one of the mildest and most equable in the world. The landscapes were the delight of ancient travelers, who never wearied in their praises of the beauty on every hand. In two places the uniformity of the plain, sloping gently from the Apennines to the sea, is broken by remarkable natural features. The first is a group of volcanic hills rising abruptly from the level country between Cumæ and Naples. The loftiest of these elevations is the Mons Gaurus, whose slopes produced the finest wines in all Italy. On the other side of Naples is the great isolated peak of Vesuvius, a true volcano, which before A. D. 79 was reported by Strabo to be "extinct for want of fuel," but after that date was never suspected of having gone out.

After its fertility and climate the next most important advantage possessed by Campania was its sea coast. This is in many places indented in such a manner as to furnish a haven for ships. The Bay of Naples is justly ranked among the finest in the world, as it is certainly the finest in Italy. Around its shores the luxurious Romans built numerous towns and villas, so that, according to Strabo, the whole bay seemed to be lined with a continuous city. Just north of Naples, and included within the headland of Misenum, was the Bay of Baiæ, with two excellent harbors. In the times of the Empire this region became one of the most frequented in Italy, being a populous sea-port and place of resort for the wealthy.

There is little doubt that the genial climate of Campania had an enervating effect upon the people. In ancient times the inhabitants

were reputed unwarlike. The population was frequently changed by the aggressiveness of surrounding nations. The thermal springs abounding in the neighborhoods of Baiæ, Puteoli, and Naples were well adapted to the wants of those who were rich enough to indulge in the luxury of a sea-side residence, but they were not conducive to the development of manly virtues.

Lying eastward of Campania was the great interior province of SAMNIUM. It was traversed throughout by the central chain of the Apennines, and nowhere approached the coast. The territory is almost wholly mountainous. The conformation of the country is determined in every part by the main range or their lateral branches. The climate is strongly discriminated from that of the Campanian and Apulian slopes. The warm sea breezes, wafted from the south-west into the Bay of Naples, reach not the Samnite hills. Here the cooler airs of the Apennines prevail, and the breezy proximity of the mountains is felt alike in nature and in man. Samnium is a land of flocks and pastures. The valleys and occasional small plains are well adapted to cultivation, and the usual crops peculiar to this belt of Italy grow in considerable abundance.

The great north-western province of Central Italy is ETRURIA, one of the most ancient states of the West. On the north, it is bounded by Liguria and Cisalpine Gaul; on the east, by Umbria and the country of the Sabines; on the south, by Latium; on the west, by the sea. The coast-line measures a little over two hundred miles. The region thus bounded is exceedingly variable in geographical character. On the north, its proximity to the Apennines and its rugged elevations give it an almost Alpine aspect. Mount Amiata here rises to the height of 5,794 feet. Further south are tracts of rich alluvial soil. The country about the mouth of the river Arnus is especially fertile and beautiful. Along almost the entire eastern frontier lies the valley of the Tiber, fruitful in the things sown, and interspersed with pleasing landscapes. South of the Arnus, the whole breadth of Etruria is filled up with a range of hills, extending from the river Clanis as far as the sea.

This region, like Umbria, is a country of flocks and herds. Some of the hills rise to a height of two thousand feet above the level of the sea. On their green slopes the sheep and goats crop the pasturage, and herds of fine cattle low their satisfaction to the Tuscan herdsmen. The southern part of Etruria has a lower level and a milder climate, approximating in character the adjacent districts of Latium. At a few points on the coast the hilly ridges of the interior jut out into headlands, and an occasional bay or inlet furnishes an adequate haven for them that go down to the sea in ships.

The remaining state of the central portion of the Italian peninsula is LATIUM, within whose borders near the northern frontier stood the capital of the world. The province is bounded on the east by Samnium and the land of the Marsi; on the north, by the Sabini and Etruria; on the west and south, by the sea and Campania. This was the land of the Latini, one of the most ancient peoples of Italy.

At first, the name was limited to the *territory* occupied by that noted tribe; but afterwards when the Hernici, the Æqui, and the Volscii were conquered, the limits of the province were extended to the boundaries recognized in the times of the Republic. The climate of Latium was almost as genial as that of Campania, and the fertility was such as to rival the best portions of the peninsula. Along the northern border lay the valley of the Tiber, which, with the tributary Anio, drained the country eastward to the highlands of the Marsi. South of the Tiber and next the coast lay the extensive plain occupied by the ancient Latini. Further inland, in the same region were the Alban Hills, so noted in the early history of Rome. In the south of the province a chain of highlands extends from the valley of the Liris westward to the coast, thus cutting off the country of the Ausones from the rest of Latium. On the eastern frontiers, the hill-country of this province was productive in the apple, the olive, and the vine; while the lower plains yielded abundant crops of grain. Such in brief is an outline of the geography and products of that great peninsula whence sprang

"The Latin race, the Alban fathers and walls of
lofty Rome."

CHAPTER LIII.—THE PEOPLE.

OF the ethnic affinities of the LATIN RACE something has already been said incidentally in the history of the Persians and the Greeks. Like them, the Romans belonged to the great Aryan or Indo-European family of nations. The Greek and Latin languages, if other evidence were wanting, prove conclusively the original tribal identity of the two races by which they were spoken. The institutions of the two peoples also, springing naturally into existence under the necessity of their surroundings and the impulse of innate preference, point with equal certainty to the primitive unity of the Græco-Italic race. On every side we are confronted with like indications of the original oneness of those strong nations by which the eastern and central peninsulas of Southern Europe were colonized, peopled, dominated, raised to unequivocal supremacy over the surrounding nations.

While it is certain, however, that the Greeks and Romans were descended from the same original stock, the particular relationship of the two races is not so definitely known. On this point the several prevalent theories bear the marks of plausibility rather than of certainty. One view is that from the point of Asiatic origin, the Hellenic tribes, making their way westward, constituted one migration, and the Italians another. A second view is that the Græco-Italic race began and long maintained its migratory movement as a single body or group of tribes, and that after reaching Europe one of the races, in some prehistoric epoch, was deflected or differentiated from the other. If this theory be the correct one, it is fairly safe to affirm that the principal migration was the Italican, and that the offshoot from this was the Hellenic stock. It is the opinion of many profound scholars that the Hellenes were the youngest of the Aryan tribes in Europe.

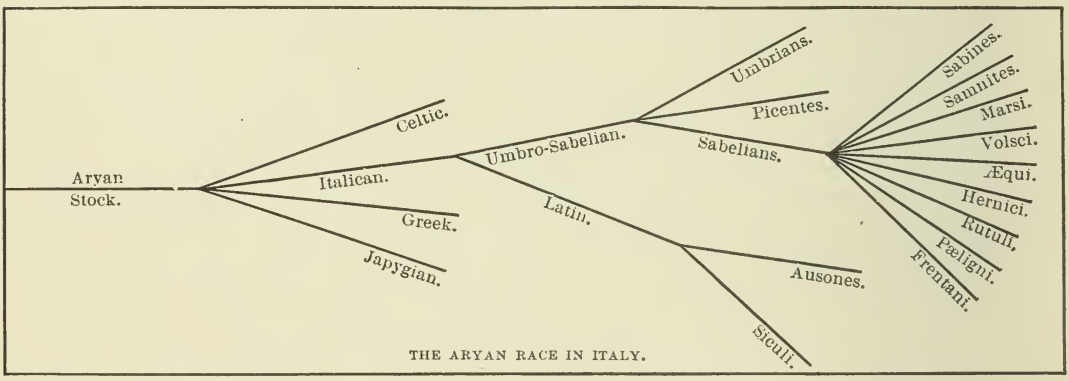
If with a view to determining the relative seniority of the two races an appeal be made to the languages which they spoke, the testimony is strangely conflicting; for, while in some respects the grammatical forms of Greek are more archaic than those of Latin, on the other hand much of the structure of the latter language is more ancient than that of the former. Of the original speech, the Latin has preserved the ablative case, which in the process of linguistic decay was dropped from the Greek. Several of the forms of the verb *to be*, in Latin, are more closely allied to the Sanskrit original than the corresponding forms in the language of the Hellenes. But, on the other hand, the dual number of Greek nouns and the middle voice of the verb are a relic of primitive forms no longer found in Latin. These facts would seem to indicate that the two races left the Asiatic homestead and came into Europe by distinct migrations, and that the Græco-Italic tribes were not in prehistoric times so intimately associated as many scholars have been led to believe.

Like the Greeks, the primitive Italicans preserved no traditions of those migratory movements by which the ancestral tribes were thrown into the peninsula. They, too, believed themselves to be born of the earth. They were indigenous. They sprang from the glebe. The story of migrations and tribal vicissitudes was the invention of the poets of later ages, and was unknown to the immediate descendants of those great ancestors who were said to have come from foreign shores.

The most ancient people of the Italian peninsula were the PELASGIANS—that primitive stock of mankind which seems to have been diffused in the most ancient times through the whole of Southern Europe. This race constitutes the substratum of all succeeding populations. Beneath the Umbrian and Oscan crust, beneath the oldest Hellenic colonies of the south of Italy, is spread the work of this prehistoric people. The Pelasgic stock withal,

itself perhaps an elder sister of the Greek and Latin races, seems to have had an unfortunate career. They were ground between the upper and nether millstones of the barbarians and the Hellenes.

In Italy, however, it is clearly evident that the foundations of religion, of property, and of law were laid by the Pelasgians at a time long anterior to the advent of the Latins. At this epoch these people appear to have been scattered from Etruria to the Bosphorus. In the Greek states of Argolis, Attica, and Arcadia, in the south-western part of Central Italy, and even in Spain, the Pelasgic monuments have survived every vicissitude. Monstrous blocks of hewn stone, built into massive walls which the ages have not been able to



THE ARYAN RACE IN ITALY.

shatter, bear witness here and there to the presence and work of a race worthy of something better than oblivion.

Nearly all the coasts of Italy were held by the Pelasgians. It is believed that most of the colonies came from Arcadia. Of this class were the peoples known as Œnotrians and Peucentians. Another group were the Tyrrhenian Pelasgi, thought to have been from Asia Minor. These founded the towns of Cœre, Tarquinii, Ravenna, and Spina—the latter being on the site of Venice. On the coast of Latium the Argive Pelasgians obtained a foothold. Here were built the town of Ardea, with its King Turnus, and Antium, founded by his brother. Rome itself was originally a Pelasgic settlement. Near the modern Salerno the ancient temple of the Argive Juno was built—if tradition may be believed—by Jason, the Pelasgic god of medicine; and it is thought that the adjacent towns of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Marcina were founded under similar auspices. In the valley of the Tiber the towns of Tibur and Falerii had an Argive—probably a Pelasgic—origin.

In Etruria there were said to be twelve Pelasgian cities, and in the country south of the Tiber twelve others. The names of these settlements are in many instances the same as those of Greece and Asia Minor.[1] A like identity is noticeable in the ancient local names of Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, Central Greece, the eastern shores of the Ægean, and the Italian peninsula—a circumstance which can be accounted for in no other way than by the early distribution of the Pelasgic race over all those widely distant regions.

Notwithstanding the great dispersion of this primitive people; notwithstanding the fact that they planted in all their colonies the seeds of law, of property, and of religion; notwithstanding the other fact that they built in Argos and Etruria those eternal ramparts of hewn stone over which all succeeding generations have clambered and all revolutions have swept in vain, yet the race itself perished and disappeared from history. There is no example of

[1] The original identity of the Pelasgians with the Græco-Italic family is strongly indicated in such facts as that mentioned in the text. Thus the twelve Etruscan and twelve Latin towns of the Pelasgi correspond with the twelve townships into which Attica was divided, as well as with the twelve Ionian, twelve Æolic, and twelve Doric cities of Asia Minor.

a more complete destruction. The Cyclopean ruins are their only monument. The Greek historians, when referring to them, do so in a tone of contempt and hatred; and the few traditions which are thus left on record of the primitive people are unfavorable to their character. Dark deeds of blood are vaguely hinted at. Thus we are told that the women of Lemnos strangled all their husbands in a single night; also that Phocian prisoners were stoned to death by the people of Argylla.

Such references, however, are but another example of the proverbial dislike displayed by warlike tribes towards the primitive agricultural and pastoral peoples whom they displace. The Pelasgians were of precisely this peaceable type. They worshiped the subterrene gods who give the wealth of the field and the mine. They loved the earth for its gold and its corn. The worship of the dragons, the serpent-gods, the great and violent agents of transformation and destruction, such as the wind, the storm, the fire, seemed to them the worship of magicians rather than of men.

The peace-loving and industrious Pelasgians were assailed with merciless severity by the warlike races coming from the East. It seemed also that nature became hostile. About the time when Italy was invaded by the new peoples there were earthquakes in divers places. Volcanic eruptions made the land a terror. Severe droughts parched the fields into dust and stubble. Then the priests told the Pelasgians that their promise to give a tenth of all they had to the gods had not been fulfilled, for the tenth of the children had been spared. Then human nature revolted. The Pelasgi gave up in despair and scattered into foreign lands. They were pursued, taken, made into slaves. So did the people of Central Greece to those who came within their power. So did the Hellenes who settled in Magna Græcia to the native population of Œnotria. So did the invaders of the western coast to those whom they found in Latium and Etruria. It thus happened that that portion of the original population of Italy which did not fly into foreign parts was gradually absorbed by the conquering tribes of Oscans and Umbrians and Latins.

The next stage in the ethnic history of the ancient Italy is that which considers the races last mentioned. The relations of the Umbrians to the Pelasgi, whether they were or were not themselves Pelasgic in their origin or kinship, can never perhaps be ascertained. Certain it is that in the earliest times those people were spread from sea to sea in the northern part of Central Italy, and were not by any means confined to the district of country which afterwards retained their name. There are many traditions of their power and greatness. By and by, however, the Etruscans on the west began to make conquests, and are said to have taken three hundred Umbrian towns. The territorial limits of the parent state were thus greatly curtailed, and the Umbrians were finally confined to the country east of the Apennines.

The science of language has shown conclusively that the Umbrians were of the same family with the other Italic races—the Oscans, the Latins, and the Etruscans. It appears that the celebrated tribe of the Sabines was Umbrian in its origin. Indeed, the territory of these hardy mountaineers was originally a part of the parent state. It is also known that the Senonian Gauls, inhabiting the shores of the upper Adriatic, expelled the Umbrians from a portion of the territory which they had originally occupied in that region, thus further curtailing their original territory.

After the Romans began their bold career, they came in contact with the Umbrians beyond the Ciminian forest. The relations of the two people were at first friendly, but afterwards, when Rome was engaged in the Etruscan war, a portion of the Umbrian tribes—which seem withal to have had no common government—took sides with the Etruscans, and were thus with the other enemies of Rome involved in a common ruin. As soon as Etruria was subjugated the consul Fabius turned his arms against the remaining tribes, and the whole territory was, in a brief period, obliged to yield to Roman domination.

The second of these ancient peoples of Italy was the Etruscans. Their language and institutions were quite strongly discriminated from those of the Umbrians, the Oscans, and

the Latins. No problem in modern scholarship has more exercised the ingenuity of the learned than the question of the origin of the Etruscan nation. By the ancients this people was regarded as of Lydian origin; but that hypothesis, of which the Father of History is himself the author, has been either abandoned or modified by modern scholars. The Herodotian tradition is to the effect that Atys, king of Lydia, had two sons, Lydus and Tyrsenus, the former of whom gave his name to the paternal dominions, and the latter, being driven forth by a famine, migrated with a portion of the people, and landing on the western coast of Italy, in what was then the territory of the Umbrians, began a conquest of the country. The colonists were first known as Tyrseni, and afterwards as Etruscans.

Without presuming to decide the worth or worthlessness of this tradition, it is sufficient to say that recent researches in the sciences of language and history have shown almost conclusively that the Etruscans were a composite or mixed people. It appears that in Southern Etruria the old Pelasgic race continued to occupy the country, and in their descendants constituted the bulk of the more recent Etruscan population. Just as the Pelasgians of Œnotria, or Southern Italy, remained as a subject race, to be assimilated by the Hellenes of Magna Græcia—just as the same substratum of population was first overrun and then absorbed by the colony of Æneas—so in Etruria the old Pelasgic stock was blended with the invading people and gradually lost under their domination. It has been ascertained that the invaders in this instance came from the north, that they retained their own language, though in a modified form, as well as their religious institutions, but received the arts and civilization of the people whom they subdued. Nor must the third element in the Etruscan population be omitted from the discussion. As said above, the UMBRIANS for a long period included Etruria within their dominions. The ruling class was thus Umbrian in character, and gradually influenced the whole body of the people, especially in the northern districts of the territory. It should not be forgotten, however, that all of the movements here described occurred at a period long anterior to the beginnings of authentic history.

After the invading Tyrseni, or Etruscans, had once permanently established their authority in the country the state rapidly rose to influence and power. Before the period of Roman dominion the fame of Etruria widely extended both by land and sea. They gave their name to the western ocean, which was thenceforth known as the Tyrrhenian or Tuscan Sea. They extended their authority beyond the Apennines, and carried their settlements into the valley of the Padus as far as the foothills of the Alps. Here, again, we have the unmistakable marks of tradition, for the cities of Etruria proper were twelve in number, and so also were the colonies beyond the Apennines. On the south, also, the Etruscans succeeded in extending their authority as far as the limits of Campania, and on this part of the coast the traditional twelve cities were likewise founded. Of these, it is believed that the principal were Capua, Nola, Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Marcina, all of which are conceded to have had an Etruscan or Pelasgic origin.

At the same time that the territorial limits of Etruria were thus widened the vigor of her people was rapidly gaining the ascendency at sea. The Tyrrhenians became a race of bold and hardy navigators. They fitted out great navies, both for commerce and for war. The people, especially of Southern Etruria, became seafaring in their habits. Having acquired the supremacy in the Western seas, they turned their prows to the East, and competed for the carrying trade of the Ægean islands. They established colonies in Corsica, which afterward fell into the hands of the Carthaginians, and it has even been maintained that some of the most ancient settlements of Sardinia were of Etruscan origin.

The position of the city of Rome, near the northern frontiers of Latium, and but a few miles from the border of Etruria, brought on an early conflict between the two peoples. Romulus himself engaged in war with the Veii, just across the Etruscan line. His own city was, as is well known, made up of a composite and not very select population, part of which was of Tuscan origin. The Cœlian Hill was

appropriated to this class of the people; and it is a part of tradition that the two Tarquins owed a part of their bad fame to the fact that they were Etruscans. The fall of the Veii was the first step—as the defeat, in B. C. 283, of the Etruscans by Fabius Maximus at the Vadimonian Lake was the last—in the work of subjugating Etruria to the Romans.

The next of the ancient Italian peoples requiring our attention were the OSCANS, called by the Greeks the Opicians, or Ausones. Their territory adjoined the country of the Œnotrians on the north, and embraced Campania as its center. The district, however, occupied by the Oscans extended northward into Latium, and eastward across the peninsula. The people were thus a kind of central race in Italy, having the Pelasgic Œnotrians on the south, and the Umbrians and Etruscans on the north. From the Oscan language it is definitely known that the original tribe had a close race-affinity with the Latins. The two tongues, indeed, are but cognate dialects of the same speech—a fact which has led to the remark of Niebuhr that if a single book written in the Oscan language had been preserved we should have little difficulty in deciphering it.

The earliest movement of the Oscans from their original seats appears to have been their spreading into Samnium. To what extent this country was subjugated by them can not be certainly known, but the likelihood is that they became, and continued for a long time, the dominant people of that state. It is believed, moreover, that the Volscians and the Æquians were Oscan tribes, as was also the colony at Reate, which afterward descended from its highland position and became a part of the composite family of Latini.

The first foreign aggression made upon the territory of the Oscans was by the mountain tribe of the SABINES. According to tradition these warlike people descended upon their more quiet neighbors of Samnium, and easily overran the province. They were fewer in number than the people whom they subdued, but easily kept the mastery of the subject district. It is one of the earliest examples of a tribe of conquerors residing among the conquered and acquiring their language and habits. By this union was formed the race of the SAMNITES, destined to bear so important a part in the early history of Rome. It is related, however, that the governing class in ancient Samnium was driven out by the Sabine invasion, and that these expelled people, retiring into Latium, combined with the immigrant LATINI to form that composite body of population known as the Latin race. It should also be remarked that the linguistic changes effected by the conquest of the Oscan Samnites by the Sabines, and the union of the Samnian language with that of the incoming Latini, were slight and unimportant; for all these tribes alike spoke dialects of that Græco-Italic speech which was diffused through all the West as far as the borders of Hispania.

It is proper in this connection to add a few words respecting those strong primitive tribes which inhabited the hill-country lying east of Latium and Samnium. The most important of these mountaineers were the Sabines, or Sabellians. The original seats of this hardy people were in the lofty ranges of the central Apennines. It was from this vantage ground that, as we have just seen, they descended upon and expelled the Oscans of Samnium. The center of Sabine influence was thus carried towards the west. Several of the surrounding nations claimed their descent from the people of the Sabine Hills. Thus did the Piceni, who in historical times held the district of Picenum; as did also the Peligni and the Vestini—the latter, indeed, representing themselves as an original Sabine tribe. It has even been claimed that the more celebrated race of the Frentani, occupying the large and valuable territory on the Adriatic coast, north of the *spur* of Italy, was of a Samnite, and, therefore, of a Sabine, origin. Nor do some ethnographers hesitate to affirm that the Lucanians were the descendants of a Samnite colony, planted within the limits of ancient Œnotria. Thus were the Sabines distributed from the frontiers of Umbria and Etruria on the north to the Gulf of Tarentum and the borders of Bruttium.

That Italian people, however, with whom history is most concerned, were the great race of the LATINS. All the ancient authors are agreed in regarding them as a tribe distinct from the

Volscians and Æquians on the one hand, and from the Etruscans and Sabines on the other. The old writers also agree that the Latini were a mixed people, and not the descendants of a single tribe. Tradition records in what manner the mixture was effected. Father Æneas, prince of Troy, son of Anchises and Venus, fled from the ruins of the city which had just been sacked by Agamemnon and his Greeks, and taking his father, his son, and a company of refugees, escaped into foreign lands. After seven years of wandering the colony came, under the guidance of fate, to the shores of Latium. Here the native tribes—the aborigines, so called by the Latin authors—were ruled by their king, Latinus. With him Æneas, led on by the promise that he should become the founder of a great state and nation, went to war. Latinus was killed, and his subjects incorporated with the immigrant people. To make the union secure, and to win the affections of the conquered tribe, Æneas married Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, thus recognizing the royalty of the native line. The combined people became the Latini. Iulus, son of the great Trojan leader, founded Lavinium. He became king of Alba, and from him were Romulus and Remus descended.

This tradition is further elaborated by Cato and Varro, who make the population already existing in Latium previously to the Trojan immigration to have been itself a mixed race. By these authors it is stated that the aboriginal Pelasgic tribes had been conquered by a race which came down from the Central Apennines. The old people were called the Siculi, and the new were these leading Samnites, who had been driven from their own territories by the Sabines, as already narrated. With the lapse of time a union of the dominant and subject tribes in Latium was effected; and this composite people was in its turn amalgamated with the Trojan colonists to form those Latini who were the principal actors in the drama of early Rome.

It will thus appear that the Latin race was composed of two principal elements, both of an unmistakable Aryan, or Indo-European origin. Of the two peoples that combined to constitute the Latins, the one was allied by race affinity to the Græco-Pelasgic family, and the other with the Oscan or primitive Italic stock; but both were traceable, albeit by different routes, to the same Asiatic source. Whatever may be the value of the various traditions, how far soever from the truth the fictions of the credulous historians and poets of the classical ages may fall from an actual solution of the prehistoric problems of the Roman race, certain it is that this great people had an origin in common with the Greeks and the Celts, the Persians and the Hindus. They were all Aryan and all descended from that vast fountain of human power and enterprise, the old Bactrian homestead of all the Indo-Europic peoples.

The first conquest made by the Latins was that of the Rutuli. These were a prehistoric tribe living in Latium at the time of the Trojan immigration. Their capital town was Ardea, a colony established at a very early period by Pelasgian Argives. It is said by Niebuhr to have been the chief maritime city of Latium in the times preceding the coming of Æneas. The Latins made war upon the Rutuli, and it is not wonderful that the latter, a peaceable people, should have been overcome by the descendants of Eastern warriors. From the first, Æneas and his successors adopted the policy of incorporating the subjugated tribes with the Latins. By this means the process of race-composition was carried on to an extent not often equaled in the beginnings of national history. In a short time there was grouped about Alba Longa a confederation of friendly cities. Finally, the capital town was destroyed and its people removed to Rome. With that event the supremacy previously claimed and exercised by Alba was transferred to the new city on the Tiber. The other Latin cities, however, were slow to recognize the leadership of the ambitious town of Romulus, and made a league to prevent the usurpation. This alliance was supported by the people known as *Prisci Latini*, that is, Ancient Latins—an appellation which may have owed its origin to the fact that those who composed the league supported the old *regime* rather than the assumptions advanced by the early kings of Rome.

For generations not a few the claims of the Latin cities to be independent of the successors of Romulus were maintained with varying success until at last, in B. C. 493, a treaty was concluded between the parties by which an alliance on terms of equality was effected and the conditions of peace determined for a long period of time. From this date the consolidated race was known as ROMAN, but the term Latin has ever been retained as the name of the sonorous and powerful language which was destined to reverberate from the Forum and become the depository of law for all civilized nations.

Such is a brief general sketch of the various races which contributed to populate the Italian peninsula. Under the leadership of Rome the primitive nations were first conquered and then unified. A national type was established. The people became Romans. In the distant states — Calabria, Bruttium, Liguria, Venetia—the provincial character remained; but the distinction between these provincial populations and the Romans of Latium was nothing more than that which has always obtained between the capital district and the outskirts of a great state. It remains to notice briefly the physical, intellectual, and moral qualities exhibited by this race in the days of its grandeur.

The Roman character was one of great strength. Its outlines are strongly marked; the features are unmistakable. The Assyrians have been called the Romans of the East. With equal propriety the Romans may be called the Assyrians of the West. In both races there was the same robustness. In both, vigor predominated over delicacy. Whether in himself or in his work the Roman had an excess of naked brawn. The profile of his activity is striking in every feature. After two thousand years the word *Roman*, as applied to human character and endeavor, is still spelled with *a capital*: the reference is to the *race* rather than to the *idea*. It implies the possession of those coarse, strong qualities of personality which make up in force what they lack in refinement.

The Roman was intensely *practical*. He was a man of business. His heroes were men of business. He looked to results. There was always an end in view—an aim to his endeavor. Ideal pursuits were left to others. He was a man without a reverie. His life was one of gain or loss. Each day told in some way upon the question at issue. It either carried him further from his object or brought him near to the goal. Not that the end sought was always worthy. Not that the struggle was always noble, or the work always done in honor. It was sufficient that the affair should be undertaken with vigor and prosecuted with success. The outcome must justify the beginning. It was business. Take the case of Æneas. How little ideal! How devoid of sentiment! What an abominable lover! Dido's love had no more effect on him than on a man of terra cotta. His business called him away. He must go over to Latium and kill Turnus and build a town! Such was the hero created by the epic muse of the Augustan Age, and the Romans thought him admirable!

The man of the Tiber was little susceptible to impressions. He was a cause rather than an effect. The verb of his daily life was never in the passive. When he said *pœnitet me* there was some good cause, some sudden softening of the season or fatal reverse of fortune. Nature impressed him but little. How seldom are the skies and the stars referred to in the poems of Horace! What has he to say of the birds and the flowers? One can well imagine that when the Apulian bard sings of the flood that carried the fishes into the top of the elm, he would fain have had them for his breakfast.

The Latin literature reflects but faintly the harmonies of nature, the wonders of cloud and sky, the grandeur of the universe. That second sight, which seeing behind the imperfect outlines of natural forms the ideal of the thing more beautiful becomes the creative genius of poetry, was wanting in the Roman bards. They sang of life and manners, of politics and the state, of commerce and of war. But those sentiments which are born of dream and reverie found but a feeble echo on the harp-strings of the bards of Rome.

Prominent among the mental characteristics of the Roman should be mentioned his *reso-*

luteness of purpose. He was capable of pursuing his object with unwavering steadfastness and persistency. It is hardly possible to conceive of two characters more unlike, as it respects continuity of purpose, than those of the Roman and the Greek. The latter was fickle and vacillating. What he could not undertake at once and complete with éclat and enthusiasm, he hesitated to enter upon at all. Like the modern Parisian, he was the victim of all the winds that blew. He shouted in victory, and wailed in defeat. He was capable of the most ecstatic elevation of feeling in one moment, and the most dismal depression of spirits in the next. Not so the Roman. He took the buffetings of fortune with the same unwavering mood with which he received the intelligence of triumph. It was not apathy, not impassiveness, but that iron resolution which enabled him to bear the ills and calamities of life, and to give to those who witnessed his demeanor slight sign of disappointment, and none at all of despair. The history of those long-continued wars by which the Romans became the masters first of Italy and then of the world, is, for the indomitable persistency with which they were renewed and prosecuted until opposition could no longer lift its head, without a parallel in the annals of the world.

To the Roman no defeat was final. He renewed the conflict. Reverses meant no more than delay. The besieged town was only seemingly impregnable. The hostile army had only the appearance of defiance. The foreign nation was invincible only for a season. If one general could not conquer, another could. If one army—one fleet was annihilated, another rose in its stead. Mountains, rivers, the broad expanse of ocean, the trackless waste of desert sand—what though all these interposed between the Roman and his purpose? His resolution grew by the encounter with obstacles. North, south, east, and west, he urged his way against opposition that would have appeared appalling to a less defiant spirit. He came to consider himself the man of destiny. His city and his state had been assured to his ancestors by the gods. The will of the deities was supreme. Fate could not be reversed. The City of the Seven Hills was decreed to be the mistress of the world. Why should a race that knew itself to be the coadjutors of the supernal powers falter in its onward march or quail before the pitiful array of enemies? In the early career of the Roman people there was something of that resolution, born of a belief in destiny, which marked the course of the Mohammedans in the seventh century.

The *ambition* of the Roman reached to the horizon. He hungered for power, and what he desired he strove for. The Roman race was flung upon what was then the western frontier of the world. Civilization, refinement, luxury, these lay to the east. The West was surrounded with barbarism. To create a new world greater than the old, to build the ramparts of an imperishable state, to make that state triumphant over her foes, to conquer great nations, to grind into dust and servitude whatever opposed the onward progress—such was the dream of the man who made his home by the Tiber. The great generals of the Republic fought to make Rome glorious. It was their ambition to spread the renown of the Latin race to the borders of the world, and to ride proudly at the head of the triumph, bringing trains of captives into the Imperial City.

Coupled with this ambition was *vanity.* The Roman people were vain, rather than proud. One may well be astonished at the existence of such a quality in such a race. As a general rule, there was no flattery or adulation which Roman greed was not ready to swallow. The egotism of the average man of the city was as inordinate as it was obtrusive. Hardly one of the great Romans was free from the vice of personal vanity. They were vain of their deeds, vain of their name, vain of their rank, vain of themselves. Cicero was as self-conceited as it is possible to conceive of in one of such ample talents and learning. He considered his own eloquence as something marvelous. He was as much concerned about his periods as about the Catilinarian Conspiracy. Hardly could he address the Senate without referring to his title of Father of his Country. He would keep his countrymen reminded that that august degree had been conferred on him by Cato! The greatness of Julius Cæsar

but half redeems the pages of the *Gallic War* from the charge of inordinate vanity. Even if the book had been written by another, it would appear vainglorious in its praises of the commanding general. The name of Cæsar blazes on every page. In battle, according to his own report, he was both leader and host. *Cæsari omnia uno tempore erant agenda*, says that distinguished author of his own part in the conflict with the Nervii. "Cæsar had every thing to do at once. He had to bring out the standard, to sound the trumpet, to call back some soldiers who had gone too far to the front, to draw up the battle line, to exhort his men, to give the signal for fight." In all this there appeared no immodesty either to the general himself or to his countrymen. How unlike is the narrative to that given by Xenophon of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks!

The Roman was a *man of war*. His ancestor Romulus was begotten by Mars, the Bruiser. Remus, who had in him some of his mother's tenderness, was beaten to death with a club. The fratricide became the founder of the city. Like ancestor, like descendant. From the first there was blood on the escutcheon. It was a famous band of robbers gathered there on the Capitol Hill. They built and fought. They spoiled their neighbors. They took what they could, and then took the remainder. Compunction there was none. To feel remorse was to be a woman. To kill was necessary. The reeking battle-field with its thousands of dead but whetted the appetite for more. War was a business. Peace was tame. The sword was the principal thing.

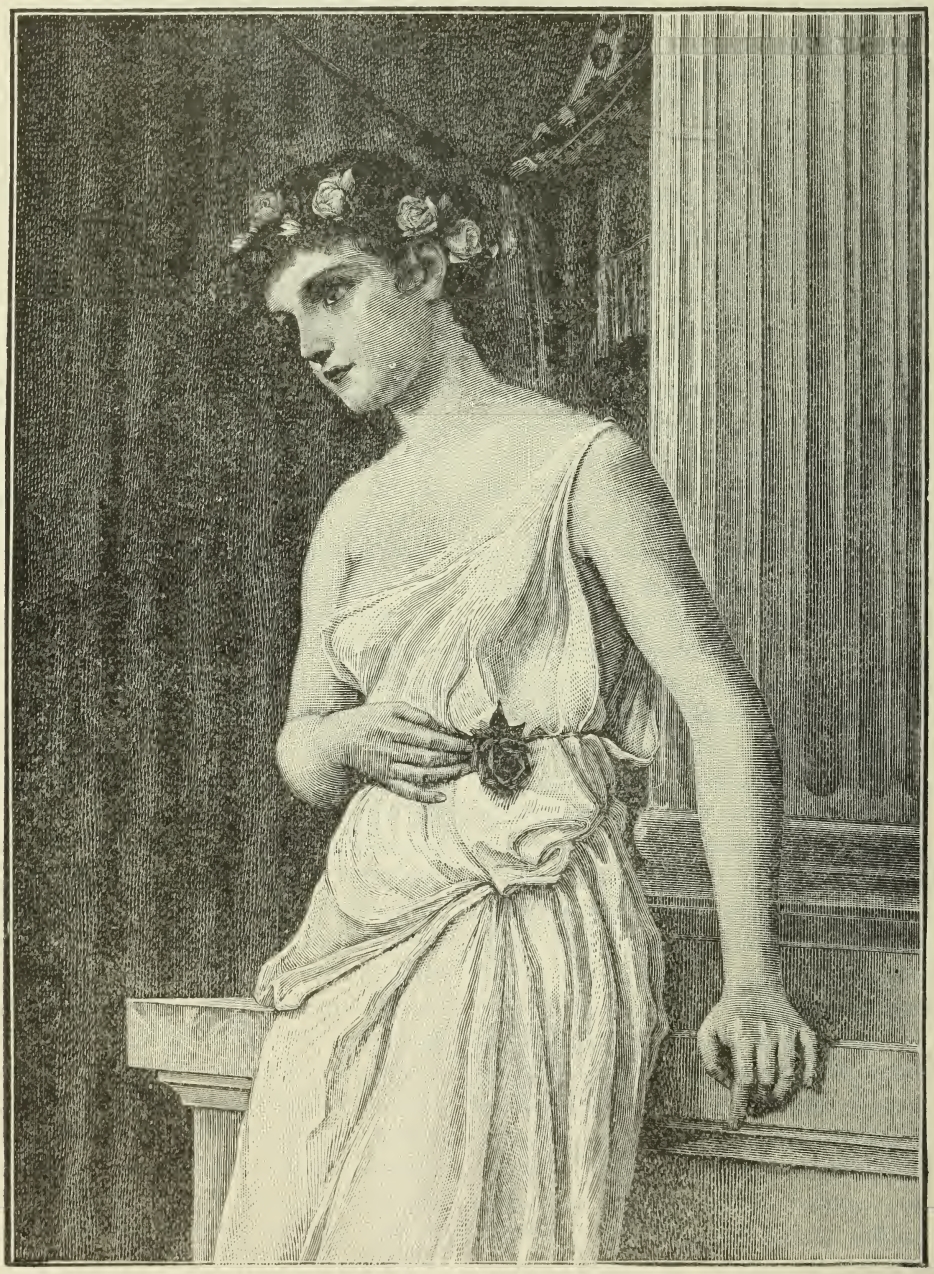
Another quality of the Roman mind, which has proved of great benefit to the world, was its *love of order and unity*. Antiquity was chaotic. Greece reigned by art, not by order. The Greek mind seemed incapable of entertaining a vast and orderly scheme. There was local brilliancy, but the stars swung loose in space and had no center. We see the mighty intelligence of Pericles, of Plato, of Demosthenes, struggling on with little appreciation of a cosmos in human society. Institutions remained isolated. There was much development of the individual, none of the state.

Social order came by evolution. It was in Rome that this great fact first appeared. Alexander may have entertained the concept, but his ambition overleaped itself. He scattered the Greek language and culture. His successors brought back the arts and culture of the East. But society remained chaotic. Indeed, there never was a time when in the most enlightened parts of the world disorder more reigned than in the epoch succeeding the death of Alexander the Great. It was left for the Roman to build on orderly principles the first great state. His lawgivers were not of the type of Solon and Lycurgus. The sages of the Eternal City were a Senate of equals. They were the fathers of society. The Roman law *grew*. It was an objective adaptation of means to ends. Greek legislation was for the greater part ideal. The Lycurgian statutes were wholly, and the Solonian for the greater part, evolved out of the consciousness of their respective authors. With far less intellectual acuteness, the Romans were the better law-makers. Under their enactments society became a body politic. Unity was attained. The fierce broils of the Patricians and the Plebeians did not send their disquieting influences deep enough to disturb the fundamental principles of order in the state. Around this central fact the municipality of Rome became a government, having its functions and adaptations. Around this all Latium, and then all Italy, was centralized. The Roman race attained solidarity. Even the subject nations, while hating the stern power by which they had been subdued, fastened themselves to it, and ultimately came to look upon the great unit as a shield against barbarism.

It was of great advantage to the world that such a political power should exist. The commonplace grandeur of the Roman mind was of precisely the kind and degree to grapple with the problem of government. It rose to the level of politics, but not to the level of philosophy. The epoch had dawned when a good lawyer was more necessary than a great thinker; when stability with liberty was better than chaos with freedom. This necessity was supplied by Rome. She gave the civilization of practicality, of adaptation, of solid construction, which promised durability to civil insti-

tutions and order to society. The government which was thus contrived and the laws which sprang into existence under these conditions had in them the elements of perpetuity; and

In moral qualities the Romans were not unlike the Greeks. A fair consideration, however, of the relative characters of the two races would concede the superiority to the



FLOWER GIRL OF ROME.

although the repose of mankind was postponed to remote ages and distant climes, yet far more than ever before were the conditions of social melioration secured under the auspices of the Roman race.

former. In the earlier times of the Republic, though there was much savage barbarity displayed by her people, yet were the sterling virtues at such a premium as to merit the praise which has been bestowed by succeeding

generations. The craft and subtlety of the Grecian character were generally despised by the early Romans. True it is, that when the interests of the Republic seemed to be imperiled, the reasons which the conscience of Rome discovered for adopting a given course of conduct were frequently of a sort which could not be defended in a court of genuine morality. But the Senate of Rome never openly avowed an immoral principle of action. The conscience of the Republic would deceive itself with casuistry and false precedents; but the thing resolved on, when once the question had been decided, was, thenceforth, defended as both right and expedient. Nor does it appear that the fatal facility with which the Greeks were in the habit of justifying the means by the ends found a frequent lodgment in the Roman mind. Perhaps, the practicality of the people of Latium led them to the conviction that an honorable course in the transaction of affairs was, in the long run, more expedient than that duplicity with which the crafty races of antiquity were in the habit of entangling themselves. At any rate, the moral integrity of the Romans was not often shaken from its pillars.

The international affairs of the states of antiquity were generally transacted by means of embassies. The modern expedients of diplomatic correspondence and of ministers resident had not yet been adopted by the unskillful and suspicious governments of the Old World. It was in the instructions given to embassadors sent abroad that the average national morality was most easily discovered. Here it was that the conflict between interest and jealousy on the one hand, and right principles of action on the other was most hotly waged. The embassies sent out by Rome were generally characterized by integrity and fair dealing. By such bodies an appeal was nearly always made to justice. Nor are instances wanting in which the current interests of the state were apparently sacrificed by the legati and Senate rather than violate the imperfect codes of the times, or run counter to an existing treaty.

The Romans generally kept a compact even with the foe, and during a period of five hundred years, the records of the Republic are stained with fewer acts of treachery than are those of any other ancient nation. True it is that when the consul Posthumius, in the disaster of the Caudine Forks, had made a treaty with the Samnite Pontius, unfavorable to the interests of the state, the Senate refused either to ratify the compact or to put the army again into the power of the enemy, but a justification for this rare procedure was found in the assertion that Posthumius *had no right* to make a disgraceful treaty with the enemy of Rome. As a general rule the Senate kept faith even with the barbarians. Numberless traditions have preserved the records of the moral heroism of the Romans. From Virginius to Regulus, and from Regulus to the mother of the Gracchi, the annals of the imperial city are filled with the stories of the moral heroism of her people.

The private and domestic morality of the Romans was also superior to that of the other



ROMAN MATRON, DRESSED IN STOLA.
Museo Borbonico, Rome.

Aryan nations. The Roman hearth-stone was the sanctuary of the virtues of home. Monogamy was the law of the state. There was a consequent elevation of motherhood, and a

recognition of domestic ties well calculated to preserve the purity of the fountain of society. It appears, too, that the Roman father was less castaway in his domestic habits than almost any other man of antiquity. He was bound to his offspring by true paternal feelings. In his son he recognized the rightful heir to his own place in the state when the same should be vacant, and in his daughter one of the prospective matrons of Rome. In the society of Greece, it was generally the *hetæra* who shared the counsels and confidence of the man of her choice; but in Rome it was the wife who was thus honored and trusted by her lord. It is certain that more examples of sublime motherhood under the sanction of law, and of wifehood under the sanction of affection, can be adduced from the annals of the Roman Republic than from the domestic records of any other ancient people. So long as the names of Lucretia and Cornelia, of Horatia and Portia, remain in the literature of the world, so long will the matrons of Rome continue to be held in honor.[1]

In person the people of the Roman race were strongly discriminated from those of other nations. In stature they were above the average of the races of the East, but were lower than the stalwart tribes of the North. The Roman had neither the symmetry of the Greek nor the heavy muscles of the Assyrian. His bodily form was between these two extremes. In endurance, however, he was, perhaps, the equal, if not the superior, of either. His features were of a type peculiar to itself. The delicacy of the Grecian outline has here given place to strength and severity. Beauty has yielded to impressiveness. National character is written in every line. The mastery of the world was possible only to a man with such a visage. The Greek face was artistic; the Roman, masterful. The one was beautiful; the other, strong. The ideal expression of the one gives place to the stern resolve of the other. Here are the protruding chin, the firm set mouth, the deep furrows in the facial muscles; above all, the tremendous aquiline nose, standing out defiantly against every menace of barbarism; the saturnine brows, heavy with great purposes; the large head, broad between the ears, and mounted on a neck strong enough for one of the gods—a physiognomy never to be mistaken for that of any other than the man of the Imperial City.

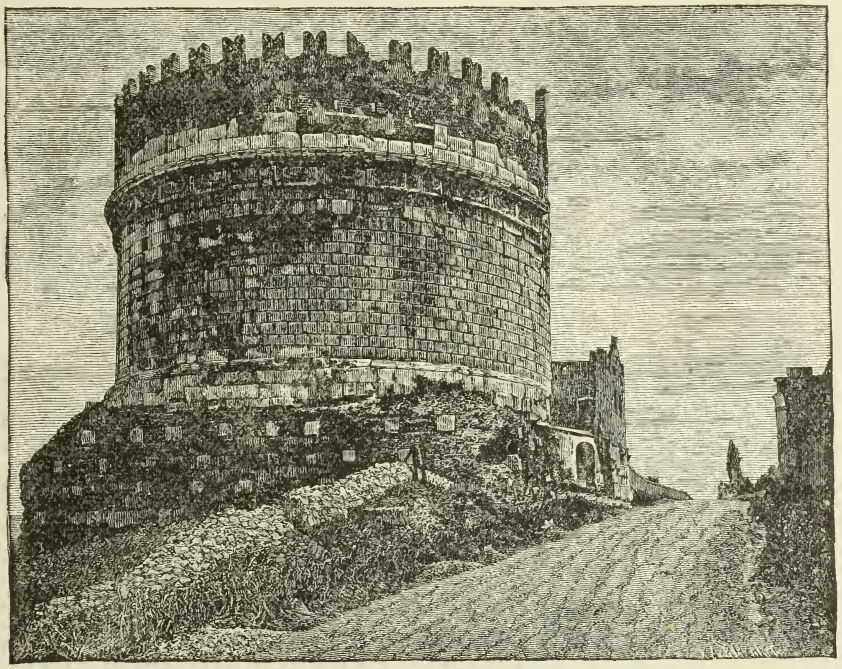
As already said, the Roman stature was not above the average of the Western peoples. It was in strength rather than unwieldy proportions that the soldier of the legion surpassed his contemporary destroyers. Both of these facts—the medium height and great muscular power of the Romans—are fully attested by the size and weight of the weapons carried by the legionaries, as well as by many references in Latin literature. It was only in comparison with the monstrous Gauls and Germans that the bodies of the Romans appeared to be dwarfed to insignificant proportions. In this case the disparity in size was such as to excite the comments if not the ridicule of the Northern giants.[1]

In the display of bodily power and activity the Romans consistently gave themselves to the practical. Rome was massive in every part. Here was achieved a solid grandeur never before equaled except in the valley of the Nile. There was no trifling in the great works undertaken by the Latin race. The building seemed to be for eternity. Take the Appian Way. Observe the spirit in which it was conceived and executed. Stretching down through the whole length of Latium and Cam-

[1] The above sketches of the genius and character of the Romans are purposely drawn from the times preceding the Empire. Although Roman civilization rose with the age of Augustus, and subsequently to a splendor never attained under the Republic, yet the vices of luxury came also, and the heroism of the early Roman character rapidly declined. In the chapter on Manners and Customs, the material will be drawn mostly from the times of the Empire.

[1] It is related by Cæsar in the *Gallic War* that when, on a certain occasion, he had cooped up in a walled town a band of the huge barbarians of Gaul they came out on the ramparts and made game of the Roman veterans. "What," said they, "are you setting up that tower out there for? How can such diminutives as you bring down that engine against the walls?" "For," says Cæsar with evident mortification, "in comparison with the magnitude of the bodies of the Gauls, our own brevity is a thing of contempt."

pania, and by its branches connecting all the states of Southern Italy, behold its breadth, behold its paving-stones! What a thoroughfare! Built, too, by a blind censor, three hundred years before the Christian era! Take the Cloaca Maxima, conceived by Tarquin the Elder no more than a century and a half after the founding of the city. Behold its subterranean arch, thirty feet in height, all hewn stone—not a particle of cement! Neither Egypt nor Babylon can produce the parallel of this great sewer of primitive Rome. After five centuries Agrippa will sail through it in a boat and find not a stone displaced! It was in such works as these that the genius of the Roman architects and masons found its native element. The national sentiment scorned the temporary and perishable. The vast and solid structures which gave to the city the epithet *Eternal* were but the reflex of the mighty innate energies of the race of Romulus.



THE APPIAN WAY.—TOMB OF CÆCILIA METELLA.

CHAPTER LIV.—ARTS AND LEARNING.

WITH the exception of a few modifications in the styles of architecture, the Romans did not create a single new art. They were peculiarly unoriginal. It is in this respect that the strongest contrast may be drawn between them and the Greeks. The latter were ideal and creative; the former, practical, imitative.

In the early days of the Kingdom and the Republic art was disprized. Nothing was further from the nature and disposition of the old Roman than the artistic reverie—the dream which sees the outlines of beauty. The painter and the sculptor would have found poor patronage in the city of Ancus and Tarquin. In the days of Regulus a masterpiece exhibited in the Senate would have won small fame for its author.

It was only when the conquering armies of the Empire brought home to the city the wealth of vanquished nations that a taste for art began to be cultivated in a soil to which the plant was an exotic. With the coming of wealth and splendor the natural taste of the Roman for whatever conduced to magnificence and grandeur led him to become a patron of that for which he felt no spontaneous enthusiasm. With no native genius for production, he hired others to produce for him. With little inner susceptibility to the charms of artistic beauty, he came to admire in a perfunctory way and by the force of fashion the work of foreign genius. In the spoliation of distant cities he sent home shiploads of statues and paintings to adorn the barren halls and palaces of Rome.

Then came the importation of the artist rather than the art. The city of the Tiber began to create for herself, but to create by proxy. The Roman stood by, much as a master would stand by a servant, and watched the inspired fingers of foreign genius while they created for him and his city the forms of light and beauty.

Now it was that the culture of the Greeks diffused itself in Italy. From the central heart of Rome the skill of Hellas was carried into all lands. Greek artists were employed to do for the Romans what they could not do for themselves. It was by means of this foreign genius, working under Roman orders, that the temples, palaces, and villas of the Eternal City were adorned. Thus was created that Græco-Italic culture which prevailed from the closing days of the Republic to the downfall of the Empire.

From a consideration of these facts it will readily appear that the history of Roman art will be meager. It is essentially the history of Greek art in the West. Instead of a regular development from germinal forms to a full artistic efflorescence, we have in the case of the Romans the history of an exotic, already in bloom, transplanted from foreign shores, and cultivated with a certain coarse tenderness by a people who learned to admire what they could not produce. None the less, a few traces of the primitive arts of Italy are found, and of these a sketch may prove of interest.

As early as the planting of the first seeds of progress in Latium the civilized life had already been assured by the people of Etruria. As already said, they had become a seafaring race, and by their contact with the people of Cyprus, Phœnicia, Carthage, Ionia, and Greece had acquired the rudiments of art-culture. It thus happened that many elements were present in the formation of the artistic tastes of the primitive Etruscans. At the first the Phœnician models were most followed; but the superiority of the Grecian styles were soon recognized, then preponderated over the older styles, and became the prevailing type. Nevertheless, the art of the Etruscans fell far short of its model. We are indebted to the opened graves of Etruria for whatever treasures we possess of the æsthetic skill of that ancient people. From the works thus exhumed we are able to form some notion of the painting, sculpture, ornamentation, and decorative ability of the Etruscan artists, and to measure their inferiority rather than their approach to the excellence of the Greeks. The coloring and design of the Etruscan paintings are crude and imperfect. The sculptures, which are for the most part statuettes done in terra cotta, are so defective in form and expression as scarcely to rise above the level of caricature. It appears, moreover, that Etruscan art contained within itself none of the germs of progress. The old types are adhered to with the fond folly of barbarism, and even in the case of those Grecian specimens which are found in Etruria there has been an evident attempt on the part of the artist to conform his work to the rudeness and archaism of Etruscan models.

At the first the Romans had no images of the gods and built no temples. It is believed that the primitive art-culture of the people of the Tiber was introduced from Etruria. The earliest builders of Rome were Etruscans. In so far as art was cultivated at all in the Sabellian and Latin cities it was of the same type as that prevalent in Etruria. It is reported by tradition that Etruscan workmen were employed to build the Cloaca Maxima. An artist of the same race, named Volcanius, is said to have been procured by Tarquin the Elder, to decorate the temple of Jupiter in the capitol.

In the case of the Romans, however, they seem to have discovered that the works of the Greeks surpassed those of the Etruscans. As early as the times of Servius Tullius sculptors from Greece are said to have furnished statues for the Roman temples. About the middle of the fifth century B. C. it became a custom with the Romans to honor the benefactors and great men of the city with statues set up in the public squares and other conspicuous places. For the production of these works Greek artists were exclusively employed. Henceforth it became a fashion to patronize the chisels of Hellas. The noble and wealthy Roman of the later Republic took the Greek sculptor into his employ with the same sentiments which are entertained by the American millionaire in importing a teacher of Italian or a dancing master from Paris. During the century and a half which preceded the establishment of the Empire—after Greece was overrun and spoliated by the armies of Rome—the actual rape of Greek art began. Every Roman general was expected to bring home a cargo of those beautiful works with which Hellas had adorned herself in the days of her glory.

These splendid art treasures were borne along with thousands of other trophies in the barbaric train of the Roman triumph. They were set up with a sort of sensuous gratification in the temples of the gods and the villas of the nobles. The home of the patrician was no longer complete until it was decorated with some of the spoils of the land of beauty. The miserable social and political condition of Greece led to the exile of her artists. They followed their own works to Italy. They took up their abode in the city of the Tiber, and became therein the nucleus of artistic activity. The shelter of the Republic was grateful even to the foreign sculptors who had no longer any country of their own.

By the middle of the second century before the common era the art of Greece had reached its ultimate development in all directions except one. The classical art had generally preferred repose as its subject. Tremendous action was not often chosen as a theme by the Periclean sculptors. Sometimes the rule was varied. The battles of the Centaurs, on the metope of the Parthenon, give evidence of the powers of the school of Phidias, when action rather than repose was the subject of the work. Still it was the calmness and beauty of the single



COLOSSUS AT RHODES.

statue rather than the struggle and agony of a group which generally gained the preference with the artist of the Classic Age.

It was at this epoch that two new schools arose, not indeed to surpass, perhaps not to rival, the artists of the Periclean age, but rather to give a new direction to the genius of the times. These were the schools of Rhodes and Pergamus. In the former city there was a great burst of intellectual activity. Art and science received a new impulse. It was one of the favored seats of the Imperial Republic. Here were produced those two famous masterpieces the *Laöcoön* and the *Farnese Bull*, both

displaying in the highest perfection the possibilities of marble to represent tremendous action. Rhodes became a city of art. Three thousand statues and a hundred colossal figures gave proof of the extraordinary activity of the Rhodian sculptors. One of their works, the Colossus of the Sun-god, standing at the entrance of the harbor, was deemed worthy to be enumerated among the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World.

The school of Pergamus took its rise from the reign of King Attalus I. The works which have been preserved of his times are for the most part single pieces and portions of the memorials erected by him to commemorate his triumph over the Gauls. The subjects chosen are mostly the self-destruction of the Gallic warriors. The figures show almost every possible posture of the suicides, and exhibit remarkable power in portraying the activities of despair and the agonies of death. One of the finest of the works is that of a *Gaul Killing his Wife and Himself.*

Of late years an unusual interest has been awakened by the discoveries made among the ruins of Pergamus by the antiquarians Humann and Conze. A vast number of fragments have been exhumed in a tolerable state of preservation, and sent to the museum of Berlin. From these works a better idea has been attained of the very superior excellence of Pergamenian sculpture. The groups generally represent the combats of the gods with the Giants and Titans. In other pieces sea-monsters and winged demons contend for the mastery. The human figures are larger than life, and are conceived and executed with a spirit and fidelity that would have done credit to the best days of Greek art.

At the same time with this revival and new development of artistic power in the provincial towns of the great Republic there was a renewal of life in the art of Athens. During the century preceding the establishment of the Roman Empire there was great artistic activity in the city of Pericles. Nor were the works produced in this epoch unworthy to rival the best achievements of the classic age. Indeed, until the bringing to London of the masterful work of Phidias, done on the frieze of the Parthenon, the pre-Augustan sculptures were very properly regarded as the finest in the world. It was in this period that the Athenian Apollonius produced that famous colossal *Hercules*, the stump of which is preserved as the torso of the Belvedere, a work in which tremendous muscular power in repose is better displayed than in any other extant piece of sculpture. The *Farnese Hercules* of the Naples gallery, done by the sculptor Glycon, also belongs to this period of Athenian art. Nor should failure be made to mention the *Venus de Medici*, that marvel of beauty and grace, executed by the chisel of Cleomenes, a work which was justly regarded, until the discovery of the *Venus of Melos*, as the paragon of loveliness in the form of woman. To this period likewise belong the *Borghese Boxer*, the *Apollo Belvedere*, the *Diana of Versailles*, and the *Sleeping Ariadne.*[1] It will thus appear that, though the Romans had but little original genius for art, though their appreciation of art was fluffy and superficial, though they patronized the art of others with a patronizing air, yet under their influence the genius of Greece, of Ionia, of Rhodes, continued to bear a fruit not unworthy to be compared with the best products of the best age of classic art.

The conditions of artistic development here

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[1] It is worthy of note that the great works of the Rhodian, Pergamenian, and New Athenian schools are those which have been most celebrated in song and story. Thus in Childe Harold:

"Or, turning to the Vatican, go see
Laöcoön's torture dignifying pain—
A father's love and mortal's agony
With an immortal's patience blending:—Vain
The struggle; vain, against the coiling strain
And gripe, and deepening of the dragon's grasp,
The old man's clench; the long envenomed chain
Rivets the living links,—the enormous asp
Enforces pang on pang, and stifles gasp on gasp.

Or view the Lord of the unerring bow,
The god of Life, and Poesy, and Light—
The Sun in human limbs arrayed, and brow
All radiant from his triumph in the fight;
The shaft hath just been shot—the arrow bright
With an immortal's vengeance; in his eye
And nostril beautiful disdain, and might
And majesty flash their full lightnings by,
Developing in that one glance the Deity."

discussed belong to the closing epoch of the Republic and the dawn of the Empire. After the imperial government was once well established, the spirit of artistic creation became enfeebled. There came an era of imitation. The orders of the Roman nobles were given for the reproduction of the old masterpieces rather than for the creation of original work. The new epoch gave itself, also, to portraiture in stone; and this new style of work was developed with remarkable success. Roman vanity delighted in the display of its own deeds. The emperors, especially after the time of Hadrian, having at their command a limitless treasury and every artistic resource which the world could furnish, conceived the idea of preserving themselves alive with posterity by the representation in marble of the great deeds in which they had participated. They accordingly imposed upon the Greek artists of the city the task of carving in relief upon columns, arches, and porticoes those triumphal representations which are still seen in the existing monuments of Rome. Such memorials are the arches of Titus, Septimus, Severus, and Constantine, and the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. The scenes represented in these vast works may be numbered by hundreds, and the separate figures by thousands.

The reliefs of the columns and arches of Rome constitute her best claim to originality in plastic art. The work is executed in a spirit of realism to which the chisel of Greece had been a stranger. The portraiture is actual—drawn from life. The principle of perspective is introduced. The art of the classic age sought to develop perfectly every figure represented in a given scene. The new method on the contrary admitted an indistinct background, in which the figures were massed and developed only by suggestion. This feature is truly Roman. The realistic spirit gained by the process; the idealistic suffered.

After the times of Marcus Aurelius the dangers and disasters of the Empire were so many and grave that the production of great reliefs were retarded and brought to an end. In the ambition to perpetuate their memories, the emperors sometimes despoiled the works of their predecessors to adorn their own. Constantine himself plundered some of the existing monuments of the city to enrich the arch which bears his name. From this time there is an evident and rapid deterioration in Roman art. The scenes and separate figures are represented with less spirit and less individuality. They assume a conventional type. The portraiture is no longer striking, and the expedient of color is introduced to eke out the defective work of the chisel. Art became handi-work, and the sculptor an artisan.

In the matter of pictorial representation, the Romans have a better claim to originality than in the department of sculpture. There were Roman painters of note as early as B. C. 300. One of the great family of the Fabii, surnamed Pictor, was an artist of distinguished reputation. Some of the temples of the city were adorned by his brush, and several ancient frescoes, executed on an elaborate scale, bear witness to his skill as an artist. His work was done in that Græco-Etruscan style which then prevailed throughout Italy. It appears, moreover, that the painting of early Rome was effected by the direct influences of Greek culture as well as by those which had diffused themselves at second-hand through the Etruscan artists. At a later period this branch of Italian art became altogether Greek, the only traces of a distinctly Roman style being seen in a disposition to select subjects from low life and to treat them in a coarse and half barbaric manner.

After the conquest of Greece and the consequent exile of her artists to the West, a change took place in the styles of painting. The old Greeks did most of their pictorial work on panel. This was the style of Apelles and his predecessors. Fresco painting was less cultivated. Under the Empire, however, the latter became the prevailing type. The style appears to have come into favor just after the time of Alexander. It grew in public esteem until in Rome, at least, fresco painting superseded every other kind of pictorial art. It is to the Western frescoes, rather than to the panel work of the Greeks, that we owe most of our knowledge of what the Athenian artists were able to accomplish with the brush. It is

noticeable that, in these times, there was no distinction between decorative painters and painters of high art. It should be observed, also, that fresco-work has in itself a germ of artistic vice. The distance at which the work is set from the observer tends to the introduction of hasty effects, and the artist is likely to become a mere decorator. In the frescoes of imperial Rome, however, there is much to be praised. The coloring is beautiful and harmonious; the subjects, greatly varied in selection; the invention, rich; the composition, admirable.

It is fortunate for the world, that so much of the decorative art of imperial Rome has been preserved. The fateful Vesuvius, with his protecting ashes and lava, was more considerate of art than of human life. Herculaneum and Pompeii have enriched the modern world with a vast store of treasures, and there is much more to follow. Rome, herself, has preserved not a few specimens of her ancient pictorial art, and other cities of the Empire have contributed of their classic riches to the wealth of modern times.

It is believed that the wall and ceiling decoration, so much cultivated in imperial Rome, began with mere imitations of colored or incrusted marble and building stone. From this rude beginning the principle of design was introduced. The subjects at first selected were mythological, afterward legendary, then historical, finally ideal. All of these stages of development are fully represented, from the Odyssey landscape, found at the Esquiline, to the allegories on the ceilings of Pompeii. It is said that the introduction of landscape painting, upon the inner walls of edifices, may be traced to Ludius, an artist who flourished in the reign of Augustus.

The art so fully illustrated in the recently exhumed cities of Campania was especially free and joyous. The work is true to its original idea, which is that of decoration. The whole is conceived as if to enliven and please the senses, rather than to subdue passion or instruct the judgment. The more serious lessons of history are generally omitted. Fresh landscapes flash out with the brightest of sunshine. Ships with white sails blown full of cheerful breezes stand out to sea. The armor of Mars is not seen suspended on these beautiful walls. This is the wedding-day. The mother decks her daughter for the bridal. The table is spread, and laughing guests sit tête-a-tête, sipping delicate wines or toying with the half-open buds of roses.

In the strongest possible contrast was the doleful art of the catacombs. Here the airy spirit of the Greek, stimulated into additional joyousness under the balmy sky of Campania, gave way suddenly to the seriousness and dolor of the Christian faith. The circumstances of persecution, also, by which the early followers of the new system were driven out of the city and under ground, added to the gloom and moroseness of the pictorial representations drawn on the walls of those subterrene abodes, which were at once the home and the tomb of the primitive disciples. Added to this was a certain stiffness of form and expression, copied from the school of Byzantium, the austere spirit of which better accorded with the solemnity of Christianity than did the hilarious freedom of the Greek.

In the matter of architecture, the Romans displayed greater force and originality than in any other branch of art. It was, however, in the technical part of construction, rather than in the artistic part of building, that the men of Rome revealed their individuality and power. As already said, the first temple of the city was built by Etruscan artists, after a model established in their own country. The ground plan was more nearly square than the elongated parallelogram employed by the Greek architects; the front was an open portico, in which the augurs stood to make their observations of the heavens; the interior, an ample cella, which was the shrine of the deity. This type of structure was maintained until contact with the Greeks introduced many modifications of style. The newer buildings became more oblong, and a general design was copied from the architecture of Hellas; but the two peculiarly Roman features—namely, the capacious cella, and the wide, pillared portico—were retained through the best ages of Roman building.

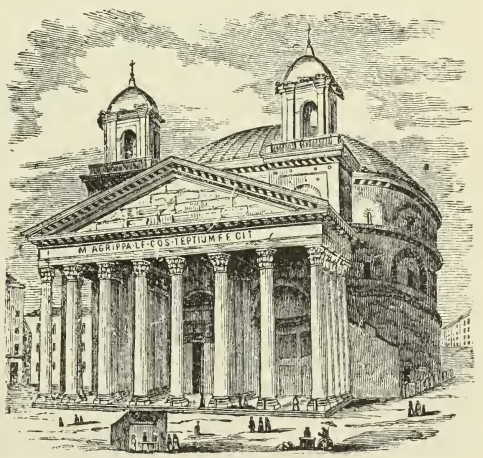
In the columnar part of construction the

architects of Rome at first adopted the Etruscan order, which was itself an imitation of the Doric. The columns were massive, baseless, unadorned, and set at greater distances from one another than in the classical method. Soon, however, this primitive style was abandoned, and the Corinthian column, which on account of its profusion and unchaste luxury of adornment had never been pleasing to the perfect taste of the Greeks, was adopted instead of the Tuscan order. Nor was the Roman content with the Corinthian capital as he found it. He introduced new ornaments between the acanthus leaves, and set Ionic volutes among the foliage at the four corners of the square. This modification, known thenceforth as the Composite capital, became the central fact in the new Roman order, which was adopted in all parts of the Empire.

Another modification, having respect to construction rather than artistic adornment, was the use of the arch or vault, upon which a superstructure might be sprung over wider spaces than by any other expedient. Though the arch was not invented by the Romans, yet its use by them became so much more extensive than in any other nation as to be properly considered peculiar to the architecture of Italy. The earliest example of this valuable extension of the principle of the vault was the Cloaca Maxima, constructed by the Etruscans in the early days of the city. Further modifications of the same valuable architectural expedient were the double or groined vault, and the cupola, or inclosure of a circular space with contracting rings held by a key-stone at the top. At the time when the Republic crumbled, and the imperial *régime* was ushered in, all the new features here described as belonging to the Corintho-Roman system of building had already been established throughout Italy and in many of the provinces.

The success of the Cloaca Maxima and other similar vaulted sewers, by which the city was effectually drained into the Tiber, suggested the construction of those mighty aqueducts through whose huge throats the cool, pure waters of the Sabine Hills were poured into thirsty Rome. No obstacle was permitted to obstruct the progress of these great works. In their building, distance was ignored, rivers bridged, valleys and lowlands spanned with arches sometimes three tiers in height, and mountains tunneled with surprising facility. The great aqueduct of the Anio was at one point lifted one hundred and nine feet in the air, and that of Nemansus, in the south of Gaul, had an elevation of more than two hundred feet. The waters which supplied the imperial city flowed with the force of a torrent, through a vast vaulted chamber, discharging at such an elevation as to supply the highest parts of the city.

The architects of Rome were equally successful in the building of bridges. Where ravines and marshlands lay in the way of a proposed thoroughfare, they were spanned with



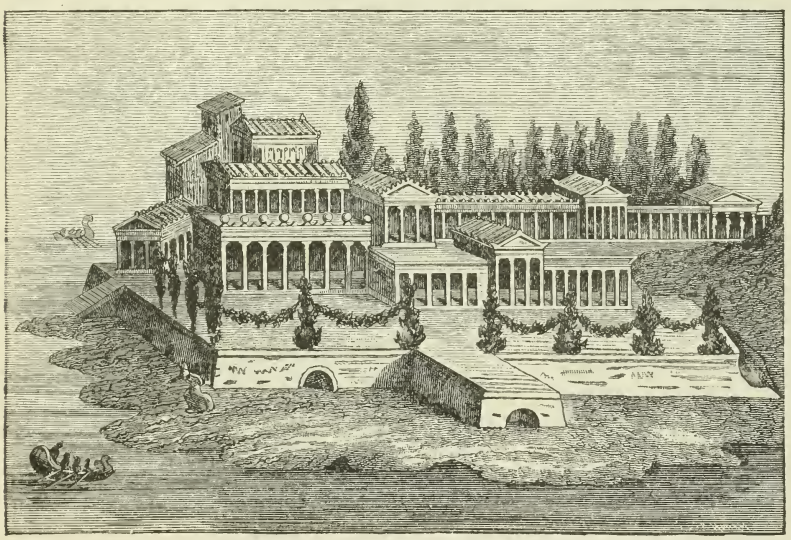
PANTHEON.

tremendous viaducts and road-ways supported on piers and arches. The broadest and swiftest rivers were so bridged as not to obstruct navigation. In many parts of what was once the Roman Empire, imperishable piers and buttresses still stand to attest the skill of those ancient builders who foreran the armies of imperial Rome.

It was, however, in the introduction of the dome that the early Italian architects achieved their greatest distinction. The best example of this magnificent and enduring form of structure is the Pantheon, or temple, of All Gods. It was completed by Marcus Agrippa, the general of Augustus, in the year, B. C. 25. The edifice was in the Roman style, having a portico of columns so arranged as to

divide it into three naves. This impressive part of the building, however, is far surpassed in majesty by the vast cella within. This is the part surmounted by the great dome, which has been the pride and wonder of nineteen centuries. The Pantheon, though it has suffered several restorations and alterations—though the old gods have been expelled from their places to make room for the statues of mediæval saints—is still regarded as the best preserved monument of antiquity.

It was not only in the Imperial City, but throughout all the larger cities and towns of the Empire that the grandeur of Roman architecture was exhibited. Nor should the splendors of the great works of the architects of Rome be judged by the single structures which they produced, but rather by groups of many so placed in juxtaposition as to heighten the effect of all. The plan of the Roman cities was especially favorable for the display of architectural grandeur. No town was complete without a forum. This was generally placed in some of the lower areas so that the edifices, which were grouped about it or crowned the neighboring heights, looked down upon the open space with an aspect peculiarly majestic. Such was the situation of the great Forum of Rome. It extended through a valley, running in a south-easterly direction from the foot of the Capitoline Hill. From this, the observer ascending, by the Via Sacra to the Capitol, had a view of the noblest monuments of the city. On the left, at the foot of the Palatine was the temple of Vesta; then came that of Castor and Pollux; then the Julian Basilica; then the temple of Saturn; then that of Vespasian and Concord, and finally the massive structures which crowned the Capitoline.



ROMAN VILLA (FRESCO).

It was in the construction of this magnificent architecture that the ambition of the Roman emperors, fed no longer with the conquest of a world which had been already subdued, found opportunity for its unexpended energies. Even such coarse and brutal sovereigns as Claudius, Nero, Domitian, and Caracalla engaged eagerly in building, anxious, perhaps, thus to immortalize themselves with posterity. Their example was followed by all the great and noble of Rome. Wealthy citizens vied with each other in the embellishment of their private villas, and in promoting the public improvement of the city. Rome became a mass of marble — forums, theaters, temples, basilicas, aqueducts, and canals—for the like of which for number and magnificence the world could furnish no parallel.

Such was the constitution of Roman political society at the time of which we speak as to subject all private monuments and memorials to the severest treatment. The emperors for the most part perished in some popular fury. The local revolution which sent the dagger to the heart of the sovereign applied the hammer and club with equal passion to all mementos of his reign. His statues were broken to pieces, and every thing which served to recall his hated memory was mercilessly destroyed. The private monuments of Rome thus perished by destruction, while the public

memorials were spared to the merciful barbarians. As soon as a new emperor was installed in his place he began to be flattered by art. His busts and statues were set up in all the public places, not only in Rome but also in the provincial cities. Whatever marble and bronze could effect to glorify his name was done with vainglory and profusion. But these works, as already indicated, were generally visited with the angry hammer of some iconoclast.

It was the fashion of the Empire to honor its public men with statues. The provincial cities frequently voted this honor to their benefactors. The rich owners of private villas generally had busts of themselves and their families set in conspicuous places about their halls. It was common for literary men, actors, charioteers, gladiators, teachers, and, indeed all public characters, to be honored in like manner by their patrons and admirers.[1]

It should be confessed, as it respects this vast profusion of plastic art, that the Romans were moved rather by the spirit of ostentation than by the native impulses of artistic genius. It should also be observed, as in the necessities of the case, that the art of Rome rose not—could not rise—above the excellence of its original. The artists of the Empire could but copy what had already been done in perfection by the Greeks. If the critic should search for true originality among the works of Roman chisels the search would be in vain. Roman art, with the exception already noted in the case of architecture, was in the nature of an imitation, a reproduction, a modification, perhaps, of the art of Hellas. The quantity was vastly in excess of the quality, and the quality was by no means to be despised. It has been said by Marcellinus that in the fourth century of our era, Rome had two populations: one of living men and the other in marble and bronze. The time was already at hand when the living population was no longer able to protect the people in marble from the ferocity of barbarism. With the coming of the Northern hordes the beautiful things of the Imperial City were knocked from their pedestals, broken into fragments, and kicked into dust and oblivion by the infuriated Goths.

The Roman mind was one of *large activities but small imagination.* It had the power to act with unusual energy, but little power to create. Excitement came rather with the expenditure of physical force than with the indulgence of reverie. There was a boundless adaptation to business, but little aptitude for speculative thought. Mental tasks as such were borne impatiently by an intellect which yearned for the freedom of the conflict, the struggle of opposing forces. It is in this constitutional inaptness of the Romans for imaginative flights and subjective speculation that we must seek and find their want of originality in literature as well as in art. It may be truthfully said that, judged by the standard of original invention, Rome produced nothing in the domain of letters. If, however, we content ourselves with that kind of literary work which follows and imitates what has been done by another, we shall find in the Roman stores an exhaustless abundance. It was here again that originality came from the Greeks. They gave to Rome her letters and her models, and no great Roman author ever rose or flourished who had not, as the beginning and source of his achievements, the fathomless fountain of Greek culture.

When civilization began in Latium, the influence of the Hellenes was already diffused through Southern Italy. It was from contact with these Græco-Pelasgic cities of Œnotria that the Romans received their first literary impressions. The force of this association, however, was not sufficient to stimulate the race of Romulus into mental activity. The Alban Fathers were first farmers and then soldiers.

In his intellectual disposition the primitive Roman was a kind of cross between Arcadian and Theban. He had the rusticity of the one combined with the blunt, warlike habits of the other. Centuries elapsed after the founding of the city, and a second and direct contact with Greece was required before the Roman mind emerged sufficiently from its

[1] It is related that in a certain provincial town a boy of thirteen was honored by the municipality with a statue for a prize examination in poetry.

original sluggishness to assume the tasks of letters. During the Kingdom and early days of the Republic, Roman writings were as brief and barren as possible. Written records were limited to official documents, laws and edicts, brief annals of the public officers, and principal events of the year set down in the clumsiest style by the priests. Such writings were painted on tablets or engraved on stone or bronze, to be preserved as the records of the state.

After the conquest of the Greek cities of Southern Italy and the consequent enlargement of the grandeur of Rome, she swept within her arms and brought home to the Tiber the rudiments of that culture of which she had hitherto been ignorant. Meanwhile the patricians grew great and wealthy. Leisure came with luxury, and the business-like fathers found time to think, and a certain inclination towards literature. They studied Greek, and one may well imagine the emotions and struggles of the austere, half-barbaric mind of the primitive patrician as he pored like an aged boy over the wonders of rudimentary learning. He soon discovered that his own speech was as yet too crude and undeveloped for literary expression. Nor was he long in discerning that the qualities lacking in his own language were abundantly present in the Greek. To speak and to write this copious and beautiful tongue became his ambition. By the close of the first Punic War a taste for Greek letters had become common with all the better class of Romans. Public officers found in this language a vehicle of courteous communication, and to the man of leisure it furnished a theme of profitable entertainment. Under the stimulus thus afforded the first germs of Latin literature made their tardy appearance.

In the beginning, the letters of Rome reached no further than translations of Greek originals. Homer and the comic poets were done into Latin. Historical narrative, in a style altogether superior to the *Fasti*, or annals of the priests, began to be cultivated, at first in Greek, and afterwards in the vernacular.

At this epoch in Roman history, a remarkable struggle occurred between the new culture and the old semi-barbaric element in society. By a large part, perhaps a majority, of the people the foreign tongue and the literature which was embodied in it were looked upon with disfavor and dread. The rude times of the fathers were preferred to the age of innovation and enlightenment. In the good old days—so said the Bourbon sentiment of Rome—there were no poets, no rhetoricians, no philosophers. Rome then flourished and was pure. Now, under the heat of this excitement, she was falling into vice and corruption. At the head of this party stood Cato, the censor, a man who was the embodiment of conservative force and rustic wisdom. During his life he opposed the whole power of his influence to the swelling tides of the new literature—but without avail. The rising sun could not be thrust back through the gates of the morning.

For a season the new literature conformed closely to the models from which it was deduced. In subject-matter and spirit, however, the new works were essentially Latin. A national literary sentiment was thus produced, and the forms of the language were improved and crystallized.

The new tongue of Italy proved itself to be harmonious, sonorous, and expressive. It showed itself to be equally capable in prose and in verse. For a long time, however, the literary men of Rome were those who were most deeply imbued with the culture of the Greeks. Prominent among these was the great family of the Scipios. Their villa became the head-center of the Hellenic literary party. Here the wide circle of friends, dependents, and kinsmen of the celebrated house, among whom were the young Gracchi and many ladies of distinction, were wont to meet to express their admiration for the writers of Greece, and to assimilate their spirit. Many other circles of similar sort were organized in Rome, wherein young and aspiring authors—poets, writers of prose, orators, grammarians—met to improve their style and to converse on literary subjects.

Of the literature of this earliest epoch only a few fragments and meager notices have been preserved. One of the first authors of what may be called the Græco-Roman era—himself

a Hellene — was LIVIUS ANDRONICUS, who flourished in the latter half of the third century B. C. Having acquired a mastery of the Latin language, and being in sympathy with the Roman people, he began to adapt and translate into Saturnian verse the comedies and tragedies of the Greeks. In this line of literary work he achieved considerable success, and paved the way for the first native author of repute, who was CNEIUS NÆVIUS, of Campania. The latter, like his predecessor, cultivated dramatic poetry, and to this he added the epic. He asserted his freedom and originality by selecting purely Roman subjects for some of his dramas. One was founded upon the rearing of Romulus and Remus, and another upon the battle of Clastidium. In the way of an epic, he composed a long poem entitled the *Punic War*. In this production he employed the old Saturnian verse, which, having no regular meter, depended wholly for its harmony upon the rise and fall of the tone in which it was chanted.

The father of Roman poetry—that is, of the epic—was QUINTUS ENNIUS, who flourished between B. C. 240 and 169. He was a friend and companion of the Scipios. He was thoroughly educated in Greek, and imbued with the spirit of the new culture. He had much of the true genius of a poet, and by his mastery of the Latin tongue, contributed much to improve and perfect its poetical elements. His greatest work was an epic on *Rome*, the first part of which was written in the Saturnian verse, while in the book on the *Punic War* Latin hexameters were for the first time successfully employed.

After Ennius came his nephew, the tragic poet PACUVIUS, who from being a successful painter became a more successful man of letters. His chief work consisted in translations of Greek dramas, in which his office of interpreter was supplemented with no small store of original genius. The excellence of his works did much to disseminate a taste for dramatic literature among the Romans, as well as to establish his own fame an as author. Like him was his younger friend, LUCIUS ATTIUS, who flourished from B. C. 160 to 87. By these dates he was carried forward into the next period of Roman literature; but in spirit and character his works belong to the epoch of Ennius and Pacuvius.

Though the works produced by the authors just enumerated long continued to be read and admired by the Roman people, it does not appear that they were the source of any genuine enthusiasm. The Latin race, indeed, had little of the tragic sentiment. The heroic passions and emotions, which so agitated the Greek nature that it swayed to and fro as a stalk shaken by the winds, were wanting in the Romans, who for the most part regarded life as an affair of business. It was only with that class of people who, like the Patricians, had wealth and leisure, and who from a study of Greek literature had acquired a taste for what they did not naturally possess, that the early tragedy was popular. The civic masses took little interest in that with which they felt no sympathy. The tragedy of the Republic remained a work of literature—in many cases a mere exercise in translation—rather than an active force swaying the hearts and sentiments of the people. It is believed that the tragedies attributed to SENECA were produced as rhetorical school dramas rather than with a view to stage representation.

While it is true, however, that the early Romans had little taste for tragic passion, their aptitude for comedy was of the highest order. They possessed in an unusual degree the gifts of satirical humor, and the people of the streets were peculiarly delighted with burlesque and buffoonery. It appears that, even before the direct influences of Greek culture were felt in Central Italy, a certain taste for farcical representations had sprung up among the people; so that the introduction of comedy chimed in with sentiments already attuned to Thalia's sports. From very early times the rustic populace of Latium had been accustomed, at village festivals and gatherings of the vintage, to improvise in an inartistic way comic representations of those aspects of life with which they were familiar. From this a quaint form of comedy grew up, in which such characters as the soothsayer, tax-gatherer, and doctor were introduced and made ridiculous for the amusement of the crowd.

Such was the condition of culture when the Greek comedy was introduced at Rome. Nævius adapted the works of Aristophanes to those conditions of society in the city which seemed to merit chastisement. The Aristophanic muse, however, was too bitter for the vanity of Rome, and the audacious dramatist had to save himself by flight. The satire was more than could be borne by those who had provoked it. After this episode the comic style divided into two: the one known as *comedia palliata*, which kept closely to the Greek models; and the other, *comedia togata*, or distinctly Roman type of comic representation.

The two great poets who headed the respective schools were MACCIUS PLAUTUS and PUBLIUS TERENTIUS. Of the works of these great authors several have been preserved to modern times. According to the judgment of Varro, no fewer than twenty, out of the one hundred and thirty comedies attributed to Plautus, may be regarded as genuine; while of the works of Terence six pieces are still extant.

Plautus was preëminently a man of the people. Without fortune or rank, he appeared at Rome as a sort of adventurer, but was received with enthusiasm by the common people. The style which he adopted in the pieces which were offered to the ædiles was popular even to the verge of vulgarity. His crude speech and careless versification, no less than his characters, caught up as they were from the common walks of life, all combined to make him the idol of the Roman populace, who roared and shouted over a man who was one of themselves and delighted in it.

At the head of the classical school of comedy was Terence. He was born at Carthage, but was brought to Rome in his youth and sold as a slave. Carefully educated by his master, the senator Lucan, he so distinguished himself by his brilliant talents as to win the esteem of the literary club of the Scipios, by whom he was received as an equal. He rapidly rose in esteem until he came to be regarded by the critical and learned as the finest poet of the Republic. He was not, however, like Plautus, followed with the applause of the multitude; for he adhered to his Greek models, and wrote above the heads of the plebs. The poet is said to have felt keenly this disparagement of his genius. He left Rome, and perished at sea.

With the ushering in of the last century of the Republic, we come to Roman literature in prose. After Plautus and Terence there is not so much seen of dramatic and epic poetry. Not that the stage was abandoned, but dramas ceased to be produced in that abundance which had characterized the preceding century. The muse retreated into the broader and freer fields of prose. Even in the literary clubs of the Scipios and the Gracchi poetry was no longer regarded as the beginning and end of literary culture. It was seen that prose also might be raised to the rank of a classic. Still in the later years of the Republic there were two poets who, though without the full freedom of genius, wrote in a style so careful and scholarly as to entitle them to fame. These were LUCRETIUS and LUCILIUS. The latter, who was the elder of the two, flourished from B. C. 148 to 103. He may, with some hesitation, be called the father of Latin satire. His poems extended to thirty books, and of these works above eight hundred fragments have been preserved. Some of these extend to only a single line, and the longest contains no more than thirteen verses. The themes are life and manners. Lucretius lived from B. C. 95 to 50. He was an epicurean, and sought by means of didactic poetry to disseminate the doctrines of his system. His great poem, entitled *On the Nature of Things*, is in this vein; and though the subject is as unpoetical as can well be conceived, yet the tone is lofty and calm, and the versification of the highest order of merit.

Thus far the Latin language had produced but a single important work in prose—the *Origines* of the ELDER CATO. This work was historical and biographical. In it the author produced a sketch of the history of his country from the founding of the city, and to this appended a summary of his own times and life. The work is lost, and the fact is to be much regretted; for it will be remembered that Cato was one of the strongest opponents of Greek culture in Rome, and it would have been instructive to hear him plead his cause.

A greater than he was POLYBIUS. Born a Greek, he was essentially Latin both in his subject and treatment. His works—most of which have perished—were in the nature of historical and biographical sketches, covering the earlier history of Rome, as well as his own times. He was himself a participant in many of the scenes which he describes, having been present with Scipio at the destruction of Carthage. It was at this epoch that the custom was introduced by the Roman generals of writing military sketches of their campaigns. Perhaps all of the leading men of the times, with the exception of Marius, adopted this habit, and it is to be regretted that their works have not been preserved.

The oldest complete historical work in Latin literature which has survived to our times is CÆSAR'S *Commentaries on the Gallic War*—a book which is, perhaps, the best of its kind extant. The story of its composition is well known. The work was doubtless written in the camp amid the very scenes which it describes. For perspicuity, vigor, and conciseness—no less than for the vainglory which glimmers on every page—the work is without a parallel. It is the record of events considered as they were, dashed down by a man of affairs who saw the world objectively, and dealt only with tangible results.

Unlike Cæsar, SALLUST was a professional historian. He consciously undertook the formal narrative of parts, at least, of his country's career. This great author was a Sabine by birth. He rose to distinction, became prætor of Numidia, amassed a fortune, and afterwards lived in leisure. Of his works, besides a few fragments, we have only remaining the *Catiline* and *Jugurthine War*. In terseness of diction, just discrimination of character, and harmony of arrangement, these two treatises, though more brief than posterity could have wished, have ever been regarded as models of historical composition.

It was one of the peculiarities of Latin literary development that oratory—if indeed oratory may be called a branch of literature—foreran the writing of history. The genius of the Republic fostered the art of public speech. In this field MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO, who flourished from B. C. 106 to 43, was without a peer, without a rival. He was the founder of written address. Carefully educated, first at Rome and afterwards in the Greek schools at Rhodes, he early in life became a master in scholastic attainments. At his epoch there was still great danger that the vulgar language of the common people of Rome would triumph over the classical Latin, which, under the influence of Greek culture, supported by the powerful patronage of the Scipios, held supremacy in the Senate and among the Patricians. The popular language, however, encroached upon the literary republic and threatened its overthrow. The eloquent HORTENSIUS, speaking the vulgar tongue, thundered it from the Tribune.

Cicero appeared as the opponent of this barbarism. To the diction of the scholar he added a natural copiousness which was never equaled by his own countrymen, if indeed by any orator in the world. He was painstaking, industrious, ambitious. His addresses were carefully prepared. Those that were extemporaneous were afterwards revised and reduced to writing. He rose to influence, not by force of character, not by consistency or originality as a statesman, but as a lawyer and orator. He towered immeasurably above all his contemporaries. He was the founder of that majestic species of composition—the written address. This sort of discourse was most strongly discriminated on the one hand from the fiery and invective style of the great Greeks, and on the other from the harangue which had hitherto constituted the staple of the Senate House. More than any other man of his times—more perhaps than all other men combined—did Cicero contribute by example and precept to raise the Latin language to a standard of classical elegance. His influence triumphed completely over the vulgarizing tendency, and it was no longer doubtful that the scholarly language was to be the speech of the Imperial Republic.

TERENTIUS VARRO was a contemporary of Cicero. A profounder scholar than the great orator—especially in history and antiquities—he devoted himself to historical works and satirical compositions. In literary excellence,

as well as in abundance and variety, his works fall far below the level of the Ciceronian productions. It was the orator rather than the historian who revealed to the people of the Republic the full power and majesty of their language in the broad domain of prose.

Cæsar, Cicero, and Varro were the most distinguished literary men of the closing days of the Republic. To be sure, the first was a warrior and statesman rather than a man of letters; but his claim to authorship is undisputed, and his patronage of literature was such that but for the assassin's steel the world would have been the richer. Had he lived to build up the great library which was one of his favorite schemes, and for the management of which he selected Varro, it is not unlikely that a vast mass of ancient literature now hopelessly lost might have been preserved for the entertainment and instruction of mankind.

As soon as those vast movements were accomplished by which the Imperial *régime* was substituted instead of the Republic the literary pendulum oscillated again to the side of poetry. We have in this fact a phenomenon not often witnessed in the history of literature, a phenomenon, indeed, which never could occur except among a people of predominant practicality and small imagination. The thing referred to is the reversal, in the case of Latin literature, of the usual chronological order in the development of prose and poetry. In nearly all nations the latter has preceded the former. The rule has been that a given language is first perfected by the poets, and then handed over, not without much timidity and delay, to the purposes of prose. In most nations the earliest prose writers have assumed their tasks in a kind of apologetic way, as if their unmetered method of expressing thought were a kind of sacrilege and prostitution of letters.

Not so, however, in the case of Rome. Here the prose development preceded the poetical. The last century and a half of the Republic witnessed the creation of a prose literature which for its elevation and classicism required no additional finish. As yet poetry had not advanced beyond the archaic stages of development. Up to the age of Cicero no great national poet had arisen to honor his country in song. With the institution of the Empire, however, there came a great change in the literary sentiment of the nation, and poetry became a rage in all classes of society.

The transformation of popular taste was traceable in part to the influence of the schools. In these the study of poetry and the art of verse-making were assiduously cultivated. Nearly every Roman boy of good rank was expected to have some skill as a versifier. This species of culture became quite universal. No doubt poor Nature tried to hide her wounds and dishonor; for she was grievously tramped upon and outraged. Every body had the Muse in common. Augustus in his bath, Tiberius in the German woods, Germanicus on his campaigns, each contributed, as in duty bound, to swell the aggregate of Imperial poetry. Nero wrote verses like a learned pig. As for Caligula and Claudius, they contented themselves with the humbler work of prose.

In the meantime, moreover, oratory fell to a discount. The Empire did not need, did not desire, public speech, as did the Republic. In a country where all of the people have the good or ill fortune to be on one side of the question there can be no oratory. To this extent, therefore, the literary energy went over to the more agreeable, less dangerous, pursuit of the muses.

Perhaps there never was an age more given to literary patronage than that of Augustus. The Emperor himself set the example. Triumphant Rome might now devote herself to song. The sovereign encouraged in all possible ways the production of literary and artistic works. He sought out the most distinguished men of letters, and made them his friends. He furnished them the means of leisure, and rewarded them for their works. As did the master, so did the men. It became a point of honor with wealthy Romans to have authors or artists dependent upon their bounty. More than the rest did Messala and Mæcenas distinguish themselves in this particular. The latter, as the friend and counselor of Augustus, became a kind of literary pontifex for the early Empire. Horace, who had refused the favors of the Emperor, accepted those of Mæcenas, and the two for thirty years remained

in intimate friendship. Vergil succumbed to the blandishments of Augustus, and became wealthy.

Mæcenas was himself a man of letters. At his palace on one of the hills of Rome he was accustomed to entertain the literati of the city, and to converse with them on the themes of their respective works. Here Horace, Vergil, Varius, and many other distinguished lights were wont to shed their combined effulgence in the luxurious halls of their patron and friend.

All that such surroundings could contribute to produce poetical development was flung broadcast from the hands of opulence. If poetry could only have been *made* to grow by supplying rich soil and sunshine and rain, then indeed would the Augustan muse have surpassed all others of the ancient world. But poetry is a product of Nature. Culture contributes her part to Nature's gift, but no artificial means can produce the divine afflatus. An imaginative race will have its poets. A people like the Romans will have their rhetoricians. Latin poetry is rhetoric in verse.

Now it was that the imitative rather than creative genius of the Romans displayed itself in full force. Poet-rhetoricians came on by the score. Of these the names belonging to the first class are those of Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Catullus, and Propertius; and of these great lights of Latin literature it is but just to say that not one ever produced a truly original work.

The earliest of the group of authors just named was Catullus. His life belongs to the last years of the Republic. His father was one of Cæsar's friends. The youth was educated in Rome. He acquired a taste for elegiac poetry such as was cultivated by the Alexandrian Greeks, and then became an imitator of that style of verse. An imitator he would doubtless have remained but for the breaking up of the fountains by the onset of love. The fierce god sent him Clodia, or, as he called her, Lesbia, wife of the consul Quintus Metellus. For awhile she reciprocated his passion, and his verse flowed with an inspiration not hitherto known among the Roman bards. By and by Clodia fell away, and his muse turned to a goddess of wormwood.

The style introduced in the elegaics of Catullus found a host of imitators. Every poet felt called upon to have some fair one of whom he was enamored. Such especially was Tibullus, who reigned for a while as prince of erotic verse. He had been born to the inheritance of a Roman knight, but lost his patrimony in the civil wars. After the battle of Actium he lived in retirement, and devoted himself to literature. His poems are characterized by softness, melancholy, and languor; nor does it appear that his muse was insincere in her expression of tenderness and passion.

A contemporary of the last-named poet was Sextus Aurelius Propertius. He, also, was a writer of elegaic verse, and as such is worthy to be classed with those of the first rank. His model among the Greeks was Callimachus, whose manly tone he imitated with much success. Less original and fervid than Tibullus, his poems are the products of a bolder and stronger genius, more worthy of the author and the age.

Far above the authors thus far enumerated stands the great name of Ovid. His career extended from B. C. 66 to 17. While there was much about him that was superficial, and little in his nature that was calculated to stir the profounder depths of feeling, yet his wealth of words and the airy grace and freedom of his verse will ever give him a niche among the greatest poets of Rome. His talents won him an entrance to the court of Augustus. For a while he walked freely among his royal surroundings, but at length fell under the imperial ban, perhaps for his intimacy with Julia, the granddaughter of the emperor; and for this he was banished to Tomi, in Mœsia, where he passed the remainder of his life in wailing out his sorrows. It is not, however, by his *Book of Sorrows* that he is known to posterity. His love poems, especially the *Amatory Art*, and his *Metamorphoses*, constitute his title to fame. The latter work is a production of much power and interest, being a narrative poem in which the whole circuit of mythology is traversed, and the alternate favor and anger of the gods towards man and nature recited in a manner at once interesting and poetic.

Greater than Ovid, however, was Quintus

Horatius Flaccus, known by his English name of Horace. He was the son of a freedman; born at Venusia in B. C. 65; educated at Rome. He participated as a republican in the battle of Philippi, and for this partisanship was deprived of his patrimony. He received a pardon, however, and took up his residence at Rome, where he soon rose to a high rank as a poet. Having gained the friendship of Vergil, he was introduced by him to Mæcenas, and by him to Augustus. The sovereign offered to make him secretary of the Empire, but the honor was declined; nor would the poet accept from Mæcenas other gift than a Sabine farm, which he received in lieu of the one which he had lost in the war. His conduct in this regard presents a manly contrast to that of most of the literary men of the period.

Horace was the most Roman of all the Roman bards. The type is that of a satirical philosopher combined with a witty farmer and worldly-wise man of society. He is essentially Epicurean, believing in enjoyment for its own sake and pleasure as an end. He begins and ends with laughing at the follies of mankind. It is the laughter of a sage. In this spirit are conceived the *Satires*, in which, in a mocking, semi-philosophic tone, he ridicules the absurdity of life. With current manners and customs he makes sad havoc, though the bitterness of his invective is not as great as the wit is pungent. The *Epistles*, which are mostly effusions addressed to his friends, are conceived in the same spirit. In these there is combined the vast experience of a man of the world, matured by discipline and observation, with such an abundance of playful humor and caustic satire as can hardly be paralleled in literature. In his *Odes* he touches lighter themes in a more friendly spirit. Now he sings the praises of his friends—the honor of Mæcenas, the greatness of Augustus, his own anticipation of fame. Considered as literary productions—that is, poems—they are the truest and most perfect in the whole circle of Roman letters.

Of another sort is the illustrious Vergil. He it was who was destined to create the Roman epic. He was born near Mantua, in the year B. C. 70, and died at Brundusium, on his way home from a voyage to Greece, in the year 19. He was more a provincial than any of his great contemporaries; but his genial spirit and brilliant talents won for him the esteem of the Imperial City, and made him the most popular of all the Roman poets. Nor did his delicate health and tender constitution lessen the disposition of the people to make him their favorite bard.

Vergil began his poetical work in the style of Theocritus. His first great production was the *Eclogues*, in which he introduced to his countrymen a style of composition which had for them all the charms of novelty. The new style was that of the idyl or pastoral poem, in which the surroundings, manners, and sentiments of the country folk are sung in a tone of simple gayety. Then followed the four books of *Georgics*, full of the hum of agriculture, the growing of trees, the bleating of lambkins, the lowing of cattle, and the buzzing of bees. These poems are essentially didactic, intended to enlighten and instruct the understanding of the Romans as well as to improve their sentiments.

By the composition and publication of these works Vergil achieved an enviable fame; but his genius, not content with present achievement, soared still higher and sought in the creation of a great epic to find food for its hunger. The poet selected for his theme the prehistoric story of Rome. The flight of Æneas from the flames of Troy, bearing with him the Penates of the ruined city, and seeking, under the guidance of prophecy, the distant shore whereon he should build the city and restore the institutions of his race—furnished the heroic subject of his song—the *Æneis*, justly reckoned the greatest monument of the genius of Rome. In the conduct of his theme Vergil showed consummate skill. The intrinsic interest of the ancient story is maintained, and at the same time the episodes and allusions are so managed as to become a tribute to the existing order of Roman society. The descent of the Julian line is traced to Æneas. The whole tendency of the poem is such as to flatter the vanity and inspire the patriotism of the Latin race. Gods and men alike are made to bend to the interests and hopes of the ex-

iled tribe springing into greatness from its planting by the Tiber.

Of the prose writers of the Age of Augustus only one is able to compare in merit and rank with the great poets who have just been mentioned—Titus Livius, the historian. The rest like Asinius Pollio, Agrippa, and Augustus himself were writers of memoirs—sketches and incidents of the age of which themselves had been a part. These fugitive histories of the early days of the Empire have perished, and posterity is thus unable to judge of their merits. With Livy the case is different. He was born at Padua, in B. C. 59, and lived to the year 17 of our era. He was intimately associated with the Emperor. Living in leisure at Rome, he undertook the history of the city from its legendary foundation to the current epoch. The work was of vast proportions, consisting of one hundred and forty books, of which only thirty-five have been preserved. The narrative was brought down to the death of Drusus in the year B. C. 9, and is conducted with a skill and fidelity which have rarely been surpassed among historical writings. Whether viewed as a history or considered in the light of a literary composition, the works of Livy have truthfully been said to mark the culmination of Latin prose.

After the Age of Augustus the writings of the Roman authors have less merit and more rhetoric. Such was the constitution of society that freedom of speech could not exist. Every bold thought fledging itself in the Roman mind was stricken dead before taking to flight. For eulogy there was abundant opportunity. The emperor must be well praised. The open ear of existing prejudice must be filled with flattery. The panegyrist became the principal person. The Younger Pliny used his great talents to immortalize Trajan. All literary compositions were infected with a declamatory spirit. Every thing was conceived and executed as if to be given as a recitation. The age was one of the multiplication of books. The dealers in the shops kept a retinue of scribes; but the author, generally anxious for immediate success, was eager to have his productions read in public. It became customary with the vainglorious literati of the city to hire halls, gather their friends, employ a claque, and thus to give their new-born production a manufactured fame. The effect of all this is seen in the artificial and declamatory character of the works which proceeded from the post-Augustan age. Of such sort are the ten extant tragedies and the so-called epics of Lucan and Silius.[1]

With this decline in the quality of literary work, the high estimation in which authors were held ceased to exist. Patrons of art and poetry disappeared. Nero was jealous of the fame of literary men, desiring himself to be considered as a great poet. Martial, the Spanish epigrammatist, lived a life of miserable dependence at the court of Domitian until, sent home to Spain by the kindness of the Younger Pliny, his sweetness turned to vitriol.

In the midst of such bad surroundings, the sincere spirit of Persius sought expression in satire. Himself a stoic, he witnessed with disgust and bitterness the vices of the age. Greater than he, and bolder, was Juvenal, in whom the Latin satire reached its culmination. Such was the condition of society in the era following the reign of Domitian as to merit and provoke the keenest invective. The smothered voice of the times found expression in the verse of Juvenal. He lashes the life and manners of Imperial Rome with a scourge of terrible severity; nor does it appear that his indignation against the depraved morality of his times was assumed or insincere.

As a Roman moralist, the philosopher Seneca—he whose alleged tragedies are referred to above—holds the highest rank. His calm spirit taught the lessons of moderation and fortitude. As the teacher of Nero, he deserved a better fate than to see his pupil become an imperial swine, at whose command himself was destined to suffer an ignominious death. Another philosopher of like rank and character was the Elder Pliny, to whom the world is indebted for his great and valuable work on

[1] It is said that the principal aim of the poet Lucan in the production of his epic entitled *Pharsalia* was to furnish a book of speeches and declamations for students of elocution. To such a complexion had come the tragic muse.

natural history. He lost his life during the great eruption of Vesuvius, but his well earned fame could not be smothered under the lava. His nephew, the Younger Pliny, was in some sense his successor in the world of letters. His tastes, however, ran rather in the direction of oratory and poetry than to those scientific pursuits to which the uncle had so assiduously devoted his life.

Greater than any of the group of writers just named was the historian TACITUS. He was a man of public affairs, having been prætor in the year 88, and consul in 97. In the retirement of his old age he composed his valuable works, all of which are either biographical or historical in their subjects. He wrote the life of his father-in-law, Agricola, the successful general of the army in Britain. His next work was the celebrated monograph entitled *Germania*, to which we are so much indebted for our knowledge of the manners and customs of the primitive Germans. Then followed his *Annals* and *Histories*, upon which his reputation as an author is planted on an enduring foundation. Throughout all his works runs a spirit of protest against the corrupt and dangerous tendencies of his age. He writes like one born out of due time, for his tone is that of a Roman of the old school, in whom patriotism and the other heroic virtues still flourished.

While the moralists protested against the inundation of dissoluteness which was ruining society, there were also protestants in literature. Certain men of letters appeared who advocated a return to the classicism and Latinity of the age of Cicero. Prominent among these were the grammarian QUINTILIAN, the EMPEROR HADRIAN, the scholar FRONTO—who was the teacher of MARCUS AURELIUS—and this great sovereign himself, who was as much a philosopher as a ruler. The reforms proposed by the reäctionists extended to the rejection of all post-Augustan literary models, and the substitution therefor of the archaic styles and methods of the age, extending from Ennius to Cicero. It was as though the Metaphysical poets of England had seized a fancy to reïnstitute the style of Chaucer. The attempted reäction was barren of results; but a movement somewhat analogous—by which Greek models were again advanced as the best types of literary composition—was more successful.

At the head of this tendency appeared PLUTARCH and LUCIAN, and the Neo-Platonic philosophers. The first named by his celebrated *Lives* has made a marked impression on the biographical literature of the world, and the second by his *Dialogues* gained the title of Blasphemer; for in them he handled the gods, and indeed all the absurdities of paganism, with merciless severity.

After Tacitus there was little originality or personal force displayed in the Roman world of letters. Except in the rather unliterary department of jurisprudence, there is nothing further to admire. The Empire was now continually agitated by wars. The plant of literature could not flourish in the midst of such disquietude. The world of strife offered to the general great rewards; to the scholar, none. The imperial patronage of letters now rose no higher than petty favors shown to flatterers. Meanwhile the Latin language deteriorated. It ceased to be a classic. Barbarous constructions and provincial vulgarities came in like a flood. The magnificent periods of Cicero were forgotten, and Livy's pictured page remanded to the dust.

With the division of the Roman Empire the culture of the Greeks naturally receded to Constantinople; the West was left to fall to pieces and be trodden under the heel of barbarism. The Christian writers were unable to save—perhaps did not much care to save—the splendors of pagan literature and art. These were associated with the old gods, who were dethroned and banished. The images of the great deities of antiquity were broken in the streets of their own capital, and the literature in which their praises were embalmed was cast into oblivion.

CHAPTER LV.—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

AT the first the ROMANS were farmers. No other ancient people were so strongly attached to the rural life. If the tradition of Æneas and his city-building colony is to be believed, then it is certain that the original country folk of Latium formed the leading element in the new society. Throughout the whole history of the Kingdom, Republic, and Empire the old rustic disposition asserted itself among the Roman people. The most dissolute of the emperors retained the ancient instinctive preference for country residence. Citizens, poets, statesmen, all looked forward with pleasure to an escape from the broils and heat of the city to a cooler, quieter life in some remote spot by the Alban or Sabine Hills. There was thus a strife in the nature of the Roman between the spirits of ambition and repose.

Rome, however, was a municipality. The city government was the heart of the whole system. The ancient campaign was a conquest of towns. The Republic was essentially a municipal state. The Empire was a congeries of cities. This fact tended to give to Roman life an aspect of peculiar publicity. Notwithstanding the strong proclivity of the people for the allurements of the country, the citizenship of the state was borne into the vortex of Rome. It is, therefore, in that vast metropolis that the life—at least the public life—of the people may be studied to the best advantage. There the Roman citizen is seen at his highest, as well as at his lowest, estate.

By day the streets of Rome were a scene of business and excitement; by night, of disorder and dangerous revelry. The absence of any suitable illumination gave to prowlers and marauders a great advantage over the orderly classes of society. Night-watchmen there were in abundance; but the by-ways and alleys were full of lurking-places in which vice and crime hatched their progeny. Frivolous people went much into the streets at night; but the sober classes kept in-doors, both for peace and security.

The city of Rome was greatly disturbed at night by noises. The draught-wagons and carts, which were compelled to leave the corporate limits at daybreak, rolled heavily to and fro; and many kinds of business, such as the bringing in and storage of materials and the carting of the waste products of the city, were conducted exclusively by night. In the daytime, as a rule, vehicles were not permitted. The wealthy were borne on litters as far as the city gates, and there taken up by conveyances. The poor took nature's method on the sidewalks.



ROMAN CITIZEN IN TOGA.
From the Museo Borbinico, Rome.

With the early morning there was a great revival of the better life of Rome. The rule required that school-boys should be at their

places by daybreak. Among the earliest abroad in the streets were the clients, who hurried back and forth in the hope of promoting their interests by early visits. The street-dealers and auctioneers were astir as soon as it was light. The taverns and wine-shops were thrown open, and the goods in the shops exposed for customers. The markets were crowded with noisy people, eager to buy and be gone. So great a confusion presently prevailed as to make further repose impossible, and the Quirites in full toga began to show themselves abroad, proceeding with dignity to the Forum or the halls of justice to hear causes.

As the Republic of Rome assumed imperial proportions, there were estimated to be within the city half a million of idlers. These represented all classes of society—from the Patrician fop to the ragged loafer, from the granddaughter and nieces of the Emperor to the courtesans of poverty. This vast throng hurried from end to end of the city, seeking for something that should amuse or, perhaps, satisfy the unappeasable hunger of the idle. Perhaps no other city of the world has ever presented so vast a throng of profitless humanity—such a sea with its tides and storms.

This great mass of human beings was truly cosmopolitan. Here were met the gray-bearded philosopher of Greece; the florid Teuton with his yellow hair; the African, black as night; the tattooed Celt of Britain; the Gaul from beyond the Alps; the Arab from the desert, and the Asiatic nomad from the steppes of Sarmatia. Through the midst of this human sea there passed at intervals the high-born lords and ladies of Rome, borne on litters by brawny slaves gathered from the ends of the earth.

Nature, in ancient as in modern times, occasionally brought forth monsters. Nor was the curiosity of such miserable beings to be seen, or of others to see them, less in the world that was than in the world that is. It was a common sight in the streets of Rome to witness a crowd of excited people gathered in a circle and craning their necks to catch a glance at some deformity on exhibition—some giant, dwarf, or monster inviting the gaze of the rabble in public.

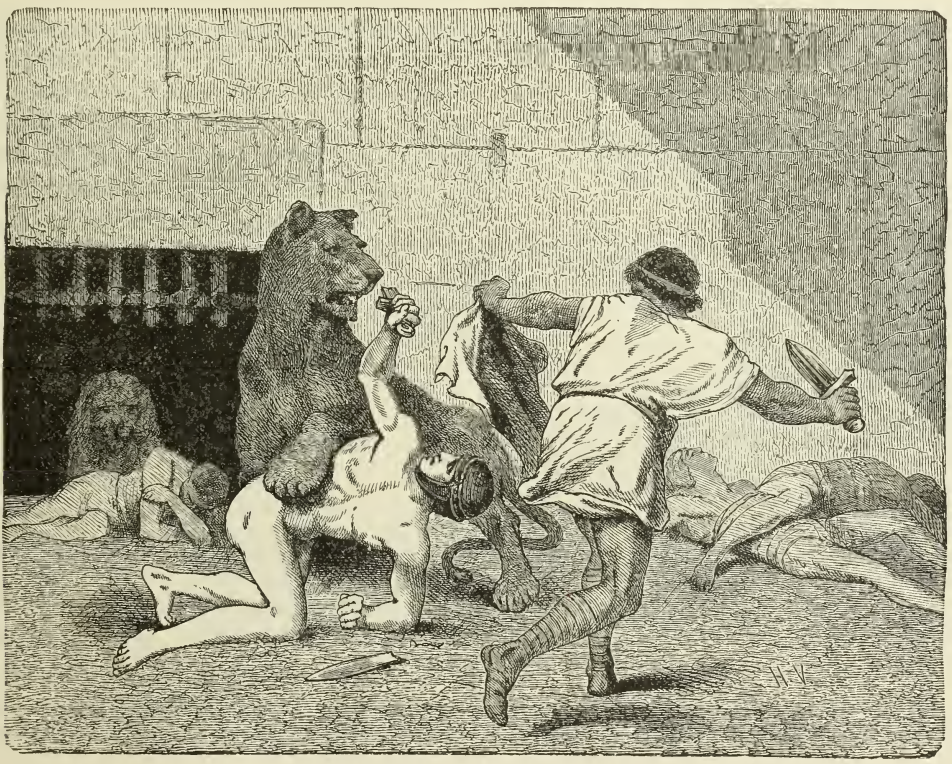
The sentiments of Rome found free expression on the walls. All kinds of preferences, jokes, spites, and purposes were here written, as if to give vent to what might not otherwise be said. In these inscriptions the average candidate for public office saw himself as he was, rather than as he ought to be. On one of the walls of Pompeii we read, "I beg you to make Vettius ædile." It is merely an electioneering speech, preserved by the ashes of Vesuvius. Another notice runs thus: "On the 28th of August there will be a show of wild beasts, and Felix will fight with bears." A certain Cornelius, although about to die of consumption, is advised to go and hang himself! One hungry loafer produces this sentiment: "Who invites me not to his table, him I hold as a barbarian." Even the girls have their little idyl. In one place we find, "Methe loves Christus;" and in another, "Auge loves Amœnius." And the Latin is generally as bad as the sentiment is sweet.

One of the marked aspects of the civilization of the city was the *thermæ*, or baths. Some of these are among the finest works of Roman architecture. The people, even the primitive Latins, were specially fond of bathing. With the coming of wealth and luxury, nature's plan of a naked plunge into the mountain stream gave place to elegant structures for the accommodation and delight of the bather. The baths thus provided were the *frigidarium*, or cold; the *tepidarium*, or tepid; and the *calidarium*, or hot. These were generally taken in succession. After the bather had been raised to a sweating heat, cold water was poured upon him and he then entered the frigidarium.

For the swimmers, great marble basins, supplied by conduits with abundance of pure water, were provided. To these bathing establishments great attention was given by the public authorities. The emperors vied with each other in the erection of sumptuous thermæ. Agrippa sought the favor of the people by the building of fine baths near the Pantheon; while the thermæ of Titus, Caracalla, and Diocletian, even in their present ruined condition, have excited the wonder and admiration of posterity.

The Romans were not slow to discover the

attractions of hot and mineral springs. Whatever nature provided as suggestive of health, recreation, or pleasure, was sought out with avidity and eagerly appropriated. Not only in Italy, but also in the distant provinces natural advantages were improved by the seekers of profit and enjoyment, and made the beginnings of settlements. Until the present day the names of many famous resorts in Switzerland and France attest the Roman origin of the communities in which they are found.



IN THE ARENA.—Drawn by H. Vogel.

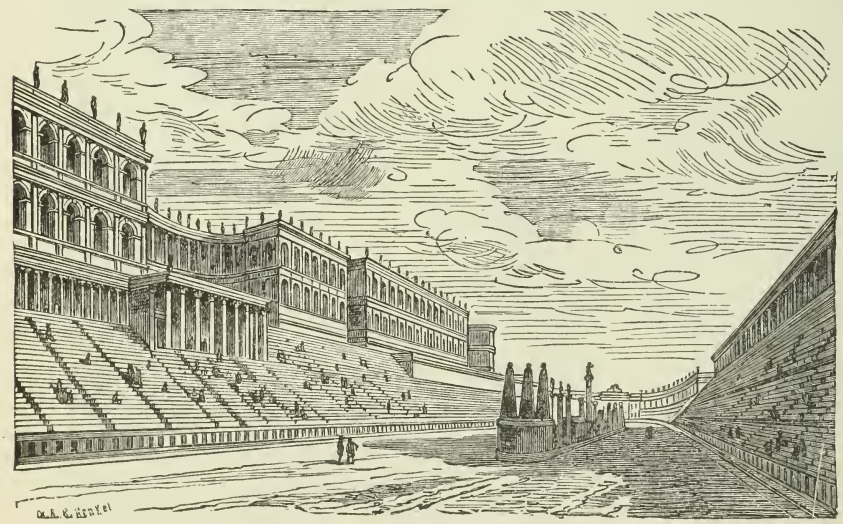
Others, like the once celebrated watering-place of Baiæ, are now a desolation, filled with ruins and poisoned with malaria.

In connection with the thermæ were the wine-houses, in which the bathers regaled themselves with drink. There was about all these establishments an air of luxurious ease, abandonment to the joys of the senses, indifference to serious care and responsibility. The Romans were capable of that sort of relaxation which comes of easy indulgence; and yet out of the very dissipation of the thermæ, in the breast of the half unconscious bather in the calidarium, there still burned the fierce passion for animal excitements and antagonisms.

This disposition found its food in the circus. No other people have ever been so madly fascinated by the spectacular and exciting scenes of the arena. "Bread and the Circus" was the motto of the half million of idlers who thronged the streets of Rome. All classes of people, from the Emperor to the beggar, were under the spell of the play. The appetite grew with what it fed on. The city was filled with circuses. These were built on the grandest scale ever known—vast amphitheaters, whose tremendous spaces could hardly be crowded, even with the overflow of Rome. The games grew in frequency. In the times of Marcus Aurelius a hundred and thirty-five days in the year were set apart for the public exhibitions of the arena. Afterwards the number was increased to a hundred and seventy-five days. On the occasion of the opening of the Coliseum, Titus gave a celebration extending through a hundred consecutive days. Still the Romans demanded more. After the conquest of Dacia,

Trajan regaled the city with a festival of a hundred and twenty-three days' duration. And the rage was not yet satisfied.

Beginning in the times of the Republic with the contests of wild beasts brought home from foreign parts to destroy each other in the arena in the presence of the multitude, the appetite for blood was whetted until it demanded the blood of men. Then came the contest between man and beast. If the man slew the beast, there was a shout; if the beast devoured the man, a shout still louder. Finally, it was the combat of man with man. It was the reign of the gladiators. Foreign captives were trained for the arena. Those who distinguished themselves as swordsmen were welcomed with applause. Then the Roman himself caught the ambition of personal victory over an antagonist. The young nobles of the city eagerly disciplined themselves in the use of the sword and sought admission into the arena. They were received with unbounded favor. The maidens of Rome clapped their hands with enthusiasm and leaned forward to see the death-thrust sent home by some favorite. The emperors themselves grew jealous of the common fame and became gladiators. Nero, Commodus, and Caracalla thought themselves more honored by their victories in the arena than in the field. Commodus boasted that he had slain twelve hundred men for the delectation of Rome!



CIRCUS MAXIMUS, RESTORED.

Besides these bloody contests of the circus-pit the Romans were great patrons of the race and the play. Chariot-racing was a favorite amusement, and the great circuses were arranged especially for such contests. The space was broad enough to accommodate three or four chariots side by side, each with four horses abreast. Less exciting were the common dramatic representations in the theaters. These were, however, numerous and well patronized, especially in the times of the Republic. But the theaters were insignificant in size as compared with the tremendous amphitheaters which were the pride of the city. Of the latter a single one was large enough to contain more people than the combined theaters of Rome. The Coliseum, or Flavian amphitheater, was built to accommodate eighty thousand spectators; the circus built in Cæsar's time one hundred and fifty thousand; the same as enlarged by Titus, two hundred and fifty thousand; and in the fourth century it was estimated that the Maximus would seat three hundred and eighty-five thousand people. This monstrous edifice was constructed in the valley between the Palatine and Aventine hills. In the early times of the Republic this natural depression was used for the exhibition of games. The hillsides were furnished with rude seats of stone, and in the lowest part a wooden scaffold composed the circus proper. From this insignificant beginning grew, in successive centuries, the tremendous structure known as the Maximus, with a capacity far beyond that of any other amphitheater in the world.

In the Roman circus the lowest tiers of seats were the place of honor. Here sat the Emperor, the senatorial order, the great nobles and ladies of Rome. The equestrians were

ranged just above. Then came the throng, rising higher and higher to the far upper arcades, where the black swarm of indiscriminate humanity was massed like a shadow on the horizon. In all the Old World the *People* were seen on the horizon of royalty.

When the time came for the beginning of the scene the performers descended into the arena, and the sport was on. Of the unbloody diversions the most exciting and popular was chariot-racing. These contests were not, like the similar games of Greece, conducted by citizens of the state, ambitious to show what the physical culture of the commonwealth could accomplish, but by hired performers, slaves, freedmen. The sentiments, therefore, of the Romans witnessing their games, were totally different from the patriotic enthusiasm of the Greeks. To the Roman the contest was simply a means of amusement—a scene to stir his heavy and powerful nature with emotions similar to those excited by the pageant of war.

In order that the great chariot races might be successfully conducted rival companies were organized to train both steeds and drivers. In Imperial Rome, under Nero and Caligula, there were four of these associations, known by the different colors of their liveries—white, red, blue, and green. Afterwards the companies were combined into two, the blue and the green; and between these two all Rome was divided in partisanship. After the division of the Empire this rivalry extended to Constantinople, and, as will be hereafter seen, became the source of a dangerous and bloody insurrection.

On the day when a Roman chariot race was to be given the city was early astir and eager for the contest. The exercises began with a religious ceremony and a procession from the Capitol, through the Forum, to the circus. The competing chariots were duly entered. In a full race there were four abreast, each harnessed to two or four horses. Seven times the amphitheater must be circled, and seven times the driver must make the difficult short turn at the post which marked the further extreme of the great ellipse. At the close, when the result was known, the victor drove back to the chalk-line and was greeted with such huzzas as never rent the air of any land but Italy.

The pleasure received by the Roman from these sports was purely objective. He looked on as upon something foreign to himself, a scene full of excitement, but otherwise touching not himself or his people. When the circus proper no longer satisfied, he turned to the arena of blood. Here the struggle of fierce beasts raised for a while his flagging interest. He saw with delight the red gashes in the quivering flesh of living creatures. His sanguinary disposition was thus appeased. Cæsar turned four hundred lions and forty elephants into the arena. Pompey's exhibition embraced eighteen elephants and between five and six hundred lions. After the subjugation of Dacia, Trajan gave a festival of four months' duration, in the course of which eleven thousand wild beasts were brought into the arena. In a single day more animals would be destroyed than could be contributed by all the menageries, and zoölogical gardens in America.[1]

In the combats of the arena the wild beasts were admitted from their dens, which opened out from the inclosed sides of the circle. Sometimes the introduction of the fights was made with startling effects. Perhaps a ship would sail into the arena, and suddenly falling to pieces pour out a vast number of wild animals in a heterogeneous mass. Again a forest would arise as if by magic from the ground, and the beasts would spring forth from among the trees. Perhaps no modern stage is arranged with as great technical skill as was displayed by the Romans in the management of their gigantic arenas.

The gladiatorial shows followed the wild-

[1] The skill of the Romans in the management and training of wild beasts was marvelous. The most ferocious creatures, taken from the wilds of Asia and the interior of Africa, were handled with astonishing ease. They were not only subdued, but trained and *educated*. Mark Antony had a span of lions that drew his chariot through the streets of Rome. Cæsar's elephants, carrying torches, escorted their master home by night. Tigers and lions were tamed until they were only cats of a larger growth. Stags were harnessed to vehicles and made to work as patiently as horses. Elephants were taught to dance, to perform on the tight-rope, and *to write Latin!*

beast combats as a natural sequence. The blood-appetite could no longer be appeased with the slaughter of tigers and lions. The man was a more noble sacrifice. It appears that human combats were first introduced from Etruria and Campania, but in Rome they were exhibited on a scale never equaled before or afterwards. In the celebration given by Cæsar a hundred and twenty pairs of gladiators fought in the arena; but this was a mere foretaste of what was to come. During the reign of Augustus ten thousand of these creatures are said to have been killed for the sport of Rome. The reign of Augustus was therefore one of *peace!* What then shall be said of the reign of Trajan, who in the brief space of four months sent as many gladiators to their death as had perished during the whole time of Augustus? For weeks together there was not a single day, or a single hour of the day, when the combats were not renewed. In pairs or whole companies the swordsmen were turned together, until only some extraordinary incident of the fight could raise the enthusiasm of the human butchers who sat lolling and talking indifferently in the amphitheater. Sometimes, for variety, an exhibition would be given by night, and occasionally there were combats on the water. During the reign of Claudius a sea-fight was exhibited on the Fucine Lake, in which nine thousand victims were made to butcher each other for sport.

The gladiators of Rome were generally prisoners of war. Rome was glad to extract amusement from creatures whom she no longer feared, and they were generally glad to escape from the horrors of dungeons and quarries, and enter the dangerous but free arena where they might win the applause of the whole Roman people, and perhaps obtain their liberty. What remained for the stalwart Dacian or Gaul, swept into Rome in the train of some great triumph, but to fight and kill, and perhaps be free to kill again? These fierce creatures were kept at the public expense, in barracks built for their accommodation, by order of the Emperor. Here they had far more care bestowed on them than was given to the soldiers of the legions. They were fed and trained by connoisseurs who knew how to develop all the capabilities of the human body and to extract from it its highest exertion. When a skillful gladiator received a hurt in the arena, or when he sickened in the barracks, he was at once put under the care of the best physicians, and tender Rome nursed him back to health. How should she spare her adopted son in whom she delighted?

In the fierce fatal combats of the arena the gladiators sometimes fought scientifically, as they had been trained by their masters, and sometimes after the manner of their own country. The rude Briton was turned into the circle in his native war-chariot, and permitted to do his best. In general the fighting was done on foot, and with swords. Frequently the combatants wore armor, but the trained swordsmen of Rome preferred to triumph by strength and dexterity. Sometimes the foreign gladiator appeared on the sand, armed with a trident, a dagger, or even with a net, in which he was expected to entangle and then kill his adversary. The like of this, however, was seen only in the ruder sort of shows, and not in the fashionable butcheries over which the maidens and matrons of the city were expected to clap their hands and shout, *Habet.*[1]

When the bloody sport was about to begin, the gladiators who were to participate were marshaled into the arena and passed in procession before the people. In front of the seat of the Emperor they halted and cried out, *Morituri te salutamus*, "We who are about to die salute you;" and then with the blast of the trumpet the combat began. No such desperate conflicts have ever elsewhere been witnessed in the world. The gladiators were roused to the highest pitch of ferocity; for the stake was life, the forfeit death. Each knew well that to distinguish himself was not only to live, but to acquire fame. He knew that the wild huzza of thousands was ready to answer the dextrous thrust of his sword, and that inevitable death stood just beyond a failure. Such were the rage and determination excited

[1] When a gladiator was wounded in the arena the cry was *Habet*, "He has it;" and then the populace indicated by holding up or turning down their thumbs whether he should or should not be slain.

by these circumstances that the defeated victim sank to the sand without a groan or murmur. So far as the combatants were concerned the tragedy was completed without a sound louder than the plash of blood and the stertorous breath of the dying; but the shout which rose when the victor held aloft his bloody sword might have shaken the sea.[1] Rome was delighted.

When the arena was strewn and heaped with corpses, the attendants came in and dragged them out of sight. The bottom was covered with fresh sand to quench the pools of blood, and the sport went on. Rome was delighted. At midday lunch was served to the thousands, by order of the Emperor. The people who no longer met in the Forum to hear the great orators discourse of liberty, sat in the seats of the amphitheater in sight of the blood-muck of the arena and ate the bread of Cæsar. Rome was delighted. It was in scenes such as these that the public life of the Imperial City displayed itself and sought to be satisfied.

Down to the close of the Empire the games continued to hold their place as the principal enjoyment of the Romans. Christianity protested stoutly against their continuance; but when the protest proved unavailing many adherents of the new faith yielded to what they could not control, and participated in the bloody spectacles. It was not until barbarism had come in like a flood, not until the stern code of the Arab in the East and the sterner conscience of the Teuton in the West began to be factors in that new order of things to which Rome was a stranger, that the fearful atrocities in which the race of Romulus had come to take delight were abolished. In Spain—the only country of Modern Europe in which the spirit of Old Rome is still predominant—the bull-fight yet preserves the horrors without the heroism which were exhibited with pride on the sands of the great circuses by the Tiber.

Turning, then, to the domestic, as distinguished from the public, life of the Romans, we find much which is entitled to our sympathy. The man of the early Republic was the head of a household. He was its priest, and in some sense its king. He had around him a host of sons and daughters. Monogamy was the law of the family. The father must be reverenced and honored. The sons grown to manhood were not released from his authority. The married daughters passed from his control to that of their husbands. The single will of the head of the house was predominant, and might not be treated with neglect or slight. He was known as the *pater familias*, and his authority was absolute within his own domain. In the case of his absence or death the mother, who was called the *matrona*, exercised a good part of his prerogatives. She ordered the household, exacted obedience, conducted the education of the boys. Women of this class were of great influence in Roman society. Many of them were known to fame, and no doubt deserved their exalted reputation as virtuous and patriotic mothers. Such was Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, exhibiting her sons as her jewels, and educating them for the service of the state.

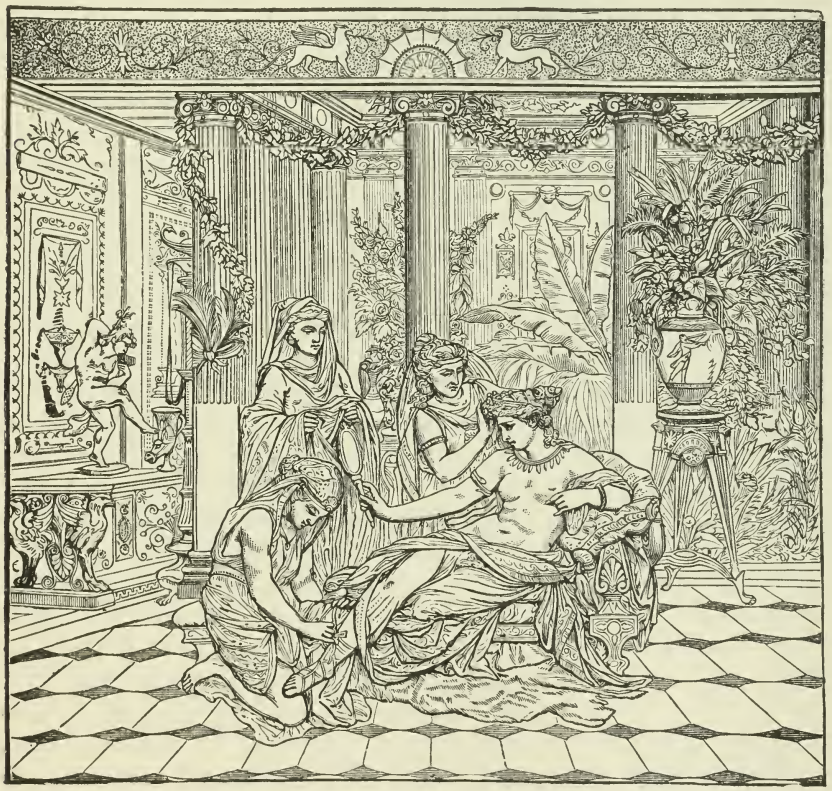
The boys of the better class of Romans were generally trained at home. This duty was performed either by the mother or, as was usually the case, by a pedagogue who was employed for that purpose. For this office a Greek was preferred. At any rate, he must be able to teach Greek, as all youths of the upper class were expected to learn that language, even in preference to their own. In the

[1] Byron's famous stanza on the Dying Gladiator may be appropriately added:

"I see before me the gladiator lie.
He leans upon his hand, his manly brow
Consents to death, but conquers agony;
And his drooped head sinks gradually low—
And through his side the last drops ebbing slow,
From the red gash fall heavy, one by one,
Like the first of a thunder shower; and now
The arena swims around him—he is gone,
Ere ceased the inhuman shout which hailed the wretch who won.

He heard it, but he heeded not—his eyes
Were with his heart, and that was far away;
He recked not of the life he lost nor prize—
But where his rude hut by the Danube lay,
There were his young barbarians all at play;
There was their Dacian mother—he their sire
Butchered to make a Roman holiday!
All this rushed with his blood—shall he expire,
And unavenged? Arise, ye Goths, and glut your ire!"

age of Cicero, when the Hellenic culture was in the highest favor, even the girls were taught that tongue, without the mastery of which no one could claim refinement. The sons of the common people were educated in schools which were private institutions, under the control of masters who were little esteemed for their office or character. There was a strong discrimination drawn between these teachers of the common schools and those philosophers and rhetoricians of the higher rank who taught rather for social and political distinction than for gain. These latter were greatly esteemed, and were diligently sought after by the emperors and Roman nobles, anxious to obtain for themselves and their families the benefits of association and instruction. The common schoolmasters were freedmen or provincials, poorly paid and thoroughly despised. The establishments in which they taught were, like themselves, forlorn. Sometimes no building at all was furnished by the patrons, and the miserable, morose master was obliged to betake himself to the roof of the house or some place in the street, and there enforce with the rod what he could not infuse by intelligence and kindness.



ROMAN LADY AT HER TOILET.
After the Elkington Plaque.

Among the great teachers of Rome—those who held the professional rank—may be mentioned VERRIUS FLACCUS, who as tutor of Augustus's grandchildren dictated his own terms; SENECA, the ill-fated instructor of Nero; QUINTILIAN, who held a like office in the household of Domitian; and APPOLONIUS, the teacher of Marcus Aurelius. So great was the independence of the last-named philosopher that he obliged the young Aurelius to trudge like other boys to his own house to be instructed.

In the school the Roman youth was taught two languages — his own and Greek. When the latter was acquired he must read the classical authors of both tongues. He must learn the poets by heart. He must be able to recite and declaim. He must learn to be an orator, or at any rate an elocutionist, attending carefully to his gestures and the cadence of his periods. Oratory was the only branch of instruction which the state ever took under its patronage. All other departments of learning were allowed to shift for themselves.

Rome was a slaveholding Republic. Like the other ancient states, she had no compunction. Whom she would she took, and whom she took she enslaved. Ancient society without the institution of slavery is quite unthinkable. It was supported by force; that is, by war. The warrior-race must be supported by

a laboring race. The warrior-race must be supplied by the birth of sons and the laboring race by a stream of captives, taken adult. To enslave prisoners seemed natural, and the damnable atrocity of the abstract principle seems never to have shocked the leathern conscience of antiquity.

The Roman *familia* meant the whole group of persons associated with a given household. This included the family proper, the slaves, dependents, and incidental attachés of the master. Sometimes in the case of a grandee of high rank ten thousand persons were thus grouped in a single familia. Such was the house of Orgetorix, mentioned in the first book of Cæsar's *Commentaries*. Over this large aggregation of human beings the authority of the pater familias was absolute. Especially was this true of the slaves. As to them he had and exercised *potestas vitæ necisque*, the power of life and death. The Roman character was such as to make this power one of fearful import. The servile race knew no favors, received no mercy. The master might destroy his slaves with impunity. A runaway was treated as a wild beast. He was pursued, caught, branded, beaten, crucified, any thing according to the caprice and passion of his owner. If he turned upon and killed his master all his fellow slaves, as well as himself, were put to death. He was merely a piece of living property, not indeed so well esteemed as horses and cattle, for the latter were not dangerous to the state.

In the case of masters naturally benevolent—especially if the slaves showed themselves to be capable of fidelity and truth—kindlier relations sometimes existed. It is of record that in certain instances the slave was taken into the confidence of the household and was treated with consideration. Not, however, until the time of Hadrian did the state institute any measures to soften the merciless rigor of the slave-code. Christianity, while not opposing herself to the institution of slavery, did much to relax the jaws of the fierce beast of Roman cruelty. In the communion service of the early church the slave and his master must meet on terms of equality; and there no doubt the poor wretches of the servile class became more respected than in any other situation in which they were placed.

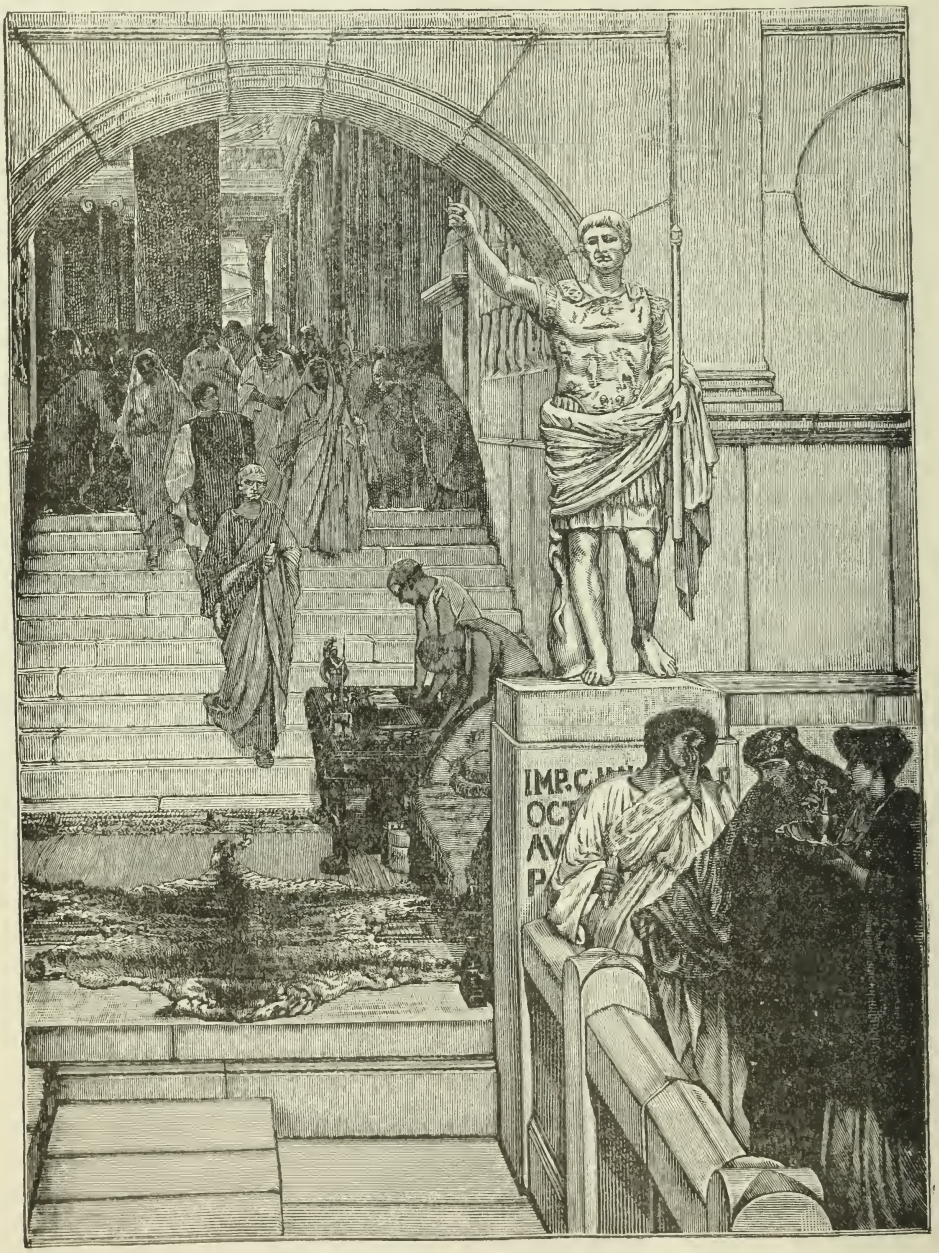
In the old hardy Rome of the early Republic the slaves were not numerous. The ancient Roman, even of the highest rank, was himself a laborer. War, however, brought in his captives, and servile labor was substituted for free. Then the number increased. Under the later Republic many grandees could count their slaves by thousands. City after city and state after state were conquered, and new trains of prisoners were driven into Rome. The slave market was a glut. He who would work a farm or a mine bought as many captives as he would, and paid but a trifle for them. Each master of large property appointed over his slaves a *silentiarius*, or overseer, to whom was delegated the owner's authority. The serviles were divided into groups according to their employment, which ranged all the way from the hard toil of the mine and the quarry to the care of the library and the instruction of the master's children. The physician of the familia was frequently a learned slave, and the Roman noble's secretary was usually chosen from the servile rank—some educated Greek, who knew more than the pater familias and all his household together.

The Roman client was not, strictly speaking, included in the familia. He was originally a dependent of the patrician, to whom he owed certain legal services and from whom he was entitled to protection. At a later period the clients were merged into the plebeian class, and constituted one of the chief elements in that turbulent body of society. The legal relation disappeared, and a personal tie took its place. The clients continued in dependent attachment to the nobles of their choice, and the social code required a careful service.

Every morning the clients came in a swarm to their patron's house to pay their respects and to know his wishes for the day. Perhaps he would go abroad, in which case Roman vanity required that he should be attended by the whole train of his dependents. If he were going into the Forum to deliver an oration, then his clients must be present to support him with applause. They were his backers in all social and political relations, and for service

in this respect they received daily from his bounty an allowance or dole called the *sportula*. This was given at the master's house, and consisted either of a small sum of money or of articles of food or clothing.

When in the morning the swarm of dependents had been sent out of the atrium of the patron's house, there came others who had business to transact or some interest to be promoted. This attended to, the nobleman gave himself to leisure, reading in his library, or dictating to an amanuensis a letter to some friend. Anon, he must himself go forth into the street, perhaps, to the Senate House or the Forum. Once there, as well as on the way, he must attend to courtesy. His supe-



A ROMAN EMPEROR GIVING AN AUDIENCE.
After a Painting by Alma Tadema.

riors must be visited or saluted, and all of those political civilities attended to, upon the observance of which the man of Rome was as much dependent for success as the citizens of modern times. The clients were thus afforded an opportunity to see their great patron as much subordinated to the general order as themselves had been to him. The poet Martial, who had himself been a client for thirty years, found some solace in addressing his patron in the following strain:

"Maximus, yes, I own it with shame, I am hunting a dinner;
But thou huntest elsewhere: both of us here are alike.
If I come early to pay my respects, I find thou hast started
On a like errand elsewhere: here, too, we both are alike.
If I attend thee, walking before my magnificent patron,
Thou dost to others the same: here we again are alike."

He who has read history carefully will have observed how gradually—notwithstanding the great shocks of civil war—the Roman Republic was transformed into the Empire. At the first the court of Augustus was nothing more than the house of the First Consul and greatest senator of Rome. The great atrium was thronged with petitioners and friends who came and went as freely as to the palace of any other noble. The duties of the establishment were performed by freedmen. The Emperor sat, or walked and talked, receiving salutations, giving public audiences, hearing claims preferred, addressing the senators and knights as friends, and in some sense as fellow-citizens.

In the like manner did the Empress as it respected the wives of the distinguished men who thronged her lord's palace. Time, however, brought its changes. The duties of the court grew into offices to be filled by Roman citizens, who anxiously sought such preferment. Formality came in ape-like, and pomp and ceremony took the place of the semi-republican simplicity with which the Imperial *régime* was ushered in.

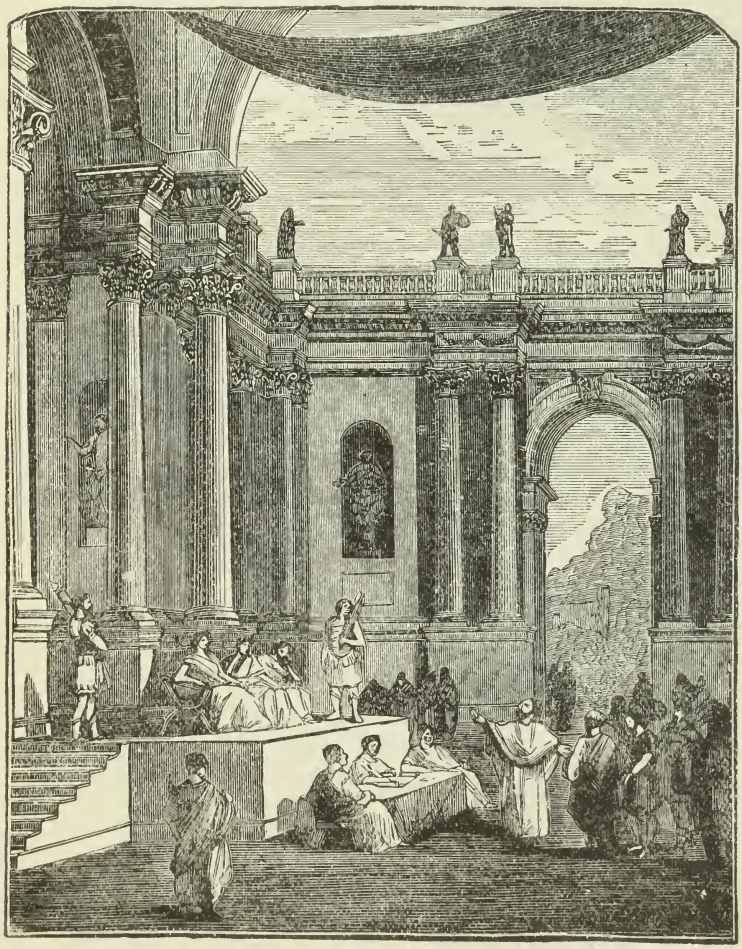
Of course, Roman society had its exactions. It was expected that the citizen and his household should attend to the fashionable demands of the times. The current order must be observed. Calls of friendship must be made and the small flatteries of life delivered *á la mode*. The court of justice, the public lecture, the family festival, the ordinary visit—all these must receive a share of attention, and all the more as Rome grew great and luxurious. There were, perhaps, in the Imperial City as many things to demand, and as many other things to distract, the attention of her people as in any other great community, either ancient or modern. The man of affairs must be always abroad attending to the calls of duty and competing with his fellows in the maintenance of his rank in society and the state.

The daily meals of the Roman were three in number—though the first, or morning repast was hardly worthy to be dignified by the name of meal. At an early hour the members of the family repaired to the board and partook sparingly of bread and salt, fruit, olives, and cheese. There was no attempt at gathering around the table, but each ate as he would. At noonday came the *prandium*, or luncheon, at which were served fish, eggs, shell-fish, and wine; but the principal meal was the dinner, or *cœna*, which was served toward sunset, and sometimes continued into the night. This principal daily feast began with certain appetizing articles like the *entrées* of a modern bill of fare, and then followed two full courses and a dessert.

In the early times the Roman table was spread in the plainest and most frugal manner. The fare was like that of the Spartans. A simple porridge of pulse was the principal article of food. To this, as the people acquired means, were added fruits and vegetables; nor did the Roman commons ever rise to a level of living much more luxurious than that of the primitive republicans. In the upper classes of society, however, there was rapid progress towards the refinements of the table.

From the year B. C. 174, cooks and bakers began to ply their vocation as professionals, and about the same time the foreign wars of the Romans made them acquainted with the gastronomic luxuries of the East. By nature the man of the city was a great eater. A corporation that began with fratricide and ended in barbarism was not likely to lack in stomach.

Especially was the Imperial gastric juice a solvent of tremendous power. From the time of Augustus the tables of the royal *triclinia* or dining-rooms groaned more and more under their load. The world was put under contribution to supply the pampered appetites of the Cæsars. The greatest gormand of them all was Vitellius, who, in order to appease the unappeasable, sent out detachments of hunters into foreign parts to scour untrodden forests for game, and dispatched squadrons to drain the sea if by any means he might be filled.



A ROMAN COURT OF JUSTICE.

To the fish, oysters, and crabs thus supplied were added such delicacies as mussels and snails, which were highly prized by the Roman epicure. It was a custom of the time to bring such creatures to the table *alive*, in order that their freshness might not be suspected. Great care was given to the preparation of poultry. Fowls were fattened in the dark, under the belief that the quality of the flesh was thereby improved. Ducks and geese were stuffed with figs and dates for a like purpose of adding to the flavor.

Almost every extravagance of conceit was practiced in the selection and preparation of food. Caprice would seize upon some bird or beast, perhaps hitherto regarded as unclean, and devote it to the table as a delicacy. The higher life of Rome became bestial to a degree never equaled in the case of a people equally civilized. Several of the Emperors were genuine swine. Their gluttony was hardly redeemed by the slight flavor of epicurean decency which pervaded it. The revenues of kingdoms, backed by the resources of unscrupulous power, were scarcely sufficient to maintain the style of living which was adopted by the later Cæsars. Apicius feasted on the tongues of flamingoes, and Elagabalus on their brains. Peacocks, storks, and cranes, and nearly all the other uneatables were taken with gusto on the Roman table. But the flesh of bird and fowl was by no means enough in strength and flavor to satisfy the animal appetite of him to whom dyspepsia was a stranger and satiety impossible. He must have pig. From the mere pigling of Campania to the wild boar whose frothing jaws had champed for twenty years in the forests of Asia, the swine race was devoured by the race of swine. The royal gluttons could tell by the flavor from what country a given boar had been taken, notwithstanding the more than fifty ways in which he might be dressed.

Of wines, that of Cæcuba, in Campania, was reckoned the best. The vintage of each consulship was marked so that its age might be known. The jars in which it was stored bore a label specifying the quality and the date. The Falerian was regarded as next best after the Campanian. Then came several other varieties claiming the third rank. Foreign war brought foreign wine. The vintage of Greece was highly esteemed, and was nearly always found in the cellars of noblemen.

It is due to say that in the matter of drink the Romans were more temperate than in food. It appears that the gluttonous habit sought fullness rather than intoxication. In this regard the manner of the Greeks was imitated. Before drinking, the Roman weakened his wine with water and cooled it with snow. Sometimes the beverage was a mixture of wine, water, and honey, flavored with spice. In this case the drink was generally warmed, and for the preparation of the same a small furnace for charcoal was kept in every fully furnished house.[1]

The table furniture of the Romans was rich and artistic. Massive vessels of gold and silver stood on side-boards wrought of costly woods. The candelabra and lamps were of silver or bronze, done in graceful designs. The rare woods which were used for the general furniture were tastefully carved and inlaid with ivory or the precious metals. The seats were arranged with soft cushions, on which the guests sat or reclined at their ease. The dining-room, or *triclinium*, was the largest single apartment of the house, and its position and surroundings were chosen in a manner to minister to the convenience and luxury of the family and the great retinue of guests which were frequently called to the noble's board.

In the homes of the commons the dining-hall was, of course, less extensive, its furniture less elaborate. The table of the plebeian was a quadrangular board, on three sides of which were arranged the couches on which the eaters reclined at their meals. The fourth side was left unoccupied, so that the attendants might serve with ease. Such a table was generally of a size to accommodate three guests to each couch, or nine persons in all.

In general, the table manners and ceremony of the Romans were copied from the Greeks—unless, indeed, both grew from the habits of a common ancestry. In one marked particular, however, the two races differed in the conduct of the meal and the banquet. The Greeks excluded their women, while the Romans demanded their presence and conversation. It was, however, the stronger domesticity, rather than a superior refinement, which gave in this respect the favorable distinction to the Western race. Before reclining at the table the Romans garlanded themselves with flowers, a supply of which could always be obtained in the market.

The Romans were more serious than the Greeks, and their conversation at the table was less brilliant. When the city waxed great and luxurious it became customary to enliven the feast with music and many other specialties. Declaimers came into the hall and recited from the orators and poets. Supple dancing-girls from Andalusia displayed their graces of form and posture. The juggler, buffoon, tragedian, and pantomimist each exhibited his skill and received his share of applause. When the banquet chanced to be exclusively for men, there was much equivoke and indecency in the performances given for the amusement of the guests.

In connection with feasts and banquets, there was one kind of caprice which was peculiarly Roman. This was the *surprise*. The eaters at the royal board generally expected to be astonished with some marvel in the arrangements for the occasion. Herein there

[1] As a specimen of what the Roman cuisine was able to afford, the following bill of fare is appended, the same being for a pontifical banquet in the time of Cæsar:

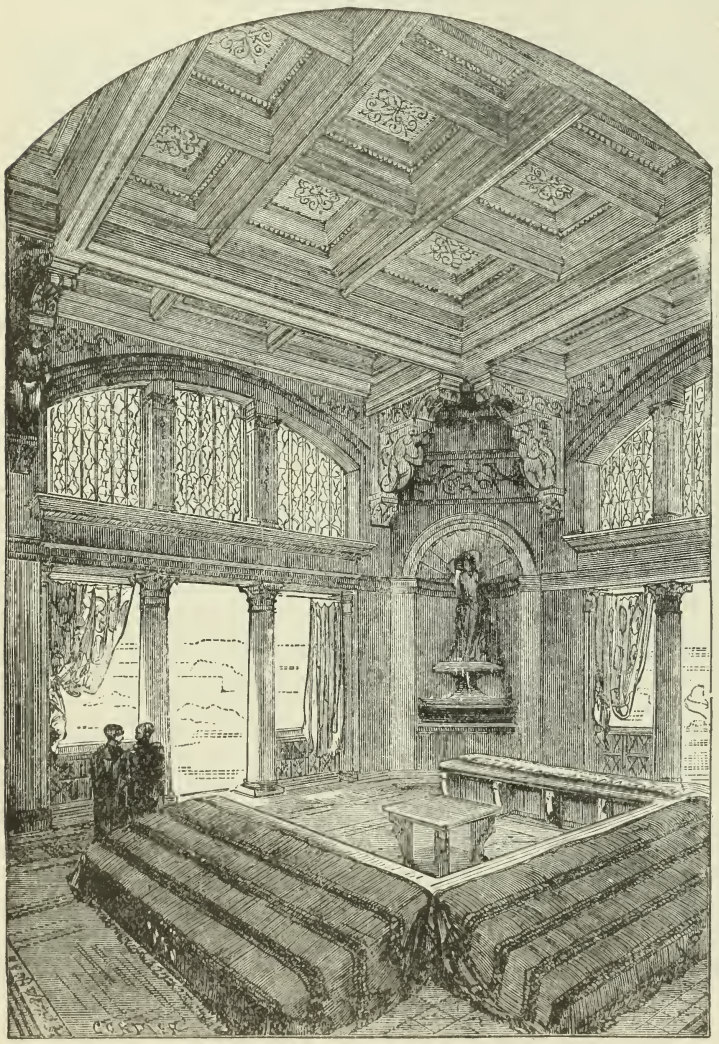
First Course.— Conger-eels, oysters, two kinds of mussels, thrushes on asparagus, fat fowls, a ragout of oysters and other shell-fish, with black and white marrons.

Second Course.— A variety of shell-fish and other marine animals, beccaficos, haunches of venison, a wild boar, a pastry of beccaficos and other birds.

Third Course.— The udders of swine, boar's head, fricassee of fish, fricassee of cow's udder, ducks of various kinds, hares, roast fowls with pastry, and Picentine bread.

This menu was but a foretaste of the coarse but elaborate sumptuousness which prevailed in the Later Empire.

was manifested that same skill which has been remarked as apparent in the construction of the circus and arena. The Roman architects were adepts in the art of producing effects by physical contrivance. The emperors were great patrons of this kind of skill. In the construction of his Golden House, Nero had the vaulted ceiling of the dining-hall so planned as to revolve on an axis, thus producing one sky for day and another for night. Otho's ceiling was so arranged that when the guests were seated gold tubes shot out of the dome, and showered odorous spray on the banqueters. Sometimes petals of flowers were scattered from above in a similar manner.



ROMAN TRICLINIUM OR DINING-HALL.
After Viollet le Duc.

We are indebted to the chatty Petronius for an account of one of Nero's feasts. In the course of the banquet the surprises were constant and incredible in their character. As soon as the guests had reclined, a retinue of Egyptian slaves entered and washed the reveler's hands and feet in snow-water. A great salver was then brought in, in the midst of which stood a bronze ass bearing silver paniers filled with black and white olives. On his back sat old Silenus pouring sauce from a wine-sack. The sausages were set on a gridiron, under which, in imitation of live coals, were heaped plums and red pomegranate kernels. On the edge of the tray were oysters and snails set in a natural way among the vegetables with which they were to be eaten. In the revelation a hen of carved wood was introduced. She sat with outspread wings covering a nestful of peacock's eggs, and these were served to the guests. On being broken, each egg revealed what appeared to be an unhatched chick, but which proved to be a beccafico done in egg-sauce! The dishes of each course were removed to the music of a chant, and one of the attendants was boxed for breaking the rhythm by stopping to pick up a dish. The wine served in the next course was a hundred years old. At one point in the banquet the dishes which were brought in were of the most ordinary pattern and vulgar finish; but these on being lifted proved to be only covers for the real treasures which were concealed beneath them. A fat hare was converted into a pegasus by the addition of wings.

When the carver came he performed his duty to musical accompaniment, keeping per-

fect time. When the great wild boar was brought in, he bore on his tusks two baskets of palm twigs filled with dates. By the side of the huge creature lay eight pigs, done in paste by the confectioner. Further on in the banquet the ceiling opened overhead, and down came a silver hoop, bearing alabaster phials of perfumes, silver coronets, and other keepsakes for the guests. When the banqueters reached forth and took the fruit which a figure of Vertumnus, standing in the midst of the table, carried in his bosom, they were sprinkled with little jets of saffron water. And so caprice followed caprice to the end of the magnificent revel, until curiosity could be no longer excited, and then the gormands who had consumed the treasure of a state retired, each to his place, and slept in the shadow of mighty Rome.

CHAPTER LVI.—RELIGION.

ROME was one of the most religious states of antiquity. From the first to the last of that far-reaching career which extended from the founding of the city to the overthrow of the Western Empire, the same sentiment—albeit in different forms—of obligation to the gods pervaded the people. The notion that man's life might be purified by oblation and sacrifice, that the supernal powers might be appeased and brought into sympathy with mortals by their prayers and offerings, was a belief well-nigh universal. Although the Roman sometimes mocked at the gods, he never mocked at the sentiment of religion. Although his faith had not much to do in controlling the moral conduct of his life, yet his views respecting the deities, and what was due to them in worship, were in the nature of convictions not to be shaken out of his mind.

The religious development of the Roman people was threefold: First, the primitive Latin system; second, the Græco-Italian system, and third, the reformed paganism—the last being the form of faith which was confronted and overthrown by Christianity. It will be appropriate to give some account of each of these systems and of the circumstances of their transformation, one into the other. In the first place, then, we shall consider the system of the primitive Latins, such as it was before contact with Greek culture led to the introduction of a Roman mythology.

Without the brilliant imagination of the Greeks, the early Latins adopted a system of faith consisting of simple forms of belief and a limited development. It was not characterized by that variety and inflection from a given type which marked the religion of the Hellenic race. The gods were not at the first raised to the rank of persons. They were abstractions rather, which Roman thought was able to create but unable to develop. Nevertheless, these gods of the formative stage were sincerely believed in, and were necessary to the existence of the social and political order. So inwoven with the very fabric of society were the fundamental concepts of religion that from the first both public and private affairs were made dependent for their success or failure upon the will of the gods.

Beginning with the religious system of the Latini we find that the first stage of development was that of multiplying the gods. This came to pass under two or three distinct influences. In the first place the early Romans—indeed the Romans of all ages—were tolerant of foreign deities. The people of the primitive Republic were better pleased to import than to invent new gods. In the latter work the race had little facility. It thus came to pass that when the policy of subduing and incorporating the surrounding nations was adopted by Rome, she honored and retained the overthrown gods. Such a course was natural and expedient.

In the second place, the plan and process of multiplying the divinities arose from the

inability or inaptitude of the Roman mind to hold many attributes together in one personality. The multiplicity of nature seemed to require that the abstraction should be broken up into its constituent elements. Each element became a power, making many of one. Of the thirty original gods of Latium there were made such division and increase as to fill earth, air, and sea with a multitude. When all the attributes of what had been an abstract concept had been impersonated then the process continued with the deification of man. In this there appeared to the Roman nothing monstrous or absurd. Altars and temples were in many instances erected to the honor of some emperor *still alive;* and the title of *Augustus* (divine) taken by all the Cæsars after Octavianus, shows that the whole group were contemplated as in a process of apotheosis. In this analytical system of theogony every Roman organization from the state to the debating club had its own deities in whom it delighted. Each family, each individual, selected what to him or it appeared to be a presiding genius to whom prayer was addressed and adoration offered. Thus came Italy to have two populations; the one mortal, the other immortal—and the latter rivaled the former in number.

The Roman home had its household gods, called the *Penates.* They were the guardian deities of the sacred precincts. After these the dearest gods were the *Lares* or Lords. These were the souls of departed ancestors who were still present in the abodes of mortality. They were the spirits of the good fathers. To carry out the antithesis the souls of the bad, the *Lemures* and *Larvæ,* were likewise supposed to revisit the scenes of their former activity, prowling like wicked ghosts about the dens of evil and despair.



SACRIFICING TO THE LARES.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

So all Italy was peopled with gods. Town and country were filled with shrines and temples, where the gods peculiar to each locality received the adoration of the devout. Holy buildings, however, belonged rather to that period of Roman history when Greek culture had fired the popular imagination with what it had been originally unable to create. In the epoch of the later Republic and the early Empire magnificent temples in the best style of Greek architecture rose on every side. In the public squares of Rome shrines and monuments, niches and altars, were seen wherever a place might be found to contain them; and even the gardens and groves were penetrated with the emblems of that religious fervor

which glowed in the heart of great and cruel Rome.

It will not have escaped the attention of the thoughtful reader of Roman history that the powers and prerogatives and distinctions of that great citizenship were all *derived*. They came from the state. The Roman, according to his own theory, was not great in *himself*, but great as a part of Rome. His rank came from Rome. If a patrician, the senate gave him his prerogatives; if a public officer, he was so because of election. That massive abstraction—the Roman government—which by the constitution of the state was able to build the Eternal City, hurl armies with resistless force against the surrounding nations, dominate both sea and land, and conquer the world, gave to each and all their relative distinctions in the great fabric of Rome. How unlike the condition of the world since feudalism gave to man his personal right and individual importance! It thus happened that Rome gave liberty to the world, and feudalism freedom—liberty being the aggregate name for the rights of man under a state, and freedom the name of those rights which are derived from himself.

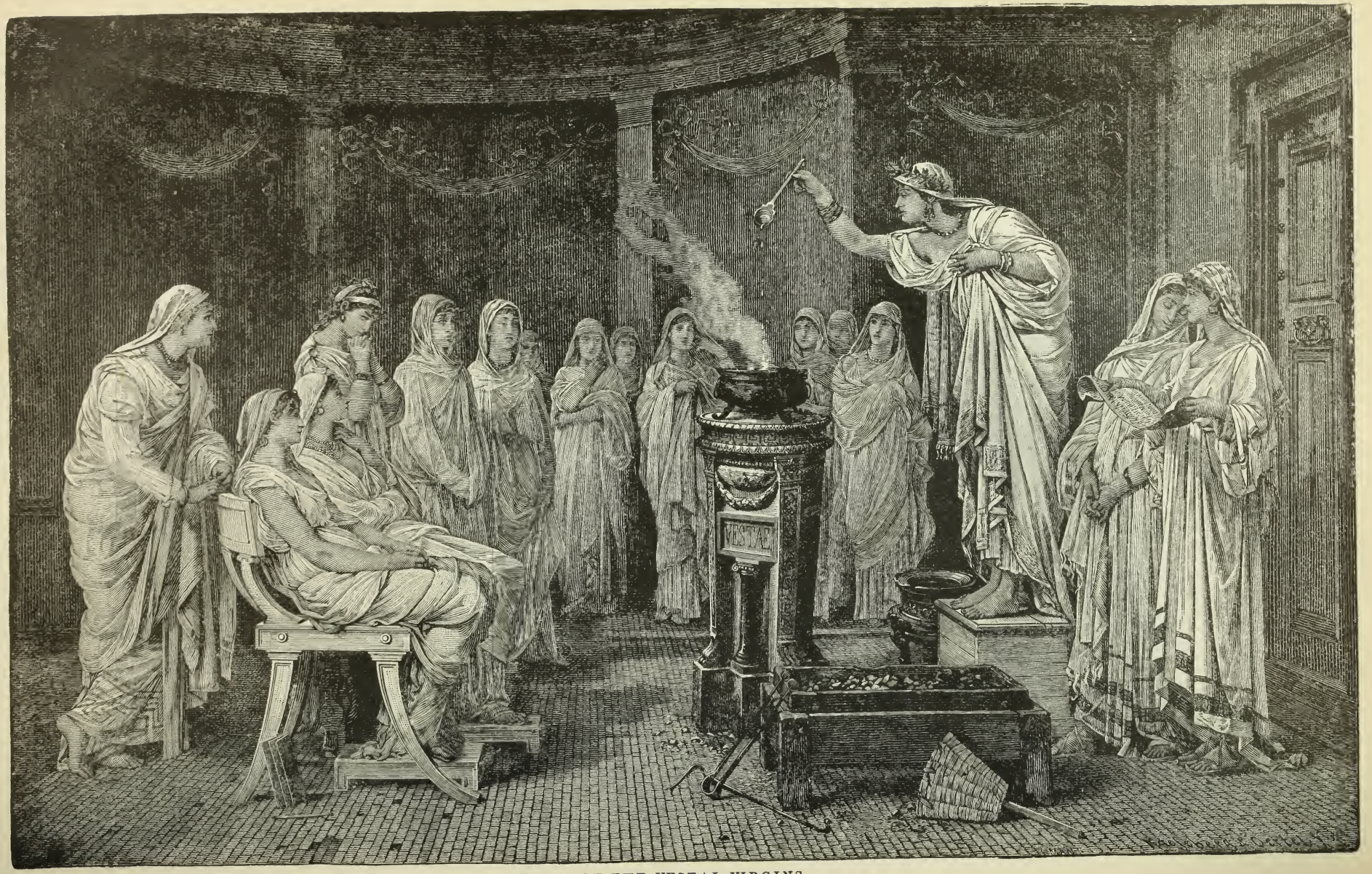
This general view of the constitution of Roman political society will serve to explain the non-existence of a religious hierarchy in the state. Priests there were in abundance, but they were *officers of the government*. Their right to be priests was conferred by the state. Their sacred office gave them no power over society beyond a certain general respect in which all the priests of the world have had the good fortune to be held by secular society.

The deities of Rome had each a body of priests who served at the altars and maintained the honor of their respective gods. There was a college in chief of hierarchs called the PONTIFICES, to whom was committed the general oversight of the religious ceremonials of the city. Each deity had his own chief priest, known as the FLAMEN, whose duty was, as indicated by the name, to kindle and attend the altar-fires and manage the sacrifices and burnt-offering. The great flamen of the city was the high-priest of Jupiter. He was called the DIALIS, and was held in the highest honor. He and his house were exempt from all public duties, to the end that his whole life might be devoted to the service of the altars of Jove. He might not touch any thing unclean, or look upon the dead, or enter a cemetery. When he passed, the workmen ceased from their toil until he was out of sight. So great was his sancity that the culprit who entered his house was free, and the criminal on his way to execution was pardoned.

After the college of priests, the next body of celebrants was the VESTALS. As the name implies, they were the priestesses of VESTA, the house-goddess of the Romans. It was their duty to keep burning evermore the sacred fires on her altars They were required to live a life of blameless purity. Their term of service was thirty years. In case of any lapse from virtue on the part of a vestal she was walled up alive in a tomb. Like male hierarchs, the priestesses of Vesta went abroad among the people, and by them were treated with the greatest respect. In public they were attended by a lictor, and the populace stood in respectful silence while they passed. To insult a vestal was an offense punishable with death. At great festivals and celebrations in Rome the vestals were honored like persons of the highest rank.

The general supervision of the priestesses belonged to the PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, who stood at the head of the religious affairs of the state. To him was referred the decision of all questions relating to the orthodoxy of the national faith. This high officer was originally the engineer of the city, having charge of the public works, especially the bridges over the Tiber, and hence his title of pontifex. The Roman calendar was in his charge, as was also the regulation of the annual festivals. The public documents of the state were in the keeping of the pontifices, and they thus became the first annalists or recorders in Rome. It was their duty to decide in what manner the gods should be consulted and prayed to; but of this branch of the ceremonial—namely, the consultation of the deities—another body of the priests, called AUGURS, had exclusive jurisdiction; that is, the actual conduct of the service of augury or divination.

The belief in the possibility of knowing the



SCHOOL OF THE VESTAL VIRGINS.

After the Painting by Hector Le Roux.

will of the gods by consulting signs has been common to all races. Among the old Latins such a faith was especially strong; and the common people of Rome accepted the belief without doubting. It was accepted as a fundamental doctrine that any one might observe and interpret omens; but the very universality of the thing implied that certain persons should be set aside as diviners. Of these there were two classes in Rome: the augurs proper, and the haruspices. The duty of the former was to interpret the signs of the upper air, such as the phenomenon of lightning and the flight of birds; while the business of the haruspex was to know the will of the gods from an examination of the entrails of animals.

The particular manner of divination employed by the AUGUR was as follows: He first drew a square figure on the ground. This he then divided into four small squares by transverse lines. At the intersection of the cross-lines the observer took his station, facing to the south. Standing thus he gazed intently into the air. Whatever appeared to the side of the left hand was good fortune; every thing to the right, bad. But it was not merely the fact of appearance which constituted the good or evil omen.

The particular character of the things which were seen was that which evoked the augur's skill. The manner of the bird's flight and the nature of the lightning's flash, whether zigzag or spreading in a sheet, were the features which called for skill. Herein was the augur great. He had his rules and his precedents—a kind of traditional lore received from his Etruscan ancestors. However stupid the whole business may appear in the high light of the present, to the Romans these things were very real. So strong a hold had the faith in augury on the public mind that no important affair was ever undertaken without consulting the omens. The custom still held its own after the spread of intelligence, and in later days the augurs were still patronized, if for no other reason than for effect with the masses.[1]

Men like Cicero and Cæsar, as well as the leading augurs themselves, knew well enough that the whole business was a sham; and the remark of Cato that he could not understand how two augurs could ever look each other in the face without laughing was as appropriate as it was witty.

It was the duty of the HARUSPEX to examine the entrails of the victims slain in sacrifice and to learn therefrom the will of the deities. This ceremony was considered of the greatest importance. It was reckoned essential that the sacrifices should be conducted with the utmost formality and according to immemorial usage.

The language of the sacrificial rituals was all either obsolete or obsolescent. The old hymns were no longer understood even by those who chanted them, and the whole ceremonial was antique. It was considered essential to the accuracy of the divination that no error should be committed, no departure made from the immemorial usage. In case of a mistake the whole ceremony had to be begun again from the first. The various steps in the sacrifice succeeded each other to the strains of music, and no noise was permitted within such distance as might distract the attention of the haruspex.

The offerings made by the primitive Romans were fruits of the earth. The most ancient gifts were parched meal mingled with salt. This was the celebrated *mola salsa*, which, during the whole age of Rome, remained a part of the sacrificial emblems. After this the offerings were honey, wine, milk, and cakes. Of the living sacrifices the swine was regarded as the most acceptable. The appetite of the priest, to whom always fell the remainder of whatever was offered, determined the preference of the gods! In the great sacrifices made on solemn occasions by the state, the sheep and the bullock were led, together with the pig, to the altar, and all three were slain in the festival called *suovetaurilia*.

[1] Many amusing things are related of the Roman auguries. It was a part of the system to determine coming events by the way in which the sacred chickens took their feed. On one occasion the commander of a fleet, about to go into battle, tossed the holy birds some corn, but they would not eat. Roman-like, he became angry and threw the whole coopful into the sea, accompanied with the remark that if he could not make them eat *he could make them drink*.



HARUSPEX OFFICIATING.

In prayer the Roman stood. If the supernal deities were addressed the hands were held up, but not in that exalted attitude peculiar to the Greeks. When the infernal powers were prayed to, the palms were turned down to the earth. The face was kept to the front; the eyes closed, the head covered with the toga.

The beasts intended for sacrifice were garlanded with flowers. Thus wreathed, they were led to the altar. The bullock's horns were bound with fillets and the forehead sprinkled with the *mola salsa*. The death blow was given with an axe; but in the case of the smaller victims, life was taken by opening the veins of the throat. As soon as the animal was struck down, the body was opened and the entrails taken out and examined by the haruspex. Special attention was given to the heart, lungs, and liver, and from these organs were gathered the signs which the priests interpreted. If the indications were regarded as auspicious, the entrails were sprinkled with wine, and a libation was poured upon the ground. When this part of the ceremony was completed, the festival was celebrated, in which the flesh of the victims was eaten by the priests.

The Roman year was divided into a ceremonial calendar, for the sacred feasts—each at its appointed season—were very numerous. At the opening of the year was the great festival of the two-faced JANUS. On this occasion, in addition to the regular offerings to the god, gifts were made by friends to each other. The people exchanged calls and salutations, for it was New-Year's Day—a time to be glad.

In the month of March came the festival of MARS, celebrated by a college of priests called the Salii, or Leapers, who went in procession through the streets bearing the sacred shields and other emblems of the War-god. As they went they danced and chanted archaic hymns, accompanied with the music of flutes. Along the route of the procession there were stations, at which the Salii halted and feasted.

On the 21st of April was celebrated the festival called the Palilia, in honor of PALES, the goddess of shepherds. This was the anniversary of the founding of Rome, and was regarded as an occasion of much importance. In this ceremony the celebrants kindled fires of straw and leaped through the flames, giving themselves to jocularity and the spirit of sport In May came the festival of DEA DIA, the goddess of the fields. The ceremonies in this case were conducted by the Fratres Arvales, or Field Brethren, who for three days kept up sacrifices and banquets in honor of the good divinity who gave fertility to the glebe in spring.

The great festival of FLORA was celebrated by the women. It was given when the wheat fields were in blossom, and was conducted with much beautiful display peculiar to the season of flowers. But the most elaborate of all the celebrations of Rome was that of SATURN, held at the winter solstice, and afterwards extended so as to include the twenty-fifth of December.

Saturn was regarded by the Romans as the god of that primitive peace which once held sway in the world before the age of devastation and war. In that pacific era all men held the same rank and had their enjoyments in common. It was fitting, therefore, that in the festival of Saturn—though the world had forgotten the old-time goodness—all men should be regarded as restored for a brief season to their primitive equality. So the great and the humble, the rich and the poor, the young and the old, were all given the license of a common freedom, a common immunity. The festival was called the Saturnalia. Labor ceased, public business was at an end, the courts were closed, the schools had holiday. Tables, laden with bounties, were spread on every hand, and at these all classes for the nonce sat down together. The master and the slave for the day were equals. It was a time of gift-giving and innocent abandonment. In the public shops every variety of present from the simplest to the most costly could be found. Fathers, mothers, kinspeople, friends, all hurried thither to purchase, according to their fancy, what things soever seemed most tasteful and appropriate as presents. The fair of Rome exhibited in plentiful profusion every variety of articles brought from every quarter of the world. There were knickknacks for the children, ornaments for the ladies, little trophies of the toilet, ornamental tapers in wax, and, indeed, whatever the fancy or caprice of

Rome could well imagine or create. It was a season of mirth and jollity; of feasting and hilarity; of games and sports.

Sometimes in Rome festivals and banquets were celebrated in honor of the dead. This usage chimed in perfectly with the old religious belief, which required the worship of the Lares or spirits of the dead fathers. It was not held that the ghosts of the dead returned from the dark land into which they had departed, but the memory of the friends who were no more lingered in Roman affection, and furnished good ground for the custom of feasts given in honor of departed ancestors.

The places where the bodies of friends were laid to rest were held in particular reverence by the Romans. Monuments were erected in commemoration of their virtues; trees and flowers were planted to give their fragrance and beauty to the spot made sacred by the ashes of the dead. Sometimes the sepulcher was in the garden near the busy scenes in which the living still participated; but sometimes the tombs were set remote, by the roadside, or on the slope of a hill, but never in a place of obscurity or gloom.

In the celebration of their funerals the Romans were formal and elaborate. In the case of the death of a Patrician, or any man of rank, his body was followed to the place of sepulture by a great concourse of friends and admirers. It appears that the closing hours of the life of the Roman was generally hallowed with the affectionate tenderness of family and friends. As soon as the spirit had taken its departure the body of the dead was washed, anointed, and adorned for the tomb. It was customary for the friends to call loudly upon his name in the hours succeeding his death, and to make great lamentation on account of his departure. The body, especially if of a person distinguished in rank, was laid in state, under a covering or canopy richly decorated and strewn with flowers. Several days were allowed to elapse before the interment took place, and during this interval, as in modern times, the friends of the deceased came singly and in companies to view the body of him who was now to be put from sight.

The real work of preparing the dead for burial, as well as the actual sepulture, was conducted by a company of undertakers, who were regarded as the servants of Venus Libitina. By them coffins and urns were furnished, and the decorations prepared. The exit of the dead from the world was made as little gloomy as the fact of death would permit.

In the matter of disposing of the remains the Romans in general followed the custom of the Greeks. It will be remembered that in Hellas both incineration and earth-burial were practiced, and in Rome the two usages also prevailed, according to the wealth and station and preference of the friends of the deceased. If incineration was adopted in a given case, then it was the duty of the undertakers to provide the pyre on which the body was to be burned. In other cases they furnished the sarcophagus or coffin, in which the body was deposited, and prepared the grave or vault wherein the same was put away.

It was customary in case of funerals for the procession to pass, not without ostentation, through the great streets and thoroughfares of the city. It was expected that the length and character of the procession, as well as the crowds which incidentally assembled on the line of march, should indicate the interest of the masses in the occasion, as well as the sympathy of the more intimate friends for him who was borne away. It was customary to head the cortege with a band of flute-players, who discoursed sad music while the procession was en route. It was also a part of the custom of the Romans to employ professional mourners, especially women, who were cultured in the best methods of artificial woe, and were expected on such occasions to display, with chants and wailing and dolorous gesticulation, not a little professional skill in the dissemination of sorrow. In this college of technical grief one of the actors impersonated the dead; others were clad in masks, and represented distant ancestors. If the family had been sufficiently fortunate to preserve heirlooms of old times and the insignia of their fathers, such things were usually displayed in the procession.

The body of the dead was placed near the head of the column, as in the modern manner.

Then came the mourners, the friends, distinguished persons, the magistrates of the city, the common people, and lastly the slaves, who on such occasions were not only permitted but expected to bear witness by their presence to an affection which they had never felt before for him who was once their master. As a general thing, the procession halted in the Forum. There the representatives of the ancestors of the dead took their place in the seats of the curiales, whereupon one of the number, perhaps a near kinsman, if such chanced to be gifted with oratory, or otherwise a friend, mounted the Tribune, and delivered a funeral oration in honor of the dead.

In the course of this address it was expected not only that the deeds of the deceased should be glorified, but that the history of his family, his ancestors, his kinsmen, should be given, especially in such parts as were calculated to reflect credit and honor upon the departed.

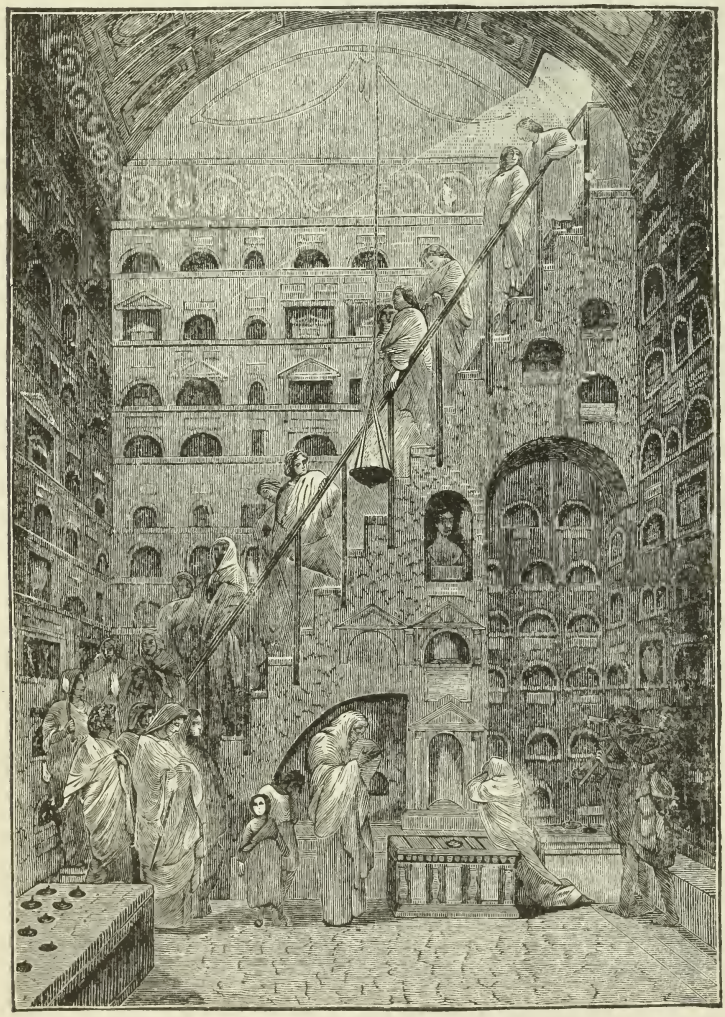
When the address was ended the procession was renewed to the place of interment or burning. If the latter, the pyre was already prepared. The body was at once laid upon it, and the torch applied by the nearest kinsman. As the flames were kindled the friends gathered near and cast into the burning pile small mementoes of the dead or articles of their own, such as incense, perfumes, and locks of hair. As soon as the wood was consumed the ashes were sprinkled with wine and perfumes, and were then gathered into the urn, which was set in the vault. Then certain ones, speaking for the family, spoke aloud, as addressing the dead: "Farewell, thou pure soul." "Lightly rest the earth upon thee." "Rest in peace." Finally those who had participated in the funeral purified themselves with holy water, and then dispersed to their homes. At the expiration of nine days a funeral feast was given in commemoration of the dead, and this might be repeated annually at the general festival of the *feralia*.

In the case of the poorer people the earth-burial was generally employed. The method was not dissimilar to that of modern times. The body was put into a coffin and lowered into a pit in the ground. The opening was filled up and a mound of earth raised over the grave. When earth-burial was preferred by the wealthy, as was sometimes the case, the sarcophagus was usually deposited in a stone tomb, solidly and elegantly built. Nearly all graves and vaults were marked with some sort of memorial tablet or monument, and on this was recorded an appropriate inscription. This generally contained, besides the name of the deceased and his family, a brief panegyric, or, at any rate, a sentiment of that sort wherewith life in all ages has been wont to cajole his enemy. In the humbler ranks the epitaph was for the most part an expression of domestic grief, or perhaps a word of consolation for the living. The wife was made to say, "I await my husband;" and the sadness of the latter is thus recorded: "She never caused me a sorrow save by her death."

The Roman nobility, like that of other ancient nations, took pride in ostentatious monuments. They were erected by preference in the most frequented places. Along the sides of the Appian Way, as it neared the great city, were built many tombs for the repose of the grandees of Rome. Among such structures may be mentioned as specially worthy of note the pyramid of Cestius and the mausoleum of Hadrian, now converted into the Castle of Saint Angelo. The ruins of many similar piles may be seen as one journeys along the Appian Way from Rome towards Campania. In the exhumed Pompeii we have what is known as the Street of Tombs. The place resembles the arena of a circus. The traveler descends to the bottom by a stairway, and sees around him in the circular wall the chambers and niches wherein were deposited the urns and caskets containing the ashes of the dead. From the resemblance to a row of nests these apartments or chambers were called *Columbaria* or pigeon-houses.

The Christians, as a sect, did not relish or willingly follow the styles of burial which prevailed in Rome. The idea of a literal resurrection of the dead seemed to make the process of incineration revolting alike to humanity and religion. Nor were the pagan rites which accompanied the earth-burial of the Romans more pleasing to the instincts of the Christian

fathers. So they betook themselves to the catacombs with their dead, and there, amid the sepulchral shadows of that underground, committed the ashes of their friends to their last resting place. It was from these subterrene caverns that those sacred bones were taken which, during the Middle Ages and even in modern times, have been so highly prized as efficacious relics by the world of saints.

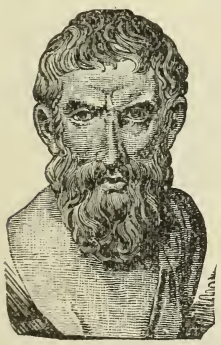


FUNERAL CEREMONY AT A COLUMBARIUM IN THE PALACE OF JULIUS CÆSAR, AT THE PORTA CAPENA, ROME.

The mural and monumental inscriptions of the Romans show conclusively that as late as the downfall of the Empire of the West the belief in the primitive gods Latium still held a place in the minds of the people. In the second century of the Imperial *régime* the old faith indeed experienced a revival, but this new life seemed to extend no further than to the commons, among whom it had always prevailed. The more learned men of Rome appear never to have had any sincere confidence in the truth and value of the popular faith. It was among this class that the Greek culture took deepest root; and with the incoming of Hellenic influences a new type of religious forms and beliefs was introduced to the mind of Rome. The Græco-Italic learning gradually infected the faith of the West, and the old gods of Etruria and the Latin coast were Hellenized in their character and attributes.

Those supernal powers which, beginning in abstractions, had risen to ideal concepts were now under the influence of the Greek personified. They took on human forms, and became individual. It was this aspect of religious culture which most profoundly affected the beliefs and practices of the learned circles of Rome, such as those which revolved around the Scipios, Lælius and Æmilius Paullus. As against the old traditional beliefs of the Romans, philosophy set up the mythos and skepticism of the Greeks. Nor were there wanting many illustrious examples among the learned Romans of the period of men who, seeing the beliefs of centuries either modified in essential particulars, or thrown into a total wreck by the impact of a higher and more scientific concept of nature, rushed to the furthest limits of disbelief, and becoming heretics, spewed out of their mouths the whole category of gods, both Italic and Greek. Such was the philosopher Lucretius, who in his scorn of the existing system concealed not his hatred of all the deities and myths.

In the formation of this school of skepticism at Rome the doctrines of EPICURUS were all-powerful. According to his teachings, the pious traditions of the past were so much folly which an enlightened age might well reject with profit. The spirits of men should be emancipated from fear. The belief in a hierarchy of gods controlling the affairs of human life, rewarding here and punishing there as often in caprice as in justice, was the beginning of a reign of terror in the kingdom of mind. Until this terror could be dismissed, happiness was impossible. Happiness demanded mental quietude. Happiness demanded exemption from passion, and that the spirit should be freed from the menace of fear and the thralldom or prejudice. Instead of all this, the Epicurean system would institute a religion of humanity, patriotism, benevolence, love of home, and a generous but not intemperate gratification of every appetite. Such was the system which in the minds of the great Romans of the later Republic supplanted the child-like pietism and credulity of the preceding ages. The man of fashion in the Imperial City affected this type of skepticism as an evidence of his culture and his claim to be called a thinker.



EPICURUS.

By these counter-currents in the religious beliefs of the Romans the people were borne away to different quarters of the horizon. Culture and faith parted company.

The enlightened men of Rome came to look upon the offices of the old-time religion as mere vestiges of an extinct world. They mocked at sacrifices and turned their wit upon the augurs. They characterized the doctrines of the past as imposition and falsehood, and were tolerant of any form of religious belief only to the extent of regarding it as a political necessity for the control of a vulgar populace. For this reason the Roman skeptics confined their resistance to the established belief to private animadversions and satire, while publicly assenting to the existing order.

It was one of the strange phenomena of the times that in proportion as the old faith of Rome thus yielded to the influence of skepticism among the higher classes, the philosophers themselves generally sought refuge in some new form of belief. It became almost as common to institute a foreign god as to dethrone a native one. In this way the lands abroad were pillaged of their deities to fill the vacant niches of the Roman pantheon. Thus was imported Cybele, "the Phrygian mother of the gods," who brought with her those passionate orgies with which her worship was celebrated. In like manner came from the East the deities Astarte and Mithras, and from Egypt Isis and Serapis. In the new forms of worship there was much of that sensuous display and ceremony in which the pampered philosophers of Rome could find comfort even when the austere gods were abolished.

In the second century of the Christian era occurred a great reaction against the abuses of the system just described. It was in the nature of a revival of that ancient paganism to which the common people had always been attached. The philosophers and statesmen wearied at last of Eastern voluptuousness and African mysticism in their religion; and the gods of the Greek pantheon came again into favor with thinkers and scholars. There was a renaissance in classical temple-building, and the Emperors and nobles vied with each other in patronizing the revival of ancient religious fervor. During the time of Hadrian the artists of the Empire contributed hosts of statues to fill the niches, old and new, in the sacred places of Rome.

The general effect of this movement was the restitution of the pantheon of the primitive Romans. The deities which were restored in the second century were not quite identical with those of ancient Latium. By their transition through the philosophical epoch, they had lost many of the myths and legends peculiar to the godhood of olden times. This revolution in the religious belief of the Roman world was largely the work of the STOICS. They came to reconcile theology with philosophy, to strike from the one what was repulsive to the other, and to blend the two in a common sys-

tem which should be no longer shocking to human reason. To this end it was necessary to reject those incredible and sometimes disgusting legends wherewith the primitive religion of Italy was disfigured. This done, the people—even the philosophers—could re-adopt the deities of old, and worship them as the highest types of excellence and power.

Thus was instituted in the Eternal City a hierarchy of exalted beings worthy to be addressed with prayer and sacrifice. At the head of these mighty personages of the supernal world stood the sublime Jupiter, with attributes refined from those of the coarse and sensual Zeus. So great was the improvement in the morals and manners of the gods of Rome that men of refinement, even the sages, might worship them as being higher and better than themselves. Thus, under the influence of the Stoics, a limit was set to the skeptical degeneration which had been so widely disseminated by the doctrines of the Epicureans.[1]

It was with this new system of purified pagan faith that Christianity had its final and decisive struggle for the mastery of the Roman world. For two centuries these counter currents of religious belief continued to flow through the thought of Imperial Rome. The question was whether Christ or Jove should master the masters of the world. At last the scale inclined toward Christianity. The throne of Jove tottered, and then fell. In the days of Constantine, the idols were broken in the city of the Tiber and the Galilean was proclaimed King of kings. Already, while this transformation of religious belief was accomplished, the swellings of the barbarian flood were heard along the frontiers of the Empire. Out of the north-east, the deluge of Teutonism came pouring; and before the inrolling of this ominous tide, the shrines of the classical world were buried in the sea-bottom of oblivion. Alaric sat in Cæsar's chair, and Christ on the throne of Jove.

CHAPTER LVII.—LEGENDS AND TRADITIONS.

ON the far horizon is seen the Trojan Æneas clad in the garments of fable. Only so much is known as that Latium was colonized by foreigners. They may have been a ship load from Troy; but the tradition to that effect has no more foundation than the fancy of the Augustan poet, who would fain make Cæsar to be of the line of Priam. It was pleasing to the vanity of Octavianus to hear the chant of an epic poem in which the Roman people were told that the Julian gens was derived from the boy Ascanius, "to whom the name of Iulus was then added."

According to the legend, the first Trojan settlement was made at Lavinium; but soon

[1] As an example of what the best thought of the refined paganism of Rome was able to produce in giving adequate expression to the instincts of man, the following prayer, said to have been composed by the Greek Stoic Cleanthes of Assus, may be appropriately reproduced. It is addressed to Jove:

"I hail thee, most glorious of the immortals, O Being, revered under a thousand names, Jupiter, Eternal and Almighty One, Lord of nature who guidest all things according to law! This immeasurable universe which circles round the earth obeys thy behests without a murmur, for thou holdest in thy invisible hand the instrument of thy will, the lightning, that living and flaming weapon, at whose crashing blows all nature trembles. Thus thou guidest the activity of the universal reason which penetrates all beings, and is mingled with the great and lesser lights of the world. Highest ruler of the universe, naught happens upon earth without thee, naught in the ethereal and divine heavens, naught in the sea, naught except the sin which the wicked commit. Jupiter, God, whom dark clouds conceal, pluck mankind from their sad ignorance; disperse the darkness of their souls, O our Father, and grant them to comprehend the thought that serves thee in ruling the world with righteousness. Then shall we in reverential adoration give thee the reward of thy beneficence, unceasingly celebrating in fitting words the works of thy hands and the universal law of all beings."

there was a transfer to Alba Longa, which, under the rule of king Numitor, became the capital of the kingdom. Numitor, through his father Procras, was in a straight line of descent from Æneas. At the first, however, he was kept from the throne by his younger brother Amulius, who after the usual manner of younger brothers in such situations, anxious to retain what rightfully belonged to another, brought it about that Rhea Silvia, the daughter of Numitor, should be made a vestal virgin. Thus would the father be deprived of offspring, and the crown remain in the family of Amulius.

But the gods willed it otherwise. Rhea Silvia was sought out by Mars, by whom she became the mother of the twins, Romulus and Remus. As soon as their birth was known to



THE CAPITOLINE WOLF.

Amulius he ordered the children to be exposed in a basket on the banks of the Tiber. With the coming of the flood, the basket drifted for a distance, but was washed ashore among the rushes. Here the twins were found by the wild creatures that inhabited old Tiber's banks, and by them were kept alive. A she-wolf, struck with a compassion never felt before or since by one of her tribe, came daily and nursed the twins until they waxed strong from feeding on her ferocious milk. Finally, they were found by Faustulus, the king's herdsman, and by him were taken home and reared with his own sons. When the boys grew to manhood the herdsmen of Numitor and those tending their flocks on the Palatine Hill quarreled and fought. Remus was taken prisoner, and Romulus, heading a band of shepherds, undertook his brother's recovery. In the conflict that ensued, there was a revelation of the parentage of the two boy warriors; Amulius was killed, and Numitor restored to the throne from which he had been excluded.

The two brothers, now at man's estate, soon determined to build a city for themselves. They selected for a site the Palatine Hill, on the left bank of the Tiber. As a means of determining whose name should be given to the settlement they resorted to augury. Each took his station and awaited the flight of birds. Soon Remus saw six vultures, but presently twelve appeared to Romulus. Both claimed the omen, but Romulus prevailed. So the place was named Rome. The founder began to build ramparts, but the discontented Remus, in a spirit of ridicule, ran and leaped over the wall. "Thus," said he to his brother, "will the enemy jump into your city." "And thus," said Romulus, seizing a club and striking Remus dead to the earth, "will we kill them when they come." The history of the great city which was to grind the nations under her power began in fratricide.

The date of the founding of Rome has been fixed at B. C. 753. No sooner was the crest of the Palatine secured by a wall than Romulus adopted the policy of inviting in a population from the surrounding districts. The city was made an asylum for strangers, and no credentials or certificate of pedigree was asked of those who came. All were received alike.

Every robber and outlaw from the region round about flocked to Rome and regained his respectability. It was a community of greater strength than refinement. Nearly the whole population was male. To procure wives was the greatest problem of Roman statesmanship! The people of the neighboring nations would not intermarry with the bandits of the Palatine. In this emergency Romulus fell back upon statecraft. He proclaimed a celebration of games in honor of Neptune, and invited the people of adjacent states to join in the festival.

Of those who accepted the invitation the principal company were from the cities of the Sabines. These came in large numbers, bringing their wives and daughters to the celebration. While the games were on, and all were looking intently at the sports, the Roman youth,

at a preconcerted signal, rushed suddenly upon the visitors, and each seizing one of the Sabine women in his arms carried her off to his own house to be his wife. It was the most wholesale as well as the most summary courtship known to history.



RAPE OF THE SABINE WOMEN.

Of course the Sabines were greatly enraged, and went to war to recover their women. The towns of Cænina and Antemnæ undertook to obtain redress, but were quickly subdued by the Romans. Then the Sabines came with a large army, led by their king, Titus Tatius, and laid siege to Rome. The citadel on the Capitoline Hill was defended by Spurius Tarpeius. While the siege was progressing, his daughter Tarpeia saw and admired the bracelets worn by the Sabine soldiers. Anxious to possess such ornaments herself, she offered to

open the gates of the citadel if the Sabines would give her "what they wore on their left arms." When the gates were thus gained the soldiers threw upon her their shields, for these also were worn on the left arm. So was Tarpeia crushed to death.

The victorious Sabines gave battle to the Romans in the valley at the foot of the hill. While the conflict was still undetermined the women themselves, who had now become reconciled to the husbands who had taken them by force, rushed into the midst of the fight, and with wild outcries besought the combatants to cease from the fight. On the one side they implored their fathers and on the other their husbands to withhold their hands from slaughter. The appeal was not in vain. The quarrel was laid aside, since the cause of the quarrel no longer existed. The two peoples agreed to live at peace. The Sabines received the Capitoline and Quirinal hills, and the Romans retained the Palatine.

For a while Romulus and Titus Tatius reigned jointly; but the latter was presently slain in a battle with the people of Laurentium, and the founder of the city again ruled alone. The two elements of the population and the double-headed government made it necessary for the Romans and the Sabines to confer together on questions of common interest to the city. Accordingly, in the valley between the Quirinal and Palatine hills, a place of counsel was established, called the *Comitium*. Here the two kings and their counselors were accustomed to meet and discuss the affairs of the state of Rome. The people were divided into three tribes, according to previous nationality. There were the *Ramnes*, or Romans; the *Titienses*, or people of Titus; and the *Luceres*, thought to have been so named from Lucomo, an Etruscan chief, who is said to have taken part in the previous war.

After the death of Tatius, Romulus continued his career as a warrior. Many neighboring towns were conquered, and the influence of Rome thus extended into a considerable part of Latium. After a long reign Romulus called the people together in the Field of Mars, and spoke to them of the city and what was necessary to make the Romans great. Soon after the meeting assembled, a violent storm arose and Romulus was borne away. He was seen no more by the awe-struck people, but that night he showed himself to one Proculus Julius, who was journeying from Alba to Rome, to whom he delivered this message: "Go and tell my people that they weep not for me any more, but bid them to be brave and warlike, and so shall they make my city the greatest on earth." From this apocalypse it was judged by the Romans that Romulus had become a god. A temple was accordingly erected to his honor, and he was worshiped under the name of Quirinus. From this divine appellative the people thenceforth took the name of Quirites. Thus, in the year B. C. 715, the founder of Rome ended his career, and thus it is that the lay of the ancient city, delivered by the pen of Livy, has come in tradition to posterity.

If we should inquire how much of all this is history and how much fable, we should, perhaps, reduce the narrative to this: That a tribe of the Latini selected as an eligible place for settlement the Palatine Hill, about three miles below the confluence of the Anio and the Tiber, and eighteen miles above the mouth of the latter stream. The chosen site, being on the left, or Latin, bank of the river, was well adapted to become the emporium of Latium. The original tribe was called the Ramnes, or Romans. The city which they founded on the Palatine was laid off four-square, and was for this reason called *Roma Quadrata*. The line of this old rampart has been traced in several parts as the result of recent excavations. The territory belonging to the city in the time immediately succeeding the foundation, extended no more than five miles to the east and south. On the right bank of the river the possessions of Rome embraced only the suburbs of the hill called Janiculus, but the whole course of the Tiber was regarded as being included with the estate of primitive Rome. This gave the right of way to the sea.

The favorable situation of the settlement invited a crowd of adventurers, who rapidly swelled the population and contributed to the defense of the city. Protected by the impregna-

ble Palatine, suburbs sprang up and extended themselves to the surrounding hills, until in a brief period all seven of the celebrated eminences were included within the city. The original Palatine stronghold was soon increased by the addition of the Sabine settlement on the Quirinal and Capitoline hills. The Ramnes and the Sabines were kinsmen and were easily merged into one people. On the basis of this strong composition of original tribes was built the tremendous fabric of the Roman people. The Ramnes and Titienses were each divided into ten *curiæ*, or wards; and from this division into curiæ the people were called Quirites.[1] The place of their meeting was the low ground between the Palatine and the Quirinal; hence the *comitium*. The choice of the kings by alternation from the one tribe and the other rests on no better authority than a reasonable tradition. Such is the history of primitive Rome with the fabulous part omitted.

Resuming the legend, we are told that after an interregnum of a year, Romulus was succeeded, in B. C. 716, by NUMA POMPILIUS. During the intervening year the senators had exercised the royal authority by turns; but the people demanded an election, and the choice fell on Numa. There was a debate in the senate as to whether the election should be from the Ramnes or from the Sabines; but the influence of the latter tribe prevailed, and their favorite was elected. He was from the Sabine town of Cures, and was greatly famed for his wisdom.

Up to this time the civil and social institutions of Rome had been without form and void. Numa became the lawgiver of the city. Nor was there wanting to him a source of inspiration. In the beautiful valley of Caffarella, near Rome, was a grotto, to which he repaired, and was met there by the nymph Egeria, who dictated to him these wise laws which he gave to the people. Egeria became his wife, and when he died, being inconsolable with grief, she wept herself into a fountain of pure water. On the sculptures she is represented as one of the Muses, clad in a flowing robe, naked as to her feet, her hair blown back and descending, as she writes, in an open volume on her knees.

At the first Numa gave his attention to the equitable division of the lands which Romulus had gained by conquest. He next established the worship of the god Terminus—him who gave the landmark and the boundary. Thus was there instilled into the minds of the early Romans a sacred respect for the limits of possession and the rights of landed ownership.

The industrial pursuits were divided into nine vocations, and each artisan was assigned to membership, according to his business. The Roman ceremonial law was also instituted, and the duties appertaining to the various offices of religion clearly defined. The rites of worship were prescribed, and the gradations in the priesthood fixed by law. The pontiffs were made the highest in rank, and were charged with the enforcement of the statutes relating to religion. The augurs, the flamens, the vestal virgins, and the Salii were each assigned to their respective ranks and duties; and the religion of the state was thus in its forms and functionaries reduced to a system of definite practices.

During the reign of Numa Pompilius there was—if we may trust the word of Livy—nor war nor plague nor famine. It was a kind of golden age in that early kingdom which lies just over the border-lines of authentic history. The melting of Egeria into tears might well have been an allegory of popular grief for the sage old Sabine, who had done so much to soothe the chaotic elements of primitive Rome. Of course, the popular tradition which derives his wisdom in law and precept from the doctrines of Pythagoras is—being an anachronism—devoid of truth. The derivation would have had to be by the philosopher from the prehistoric sage of old Rome.

According to Livy, the reign of Numa covered a period of thirty-nine years, and it might not be doubted that the peace thus afforded the Ramnes gave time and opportunity for the development of that rugged strength which, beginning in the brawn of robbers, became invincible in the soldiers of the Republic. The sacred Books of Numa

[1] Perhaps the best derivation of Quirites is from *curix*, both words being, as it appears, derived from the root *sku*, meaning to *cover* or protect.

were buried beside him under the hill Janiculum, and are said to have been discovered after a period of five hundred years.

In the eighty-first year of the city TULLUS HOSTILIUS, the third king of Rome, succeeded to the throne. His character was in every particular strongly contrasted with that of his predecessor. The process of his election was exactly reversed from the method adopted in the case of Numa. The latter was chosen with Roman consent from among the Sabines; the former with Sabine consent from among the Romans. There is in this no doubt a gleam of historic truth as well as a measure of poetic equity. Numa was a man of peace; Hostilius a warrior. His whole career was enacted in arms. By him the power of the city was greatly extended. He consolidated the Romans by military organization, and revived the spirit which had slumbered and rested during the reign of Pompilius. His first war was with the people of Alba, whom their more aggressive neighbors had come to regard with contempt. The old tie of kinship was forgotten in that enmity which would not permit two masters in Latium. When, however, the Roman and Alban armies were about to engage in battle it was remembered that the struggle would in all probability leave the victor so weakened that both conquered and conqueror would perhaps fall an easy prey to the Etruscans, who constantly menaced the northern frontier. It was accordingly agreed that three champions should be selected from each side and by them the battle should be decided. On the side of Rome three brothers—the Horatii—were chosen; and for Alba also appeared three other brothers—the Curiatii. These went forth between the lines and began battle. The fight was fiercely contested. At last two of the Horatii were slain, but the third, who was still unhurt, turned upon the three Curiatii, all three of whom were wounded and separated at some distance, and killed them one by one.

The victory remained with Rome; but the day closed with a bloody tragedy. The sister of Horatius loved one of the Curiatii, and on his return from the triumph which he had so hardly won upbraided him with the murder of her lover. The passionate Horatius, maddened into a frenzy by what seemed to him the unpatriotic conduct of his sister, slew her on the spot. For this deed he was tried and condemned to death; but in accordance with a custom just then beginning to prevail, he appealed to the people to save him from his fate. The popular voice decided in his favor; for the Romans could not be induced to assent to the execution of one by whom the city had so recently been saved from conquest.[1]



THE HORATII GOING FORTH TO BATTLE.
From a Painting by David.

[1] It is related that in the course of the trial the father of Horatius justified the deed done by his son, saying that he himself would have killed his daughter for her unpatriotic conduct.

Perhaps the conduct of Tullus, in the emergency, became a precedent for that part of the Roman constitution which granted the right of an appeal to the people. The character of this third mythical king, who seems to have been a reversion to the original type of barbarians by whom Rome was founded, is still further illustrated in his merciless severity towards Mettus Fufetius, the Alban king, who, after the victory of the Horatii, had submitted to the Romans. It appears that the Albans had incited the Fidenates to join the Veientines in making war on the Romans. When the latter called on the Albans as their allies, they were prevented by their king from giving the required aid. For this treacherous conduct Hostilius, as soon as he had gained the victory over the Veientines, seized Fufetius, tied him between two chariots, and had him torn asunder.

The end of this king was as violent as his life. After a reign of thirty-two years, while he was attempting to perform a sacrifice to Jupiter Tonans, the offended god shot forth a flash of lightning, and Hostilius was struck dead on the spot.

In reviewing these mythical histories of the first three kings of Rome, it is impossible not to recognize the partial work of the two great elements of Roman society. The characters and lives of the first and third kings are distinctly plebeian, and the story is recited as a plebeian tradition. The Ramnes were indeed a plebeian folk; but the Sabines were preeminently patrician in their notions and sympathies. The second king, Pompilius, was a patrician, and so in the legend of mythical Rome he became the hero of the patrician ballad-makers and story-tellers, while the plebeians found delight in repeating and hearing repeated the ferocious deeds of their favorite robbers, Romulus and Hostilius. The striking contrasts of the early lay are to be explained rather by the subsequent preferences of plebeian and patrician Rome than by actual differences of character in the mythical chiefs who were dignified with the name of king. It is hardly to be doubted that both Romulus and Hostilius, who are represented in the legend as taken away by the gods, were killed by the patricians. The turbulence of these rulers and their failure to respect the privileges of the priests, who were wholly of the nobles, were more than could be borne by the Sabine element in society, and their lives paid the forfeit.

The fourth king of Rome was Ancus Martius. He seems in most respects to be a reproduction of Numa. His history is a mixture of confused and contradictory traditions. He is represented, in the main, as a peaceable ruler who encouraged his people to devote themselves to agriculture. To him is attributed the founding of the port of Ostia, though it is impossible to see what use a nation without a navy or knowledge of navigation could make of a seaport. In his military career he is represented as having conquered that part of the Latini who had not yet submitted to the Romans, and established them on the Aventine Hill.

The old legend further recites that Ancus restored the services of religion, which had not been properly observed during the preceding reign, and reformed the statutes of the state. In the way of public works, the Sublician, or wooden bridge of Rome, and the gloomy prison digged in the Tarpeian Hill are ascribed to Ancus; and he is also celebrated, though with how much truth it is useless to conjecture, as having given the first encouragement to incipient commerce. His reign, which extended from the 81st to the 111th year of the city—that is, from B. C. 673 to 643—was without serious reverses of fortune, and his last end is said to have been as peaceful as his reign was prosperous.

The accession of the fifth king of Rome, Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, is brought in with an elaborate fiction. The story goes that a certain Corinthian, named Demaratus, had fled from his own country and found a home at the Etruscan town of Tarquinii. Here he married a woman named Tanaquil, who was accomplished in the interpretation of auguries and omens, and by her was persuaded to remove to Rome. Having established himself in the city, he was appointed by Ancus Martius as guardian of his sons. He managed to ingratiate himself with the people, whose confidence

he gained by popular manners and kept by wisdom and moderation. Before the death of Ancus he conceived the design of dispossessing his wards and obtaining the government for himself. In this scheme he was entirely successful, and when Ancus died succeeded without difficulty in procuring his own election to the throne.

With this event what may be called the local history of Rome properly begins. The new government was one of great civil abilities. The king brought Etruscan workmen into the city, and began an elaborate system of public works. The Forum was drained and inclosed with porticoes. The hills of Rome were fortified with impregnable stone walls. The summit of the Tarpeian was cleared and leveled, and the building of the Capitol begun. The name of the hill was changed to the Capitoline. Shows and celebrations, several of which the king had imported from Etruria, were exhibited on a grander scale than hitherto; and for the accommodation of these he caused the Circus Maximus to be enlarged and beautified. Above all these works in importance was the building of the Cloaca Maxima, the great sewer of Rome, by which the city was drained into the Tiber—a work whose everlasting masonry still attests the splendid building capacity of the Etruscan artisans. It appears that the Romans themselves attributed the execution of this mighty work to the forced labor of captives; but the other construction, which assigns the Cloaca and Circus to the skill of the masons whom Tarquin brought from his own country, is far more reasonable.

The legend of this great ruler also ascribes to him the celebration of the first Roman triumph, the introduction of the Etruscan robe spangled with gold, the chariot drawn by four white horses, and the triumphal ornaments wherewith the generals of the Republic, victorious over the enemy, were wont to ascend the Capitoline Hill. It is thought, moreover, that the costumes and accouterments which the Roman soldiers wore in battle, as well as the prætexta of the magistrates and the toga of citizenship, were likewise of Etruscan origin, and introduced in the times of Tarquin. It is said that the curule chairs and the fasces of the lictors had a similar origin. More important still than these manners and customs of office was the introduction of augury, which is known to have been derived from Etruria, and to have been practiced chiefly by the prophets of that country.[1]

It is related that when Tarquin had conquered a peace with the surrounding nations, and then bestowed so large a part of his energies on the public improvements of the city, he turned his attention to civil affairs, and purposed to make a new division of the people. The threefold tribal arrangement of the population into Ramnes, Titienses and Luceres was to be rejected for a more convenient distribu-



LICTORS.

tion. This project, however, was opposed by the conservative deities, and Tarquin was confronted with unfavorable omens. The augur, Attus Navius, forbade any change in the old division of the Roman people.

But Tarquin was not easily diverted from his purpose. He told the augur that he should go and consult the sacred birds, and ascertain whether the thing which he—the king—now had in mind could be done. The prophet returned with the assurance that the king's wish should be fulfilled. Tarquin then took a

[1] It is a well established fact, however, that the lore of the augurs was in vogue with the Latins long before the days of Tarquin. The conduct of Romulus and Remus in waiting for the flight of birds sufficiently attests that in the period of wildest myth reliance was had on signs and omens.

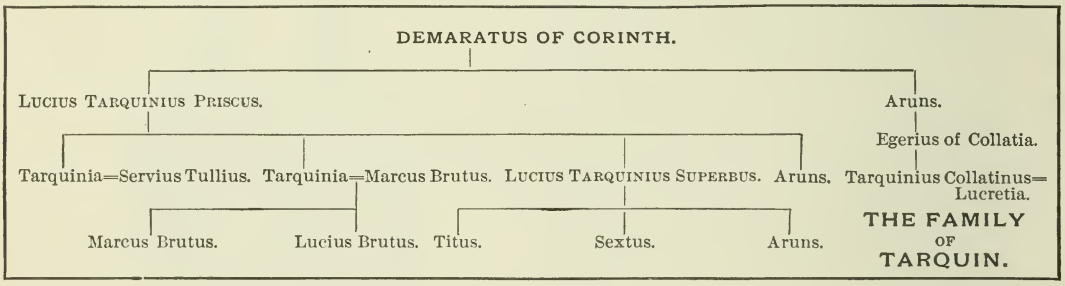
whetstone and razor, and told Navius that the thing contemplated was that he should cut the stone in two without injury to the razor. Nothing daunted, the confident augur took the articles, and immediately divided the one with the other, thus attesting the divinity of the omens wherewith the king's political projects were interdicted.

Thus baffled in his purpose in making radical changes in the constitution of Roman society, the king determined to maintain the old forms with certain practical modifications. He accordingly doubled the number of the noble houses in each of the three tribes. Those who were thus added were to be known as the Younger Ramnes, Titienses, and Luceres. The number of the knights and senators was also doubled; so that each tribe, while retaining its own name, embraced twice as many representatives of the upper ranks as hitherto.

These changes having been accomplished, Tarquin next devoted himself to the building of a temple to Jupiter. The Capitoline Hill was selected as the most suitable site. A part of the summit was leveled for the foundation. While engaged in this work, the diggers exhumed a human head, which was interpreted as a sign that that spot should become the head of the whole earth. The pontiffs were, therefore, instructed to remove the old sanctuaries from the hill, which was accordingly done. In this work the altar of Terminus, the god of boundaries, and that of Apollo, the god of youth, were excepted from the demolition and included within the precincts of the new temple. For it was held that the boundaries of Rome should never recede, and that the race of Romulus should have a perpetual youth.

Tarquinius Priscus occupied the throne for thirty-seven years, and was greatly renowned both in peace and war. It was decreed, however, by the immortals, that one not of his household should succeed him in the government. Among the maid-servants of the king's house was a certain Ocrisia, whose duty it was to attend the fire on the family altar. While engaged in this duty, the god whom she served appeared to her in a flame. She became the mother of a son, who grew up in the household, and was named Servius, for he was a slave.

One day while he slept in his chamber, the queen, Tanaquil, beheld playing about his head a flame of fire. This was interpreted as meaning that the boy should rise to greatness. He was recognized as a member of the family of the king. Tarquin presently gave him his daughter in marriage, and made him one of the royal counselors. It will be remembered that on assuming the throne, the king had excluded the two sons of Ancus Martius. When these youths learned of the favor shown to Servius, they rightly conjectured that Tarquin would make him his successor. Angered at this prospect, they determined to seek revenge by the murder of the king. They accordingly hired two assassins to go into the royal presence under pretense of asking the settlement of a quarrel. While the attention of Tarquin was given to the matter in hand, one of the murderers struck him down with an axe. The villains then escaped. A tumult arose in the city, but Tanaquil, ordering the gates to be shut, spoke to the people from an upper window. She told them that the king was only wounded, and that he had appointed Servius to conduct the affairs of government. After some days, however, it became known that Tarquin was dead, and the Senate was greatly agitated respecting the choice of a successor. But the friends of Servius increased



in number, and after a brief period of dispute, he was elected to the kingdom.

The reign of SERVIUS is celebrated as mild and peaceful. His only important war was with the Etruscans, whom he compelled to be subject to the Romans. With the Latins he made a treaty of perpetual amity; and in order to bind the union, the two peoples built a temple to Diana on the Aventine, wherein they might henceforth celebrate a common festival. Every year thereafter sacrifices were offered at the altars of Diana for Rome and all Latium.

The next work of the king was the building of a great wall from the Quirinal to the Esquiline Hill, by means of which the latter was included as the seventh hill of the city. Rome was then divided into four parts or quarters, which, after the prevailing fashion, were called *tribes*. The surrounding country was organized into twenty-six districts. Common sanctuaries were built for the people; governors were appointed, and holidays established to the end that the inhabitants might associate in public, and become imbued with a Roman spirit. The king in these beneficent measures did not forget that he was himself of lowly origin. The commons were made to feel that the ruler of the city was their friend. The laws were so framed as to favor the poor and protect the weak. Popular gratitude sought expression by naming him the Good King Servius.

The city was now greatly augmented in population and resources. In order to secure a better organization, it appeared desirable to arrange the different classes of society on a new basis. This was undertaken with special reference to the military management of the state. A division was made by Tullius of the fighting men of Rome according to the principle of property qualification. The people were divided into five classes, without regard to blood or descent; and the voting in the assembly of the citizens was henceforth conducted on this basis. The old division made by Romulus into Ramnes, Titienses, and Luceres was not henceforth much regarded in the conduct of public affairs. These ancient distinctions continued, but were rather nominal than real.

Under the new classification the first division of the people was made to consist of forty centuries of younger men under forty-six years old, and forty centuries of the elders who had passed that age. The latter were assigned to such duties as the defense of the city, and the former to the active service of the field. The second, third, and fourth classes were each likewise subdivided according to age into twenty centuries of younger and twenty of older men; but in the fifth class the two sections were made to consist of fifteen centuries each. The men of the first class wore a complete suit of armor, consisting of a breast-plate, helmet, shield, and greaves. The weapons carried by them were a lance, a javelin, and a sword. The second class were similarly armed, but carried a lighter shield, and wore no breast-plate. The third class omitted the greaves; the fourth, the helmet. The fifth class had only the lightest suit of armor. The statute required each citizen to furnish his own armor, and as that worn by men of the first class was very costly, those who composed that class were selected exclusively from the wealthiest ranks of the people. It was estimated that a citizen, in order to belong to the first class, must be worth at least a hundred thousand *asses*.[1] The assessment for each succeeding



ROMAN SOLDIER OF THE FIRST CLASS.



ROMAN SOLDIER OF THE SECOND CLASS.

[1] The Roman *as* was about equivalent to a pound of copper.

class was diminished by twenty thousand *asses*, so that the fifth class embraced only those whose property was valued at less than twenty-five thousand *asses*. It was, however, arranged that those who were possessed of less than eleven thousand *asses* should not be included in the fifth division, but should themselves constitute a class called the Proletarians, and these the king exempted from all military service.

The complete organization was thus made to consist of one hundred and seventy centuries of infantry, the six double centuries of cavalry which Tarquin had organized, and twelve new centuries of horse created by the law of Servius. The cavalry wing consisted wholly of younger men, chosen from the richest families. Their service was the active duty of the field. By their name of *Equites*, or Knights, they soon came to be regarded as the most honored soldiery of Rome.

When an assembly was called for the purpose of making laws or holding an election, the voting was done by centuries. Each century cast one vote. The eighty votes belonging to the first class were generally decisive of the result, especially when backed by the eighteen centuries of knights. The commons were in the aggregate the most numerous, but, counted by centuries, their preponderance disappeared. Their influence in the assembly was comparatively small; but the discrimination against them was less unjust than would at first sight appear. The burdens of the government were laid upon the rich, and the exemption of the poor was regarded as the complement of their exclusion from political influence. In one particular King Servius showed especial wisdom in the distribution of power. Although the younger men greatly outnumbered the older in the assembly, the votes of the latter were made equal to those of the former, thus giving to age and experience their proper weight as a counterpoise to what the rashness of youth might propose. By such checks as these was the political society of Rome restrained within proper limits and made to contribute its wealth of power to the maintenance of the state.

In furtherance of the conservative policy of his reign, Servius gave his two daughters in marriage to the sons of Tarquinius Priscus. The lay of ancient Rome has given to one of the princesses, Tullia, a wicked disposition, and to the other a character of gentleness. The two young Tarquins were likewise different in life and morality. Lucius, the elder, was so quarrelsome and proud that the people gave him the name of Superbus, the Haughty. To make all things balance, the aged Servius gave the good daughter to the bad youth, while the bad was assigned to the good. This arrangement, however, proved exceedingly displeasing to the parties most concerned. In a short time the wicked Tarquin murdered his wife and his good-natured brother Aruns, in order to make way for his marriage to that Tullia whose character was in accord with his own. As soon as this union was effected the twain conspired against the king. Tarquinius, having prepared the enemies of Servius for the intended usurpation, clad himself in royal garments, went into the market-place, and began to harangue the populace. When the old king heard the tumult he hastened to the scene, and an altercation ensued between him and his maddened son-in-law. The latter seized the aged Servius and hurled him down the steps of the Senate House. He then ordered his adherents to follow the old man on his way home and slay him; and the bloody deed was done. The body of the gray-haired king was left in the street. As soon as Tullia heard of what was done she drove in her carriage to the market-place and hailed her husband as king. On her way home she forbade the driver to turn aside, and the vehicle was driven over her father's corse. She returned to the palace spattered with the blood of him who had given her being.

Thus without the consent of the Senate or the people did Lucius Tarquinius obtain the kingdom. The Romans repaid him with disgust and hatred. His usurpation, which could not well be resisted—so sudden and audacious had been his course—was borne in a spirit of sullen disloyalty. His government was arbitrary and severe. All classes were oppressed without much regard to the forms of law. The king surrounded himself with a body-guard, thus exhibiting in Rome a style of administra-

tion like that of the so-called tyrants of Greece. Those who opposed him were subjected to persecution. The wealthy were provoked into quarrels which should end in the confiscation of their property. The poor were compelled to labor like slaves on the royal buildings, until many—so runs the legend—fell into despair and killed themselves.

As soon as the power of Tarquin was so firmly established in the city as to make successful opposition impossible, he made war on the Latins. Most of these people had already made their submission to the Romans, but a few towns still remained independent. One of these named Gabii made a stern resistance, and Tarquin was obliged to resort to a stratagem. The king's son Sextus covered his back with bloody stripes, and fled into the town. He begged the people of Gabii to save him from the cruelty of his father. His story was believed, and he was given command of a body of troops. At the head of these he sallied from the town, and the Romans—according to instructions—fled before him. The Gabians, delighted with their success, made Sextus commander of the city. As soon as he had the place in his power, he sent word to his father, asking what he should do. The king who was walking in his flower-garden, cut off the head of the tallest poppies, and sent them by the messenger to his son. The murderous suggestion was readily understood. The principal men of Gabii were put to death and the town delivered over to the Romans.

After this exploit Tarquin undertook to strengthen his influence by making a league with Octavius Mamilius, king of Tusculum. To him he gave his daughter in marriage. He also established an annual festival to be celebrated by all the Latins at the temple of Jupiter Latiaris, on the Alban Hills. He next made war on the Volscians, who inhabited one of the principal districts of Southern Latium. Pometia, the Volscian capital, was taken, and the spoils carried to Rome for the completion of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill—a structure which had been undertaken by the king's father. The great sewer, the Forum, and the market-place were likewise completed, and many other public buildings built and adorned by the compulsory labor of the poor. Rome began to assume the appearance of a splendid, if not luxurious, city. The king's extravagant tastes combined with his unscrupulous ambition to make the Roman capital the metropolis of Central Italy.

When Tarquin was at the height of his power an unknown woman came one day into his presence and offered to sell him nine books, which she declared to contain the inspired prophecies of the Sibyl of Cumæ. For these treasures she asked what Tarquin regarded as an extravagant price. He accordingly refused to make the purchase, and dismissed the woman with ridicule. Thereupon she turned aside, and burned three of the books in the king's presence. She then offered the remaining six for the same price previously asked for the whole, and when the king again refused and laughed at her she burned three more, and offered the remaining three for the same price as before. Tarquin now came to his senses. Her whom he had ridiculed as mad he now regarded as inspired, or, at least, sent to him by the gods. He accordingly purchased what remained of the prophetic treasures, and thus became possessed of the celebrated Sibylline Books. Two men versed in the Greek tongue were appointed to take them in charge, with orders to consult them whenever the city should be menaced with pestilence, famine, or war, to the end that the will of the gods might be known and the danger averted.

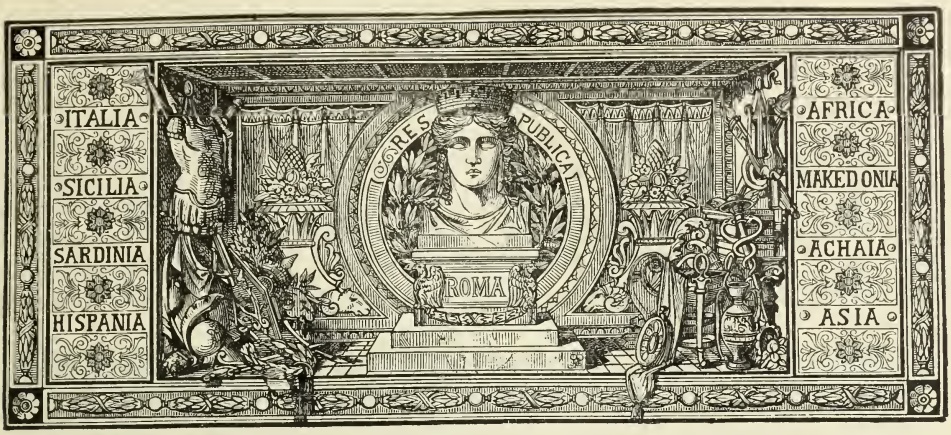
As usually happens in the case of cruel kings, the old age of Tarquin was troubled with dreams and phantom terrors. Frightened at these shadows he determined to send an embassy to the oracle of Delphi. As messengers he dispatched his two sons and a nephew named Junius. Him the people, on account of an assumed silliness of behavior, had nicknamed Brutus, but he was really a youth of genius, who but waited his opportunity to be great. When the three were presented to the Delphic priest the two sons of the king made costly presents, but Junius gave only a staff. In reality, however, the staff was hollow, and was filled with gold. The priest returned an answer that he should reign in Rome who should first kiss his mother. The two princes

at once hurried away, each anxious to fulfill the oracle; but Brutus, stumbling purposely, fell to the ground, and kissed the earth. He had understood the sly god better than his cousins; for he remembered that the earth is the common mother of all. Thus was fate ready to be accomplished.

Meanwhile Tarquinius, after a reign of twenty-four years, laid siege to Ardea, the capital town of the Rutuli, in Latium. One evening in the camp the king's two sons were feasting with their cousin Tarquinius Collatinus, prince of Collatia, and the three boasted of the virtues and beauty of their respective wives. In the midst of the bantering it was proposed that they should ride away to their homes and see what their wives were doing. This was accordingly done. The ladies of the king's sons were found enjoying themselves at a feast, but Lucretia, the beautiful wife of Collatinus, was discovered, though it was late at night, sitting among her maids busy with the duties of the household. She was, therefore, acknowledged to be most worthy of praise.

But it was a fatal adventure. The beauty of Lucretia kindled an unholy passion in Sextus, and the base wretch determined on the ruin of his cousin's house. Returning to Collatia by night, he was received without suspicion and entertained without distrust. In the middle of the night he made his way to Lucretia's chamber and threatened that in case of her refusal to receive him he would accomplish his purpose, kill her in her bed, and then place beside her the body of a slave so that the disgrace to be discovered by her husband might be doubly damning. Thereupon the terror-stricken woman yielded. On the morrow she sent in haste for her husband and her father Lucretius. Both came and with them Junius Brutus and Publius Valerius. When they arrived they found Lucretia clad in mourning and sitting alone in her chamber. She told them there the story of her shame, and having bound them by an oath to avenge her foul wrong, she plunged a knife into her bosom and died.

Then were the men roused to the highest passions of grief and vengeance. The body of Lucretia was carried into the market-place, and the story of the outrage was rehearsed to the people. Brutus came forward as a leader. He demanded that Tarquin and all his house should be expelled from the kingdom, and that no king should any more be permitted to rule in Rome. Messengers were sent with the news to the Roman camp before Ardea. The soldiers, glad of an opportunity, abandoned the hated king and returned to the city. The Tarquins were left to their fate. The kingly office was abolished by the Senate and people, and in the place of the deposed ruler, two officers, called Consuls, were chosen, who should hold their authority for a year and then yield to a new election. For the performance of the religious duties of the king, a high-priest was chosen who, under the direction of the pontifex maximus, should henceforth perform the public sacrifices. Thus was the death of Lucretia avenged, and a new order of things established in Rome. The expulsion of Tarquin the Haughty marks the limit of what is known as the Roman Kingdom as well as the beginning of that long span of brilliant history covered by the Republic. The date of this transformation is the year 245 from the founding of the city, or B. C. 509.



Part II.—The Republic.

Chapter LVIII.—Early Annals.

THE substitution of the Roman Republic for the monarchy was in the nature of a reform rather than a revolution. The foreign extraction and unpopular methods of the Tarquin, rather than any essential vice in the kingdom, made necessary the measures adopted by those whose private wrong combined with public expediency in the abolition of the old form of government.

The first consuls who were chosen under the new Republican *régime* were Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus. The movement which, under their direction, had been so suddenly successful was largely popular in its nature. The social instincts of the commons had revolted with great passion against the wicked deed of Sextus. As for Tarquin himself, he made his escape from Latium and fled into Etruria. Among the patricians in Rome he still had many adherents; and with these he sought to open a correspondence, ostensibly to secure his movable property, but really with a view to his restoration to the kingdom. Failing in this, his envoys entered into a conspiracy with some of the young nobles of Rome; but a certain slave, named Vindicius, overheard the plot and revealed it to the consuls. The conspirators were thereupon arrested, and the slave was rewarded with freedom and citizenship.

The discovery of the scheme of Tarquin and his confederates proved a terrible blow to the consul Brutus. It was found that among the plotters who had been imprisoned were his two sons, who had engaged with the rest to help on the restoration of the banished king. It thus fell to Brutus either to save his sons by breaking the law or to vindicate the Republic by condemning them to death. Terrible as it was, he chose the latter alternative. The two youths were brought forth before the eyes of their father, who disdained to ask for them the mercy which, perhaps, the people would have granted. On the contrary, he had them bound to the stake, and himself gave the order to the lictor to scourge them and strike off their heads with an axe. By this merciless deed the wrath of the Romans was still further kindled against the house of Tarquin.

The Senate refused to give up the property which the banished king owned in and about the city. His corn-fields along the Tiber were seized and consecrated to Mars, the grounds in question being ever afterward known as the Campus Martius. The Senate and people

then enacted a law that all who were of the race of Tarquin should be forever banished from the state. It happened that Tarquinius Collatinus, the consul, thus himself fell under the ban. But he left Rome without a murmur, and joined the exiles. A new consul, PUBLIUS VALERIUS, was chosen in his stead. Not only were the blood-kinsmen of the Tarquins thus driven beyond the borders of Latium, but the secret adherents of the party were obliged by public sentiment to leave the city.



LUCIUS JUNIUS BRUTUS CONDEMNS HIS SONS TO DEATH.
Drawn by K. Ermisch.

The banished king and his followers sought refuge at Tarquinii, the town of his fathers, in Etruria. Here he at once began to instigate the people as well as the inhabitants of Veii to make war on the Romans. A conflict was thus brought on between the armies of the consuls and the Etruscans. A battle was fought at the wood of Arsia, in which it was doubtful from morning until night which side would prevail. In the midst of the conflict Aruns, the son of Tarquinius, seeing Brutus at the head of the Roman army, rode against him at full speed. The latter also dashed forward, and the spear of each was driven through the other's body. Still the conflict remained undecided. After nightfall, however, Silvanus, the god of the forest, called from the wood and declared the Romans victors; for the Etruscans had lost one man more than the army of Rome. The combatants accordingly retired from the scene, each to his own city. The body of Brutus was borne to Rome, where the matrons, in recognition of the noble vengeance which

he had taken for the outrage of Lucretia, mourned his loss for a whole year.

The next movement of the Tarquin was to seek the aid of King Porsenna, of Clusium, in an attempted recovery of the kingdom. Porsenna yielded to the solicitations and, collecting a large army, marched against Rome. So sudden was their coming that the hill Janiculus, on the right bank of the Tiber, fell into their power. The defenders of this stronghold fled across the bridge into the city. The Romans were thrown into a panic, and left the entrance to the bridge undefended. In this emergency Horatius Cocles rushed to the further end with two warriors, named Lartius and Herminius, and held back the Etruscan army while their countrymen broke down the bridge behind them. Before the structure fell the two companions of Horatius escaped to the other bank, but he himself stood alone hurling back his assailants until the bridge went down with a crash. He then turned about with all his armor on, plunged into the Tiber, and swam unhurt to the opposite shore. There he was received with shouts by the multitude, and led into the city. A monument was erected in honor of his brave deed, and he was rewarded with a farm on the Tiber.

Notwithstanding the deliverance of Rome by the personal heroism of Horatius, the city was still hard pressed by the army of Porsenna. Famine was added to the other hardships of the siege. When the Romans were about to despair, a certain nobleman named Mucius came forward and volunteered his services to end the war by killing King Porsenna. He accordingly made his way into the Etruscan camp, where he fell upon the secretary, who was disbursing pay to the soldiers and slew him. Being seized for his crime and threatened with death, he replied with contempt, and in order to show his indifference to pain thrust his arm into the fire which was kept burning on the altar, and held it there until it was consumed. Porsenna was amazed at this exhibition of fortitude and gave the young nobleman his freedom. In gratitude for his deliverance Mucius then told the king of Clusium that three hundred young men of Rome had made an oath with himself that they would deliver the city by killing Porsenna. Such was the effect of this intelligence that the king determined to abandon the siege and make peace. By the terms of the treaty it was agreed that Tarquin should receive no further aid from the Etruscans, and that seven towns of the Veientines, previously conquered by the Romans, should be given to Porsenna.

Peace brought friendship to the two peoples. Among the hostages given by the Romans was a virgin named Clœlia. Fearing harm at the hands of the Etruscans, she escaped from the camp by night, swam the Tiber, and returned to Rome. Her countrymen, however, were displeased with this act of bad faith and sent her back to Porsenna. But he, in admiration alike for the courage of the maiden and the good faith of her people, gave her liberty, with as many others of the hostages as she might choose to take with her. The king also, in abandoning his camp before Rome, left every thing as it was, so that the Romans might have whatever it contained.

After the war King Porsenna retired to Clusium. Soon afterwards he sent an army under Aruns to besiege the town of Aricia, in Latium. It was here that the people of the Latin districts were accustomed to meet in council. When the Etruscans came against the place the Aricians received aid from Aristodemus, the Greek ruler of Cumæ; and in a battle which ensued the army of Aruns was completely defeated. The fugitives fled to Rome, where they were kindly received. The wounded were nursed until they were restored to health, and dwellings were given to them in that part of the city afterwards known as the Etruscan quarter.

Meanwhile Tarquin, not yet despairing of regaining the kingdom, had gone to Tusculum, where his son-in-law, Octavius Mamilius, held the government. Him he persuaded to make war on the Romans. Several Latin towns were induced to make a league against the enemies of Tarquin, and an expedition was undertaken against Rome. The authorities of the latter city were greatly alarmed at the situation. Believing that in such an emergency the divided authority of the consuls was detrimental to success, the Romans voted that for

the time the supreme command should be vested in an officer called DICTATOR, who should exercise discretionary power in all matters pertaining to the war. The first to be chosen to this high office was Marcus Valerius, who now took command for the defense of the city against Tarquin and the Latin league. The two armies met at LAKE REGILLUS, and a bloody battle was fought, in which for a long time victory inclined to neither side. At length the Romans, hotly assailed by a band of their exiled countrymen, led by Tarquin himself,



MUCIUS BEFORE PORSENNA.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

began to waver. In the supreme crisis Valerius vowed a temple to Castor and Pollux if they would save his people from defeat. At that instant the twin gods themselves, mounted on two white chargers, appeared suddenly at the head of the Roman knights and led them upon the foe. The tide immediately turned against the Latins. They were completely routed. Tarquin escaped to Cumæ, and found refuge with Aristodemus until his death. Rome was no more alarmed with the rumor of his coming.

It will thus be seen that the tradition of ancient Rome runs forward to a time subsequent to the overthrow of the kingdom. The early Republic is as much involved in the shadows of fable as are the later times of the kings. Until the present century these old legends were accepted as historic truth; but the age of credulity has given place to the age of skepticism and critical inquiry. In the light of careful research the old-time fictions are brushed away like gossamer. Of contemporary records early Rome has left us not a vestige. Vague traditions, handed down orally from generation to generation, are the substance of what the modern world has had to rely on relative to the beginnings and earlier development of the Roman state. Why, therefore, should such stories be believed?

If we are called to look over the ground calmly and decide what is and what is not entitled to credence, the amount preserved would be but trifling. What should be said of such a story as that of Romulus? Look at his birth, his nurture by a she-wolf, his mythical

career, his ascension into heaven—what has history to do with such fictions? If any such a being ever existed it is likely that the senators, taking advantage of the darkness and confusion of a storm, cut him to pieces in the Campus Martius.

Many of the stories which pass for the history of early Rome are, as it respects truth, physically impossible. Others are morally impossible. Take, for instance, the reign of Numa Pompilius. Who can believe that Rome in her then condition enjoyed forty-three years of peace? The story of this old king, sitting aside—while Rome went on peacefully—praying and making laws, is no more worthy of credence than is the myth of Egeria. The chronological difficulties are equally insurmountable. The reigns of the seven kings are made to cover a period of two hundred and forty years, or an average of thirty-four years to each reign. And yet four of these kings died by violence, and a fifth was expelled fifteen years before his death! History shows that the average length of a reign under such conditions is no more than twelve years and a half. Almost every part of the early lay is beset with like difficulties. Incongruities of statement and impossibilities of situation so prevail that the whole is reduced to the level of fiction.

In some instances the myth can be given a plausible interpretation. In a certain case during the Sabine wars, a young horseman named Curtius, charging the Romans, plunged into a swamp beyond the Palatine and was with difficulty extricated. From this circumstance the spot—afterwards drained and converted into the Forum—was named Lake Curtius. But what should tradition do with such an event? In the times of Varro it had grown to this: In B. C. 445, Curtius, being then consul, sacrificed his life for the city. For the earth opened in the Forum, and nothing availed to close the horrid gape of her jaws. Thereupon the soothsayers declared as the will of the gods, that until Rome should throw in that which was most precious the fissure should stand open. Hearing this, and deeming a Roman soldier the best gift of the city, Curtius clad himself in full armor, mounted his steed and plunged into the opening. The chasm at once closed, and Rome walked over the place in safety. Such is the poetic legend of Lake Curtius.

As already seen, the story of the early days of the Republic is equally obscured with traditions more fanciful than true. Through the mist, however, there gradually appears the outline of a real history of Rome. The fingers of the gods are withdrawn behind the clouds, and impossible heroism fades away. The phantasmagoria of she-wolves and woodpeckers, of girls melting into water-fountains, and priestesses selling impossible books, of open chasms and falling bridges, of men holding their arms in the fire, and consuls ordering lictors to cut off the heads of their sons, breaks like a rising fog, and under its fringes are seen the figures of men as trees walking.

Resuming the narrative, we come now to the first intestine troubles of Rome. So long as the surrounding tribes of Latium and Etruria continued to press upon the Republic of the Seven Hills the possible commotions within the city were stilled by a sense of common danger. The mythical Numa and the good Servius had befriended the people, and the hard lot of the plebeians had been softened not a little by incidental favors shown to them by the kings and consuls. Still there was a great chasm between the plebeian and patrician orders. Their interests were in conflict at almost every point. The Roman commons were for the most part the holders of small estates of land. Their business was to produce enough to maintain a family and to sell a modicum to others.

The legislation of the Consul Valerius, which belongs to this period of Roman history, was of the greatest importance, as bearing upon the difficulties of the state. For a season — especially after the death of his colleague—he was suspected by the people of aiming at kingly power; but it was soon discovered that his real purpose was to impose limitations to the too arbitrary authority of the consular office. A number of laws were accordingly prepared and laid before the people in the *comitia centuriata*. This body, established by Servius Tullius for the purpose of a

better military organization, had increased in influence under the later kings until its functions were nearly equivalent to those of the old *comitia curiata*. It had come to exercise the right of electing all magistrates and of passing, at least negatively, upon all laws proposed by the consuls and Senate. The laws proposed by Valerius thus came before the popular assembly for adoption or rejection.

The legislation in question had respect, first of all, to the census which was to be used as the basis of the new classification of the citizens. This was a measure in the interest of the wealthy; but as a balance against this increase of the power of the rich the consul remitted the poll-tax, which had been imposed on the poor by Tarquinius Superbus. The port dues which had been collected at Ostia were lowered, and the salt-works in that vicinity taken in charge by the government. Valerius also introduced the custom of purchasing public stores of corn and holding the same against the contingencies of famine, war, and insurrection. An important political measure was that which secured the filling of the vacancies in the Senate by the admission thereto of noble plebeians from the ranks of the knights. These were henceforth distinguished from those who were *patres*, or patricians by birth, by the title of *conscripti;* so that for a long time the style of address in the Senate was, "*Patres et Conscripti.*" The latter, however, were not entitled to the purple-bordered robe, the red shoe and gold ring, which were the badges of the *patres*.

The first law proposed by Valerius was a kind of a personal liberty statute, amounting in effect almost to a Habeas Corpus. It provided that any person under sentence of punishment should have the right of appealing to the people in the *comitia centuriata*. As an addendum to this extraordinary concession it was provided that henceforth within the city limits the axes should be omitted from the *fasces* borne by the lictors. For the axe was the emblem of consular power, and the law proposed to remove it while in the presence of the people. Outside of the city the *fasces* were still to contain the axe.

The second Valerian law placed a limit on the power of the magistrate to impose fines. The sum which might hereafter be assessed for a single penalty was restricted to the value of five cattle and two sheep. The third law limited the prerogatives of the consuls by providing for the election of two QUÆSTORS, whose duty it was to manage the finances of the state. The fourth statute compelled the magistrates to nominate and receive votes for all proper persons who should be named as candidates by the people; while the fifth law denounced the penalty of outlawry against any one who should attempt to become consul without a regular election, For his championship of these measures Valerius was honored with the title of POPLICOLA, or Friend of the People.

The condition of Roman society, however, was at this time exactly such as to make the plebeians the dependents of the noble patricians, who held large tracts of land and were wealthy in goods and money. The common people by force of circumstances became borrowers. When war brought home his spoils into Rome they were divided among the officers and people of higher rank. Thus the resources of the rich were constantly augmented, and as constantly this easily-gotten wealth was loaned at high rates of interest to the poor. The laws were framed by the patrician Senate, and were in the interest—as they have always been—of the money-lending classes. The code was dreadfully severe against the borrower.

At this time the city of Rome probably had a population of six hundred thousand souls. Of these, according to the census made by the consul Valerius, there were a hundred and thirty thousand men capable of bearing arms. This enrollment was exclusive of freedmen and slaves. It was necessary that this large population should draw its subsistence from about thirteen square leagues of territory. Agriculture was the only means of doing so. When a plebeian came home victorious from war his crops had been neglected, and he was obliged to borrow until the next season. Then the patrician loaned to him under the following code:

"Let him [the debtor] be summoned; if

he does not appear, take witnesses, arrest him; if he hesitates, lay hands on him; if age or sickness hinder him from appearing, furnish a horse, but not a carriage.

"Let the rich answer for the rich; for the poor, whoever will. The debt acknowledged, the affair adjudicated, let there be thirty days' delay. Then hands may be laid upon him and he may be taken before the judge. At sunset the tribunal closes. If he do not satisfy the judgment, or if no one answers for him, the creditor shall take him away and attach him with cords or with chains, which shall weigh fifteen pounds—less than fifteen if the creditor so like. Let the prisoner live on his own means. If he have none, he is to have a pound of flour or more at the will of the creditor.

"If he does not arrange, detain him in custody for sixty days; however, he is to be brought into court three market-days, and there the amount of his debt shall be proclaimed. On the third market-day, if there are many creditors, *they may cut him in pieces.* Should they cut more or less they are not responsible. If they wish, they may sell him to strangers beyond the Tiber."

Such were the merciful statutes of primitive Rome. The government was of the money-lender, for the money-lender, and by the money-lender.

In this condition of affairs it not infrequently happened that an imprisoned debtor would escape from his dungeon and, flying to the Forum, exhibit himself to the people. Such scenes were more than human nature could bear. The insurrectionary spirit was ready to burst into a flame. On one occasion a centurion of the Roman army, a man of honorable scars, showed his rags and squalor, begrimed with the prison mold, to his enraged countrymen. At that moment an invasion was threatened by the Volscians. The consuls, Appius Claudius and Servilius, called the people to arms, but the call was in vain. The plebeians refused to enlist until their wrongs were redressed and their friends liberated from prison. The emergency admitted of no delay, and the Senate gave a pledge that when the Volscians were subdued the demands of the people should be complied with. But the pledge was broken, and the plebeians were threatened with a dictatorship under Appius.

In the following year (B. C. 494), when the spirit of sedition was still rife, the threat was carried out; but the choice fell upon VALERIUS VOLSCUS, a man of pacific disposition. Meantime, the plebeians had gathered in a body and withdrawn to an eminence called the MONS SACER, about three miles from the city. Having obtained this vantage ground, they were emboldened to seize the Aventine, within the corporate limits. While holding this position, the Senate sent to them as an envoy Menenius Agrippa. In his address to the insurgents he likened the divisions of Roman society to the different members of the body. He showed the mutual dependence of the various classes, and by fair promises and careful dealing induced the people to return to their homes. This time the Senate kept its faith; the imprisoned debtors were liberated, and the insolvent relieved from their obligations.

It is thought that this first break between the two classes of Roman society was rather between the rich and the poor than between the two great permanent divisions of the people. Most of the poor, however, were plebeians, and nearly all of the rich were patricians. In the case of the next insurrection the lines were strictly drawn, according to the political classification. Until now the plebeians had been excluded from the consulship, and were thus without the protection of a magistrate belonging to their own ranks. They therefore insisted on such a change in the constitution as should admit them to a share in the government.

This crisis was one of the most important in the early history of Rome. In the struggle between the classes the plebeians were successful, and it was enacted that henceforth two officers, to be known as TRIBUNES, should be chosen from the commons; that they should be granted personal inviolability; and that any one who assailed them while in office should have his property confiscated and himself pronounced accursed. There was thus established in the constitution of Rome a counterpoise to the power of the consuls.

The first election under the new order resulted in the choice of LICINIUS and BRUTUS as tribunes of the people.

The duty of the new officers was, as the name implied, to manage the local affairs of the tribes. The office was intended, primarily, as a check upon the overgrown—almost regal—power of the consuls. The tribunes exercised only civil authority. No military force was placed at their disposal; but, so far as official dignity and sacredness of purpose were concerned, the new magistrates were in no wise inferior to the consuls themselves. They were regarded as under the special protection of the gods, insomuch that whoever offered them insult or violence might be killed with impunity.

Any plebeian had the right to appeal to the tribunes against consular authority; and to the end that, at all times and under all circumstances, the appeal might not be obstructed or delayed, the law required that the tribunes should never go to a greater distance than a mile from the city wall, and that the doors of their houses should stand open day and night. From the exercise and extension of their power, the tribunes came to have a veto upon the execution of any law regarded as dangerous to the interests of the people. To assist them in the discharge of their duties, two subordinate officers, known as ÆDILES, were chosen under the same statute which created the tribunal office.

It frequently happened that the tribunes must call the plebeians together to consult with them on affairs of state. In these meetings, the popular officers spoke with entire freedom on the weightiest questions which agitated the Republic. These popular assemblies had the right of petition, but no legislative authority. On such occasions, resolutions were adopted which were carried by the tribunes to the *comitia centuriata;* but such resolutions, like those of a modern public assembly, were merely expressions of the public wish, and had no binding force as law. The plebeians themselves, however, were disposed to claim for their resolutions a certain regal sanction, and this view of their import was favored by the adoption of the Icilian Law proposed by the tribune ICILIUS, in the year B. C. 493, wherein it was enacted that any one interrupting a tribune while addressing the people should be punished with death.

As was to be expected under such conditions, the powers of these officers of the people were rapidly extended. They soon usurped authority which did not originally belong to them. They even went so far as to claim the right of summoning patricians before them, and of punishing them with fines, imprisonment, or death. The first instance in which this stretch of power was brought to the test was in the case of Caius Marcius Coriolanus. There was a famine in Rome. The poor were starving. Corn was brought from Etruria to relieve the destitute. This being insufficient, Gelon, king of Syracuse, sent shiploads of supplies as presents to the Roman people. Coriolanus, a patrician and soldier, who had won a civic crown by his bravery at the battle of Lake Regillus, proposed that none of these provisions should be distributed to the plebeians until they consented to give up their tribunes.

For this he was impeached by the people's officers. He was accused before the *comitia centuriata* of having broken the peace between the two classes of Roman citizens, as well as having violated the sacred laws of humanity. The patricians were unable to protect him from popular indignation, and fleeing from Rome he sought refuge among the Volscians. Once safe in Antium, the capital town of that tribe, he persuaded the king to join him in making war on Rome. With a large army Coriolanus invaded the Roman territory, and made his way within five miles of the city. He wasted the country and spread terror on every hand until the Romans were glad to sue for peace; but Coriolanus imposed harsh terms. He demanded that all the towns hitherto taken from the Volscians should be unconditionally restored.

The people sent out a second embassy to beg for more favorable conditions; but the envoys were turned away with disdain. Finally a procession of Roman matrons, headed by Veturia and Volumnia, the mother and wife of Coriolanus, came to beseech him to spare his country from further persecution. It is related that the haughty patrician, addressing his mother with a sort of indignant loyalty, cried out:

"Mother, you have saved your country, but lost your son." He at once withdrew with his army, and the territory of Rome was quickly recovered.

According to one of the traditions, Coriolanus returned to the Volscians, by whom he was put to death; but another is to the effect that he spent the rest of his days in exile. The result of the struggle had on the whole been favorable to the cause of the plebeians. The power of the tribunes was more secure than before the outbreak. The Roman commons were now an organized body, and were able, by means of their officers, to offer systematic resistance to the consuls, backed as the latter were by the patricians.

At the bottom of all the civil dissensions which now distracted the state of Rome lay the *question of land*. The territory of the commonwealth was limited. The land had been acquired by conquest. Since, from the early days, the patricians had virtually constituted the state they claimed and exercised the right of dividing all the conquered lands among themselves. As the plebeians grew to be an important element in the political society of Rome they began to claim their right to share in the distribution of new lands, to the conquest of which they had contributed as much as the patricians. But this claim was disallowed by the ruling classes.

After the expulsion of Tarquin, the *patres* relented to the extent of conceding certain lands to the plebeians on the same terms as those under which their own estates were occupied; namely, the payment to the government of one-tenth of the income. Subsequently still larger distributions of conquered territories were made to the plebeians, but always with such restrictions and discriminations as tended to engender discontent. Cultivation was made a condition of the gift, and the poor peasant, whose resources consisted of cattle and sheep, was only mocked by the offer of what he could not possess. The principle of debt, too, with the usurious rates of interest which were charged, tended constantly and powerfully to throw all of the lands into the hands of the nobles, and to reduce the plebeians to the level of serfs.

The Roman commons became day-laborers on the estates of those who were their masters in all but the name. For this state of affairs there was no remedy except to strike at the root of the system, and change the principle which had hitherto governed the distribution of the public lands. The partial concession which had been made had thus far affected only the wealthier plebeians, and this to the suffering poor had been an injury rather than a benefit; for the more powerful of their own class were thus drawn over to the patricians, who persisted in claiming the full right of disposing of the *ager Romanus* as they would.

It was in this emergency that Spurius Cassius, a patrician of noble birth, came into the *comitia centuriata*, and proposed the first Agrarian Law. He was himself a man of great influence in the state, having twice held the office of consul. He had conducted two successful wars, the first with the Latins, and the second with Hernicians. Both of the conflicts had been concluded with treaties favorable to Rome, whereby considerable accessions had been made to the public domain. Cassius now proposed in the assembly that the newly acquired lands, instead of being offered for occupation on the old conditions, should be freely distributed to the plebeians and subject Latin population. His proposition went so far as to reclaim—in case the new lands should prove insufficient in quantity—certain parts of the public domain previously distributed to the rich.

This radical movement on the part of Cassius awakened the most violent opposition. The patricians were greatly embittered; and the wealthy plebeians selfishly added their influence to the opposition. The patricians claimed that Cassius was violating the Roman constitution by proposing in the *comitia* a measure which could only be lawfully discussed by the Senate; and that the measure itself was against the common right of property, since it touched the redistribution of lands already acquired. Even the plebeians were dissatisfied with the proposition made by their friend, since it included the Latins with themselves in the new assignment of real property. Nevertheless the measure was adopted by the *comitia*, and the patricians contented themselves with preventing the execution of the law. At the expira-

tion of his consulship, Cassius was charged before the Senate with aspiring to kingly power, and after a trial was condemned to death.

With the fall of the people's friend, the patricians became more haughty and severe than ever. In B. C. 485, the Fabian Gens obtained the consulship by usurpation, and, contrary to the Valerian Law, held it for ten years. During this interval the plebeians suffered the heaviest oppressions. In order to compel service in the army, the officers of the government adopted the plan of enlisting recruits beyond the limits of the *pomerium*, where the authority of the tribunes could not avail to save the poor man who was arrested. Another method adopted by the authorities was to suborn one of the tribunes, and induce him in any particular case to veto the acts of his colleagues.

Meanwhile the Fabii continued to be nominated for the consulship year after year. This course produced its natural effect, and a certain Cæso Fabius, himself a patrician, brought forward a proposition to enforce the Agrarian Law. This was done for the purpose of winning over the plebeians to his support. The government became alarmed at the prospect of a usurpation, and the whole Fabian Gens, now numbering three hundred and six citizens and more than four thousand clients, was compelled to retire from the city. They marched to the river Cremera, and established a fortified camp near the town of Veii. Here they sustained themselves for two years, but in B. C. 477 were enticed into an ambush, and slain to a man. Only one boy belonging to the Gens remained at Rome to preserve the name of the great family which had recently controlled the state.

A crisis was now reached in the long struggle between the two political classes of Roman citizens. After the banishment of the Fabii, the contest over the execution of the Agrarian Law became hotter than ever. In B. C. 473, the tribune Genucius brought forward an accusation against the consuls, charging them with neglecting to make the promised distribution of lands. The day of trial was set, but on the night before the opening of the cause the tribune was murdered in his own house. His colleagues were terrified into silence, and the trial of the consuls came to naught.

The murder of their favorite representative enraged the plebeians more than ever, and they demanded that henceforth the tribunal elections should be conducted exclusively by themselves without patrician or senatorial interference. The tribune Volero Publilius was the leader in this movement, while the patricians were headed by Appius Claudius. The latter entered the plebeian assembly, and for a while delayed the adoption of the measure proposed by Volero; but the popular leader rallied his adherents, secured his reëlection as tribune, and succeeded in forcing the measure through the assembly. The law required that henceforth the tribunes of the people should be chosen by a *comitia* composed exclusively of plebeians. It was a great victory for popular rights. From the first step which was taken by the adoption of the Icilian Law there had been a constant progress in the direction of emancipating the Roman commons from the thralldom in which they had been held by the patrician order.

For ten years after the passage of the Publilian Law there was a time of comparative quiet; but the plebeians, now partially freed from servitude, began to make still further demands for the enlargement of their rights in the state. Their aim was to secure an unequivocal recognition in the constitution of their position as an independent element of political society. The great obstacle in the way of a further development of popular liberty was the consular prerogative. This, though many times assailed, still stood in stubborn opposition to any advance on the side of the people. The new demands now found expression in a measure proposed in B. C. 462, by the tribune Caius Terentilius Assa, to the effect that a commission of five members should be appointed to draw up a code of laws limiting the judicial powers of the consuls.

Until the present the knowledge and practice of the law had been restricted to the patrician order. The Senate and nobles had purposely prevented the reduction of the laws to writing to the end that even the tribunes should remain dependent upon others for an interpreta-

tion of the statutes. In new cases, which were constantly arising, the whole matter rested with the magistrate, who made and executed the rules of procedure as he would. It thus became indispensable to the welfare of the masses that the statutes of the state should be reduced to a written body, to be known and understood of all. The measure proposed by Terentilius was at once adopted by the plebeian assembly, but was rejected by the Senate.

The issue thus created was contested with great spirit. The contentions between the parties became as violent as those which had attended the first agitation of popular liberty. The neighboring states took advantage of the civil commotion to invade Latium. The Volscians made a successful campaign into the heart of the country, and the Æquians defeated a Roman army on Mount Algidus. In these contests the plebeians held aloof, hoping by that means to compel the patricians to make the desired concessions. But the latter, for the time, held out stubbornly.

To this period (B. C. 458) belongs the story of Lucius Quinctius, better known by the name of Cincinnatus.[1] Rome was engaged in a desperate contest with the Æquians. Her army had been intercepted among the defiles, and was in imminent danger of destruction. In this emergency the people demanded the appointment of a dictator. Quinctius had already acquired fame as a brave and unselfish patriot. The messengers of the Senate found the old hero working with bare arms in the field. Having thrown a mantle about his shoulders, that he might receive the envoys with proper respect, he heard their message, and accepted the commission. As master of the horse he chose the valiant Lucius Tarquitius. Then with fresh levies of troops he fell suddenly upon the rear of the Æquians, forced them to an engagement, and captured their whole army. He then compelled his prisoners to pass under the yoke, and marched the whole force to Rome in triumph. The spoils of the great victory were divided among the soldiers; and then the aged victor laid down his office and returned to his plow, bequeathing to after times a name which, whether real or mythical, has never been tarnished with reproach or blurred with envy.

In B. C. 457 the dominant class consented to a further popular modification of the law. It was agreed that the number of the tribunes, which had already been increased from two to five, should now be augmented to ten members, to the end that greater facilities of appeal might be secured to the people. Three years later the tribune Icilius secured the passage of a measure by which the lands on the Aventine were given up to plebeian occupation. The next concession was brought forward by one of the consuls, who proposed a limitation on the amount which might be assessed by any magistrate — consul or tribune — on a citizen. The sum was limited to thirty oxen and two sheep.

Still the popular demands continued. They grew with each enlargement of the people's rights. In B. C. 454 the patricians assented to the appointment of a commission to codify the laws, but coupled the concession with the proviso that the commissioners should be appointed from their own order. Three patrician lawyers—Postumius, Manlius, and Sulpicius — called *triumviri* — were accordingly named and sent into Greece and Southern Italy to study the legislation of the Greeks. This embassy was rather to collect information than to prepare the code. On the return of the envoys, ten citizens were chosen by the *comitia*, and commissioned with full authority to formulate a new code for the government of the state.

The *decemviri* entered at once upon their work, which in the form of the *Ten Tables* was published within the year. The code was approved by the *comitia centuriata*, and became the fundamental statute of the commonwealth of Rome. The new laws were received with great favor, and a second commission of *decemviri* was appointed to give the finishing touches to the work. Among those chosen for this duty were plebeians as well as patricians, so that the sanction of all classes might be had to the final revision. Appius Claudius was the only member of the old board reëlected to

[1] So called on account of his long hair, which he suffered to fall in curls about his neck and shoulders.

the new. Two additional statutes were prepared, and the whole given to the public as the Twelve Tables of Laws; and these became the basis of all subsequent legislation in both the Republic and the Empire. The new code was plainly written and affixed to the rostra in front of the Curia Hostilia, that all the people might scrutinize the work of their commissioners. It became customary to transcribe them and to learn them by heart, so that the citizen of Rome, even from his school-boy days, might have the laws of his country at his tongue's end.

The code of the Twelve Tables was noted less for revolutionary enactments than for the succinct statement which it gave of the existing laws. The law of debt remained as before, except that the rate of interest was limited to ten per cent. The marriage statute still interdicted the union of patricians and plebeians; and the discrimination against the proletarii, or those whose property was assessed at less than eleven thousand asses, was retained as it had been since the days of Servius. So also the old laws relative to fines, imprisonment, and the punishment of death were allowed to stand with little modification. The great benefit conferred on the state by the new code was that it gave a fixed and indisputable form to that which had previously been the subject of endless disputes, and gave *publicity* to the whole, so that every citizen might know the laws of his country.

The popularity won by the decemvirs soon led to haughtiness and usurpation. Before the end of their second year in the government their conduct was such as to effect a complete estrangement of the people. They appeared in the Forum accompanied by lictors, who carried the *fasces* with axes—an assumption of authority which not even the consuls would have ventured to make. They neglected to observe the forms of law, and when the term of their office expired refused to resign.

A revolt was already imminent when two acts of infamy precipitated a crisis. Learning the condition of affairs in Rome, the Sabines and Æquians took up arms and began to pillage and devastate the country. They advanced into the heart of Latium, and gained possession of Mount Algidus. Appius Claudius and his colleagues of the *decemviri* now became alarmed, and convened the Senate. War was declared, and a levy of troops made to fill the army. But the soldiers permitted themselves to be defeated, and the capture of the city seemed imminent. In the legion opposing the Sabines was a brave soldier named Lucius Licinius Dentatus, who had held the office of tribune, and who now denounced Appius Claudius and the decemvirs as unworthy of confidence. For this he was murdered by the connivance of the authorities.

Soon a second outrage occurred, which roused the indignation of the people to a still higher pitch. Virginius, a man of plebeian rank, but of the highest character, was the happy father of a beautiful daughter, Virginia. On her way to school she was seen by Appius Claudius, who determined to gain possession of her person. He therefore directed one of his clients to claim her as his slave. The maiden was seized and brought before Appius, who sat as judge to try the cause between the father and the client. The foregone decision was rendered that Virginia was the slave's daughter, and the decemvir ordered that Virginius should give her up. The father in despair turned aside into a butcher's stall near the Forum, and concealing a knife under his cloak, returned to bid his child farewell. First embracing her tenderly he suddenly raised the knife and smote her dead on the spot. Waving the bloody blade above him, he broke through the lictors and escaped to the army.

When the soldiers heard the story their suppressed wrath broke forth in fury. It was as if the tragedy of Sextus and Lucretia had been again enacted. The army mutinied and marched on the city. Having taken the Aventine, it was joined by other forces, and the whole withdrew to the Sacred Mount. The decemvirs were driven to resign. The moderate party, headed by Horatius and Valerius, entered into negotiations with the insurgents, and a reconciliation was soon effected. Amnesty was agreed to for all except the decemvirs. The tribunes were restored and the right of appeal again granted to the people.

Appius Claudius and Oppius, his chief abet-

tor in the recent scenes of violence and outrage, were arrested and thrown into prison, whence they were glad to escape by suicide. The other eight decemvirs fled into exile. Three new statutes, known as the Valerio-Horatian Laws—from the name of their authors who were now elected to the consulship—were enacted, in which the consular authority was still further limited. The first law was a renewal of the guaranty by which the tribunes claimed coördinate jurisdiction with the Senate in the matter of making laws; and though the latter body naturally resented this division of a power which had been exclusively its own, yet the assertion of plebeian rights could not be longer prevented. It came to pass in practice that the tribunes carried the laws which they desired to have adopted to the Senate to receive the sanction of that august assembly; and for a while the popular officers would re-



THE DEAD VIRGINIA.—Drawn by H. Vogel.

of the people were made inviolable in their persons, and also a restoration of the old Icilian Law. The second statute revived the right of appeal against the sentence of any magistrate; and the third and most important was that the *plebiscita*, or resolutions adopted in the assembly of the plebeian tribes, should have the force of law upon the whole people. Thus, at last, was the legislative power of the Roman commons directly recognized and accepted.

The plebeians were quick to avail themselves of their new prerogatives. They now main outside the Senate House while the proposed measures were discussed by the *patres et conscripti*. By and by, however, the tribunes, emboldened by familiarity, entered the Senate freely, listened to the debates, and, in case of an obnoxious measure, arose and pronounced their veto. It thus happened that when the senators were tempted to enact unpopular laws, they were confronted in advance with the menace of the tribunes, whom they could not successfully resist; and thus it came to pass that the tribunal office grew from a mere pro-

tectorate of the people to a coördinate branch of the Roman government. In the very next year after the adoption of the Valerio-Horatian Laws (B. C. 447), the work of popular reform was carried forward by the transfer of the choice of the quæstors from the consuls to a free election by the *comitia* of the tribes.

Thus by degrees had the plebeians gained the privilege of sitting by the side of the patricians in the curule chairs, and of wearing the time-honored badges of office. One of the effects of the firm establishment of these prerogatives was that that class of plebeians who had grown wealthy and had thus been thrown into sympathy with the patricians rather than with their own order, were now brought back by their interests and attached to the commons. For by such a reunion they hoped to be able to achieve an absolute equality with the patricians.

The year B. C. 445 was marked by another radical movement, headed by the tribune CANULEIUS. He proposed two additional statutes bearing directly upon the social and political order of the state. The first was a law rendering valid marriages between the plebeians and the patricians, and legitimizing the offspring of such unions. The enactment made no discrimination as to whether the man or the woman was from the lower rank, merely providing that the children should take the name of the father. A second law, proposed at the same time and by the same officer, provided that the consulship should hereafter be open to plebeians as well as patricians, thus putting the highest office in Rome within reach of the humblest citizen.

The first of the bills which were presented by Canuleius was passed, but the other was a measure so revolutionary that a compromise was substituted therefor. In this it was provided that henceforth the Roman people might elect either consuls (and only patricians were eligible to the consulship) or military tribunes to be chosen promiscuously from any rank of society. The latter officers, hitherto unknown to the constitution, were to have consular power, and the Senate was to decide whether at any given annual election the voting was to be for consuls or for military tribunes.

In the first year after the Canuleian law was passed, namely, B. C. 444, it was determined to elect three military tribunes, of whom two were plebeians, but after a choice had been made the augurs decided that the auspices had been unfavorable and that a new election should be held for consuls. This was accordingly done, and a struggle began which continued for six years before tribunes were again chosen. After that an interval of thirty-eight years elapsed before the consulship was again broken by the substitution of the more popular office. It was not until B. C. 400 that a board of five military tribunes, a majority of them being taken from the plebeians, was chosen to perform the duties of the consular office. So desperately do the old privileged orders of human society cling to the rights which they have inherited.

As soon as the principle of the military tribuneship was well established as a part of the constitution it became the policy of the patricians to make the concession as little useful as possible by stripping the office of a part of its importance. Among the duties hitherto performed by the consuls none was more essential than the taking of the census. Upon this depended—more even than in the case of an American apportionment—the relative representative strength of the different elements of Roman society. The Senate now detached the duty of taking the census from the consular office and assigned the same to a new officer, called the CENSOR, who might be chosen from the patricians only. It was thus sought to remand the distribution of political power in the state to the exclusive control of the nobility, which was now assuming the character of an oligarchy.

In dignity the new officer ranked next to the consuls. To the censor was committed the registry of the tribes, and this in its turn regulated the military service and political status of every citizen. When vacancies occurred in the Senate or in the ranks of the Equites it was the duty of the censor to fill the same by new appointment, and his power extended even to the striking off the names of senators and knights from the lists of their respective orders. With the growth of the

office other duties, such as the supervision of the finances, the distribution of lands, the management of public works, the farming of indirect taxes, and the oversight of the public and private lives of the citizens, were added to the office, greatly augmenting its importance in the state. For ninety-four years (B. C. 445–351) the censorship was held exclusively by patricians, and was, of course, so managed as to uphold the exclusive privileges of that aristocratic order. Not until B. C. 351 was the office finally opened to the plebeians.

The next step in the development of popular liberty among the Romans was the increase in the number of quæstors. This was fixed at four instead of two. Of these one-half were to remain in the city while the others were to serve as paymasters with the army.

These political struggles of the fifth century B. C. were frequently marked with violence and bloodshed. One such scene of special note was that in which Spurius Mælius was the principal actor. He was a plebeian knight and one of the wealthiest men of Rome. During the famine of B. C. 440 he went into Etruria and purchased large supplies of corn, which he sold at a nominal price or distributed gratuitously to the poor of the city. His philanthropy drew to him the hearts of the people. When it was seen that he was beloved and applauded the jealous patricians charged him with aspiring to kingly power. Such was their usual method with those whom they hated. The rumor was spread abroad that the house of Mælius had been converted into an arsenal, and that the tribunes had been seduced from their allegiance to the people. In this factitious emergency the Senate prevailed upon the consuls to nominate a dictator, and the aged Cincinnatus was again called to that high office. Mælius was summoned to appear in the Forum and defend himself against a charge of treason. Knowing the probable issue of the trial he appealed to the people for protection; but before the cause could be heard he was assassinated by Caius Servilius Ahala, the master of the horse. The house of Mælius was leveled to the ground, and his property confiscated to the state. The people were so enraged at the murder of their friend that Servilius, in order to save his life, was obliged to go into exile.

It was the peculiarity of these intestine commotions that during their continuance the enemies of Rome were almost constantly victorious in the field. It was evident that the soldiers of the Republic had learned to yield in battle for the express purpose of depriving the consuls of a triumph. The neighboring nations watched their opportunity, and when they saw the Romans engaged in a domestic broil, were quick to take advantage of the situation. Such were the Æquians and the Volscians, who time and again invaded the Roman territory. The former people, shortly after the death of Mælius, gained possession of Mount Algidus and devastated a considerable district of Latium. The Latin towns, thus overrun, appealed to Rome for aid, and the people, at that time in a patriotic mood, on account of the concessions made to them in the Canuleian Law, rallied to the defense of the state, and the enemy were driven out of the country.

At this time the plan of establishing military settlements in districts conquered by the Roman arms became a part of the policy of the state.

To the year B. C. 396 belongs the conquest of the Etruscan town of Veii. For a long time hostilities had been at intervals carried on with this people. The neighboring town Fidenæ was first taken and destroyed. Veii, the capital city of Southern Etruria, was then subjected to a siege of ten years' duration. The Roman army was obliged to continue the siege winter and summer. The struggle was finally ended by the capture of the city, and the large territory belonging to the Veientines was added to the Roman dominions. Room was thus afforded for the organization of four new tribes, and the city, being thus relieved of her surplus population, as well as enriched by her recent conquests, entered upon a new life, a new prosperity.

In B. C. 390 the Republic suffered an invasion by the Gauls. This wild, semi-barbarous people was distributed over the greater part of Western Europe. The principal seats of their power were Gaul and Britain; but in their

tribal migrations many of the race had crossed the Alps, and settled in the valley of the Po. From this position they advanced to the south until they came into contact with the Romans of Central Italy. The movement of the Gauls was in the nature of a vast marauding expedition; but their numbers were so great that the Roman army sent to oppose them was disas-



OLD PAPIRIUS AND THE BARBARIANS.—Drawn by A. de Neuville.

trously defeated in the great battle of Allia, fought in B. C. 390, eleven miles from Rome.

The remnant of the army of the consuls escaped into the city, and the Gauls swarmed about the ramparts by thousands. The Romans were panic-stricken. The walls were abandoned; and the terrified people flocked to the Capitol, carrying with them whatever they could seize. The Gauls poured in like a flood, and the city was taken without resistance. At this juncture occurred that famous incident, doubtless the invention of Roman pride in after times; namely, the heroic conduct of the Roman senators in the presence of the barbarian invaders. It is related that the venerable fathers of the Republic clad themselves in the robes and insignia of their office, and seated themselves in their curule chairs in the Forum. They sat in silence in the presence of the astonished Gauls, who knew not whether these sage, gray-bearded figures were men or gods. At last, rather to satisfy himself than to commit an indignity against a being who might be one of the immortals, a certain Gaul approached the aged Papirius and stroked his flowing beard. For this the venerable senator struck him to the earth with his wand. The barbarians were at once aroused to passion, and soon glutted their vengeance by the massacre of the whole assembly. The city was then pillaged and burnt, but the Capitol held out against the invaders. Without the means of conducting a regular siege, the Gauls were baffled in their assaults, and were obliged to content themselves with an attempted reduction of the place by famine. The courage of the Romans was sustained in the emergency by the conduct of a certain Fabius, who in the very face of the Gauls made his way to the Quirinal Hill, and there performed those expiatory rites which were said to be due to the gods.

Another brave deed was done which raised the spirits of the besieged. A valiant plebeian, named Pontius Cominius, escaped down the precipice of the Tarpeian Rock, swam the Tiber, and carried an invitation to Camillus, then at Veii, to accept the dictatorship and come to the rescue of the city. The hero's footprints were discovered by the Gauls, and on the following night they undertook to scale the cliff down which Cominius had escaped. The Romans, regarding this part of of the rampart as impregnable, had taken no care to strengthen the defenses. The barbarians, aided by the obscurity of night, were on the point of gaining the summit, when their coming was revealed by the clamor of the sacred geese kept in the temple of Juno. The soldiers rushed to arms, but even these would hardly have prevailed to keep the Gauls at bay had not the brave patrician, Marcus Manlius, thrown himself upon the foremost barbarians, and hurled them down one by one from their slippery footing. Thus the fortress was saved from its peril, and the people, in gratitude to Manlius, conferred on him the title of Capitolinus.

Meanwhile Camillus had accepted the dictatorship, and was proceeding with that part of the Roman army which had survived the defeat at Allia to the rescue of the city. Before his arrival, however, the Romans were driven to desperation, and offered to surrender to the barbarians. The latter consented to accept a large sum of gold and retire from the city. The terms were agreed to, and the Roman officers were weighing out the money, when Brennus, the Gaulish chieftain, in order to increase this amount, threw his sword into the opposite side of the balance, exclaiming as he did so, "Woe to the vanquished!" At this moment of desperation, however, Camillus arrived, and stopped the whole proceeding with the declaration that the Romans, having a dictator, could make no treaty without his consent. He seized the money which was about to be paid to the Gauls, and bade defiance to Brennus and his host. The latter shrank from a renewal of the encounter, and retired from the city. They were pursued and routed by Camillus before they escaped from Latium.

Such is the popular tradition, embellished, no doubt, with much poetic fiction, of the pillage and capture of Rome by the Gauls. From many circumstances, it appears certain that the city was once for a season in the power of these barbarians. There are also good grounds for believing that they were presently driven out of the country. Nor is it unreasonable to



ROME PLUNDERED BY THE GAULS.

accept the story that Camillus deposited in the vaults of the Capitol, as a sacred reserve against a possible repetition of the invasion, the gold which he recovered from the barbarians. In the times of Julius Cæsar such a reserve-fund still existed, and popular belief associated the same with the deposit made by Camillus. There is little doubt, then, that about the beginning of the fourth century B. C., the barbarians of the North took and plundered the Eternal City—a feat which their countrymen were not destined to repeat for more than eight hundred years.

The fate of the two principal actors in the drama, by which Rome was so nearly extinguished, may well receive a word of further notice. Manlius, the defender of the Capitol, as nearly always happened with those who became the benefactors of the people, fell under the ban of the patricians. On a certain occasion he saw a debtor, one who had been a brave centurion, borne away to prison to expiate what he could not pay. Manlius, thereupon, discharged the debt and set the prisoner free. Soon afterwards he sold an estate near Veii, and loaned the proceeds, without interest, to the poor, thereby relieving more than four hundred of his indigent countrymen. The praises of the benevolent man were heard on every hand, but such a reputation was wormwood to the jealous patricians. They demanded that a dictator should be named, and that Manlius should be held to answer the charge of kingly ambition. Twice he was brought to trial, but the city was profoundly excited in his favor; and it was found impossible to condemn him in sight of the Capitol which his valor had saved from the enemy. A third time, however, he was arrested and brought before the judges in the grove of Pœtelius. Here where the Capitol was no longer visible, a conviction by his enemies was at last secured. He was speedily condemned to death, and hurled from the summit of the Tarpeian rock.

Camillus was named the Second Founder of Rome. He it was who, when the people, after the departure of the Gauls, fell into despair, and would fain have removed in a body to Veii, abandoning to her ruin the city of Romulus, persuaded them to rise from their desolation and begin again, on the hill made glorious by their ancestors, the struggle for renown. He it was, also, who ordered Veii to be dismantled, and the stone and other valuable materials to be removed for the rebuilding of Rome. While this work was in progress, several fortunate omens gave good courage to the people. Among the *dèbris* of the ruin accomplished by the Gauls were found the augural staff of Romulus, the Twelve Tables of the law, and some of the ancient treaties of the city. Camillus showed his wisdom by inviting the Veientines and the people of Capenæ to settle in the city. By this means the population was so rapidly augmented that Rome was again able to contend successfully with her enemies. Her old foes, the Æquians, the Volscians, the Etruscans, the Latins—all by turns taking courage from the apparent weakness and despair of their rival—banded themselves against her; and at times the city was reduced to the greatest straits. But the indomitable will of Camillus, aided as he was by the valor of Cornelius Cossus, triumphed over all opposition, and every state which had taken the hazard of war was subjugated.

CHAPTER LIX.—CONQUEST OF ITALY.

THE disastrous effects of the conflicts described in the preceding chapter fell most heavily upon the Roman poor. The plebeians were again and again reduced to the greatest extremity under the pressure of debt and poverty. The slave-barracks were crowded with prisoners, and the creditors had their share of cruelty and extortion. The old quarrels between the two orders of Roman citizenship broke out with as much violence as ever. The disturbances were so great, even before the recovery of the city from the effects of the Gaulish invasion, that resort was had to arbitrary authority, and in B. C. 385, Cornelius Cossus was created dictator to suppress the commotions in the city.

To this period of Roman history belongs the story of the great reforms introduced by the tribunes, LUCIUS SEXTIUS and CAIUS LICINIUS STOLO. These distinguished representatives of the people came into office in B. C. 377, and were reëlected for ten consecutive years. It appears — if tradition may be trusted — that a bit of domestic jealousy, small as such a cause may seem, was the occasion of the legislation of Sextius and Licinius. A certain LUCIUS FABIUS AMBUSTUS, a man of senatorial rank, gave his two daughters in marriage, the one to the patrician SULPICIUS and the other to the plebeian tribune Licinius. Both were men of rank and influence in the state, but the wife of Licinius soon discovered to how great a disparagement her husband was subjected on account of his birth. At her sister's house she was laughed at on account of her ignorance of patrician etiquette. For these wrongs she found relief in tears shed in the presence of her husband and father. To them she made her plaint, beseeching them to combine in an effort to remove the social stigma fixed upon herself and family by the accident of birth and the folly of custom.

Whether the story be true or fictitious, certain it is that the tribunes, Licinius and Sextius, in B. C. 367, brought forward and secured the passage of certain statutes well calculated to wring from the patricians an equal share in the government. These enactments are known by the name of the *Licinio-Sextian Rogations*. The first law provided that all payments of interest on the current debts in Rome should in the settlement be deducted from the principal, and that the remainder should be paid in three equal annual installments. The second statute provided that no person should possess more than five hundred jugera—that is, about three hundred and twenty acres—of the public land; nor should any one pasture on the same more than a limited number of cattle. Another clause of the same law assigned to every poor citizen a small farm of seven jugera. The third enactment abolished the office of military tribune, and provided that hereafter one of the two consuls must be of the plebeian order.

Of course these radical reforms were opposed with the whole power of the patricians. They called upon the aged Camillus once more to accept the dictatorship, and prevent further encroachment upon their time-honored prerogatives. The struggle, however, was in vain. Camillus was obliged to resign his office. The assembly of the tribes voted to accept the Licinian Rogations, and then elected Lucius Sextius as the first plebeian consul of Rome. The curies, however, refused to induct him into office, and civil war was on the point of breaking out when the venerable Camillus again interposed and secured the confirmation of Sextius by the Senate. The end of the contest, which closed a struggle of more than two hundred years' duration, was marked by the erection and dedication of the Temple of Concord.

It was a peculiarity of the Roman patricians that they never retreated from one position to another without attempting to hold by subtlety what they were losing in the open

contest. So it was when the consulship was finally thrown open to the plebeians. The measure was coupled with the creation of the patrician office of *prætor*, to which was assigned the performance of the judicial duties hitherto belonging to the consuls. Though the nobles could not prevent the accession of a plebeian consul, they succeeded in stripping the office of a part of its dignity.

The general effect of this stormy legislation was to bring about an era of calm, which might have continued for a long period but for the hereditary distrust of the two factions in Roman society. As for the patricians, they refused to regard their defeat as final and continued to strive for the recovery of their lost prerogatives, while the plebeians failed not to complain and struggle as long as a vestige of discrimination was held against them. Of the exclusive privileges still retained by the patrician order, the most important were the offices of dictator, censor, and prætor. Up to this time, also, the pontiffs and augurs were always chosen from the patricians. These privileges, however, were invaded one by one. The dictatorship was open to plebeian occupation in B. C. 356; the censorship, in B. C. 351; the prætorship, in B. C. 337. Until the close of the century the pontiffs and augurs continued to be exclusively patrician; but in B. C. 300 the number in the pontifical college was increased from five to eight, and that of the augurs from six to nine; and it was enacted that four of the former and five of the latter officers should be chosen from the plebeian ranks.

It was not long, however, until the patricians broke faith with the people by securing the election of both consuls from their own ranks. As a kind of balm for this aggression they agreed to a reduction, B. C. 347, of the rate of interest to five per cent. The concession, however, did not suffice to calm the popular discontent. In the year B. C. 342 the Roman army, being then in winter-quarters in Campania, rose in mutiny and marched on the city. The government, notwithstanding the appointment of the popular dictator, Valerius Corvus, was suddenly forced into the humblest attitude. The Licinian laws were reënacted, and to these were added four additional sections, which were made necessary by the alarming condition of affairs in the state.

The first of these enactments provided that both consuls might be chosen from the plebeian order; the second, that no Roman soldier while in active service should be discharged without his own consent; the third, that no person should be elected to the same magistracy within ten years; and the fourth, that all interest on loans should be abolished.

No sooner was the peril passed than the patricians again attempted to regain at least a portion of their privileges. The public land was distributed, not according to the law of Licinius, but in such way as to subserve the interests of the Senate. The latter body continued also to exercise in a factious spirit its right of withholding sanction from the resolutions adopted in the *comitia*. For three years after the mutiny the broil continued until, in B. C. 339, the dictator, Quintius Publilius Philo, secured the enactment of three additional laws. The first of these statutes required that the resolutions carried in the plebeian assembly of the tribes should be binding on all the people; the second, that all laws passed in the *comitia centuriata* should previously receive the sanction of the Senate; the third, that one of the two censors must be a plebeian. It will be seen that the first of these laws was to all intents a reënactment of the Valerio-Horatian statute of B. C. 449. The second law was a virtual abrogation of the veto power held hitherto by the patricians over the legislation of the state; while the third enabled the plebeians to exercise a direct influence on the census and the consequent distribution of senators and knights.

In the mean time, B. C. 365, the great dictator Camillus had died. He was, without doubt, the most illustrious Roman of the age. In wisdom, patriotism, and influence, he has been considered by many the greatest man of the Republic before the days of Julius Cæsar. He was carried off by a plague of the year 365, but fell at a ripe age and full of honors. The pestilence in which he was carried away was the sixth visitation of the kind with which the city had been afflicted since the expulsion

of the Tarquins. The Romans always attributed the reäppearance of the plague to the anger of the gods, and on such occasions, instead of attending to the condition of the city—its rubbish, its drains, its water-supplies—they, like the other foolish people of ancient and modern times, sought to placate the offended deities by building altars and shrines and performing religious solemnities. It was customary on such occasions to take from their places all the statues of the gods, bear them through the streets of the city, and place them on couches in the Capitol, before tables loaded with sacrificial offerings.

The nation of the Gauls did not fail, at intervals, to make incursions into Italy, and more than once the territory of Rome was invaded. The Romans stood in greater awe of these huge and fierce barbarians than of their civilized neighbors. Nevertheless, the courage of the people proved sufficient for every emergency, and the city never again suffered such peril as in the case of the first great invasion. In these forays of the barbarians many opportunities were offered for the display of that particular type of heroism which the Romans so much admired. In one instance the popular hero TITUS MANLIUS, having encountered a gigantic Gaul on one of the bridges of the Anio, slew him, and tore off his twisted chain of gold. From this exploit he and his family received and proudly wore the name of *Torquatus*. In another case, when MARCUS VALERIUS was engaged in a deadly combat, a crow suddenly alighted on his helmet, and so flapped and tore with wing and beak and claw the face of his antagonist as to give Valerius an easy victory. Hence he and his family were surnamed *Corvus*.

During the continuance of these incursions the Gaulish tribes held certain of the defiles in the Alban hills, and were supported in their campaigns by those ancient enemies of Rome, the Hernici and the Aurunci. More than once it was found necessary for the consular armies to go forth against these marauders, and punish them for their depredations.

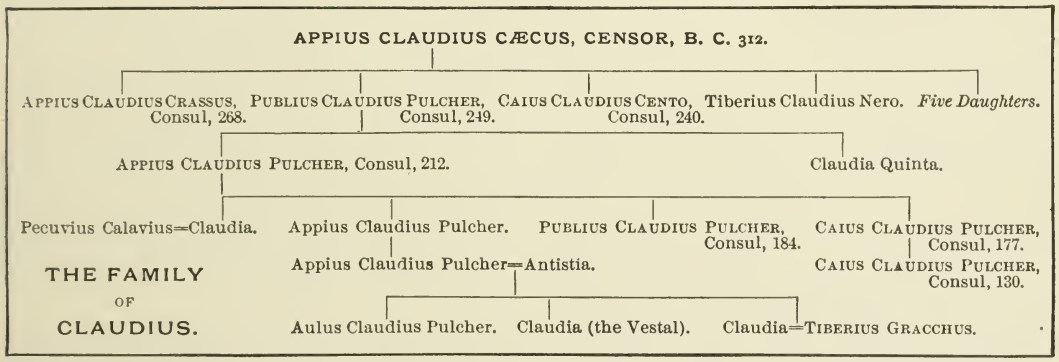
To this period of Roman history belongs the story of the revolt of the two Etruscan towns of Cære and Tarquinii. The suppression of this insurrection was by no means an easy task. In one instance the consular army was defeated by the insurgents; but they were finally reduced to submission, and were glad to purchase safety by subscribing to a truce of a hundred years' duration. But in spite of this hard struggle of Rome to maintain herself in the contest with domestic foes and actual assailants, she continued to wax in strength, and soon found herself able to turn her thought to foreign conquests. The first of these great conflicts, in which the power of Rome began to be felt beyond her own borders, was the war with Samnium. Before beginning, however, the narrative of this first important struggle of the Romans for the dominion of Italy, it will be appropriate to add a few paragraphs respecting the character of the Roman constitution of the period and the political status of the people.

A formal equality had now been attained between the two classes of society. After the adoption of the Canuleian Law intermarriages became common between plebeians and patricians. Many of the former rank had now grown wealthy. The public offices, open alike to both orders, had gradually raised the plebeians in the social scale. The patricians were relatively less numerous than of old, and the decayed families lost their prestige and influence in the state. It thus happened that the ancient lines of demarkation were to a considerable extent effaced. But while this leveling tendency was at work in the commonwealth a new nobility arose, based not on birth, but on wealth and office. The poor were the common people—the democracy; the rich men and office-holders were the nobility—the aristocracy.

Meanwhile the long-continued struggle of the classes had changed to a considerable extent the relations of the law-making assemblies of the Republic. The ancient *comitia centuriata*, though still retaining its right to authorize a declaration of war and a few other important prerogatives, had been stripped of most of its legislative functions by the *comitia tributa*, or assembly of the tribes. To the latter body belonged the election of all the new magistrates except the censor and prætor, and the law-making power was gradually usurped and ex-

ercised by it. As was natural under such circumstances, the influence of the four city tribes generally preponderated in the decision of questions before this assembly; for the extension of Roman territory had thrown the outside tribes to such a distance from the capital as to make their influence but little felt in the ordinary business of legislation. In the mean time the rank of the *concilium tributum plebis* had been reduced to the level of the *comitia centuriata;* for in the *concilium* only plebeians were allowed to vote, and with the fading out of class-lines, the influence of the exclusive bodies became less and less.

As to the political condition of the citizens, several important changes had been effected. One of the principal of these was the enrollment of the tradesmen, artisans, clients, and



admitted to the *concilium* and the two *comitias*, the freedman and artisan-class brought into those bodies a large element of democracy, which was regarded by the nobility as especially dangerous to the state. In B. C. 304 a law was passed, under the influence of the censors, Fabius and Decius, whereby the admission of tradesmen to citizenship was limited to the tribes of the city.

One of the most noticeable changes in the Roman constitution was the curtailment of the consular office. In the early Republic, the consuls had exercised an authority almost unlimited. The history of the two centuries preceding the Samnite wars exhibits a constant weakening of the prerogatives of the consulship. Function after function of the chief magistracy of the state was either annulled or

even freedmen, within the corporation of Rome with the various city tribes to which they were assigned. As yet the country tribes were composed exclusively of freeholders. After the conquest of Veii, the number of slaves was so greatly increased that manumission became more common, and the number and importance of the freedman-class were greatly increased. Rome meanwhile had become the metropolis of Latium, and tradesmen, artisans, and adventurers flocked thither in crowds, swelling the enumeration of the tribes. At the first they were enrolled as citizens, but were excluded from classification and from military service. They were given the rights, but not the privileges, of Roman citizenship.

It was Appius Claudius who, as censor of Rome, first enumerated this increment of society with the tribes of the city. Being thus

transferred to other offices. The administration of justice was given to others; the election of senators and knights was taken away; the taking of the census with the consequent classification of the citizens was handed over to the censors; the prætor took up the judicial duties of the consuls; and the management of the finances was assigned to the quæstors. Besides all these reductions of prerogative, the influence of the consulship was still further weakened by the frequent appointment of a dictator. It became a precedent with the Roman people, in times of emergency, to rely, not upon the ordinary chief magistrates of the Republic, but upon the unusual powers and activities displayed by the dictatorship.

As to the Senate, it was still the great governing power of the state. It consisted of three hundred members, who held their office

for life. They were subject to removal by the censors, and after the passage of the old Ovinian Law in B. C. 351, the same officers had the right of filling senatorial vacancies. According to the statute, every one who had been consul, prætor, or curule-ædile was entitled at the expiration of his official term to a seat in the Senate. The number of senators thus derived, however, was insufficient to fill the quota of membership, and the censors were empowered to make up the deficiency by the election of those who had not held office.

The body thus constituted was the great central wheel in the machinery of the Roman state. Here the nobility, the *patres* by birth, and the *conscripti* displayed their full influence in the management of public affairs. As a rule, every measure of legislation, from whatever source proceeding, must receive the senatorial sanction before it could become a law. All the higher functions of government, such as questions of peace and war, the management of the finances, and the control of the public domain, were lodged with that august body of law-makers. By them, the consuls were instructed in what manner they should perform their duty. By them, the provinces were assigned to their respective governors. By them, the organization of the legions was determined, supplies voted, the triumphs of the generals conceded or disallowed.

By the original constitution of the state, a certain limitation was laid upon these extensive powers of the Senate. The body at the first was advisory rather than imperative. In the earliest times, the kings ruled and the Senate gave counsel. The executive functions of the kingdom fell to the consuls, and the senators' relation to administrative powers remained as before. Still the fact that the consuls themselves, at the expiration of their terms of office, were to become members of the great legislative body of the state disposed them while still in the consulship to deferential respect for the edicts of the Senate, and it was not often that these were overridden by the sheer force of consular prerogative.

Notwithstanding the growth of popular tendencies in the state, Rome remained an aristocracy. The patrician ranks, so far as mere birth—privilege was concerned, had broken down, but these were constantly reïnforced by the addition of rich plebeian families. The aristocracy of birth in the Old Rome gave way to the aristocracy of wealth in the New, and this continued to repress and oppress the people. Down to the close of the Republic the government remained essentially the government of the nobility, while around the great central rock of privilege roared and surged the limitless ocean of Rome.

After the peril of the Gaulish invasion was passed, Rome soon regained her place as the chief state of Latium. Those Latin towns which, under the imagined immunity occasioned by the presence of the barbarians in Central Italy, had thrown off their allegiance to the city of the Tiber, now found time to repent at their leisure. They were subdued one by one, and forced to resume their former dependence. As already narrated, the Volscians and Æquians had been severely punished for their defection. It was not long until the victorious arms of reviving Rome were carried to the River Liris, which constituted the limit of Samnium. Across this stream the two principal peoples of Central Italy glared at each other for a moment, and then went to war.

The Samnite people, inhabiting originally the lofty ridges of the Apennines, had spread by successive migrations into the surrounding plains, until they had become the principal family of the Sabellian race. In their growing careeer they had overrun the towns of Campania. Even Capua and Cumæ had fallen into their power. In this luxurious climate, so unlike the mountainous district from which they had come, the Samnites established themselves, and it was not long until connection between them and their countrymen of the hill-country was broken off. They became the dominant people in Campania, and sometimes engaged in hostilities with their kinsfolk of the central ridge. By and by, a second migration of mountaineers descended into the Campanian plain and attacked the city of Sidicini. The people of this town were unable to repel the invasion, and appealed to the Campanians for aid. The request was com-

plied with, but the combined force was unable to withstand the onset of the mountaineers. The latter gained possession of Mount Tifata, and from this stronghold made successful incursions into the surrounding country.

In this emergency Campania appealed to the Romans for assistance. The latter were bound to the Samnites by a treaty, which had not been violated; but the devil of ambition had now entered into Rome, and the compact with her neighbors was disregarded. She at once declared war against Samnium, and made a campaign against the Samnites of Campania. Every thing seemed going in her favor, and the prospect of a great enlargement of territory was opening before her when an unexpected revolt of the Latin towns compelled the Romans to concentrate all their energies for the maintenance of peace in Latium. Since the days of the kings, Rome had held a primacy among the Latin towns. In war the people of these municipalities had made common cause with the consular armies. It was a part, however, of the adroit policy adopted by the Senate to incorporate conquered territory, not with the Latin league, but with the state of Rome. It had frequently happened, moreover, that a Latin town would revolt, and be subjected to punishment. In such cases conquest was always clenched by the Romans by the addition of the insurrectionary place to their own dominions. It thus happened that by the outbreak of the Samnite war the territory of Rome was largely expanded and expanding. The city was in a favorable condition to continue the expansion of her dominions; and it was easy to foresee that in case of victory over the Samnites she would in the usual way signalize her triumph by adding their territories to her own. This condition of affairs greatly alarmed the towns of the Latin league, and they rose in open revolt.

It is illustrative of the times that in this emergency the Romans turned suddenly about and made an alliance with the Samnites. Their armies were united for a joint invasion of Campania. The forces of the Latins took the field against their enemies, and met them near the foot of Mount Vesuvius. Here a decisive battle was fought, in which the Romans and Samnites were completely victorious. The Latin league was broken up, and the people of each town betook themselves within their own fortifications. In subduing these places one by one, the Romans consumed nearly two years (B. C. 340–338); but the work was finally accomplished, and the Latin confederacy obliterated.

With her usual selfish wisdom Rome extended to the vanquished peoples the privilege of settlement and trade in the capital. Even the marriage right was recognized between Latins and Romans, but not between the people of one Latin town and another. A large part of the conquered territory was incorporated with the dominions of Rome, and two new tribes were formed out of the subject population. As a further condition of unity the plan of colonization was adopted, and settlements of Romans were established at several points in Campania. The town of Fagellæ, the most important on the Liris, was thus, in B. C. 328, occupied by Roman colonists. By this means the authority of the aggressive state was thoroughly enforced and accepted as far as the borders of Samnium.

Rome having thus overthrown the Latin league, which had so long menaced her supremacy in Latium and Campania, now only awaited an opportunity to renew the contest with the Samnites. An excuse was presently found in the conduct of the town of Palæopolis. It was complained that the people of this place had committed outrages upon the Roman citizens who had settled in the neighborhood of Cumæ. As might be said of every other city of the times, the people of Palæopolis were divided into two parties—an aristocracy and a democracy. The first was favorable to the Romans, and the latter sought aid from the Samnites. By them a large force was at once sent to the city; thus the war broke out in earnest.

The Romans, under the military leadership of Quintus Publilius Philo, at once advanced an army to the south, and laid siege to Palæopolis. The year of his office expired, however, before he was able to reduce the city, but the Senate extended his official term under the title of proconsul, and Palæopolis, with the exception of the citadel, was taken. Until

this juncture war had not been formally declared.

A demand was now made upon the Samnites to withdraw their garrison from the arx, and on their refusal to do so the *fetiales* proceeded to declare hostilities.[1] Three Roman armies were thrown into the field, one to continue the siege of Palæopolis, and the other two to invade Samnium. For five years the Romans were almost continuously successful. The Samnite territory was ravaged as far as the borders of Apulia, and the country brought to the verge of submission, when a revolt of the two Latin towns of Privernum and Volitræ suddenly recalled the victors within their own borders. The Senate, however, adopted a conciliatory policy, and the insurgents were induced to submit. The Samnites, taking advantage of this diversion, sued for peace, and the same might have been made on favorable terms; but the Romans would accept nothing less than absolute submission, and hostilities were again renewed.

In the year B. C. 321 the Roman army, under command of the consuls, Veturius and Postumius, advanced from Campania to relieve the town of Luceria, which, it was reported, was besieged by the Samnites. While marching through the defiles near Caudium the whole force entered the celebrated pass known as the Caudine Forks. The Samnites, well acquainted with the strategic advantages of this place, had broken up their camp before Luceria and taken possession of the further end of the defile; so that the Romans, having entered the pass, found it impossible to force their way through.

In the mean time a division of the Samnites passed around to the rear and gained the entrance by which the Romans had made their way into the trap. The consuls with their armies were as completely caught as if they were blocked in a cavern. They were obliged to surrender, and the commanding officers were bound by a solemn compact to relinquish all the conquests and colonies previously made by Rome in the Samnite territory. The soldiers were then deprived of their arms and made to pass under the yoke. The army was then given its freedom and permitted to return to Rome.

Although the consuls had solemnly sworn to certain conditions of peace, the Senate refused to ratify the treaty. Gavius Pontius, the Samnite general, a man of great courage and abilities, insisted that the terms must be complied with, or else that by the common faith of nations, the Roman army should be returned to the Caudine Forks, and put into his power, as before. Postumius advised the Senate not to comply with this demand, but declared that he and his colleague, Veturius, together with the other officers who had sworn to a compact which they could not keep, should be redelivered to Pontius, to be dealt with as the Samnites would. This proposal was accepted by the Senate, but Pontius refused to receive Postumius and his fellow officers, and they were permitted to return to the Roman army. Thus by bad faith were the Samnites robbed of the legitimate fruits of a great victory.

The command of the Roman army was now given to Papirus Cursor, who soon advanced a second time into Samnium.[1] The town of Lu-

[1] The College of Fetiales was regarded as the guardian of the public faith of Rome. They had charge of the transaction of business with foreign states. Theirs was the duty in the case of aggression to demand satisfaction of the offending nation. In such instances a *pater patratus* was elected by the college, who should go and require restitution. This he did four times in succession: First, at the confines of the enemy's country; secondly, of the first native whom he met; thirdly, at the city gate; and, lastly, in the market-place of the magistrate in person. When satisfaction was refused he returned to Rome, and, having consulted the Senate, was a second time dispatched to the border. This time he bore with him a spear with the head dipped in blood, which he hurled across the boundary into the enemy's country. This act constituted the declaration of war; but in after times, when it became impracticable to go as far as the borders of the hostile country, the *pater patratus* went up to the tower of the temple of Bellona, at Rome, and thence discharged the bloody javelin in the direction of the enemy's land.

[1] The Roman conscience was a very inaccurate organ of conduct. Never was this better illustrated than in the miserable subterfuge which was adopted as a sufficient reason for renewing the war on Samnium. It is related that when the disgraced Postumius was led back by the *pater patratus*, and delivered over in the Samnite camp to

ceria was soon taken and occupied by a Roman garrison. The Samnites were reduced to such straits that they eagerly sought for an alliance. Meanwhile a forty years' truce, which the Etruscans had made with Rome, had expired, and they lent a willing ear to the petition of Samnium. A league was effected between the two peoples, and the Etruscans attacked the fortress of Sutrium. The consul Fabius Maximus Rullianus thereupon led an army through the Samnian forest, and in B. C. 310, inflicted a severe defeat on the Etruscans in a battle at the Vadimonian Lake.

The Samnites were also defeated in several engagements. The capital, Bovianum, was taken, and the authorities were obliged a second time to sue for peace. The Romans compelled them to give up all their conquests and colonies outside of Samnium, and to accept an alliance with their conquerors. Out of the populations thus added, four new tribes were formed. Eight Roman colonies were established within the conquered territory, and the influence of Rome was thus extended through the greater part of Central and Southern Italy. It was no longer doubtful that the city of the Tiber was in influence and power the first in the whole peninsula.

It was during the progress of these events that Alexander, king of Epirus, uncle to Alexander of Macedon, began to make his influence felt in the West. As early as the year 332 he landed an army in Southern Italy, near the city of Pæstum, invited, as was said, to such a step by the people of Tarentum. The Romans, now engaged in suppressing the revolt of the Latin league, were well pleased to see their Samnite rivals pressed by a new foe from the south. They accordingly entered into an alliance with Alexander, and gave him assurances of friendship, while prosecuting his plans in the southern part of the peninsula.

king Pontius, he still thought to do something to please his countrymen. He accordingly turned about to the *pater patratus*, and said: "I am now no longer a Roman, but a Samnite like the rest." He then struck the fecial officer a blow with his fist, and exclaimed: "See, Romans, I have violated the sacred person of your herald; it now remains for you to avenge the insult." And Rome considered it a valid cause for war.

It was not long, however, until the king of Epirus was slain, and the Romans were left to carry out their schemes of conquest without his aid.

In the course of the last war between Rome and Samnium, the people of Lucania became divided into parties, the one siding with their neighbors and the other with the Romans. Samnite influence was at this time predominant among the Lucanians, and was maintained by garrisons established in the country. This gave cause to the anti-Samnite party to make an appeal to Rome, and this was accordingly done. The request was gladly complied with, and the Romans were thus again, by becoming a party in the domestic broils of Lucania, brought into conflict with the Samnites. In the interval, however, the Etruscans had been at war with Rome, but had entered into negotiations for peace. The consuls were thus enabled to withdraw their army from Etruria and concentrate their forces for the final subjugation of Samnium. It thus became all important for the Samnites to induce the Etruscans to continue the struggle. The Samnian general, Gellius Egnatius, displayed great abilities and skill in preventing a peace between Rome and Etruria. Three Samnite armies were thrown into the field: the first, to invade Campania; the second, to aid the Etruscans, and the third, to protect the home country from the inroads of the consular armies. The efforts of the Romans to divide her northern and southern enemies—to pacify the one and overthrow the other—were completely frustrated. Besides a large body of Gauls, now in the pay of the Etruscans, hovered on the northern frontier, threatening an invasion of Latium.

But the Romans were undaunted. It was emergencies such as these that brought out those qualities of resolution and heroism for which the race is so justly celebrated. The struggle which now ensued, and which was to determine finally whether Rome was to attain the mastery of Central Italy, extended from B. C. 298 to 290, and is known as the Third Samnite War. In the course of the conflict both sides displayed the greatest bravery; but superior generalship and persistency at last

gave the victory to Rome. She put into the field the two largest armies which the Republic had thus far ever organized. The command was given to two of the best generals of the age—the veteran Quintus Fabius Maximus and Publius Decius Mus. At the head of the consular armies, they advanced into Umbria, and met the Samnites at Sentinum, near the pass where the Flaminian Way afterwards crossed the mountains. Here was fought a hotly contested battle; nor did the Romans gain much ground until Decius Mus, imitating the battle of his father in Mount Vesuvius, devoted himself, together with the enemy, to the gods of the lower world. Victory then declared for Rome. The Samnio-Umbrian alliance was dissolved.

After this battle the Samnites retreated into their own country, and there defended themselves to the last. History has rarely exhibited an instance in which the courage of despair was more highly illustrated than in the final struggle of this brave people for the independence of their country. In one great battle the consular army, under command of Fabius Maximus Gurges, son of the great Fabius, suffered a disastrous defeat. Nor was the fortune of the war restored until the aged Quintius Fabius Maximus again took the field in person.

As the legate of his son, the veteran became the inspiring genius of the army. In a decisive battle the Samnites were completely routed. The brave old Gavius Pontius—the same who had been for so many years the main pillar of the Samnian cause—was captured and taken to Rome. There he was confined in a gloomy prison under the Capitoline Hill, and, if the bloody tradition of the times is to be believed, was presently beheaded by order of the Senate. The Samnites, after their defeat, betook themselves to the hills, and there in broken bands upheld the lost cause of their country, until they wrung from the Romans an honorable treaty, by the terms of which all the foreign conquests of Samnium were given up, while the people themselves were permitted to retain a measure of independence.

Rome made haste to secure her conquests. In Campania she established the two strong fortresses of Minturnæ and Sinuessa, both near the coast. In the district where the territories of Samnium, Lucania, and Apulia lie contiguous, she planted the colony of Venusia, for the command of Southern Italy. On the shore of the Adriatic was built the fortress of Hatria, to maintain the predominance of Roman authority in the eastern part of the peninsula. Finally the Sabines, who during the progress of the Samnite war had frequently exhibited signs of hostility toward the Romans, were obliged to make their submission and take the rank of subjects. Nor did Rome in her career of success forget to punish the Gauls, who had threatened her territories with invasion. The Senonian and Boian tribes of this people were overtaken in B. C. 283, at the Vadimonian Lake, and were again defeated by the consular army; and in order to make secure the future possession of this region the fortress of Sena Gallica was established. It only remained to continue the war in Etruria, and this was done with so much vigor that all resistance ended. The town of Volsinii was taken, after a siege, and destroyed; and, with the downfall of Falerii, the conquest was completed.

The next to feel the impact of the strong hand of Rome were the Lucanians, who, notwithstanding their recent adherence to the Samnite cause, seemed to expect impunity. After the subjugation of Samnium they laid siege to the great town of Thurii, and that city in its distress appealed to the Romans for aid. This led to a declaration of war against the Lucanians; but the latter effected an alliance with the Bruttians and the disaffected Samnites, and presented a formidable opposition.

In B. C. 282, the consul Caius Fabricius marched an army against the Lucanian allies, overthrew them in battle, raised the siege of Thurii, and compelled the submission of all the Greek towns of Southern Italy except Tarentum. In each of these a Roman garrison was established, and the consul returned to the city with a long train of prisoners and spoils. The stronghold of Tarentum, still held by the Italian Greeks, was now the only obstacle remaining between Rome and the mastery of Italy.

From the Roman wars we may turn aside for a moment to consider the civil and constitutional progress of the state. An era of some importance was the censorship of Appius Claudius, in the year B. C. 312. This man, a descendant of Appius Claudius, the decemvir, resembled his ancestor in character and disposition. At the expiration of his term of office he refused to resign, but continued as a usurper to exercise authority. For this he was denounced in the assembly of the people by the tribune Publius Sempronius, who was supported by six of his colleagues. The other three tribunes, however, being suborned by the patricians, supported the usurpation, and Appius was thus enabled to continue in the censorship for another year. But when he proceeded to add impiety to arrogance, the deities took the cause in hand, and vindicated both their own and the rights of Rome. It appears that the family of the Potitii, to whom immemorially had been intrusted the performance of the religious rites peculiar to the worship of Hercules, were permitted by the censor to delegate their sacred office to clients and dependents. For this sacrilege the whole family became suddenly extinct, and for permitting it Appius Claudius was smitten with blindness, thus obtaining from the Roman people the surname of Cæcus, or the Blind.

In the year B. C. 304, during the censorship of Quintus Fabius, an important change was effected in the political distribution of the people. It was in the nature of things at Rome that those elements of society which in a modern city would be designated as the dangerous classes constantly increased and became more turbulent. The state was always menaced by a surging crowd of hungry creatures who could easily be incited to violence and insurrection. It was with a view to the protection of the better classes of society from the menace of this horde that the legislation of Quintus Fabius was enacted. It was provided that this multitude of the poor, consisting of the lowest classes, and generally the children of enfranchised slaves, should be arranged in four urban tribes, thus preventing the pressure which would be felt from the admission of this dangerous element into the tribes already established by the census. Though the measure itself was aristocratic in its origin and tendency, it can hardly be doubted that the new statute conduced—at least for the present—to the welfare of society.

This success of the nobility by the separation of the rabble from the more reputable class of citizens was counteracted in some measure by popular movements in another quarter. A certain Cneius Flavius, a man of the people, who had been a clerk of Appius Claudius, was elected curule ædile over the candidate of the aristocracy. Following up his success, he audaciously published on a white tablet, which was exhibited to the people, those forms of legal procedure which the patricians had been able by craft and subtlety to monopolize for their own advantage. Flavius had himself become familiar with these forms while in the service of Appius. The whole mystery of the law was thus given away to the populace, and the patrician suddenly awoke to the fact that his plebeian dependent would no longer be obliged to apply to him for a knowledge of those civil procedures by which his rights were to be maintained in the Roman courts. It was a virtual opening of the tribunals of the city to the practice of the people. The courts became equally free to all, and there was a sudden emancipation of the Roman commons from the judicial thralldom in which they had been previously held by the aristocracy.

Notwithstanding these forward movements in the way of popular rights and privileges, the advance of the Roman people was slow and unsteady. The superior intelligence of the patricians enabled them time and again to counteract in practice what the plebeians had gained in theory. It thus happened that the same social questions which had been apparently settled by legislative enactment would rise again to the surface and demand a new solution. The same intestine quarrels which had disturbed the people in the preceding century broke out afresh—questions of debt, of domestic rights, marriage relations, enrollment, and taxation—every thing, indeed, which was calculated to disturb the political quiet of the Republic.

Thus far in her career Rome had had no relations with any state beyond the Italian peninsula. True it is that in B. C. 324, when Alexander the Great was reposing for a season after the conquest of the Persian Empire, the not unfounded rumor of his purpose to subjugate the West as well as the East was borne to Rome, and the Senate was not unmindful that the Republic might soon be called on to defend herself against the greatest of all foemen. But the peril passed with the death of the conqueror. The time had now come when through the agency of the Greek settlements in Southern Italy the first foreign relations of the state of Rome were to arise.

Of the origin of the cities of Magna Græcia an account has been given in the former chapter.[1] They were Hellenic colonies, sent out at an early date to the island of Sicily and the coasts of Southern Italy. Some of these settlements attained an extraordinary degree of prosperity. They were preëminently civilized communities — Greek both in character and culture. The most important of these cities were Agrigentum, Syracuse, Locri, Crotona, Sybaris, and Tarentum. From these great centers of population and refinement the arms of political power were stretched out across the peninsula, and the native races yielded to the supremacy of the Greeks.

The communities of Magna Græcia were, however, afflicted in the way peculiar to all Hellenic settlements. They were factious. Each city had its rival parties ready to rend and tear one another on the slightest provocation. The cities, moreover, were rivals of each other, and frequently went to war to settle some intercolonial dispute. These dissensions entailed their legitimate consequences. The Greek states fell into decline. Cities which had numbered their population by the hundred thousand decayed until they were no more than a shadow of their former splendor. Thus did Sybaris, Locri, Crotona, all the towns of Southern Italy, except Tarentum, and even she was less wealthy and populous than formerly. Such was the condition of affairs when after a seventy years' struggle with the Samnites the Romans emerged victorious and turned their attention to the Tarentines, now the most powerful of the peoples in Magna Græcia.

The city of Tarentum, situated on the gulf of the same name, had grown great by commerce and manufactures. When the people found themselves unable to protect their wealth from the Lucanians, whom they had offended, they sent to Archidamus, king of Sparta, for assistance. As already said, another appeal was made to Alexander of Epirus, which was only defeated of success by the death of that monarch.

The Samnite wars gave opportunity to the Tarentines to make alliances against the growing power of Rome, but the opportunity was neglected. On one occasion, after the battle of the Caudine Forks, Tarentum assumed the office of arbiter between the Romans and the Samnites; but the interference was resented by the Senate, and a declaration of war was made as the result of what was considered a piece of impudence. Still at the conclusion of the conflict by which Samnium became a dependency of Rome, a treaty was concluded between the Tarentines and the Romans, not wholly unfavorable to the former; for it was stipulated that henceforth the ships of Rome should not sail beyond the Lucinian promontory.

When Caius Fabricius secured possession of Thurii and established therein a garrison, the Senate ordered that a fleet of ten vessels should—though such an act was in direct violation of the treaty—hover about Tarentum as a squadron of observation. The Tarentines, justly incensed at this breach of faith, quickly manned a fleet, and gained an easy victory over the inexperienced armament of Rome. Following up their advantage, they attacked and captured Thurii, expelled the garrison, and sacked the town. The Senate immediately sent an embassy to Tarentum to demand satisfaction, but the envoys were treated with extreme disrespect. The purple-bordered toga of Lucius Postumius, who headed the delegation, was profanely jerked, and when in the market-place of the city he attempted to address the authorities in Greek they laughed immoderately at his vicious grammar and bar-

[1] See *supra* p. 44.

baric accent. "Laugh while you may," said the insulted ambassador, "but this robe shall be washed in your blood." To ridicule Rome was dangerous.

The Senate declared war. No sooner was this done than the Tarentines sought aid from their own countrymen, the Greeks. An invitation was sent to PYRRHUS, king of Epirus, to come into Italy and assume the management of the war. The invitation was gladly accepted, and in B. C. 280 Pyrrhus debarked with a large army at Tarentum. He took control of the government, made the city his head-quarters, closed the clubs and theaters, and impressed the young men and idlers into the service.

The people of Tarentum were greatly discontented, but the Roman army, under command of the consul Valerius Lævinus, was already approaching, and the rebellious spirit gave place to the sense of danger. Pyrrhus went forth to meet his antagonist, and a great battle was fought at Heraclea. It was the first time that the Roman legions had encountered the Grecian phalanx. Seven times the veterans of Valerius attempted to break the line of their enemy, and seven times they were driven back. Pyrrhus hurled his cavalry and elephants against the already discouraged Romans, who gave way before the onset. The victory of the king was complete. The Roman camp and baggage fell into the hands of Pyrrhus; but the latter paid for his victory with the loss of four thousand of his men. Though he had won the battle, he had been taught that the foe with whom he had to contend was terrible in battle and resolute in defeat. It is narrated that the king said, "Another such victory and I must return to Epirus alone." When he passed over the battle-field and saw the Roman soldiers lying gashed, every man in the breast, he exclaimed, "If I had the Romans for soldiers, or they me for a general, we should conquer the world." The king was quick to recognize the fact that it was the charge of his elephants—a terrible sight to an inexperienced soldiery—which had given him success, as well as the other fact that these ominous beasts could not always be expected to excite such terror.

Pyrrhus therefore determined to make overtures for peace. He accordingly dispatched to Rome his minister CINEAS, of whom it was said that he won more cities by his eloquence than his master conquered by the sword. Before the Roman Senate the ambassador proposed a settlement on the basis of freedom for the Greek cities of Southern Italy. This policy he defended in an able address; but when a vote was about to be taken, the aged Appius Claudius Cæcus made his way into the Senate House, and urged his countrymen to reject all overtures made by a victorious foe. The veteran patriot prevailed over the diplomatist, and the latter was ordered to leave the city.

As soon as the news was borne to Pyrrhus he broke up his camp, and began his march on Rome. But the city was in no wise terrified. A new army was thrown into the field, and Pyrrhus was brought to a pause. He had hoped that his approach to the capital would be the signal for a revolt of the Etruscans, and that even the old Latin towns would once more lift the standard of rebellion. But this expectation was disappointed, and Pyrrhus was obliged to fall back to Tarentum.

In the next year (B. C. 279), the struggle was renewed. Both parties mustered large armies and prepared for a decisive conflict. When, however, a Roman ambassador came to Pyrrhus to ask for an exchange of prisoners the latter availed himself of the opportunity to reöpen negotiations for peace. He invited CAIUS FABRICIUS, the consul, to his head-quarters, and endeavored to persuade him of the expediency of a settlement. The Roman would not be convinced. Then Pyrrhus tried bribery, but all to no purpose. At last he had the curtain drawn aside, and Fabricius found himself confronted by one of the elephants. The huge beast set up a roar, but all in vain. The Roman merely smiled. Finding that no argument would avail, Pyrrhus refused to make the exchange of prisoners, and prepared for battle. The two armies met at ASCULUM in Apulia, where another terrible engagement ensued, and the Romans were again defeated.

Meanwhile another train of events was in

progress, by which the king of Epirus was led to conclude a peace and retire from Italy. The Carthaginians appeared on the scene, and the scene was Sicily. They overran nearly the whole of the island. Agrigentum was taken, and Syracuse was menaced with a similar fate. The Romans entered into an alliance with the Carthaginians, and the people of Syracuse made an appeal to Pyrrhus to come over and help them. Believing Sicily to be for the time a fairer field for military operations than Italy, he accepted the proposal, though the Carthaginians spared no effort which promised to detain him on the other side of the strait.

He accordingly patched up a truce with the Romans, left his general Milo in command of a garrison in Tarentum, and sailed with his army for Syracuse. Arriving in the island, he first used his influence to unite all the Sicilian Greeks in a common cause against the Carthaginians. Assuming the leadership of the league, he then took the field, and regained more rapidly than they had been lost nearly all the places which the Carthaginian general had taken. The latter barely succeeded in maintaining a foothold in the island. Having accomplished the purpose for which he came, the king retired from Sicily in B. C. 276, and returned to Tarentum.

The Romans, in the mean time, had recovered from their defeats, and were ready to renew the conflict. They put into the field two large armies, the first, under Cornelius Lentulus, to invade Lucania, and the other, commanded by Manius Curius, to hold Samnium. The forces of Pyrrhus had deteriorated, not indeed in numbers, but in character. His best officers had been slain, and the places of veterans were filled with provincial Greeks, who had sunned themselves into indolence under the skies of Southern Italy. The king, moreover, had made himself exceedingly unpopular. Before his retiracy from Sicily the people of that island had become greatly disgusted on account of his harsh and arbitrary methods. His tyranny was as bad as that of the Carthaginians and Mamertines. On his return to Tarentum he had made himself odious by pillaging the temple of Proserpine at Locri. When therefore the armies, the one led by the king in person and the other by the consul Curius, met at Beneventum, in Samnium, it stood to reason that the Romans would win the fight. Nor did the result disappoint the conditions. Pyrrhus charged with great spirit, but was repulsed. A young elephant, wounded in the head, set up a pitiful bellowing, and the mother broke out of the battle to protect her young. The rest of the monsters followed, and the defeat of the Epirote army became a rout. Pyrrhus betrayed Tarentum, returned to Epirus, and then undertook the conquest of Macedonia. On leaving Sicily he is said to have exclaimed, as he glanced around him, "What a beautiful field we leave for the Romans and the Carthaginians!"

The departure, albeit without much glory, of the king of Epirus from the West left Rome the unequivocal master of Italy. Tarentum fell into her hands in B. C. 272. The predatory bands of Samnites who still infested their native hills were reduced to submission. The Etruscans no longer threatened the northern border. From the rivers Arnus and Æsis to the heel of Bruttium there were no longer any to oppose the now undisputed sway of Rome over the Italian peninsula. The Union of Italy, under the leadership of the dominant people, was an accomplished fact. It only remains, in concluding this chapter of Roman history to note briefly in what manner the government of the victorious state was exercised over the peoples who had yielded their liberties to the city of the Tiber.

In general, the authority of Rome was mildly wielded over the subject states. It was expected that each of the conquered countries would equip and pay a contingent of troops for the Roman army; but beyond this requirement no tribute was exacted, no tax imposed. As a rule, the local law and institutions of the conquered country remained intact, and were used in administration. Only so much as conflicted with the statutes of Rome was modified or annulled. Rome, to be sure, was regarded as the center of this group of allied states, and from her flowed the streams of executive authority. She was the head and the subject states were the members of the vast corpora-

tion, and from this fountain of power were dispensed the laws and mandates by which the Roman world was governed.

Considering the society of this vast commonwealth, we find the state to be composed of three classes of persons: First, Roman Citizens; second, Subjects; and, third, Allies. The first class embraced the people of the thirty-three governing tribes of Rome. These tribes were subdivided according to population between the city and the country. The second class included all those persons within the Roman territory who had no other than personal or private rights. From them the rights of franchise were withheld, and the privileges of citizenship restricted to the narrowest limits. To this rank belonged the inhabitants of most of the Latin towns, and also the Hernicians, Æquians, and Sabines. After the conquest of these people they came to hold nearly the same relations to the state as had been held by the plebeians before their elevation to citizenship. These so-called "subjects" of Rome were required to serve in the army and to bear the usual burdens of Roman citizenship, but were denied a political status under the Republic. In such communities the government was administered according to the laws of Rome by a præfect sent out from the capital. The third class of population, called the "allies," embraced the people of the older Latin towns, such as Præneste and Tibur; the inhabitants of three towns among the Hernicians, and of the Latin colonies; and all those communities of Southern and Central Italy which had recently been subjugated. The position of "ally of the Roman people" had its advantages as well as disadvantages, and it is said that many of the people so designated would not have willingly exchanged their rank for that of full citizenship, with its graver responsibilities.

Like most of the ancient nations, Rome adopted the policy of colonization. Here, however, the motive was different, and withal more humane. Roman settlements were established in distant parts, with the double purpose of disburdening the city of her ever-accumulating masses, and of peopling valuable districts naked from primitive barbarism or devastated by war.

Another feature of the Roman administration most notable and salutary was the system of military roads, by which the consular government sought to unite the important points—even the outposts—of the Republic with the capital. This vast enterprise was undertaken by Appius Claudius, the Censor, who, in B. C. 312, after the conquest of Campania, projected a great thoroughfare from Rome to Capua. The scheme resulted in the construction of a broad and straight highway, paved with stone and built with such solidity and skill as to merit the praise bestowed upon it by posterity as the finest military road in the world. This great Appian Way was afterward extended to Brundusium by the way of Venusia and Tarentum, thus uniting by a magnificent thoroughfare the whole of Southern Italy with the capital of the Republic. The example of Appius was imitated by other distinguished Romans. The Flaminian Way, extending from Rome to Ariminum by way of Narnia and Fanum, was constructed in B. C. 220 by the censor Caius Flaminius, from whom it received its name. From the terminus of this great road at Ariminum, the Æmilian Way, the work of the Roman general Lucius Æmilius Paullus, was constructed (B. C. 187) to Placentia by way of Bononia, Mutina, and Parma; while another branch of the same road, known as the Cassian Way, was afterward extended from Bononia to Arretium. The country of the Sabines and Æquians was joined to Rome by the Valerian Way; while another thoroughfare, called the Latin Way, led through the valley of the Liris to the town of Æsernia. It was over these broad and stone-paved highways that the thundering legions of Rome went forth to battle, and returned in triumph, laden with the spoils of the nations.

CHAPTER LX.—THE PUNIC WARS.



E now come to the struggle between Rome and Carthage for the mastery of the West—a struggle most bravely contested, and, at the same time, one of the most important recorded in ancient history. By it was decided a question no less momentous than this: Whether the Aryan or the Semitic race should become predominant in Europe—whether the speech, language, institutions, and laws of the aggressive sons of Japhet should prevail over the star-lore and mysticism of the Chaldee and the Phœnician. For more than a hundred years the struggle was renewed with a courage and pertinacity rarely equaled—never surpassed—in the annals of mankind. It was a battle to the death. The issues involved were of such a sort as to admit of a solution only by the destruction of one of the combatants. It was a case in which victory to either party meant not merely to defeat, but to devour and annihilate the other.

The city of CARTHAGE was situated on a peninsula extending into a bay of the Mediterranean, near the site of the modern Tunis. It is said to have been founded about B. C. 880, by a Phœnician colony led by the princess Dido. Of the early history of the city, beyond the mere nativity of the colonists, nothing definite is known. Even the date of the foundation has remained a matter of dispute among historians and antiquarians. It is safe, however, to assume that Carthage was an older settlement than Rome, and that she became populous and wealthy at a date when her rival was still struggling for existence. The two principal facts which may be relied on as authenticated in the early history of the city are the monarchical character of the government and the commercial enterprise of the people.

For how long the monarchy was maintained before it gave place to a republican aristocracy, we are not certainly informed. Tradition makes the period extend over three hundred years. The commercial relations of Carthage were the most important in the West. Her maritime trade extended to all the ports of the Mediterranean, and her inland commerce was carried in one direction to the Nile, and in the other to the Niger. The Carthaginian ships passed the pillars of Hercules, and navigated the coasts of Western Africa and Northern Europe.

The first relations between the Carthaginians and the Romans dated from the year B. C. 508, and bore upon the question of commerce. It appears from the treaty that, at that time, both Sardinia and Sicily were subject to Carthage; nor was it long until her supremacy was established over all the islands of the Mediterranean. The maintenance of her commercial ascendency was the fundamental article in the policy of the city, and it was in the pursuance of measures calculated to foster and uphold her maritime rank that she became embroiled with foreign states, and notably with Rome.

Of the general character and history of the Carthaginians, from the founding of the city down to the epoch of her wars with Rome, less is known than of any other great nation of antiquity. With the exception of a few inscriptions on medals and coins, a score of verses in one of the comedies of Plautus, and the periplus of Hanno, not a solitary relic of Carthage has been preserved. She left no literature, no art, no monuments, no traces of her language or people. For the preservation of her fame the modern world is indebted to her enemies, and it is believed that among these the Romans, instead of exercising care to preserve the authentic memorials of the great power with which they had struggled for more than a century, destroyed in the temple of Carthage the Punic archives covering a period for more than three hundred years.

At the beginning of the fourth century B. C. we find, then, the power of Carthage well established around the shores of the Western

Mediterranean. Sardinia and Corsica were subject to her authority. The coasts of Sicily were occupied with fortresses and seaports. The Carthaginian army and navy were recruited from the subject countries; and with her land forces and fleet, commanded by native generals of distinction, she maintained her authority by sea and land, and extended her conquests into foreign parts.

The political constitution of Carthage resembled that of Sparta. It contained the elements of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy; but in what way these diverse principles of government were practically combined is not certainly known. Following the analogy of other nations, it is probable that in the earliest times the monarchy predominated; that in mediæval Carthage the aristocracy was the ruling element; and that in the later periods of her history the influence of democracy was more distinctly felt. But it appears certain that the democratic principle made less progress among the Carthaginians than with the Greeks and Romans; for in the time of the Punic wars the aristocracy, supported as it was by commercial wealth rather than by distinction of birth, was still the controlling force in the government of Carthage. The hereditary nobility, however, continued to furnish the two principal officers of the state, called kings or *Suffetes*,[1] to whom were committed the executive functions of the government, including the supreme civil power in the state and leadership in war. In the growth of the commonwealth these Suffetes were shorn of their strength by the usurpations of the nobility, until they were reduced to a rank which has been properly compared with that held by the doges of Venice.

The Carthaginian Senate consisted of a hundred and four members. Of these, it is believed, that five retired annually, their places being filled by five others newly elected. The five retiring members constituted a kind of secret advisory body of the Suffetes, called the pentarchy; and in time of emergency all the pentarchs, sometimes numbering a hundred or more, were called together to deliberate on questions affecting the welfare of the state.

The Carthaginian government also included a Great Council composed of a hundred members; but it is conjectured by some authors that this body was none other than that constituted by the pentarchs or ex-senators. It is known, however, to have been a part of the Carthaginian system greatly to multiply the number of officers, and it is, therefore, not improbable that the ordinary Great Council was distinct from that other body which was summoned on extraordinary occasions.

The offices of the government were held almost exclusively by the rich—the aristocracy. The Carthaginian commons had little influence and no power in the state. It does not appear, however, that the commonwealth was ever seriously afflicted with popular discontent and insurrections. The army was rarely filled by conscription of natives. The government adopted the policy of recruiting among the subject peoples. The land forces consisted of Libyans, Moors, Spaniards, Gauls, and Greeks. The commons of Carthage, being thus relieved from military duty, had less cause of discontent. The state also favored the people by a systematic plan of colonization. When the population began to swarm and the competition for the means of subsistence became sharp, large bodies were collected, and sent at public expense into some favored locality, where they were provided with homes. Perhaps, too, the natural disposition of the Carthaginians was less inclined to the excitements of politics than was that of the Greeks and Romans.

The religious institutions of Carthage were derived from Syria. The ceremonial was sensuous and revolting. Astarte and Baal were worshiped. It was the custom, when spring returned, to kindle a pyre, and to send up an eagle from the flame towards heaven. This was done in imitation of the Egyptian phœnix. The flame was the god Moloch. He it was who demanded human victims. Children were dearer to him than men; and the tender ones were flung by hundreds to his fiery embrace. The brief, spasmodic cry of infantile anguish was drowned with frantic dances and wild songs ejaculated in the harsh language of

[1] This word is the same as the Hebrew for "*Judges.*"

Syria; while the clamor of the tambourines of barbarism rose above the moan of nature.

The Carthaginians were a people of little enthusiasm; mournful in demeanor, rugged in manners. They are represented as a covetous and sensual race; having the spirit of adventure without the fire of heroism. The public ceremonies at Carthage were of a sort to shock the sensibilities of a refined people. It was customary in times of calamity to drape the walls of the city with black cloth. When Agathocles laid siege to Carthage, he found the statue of Baal illumined with internal fires, into which two hundred children were cast as a sacrifice. Afterwards three hundred of the people threw themselves into the same horrid furnace and were consumed. When the city was taken by Gelo, he ordered that human sacrifice should cease, but the people could not be deterred. As late as the time of the Punic wars it was still customary to appease the benevolent deities with the offering of human life.

Many of the laws and usages prevalent among the Carthaginians might be cited as examples of harshness and singularity. One statute was that any stranger caught trading with Sardinia, or any point between that island and the pillars of Hercules, should be drowned. The Sardinians were forbidden, under penalty of death, to cultivate their own lands. The tone of Carthage toward other nations was extremely harsh. At the close of the First Punic War, Hanno declared that the Romans should not be permitted even to wash their hands in the Mediterranean.

Carthage first became embroiled with Rome by an attempt to possess herself of the Greek towns on the coast of Sicily. For a long time already the two rival cities on the opposite sides of the Mediterranean had watched each other with jealous enmity. Each was wary of doing a deed which might provoke the other or give advantage in the approaching struggle. The invasion of Italy by Pyrrhus had afforded an opportunity to the Carthaginians to continue their conquests in Sicily; but the advantage was counterbalanced when the king of the Epirotes abandoned the peninsula and passed over into the island. The retiracy of Pyrrhus into his own country left matters very much as they were before; but the conduct of Carthage had shown that she was on the alert to gratify her ambition at the expense of her neighbors.

During the progress of the war between Rome and the king of Epirus certain bands of mercenaries in Sicily had availed themselves of the disordered state of affairs to seize the towns of Rhegium and Messana, situated on opposite sides of the strait. As soon, however, as Pyrrhus had betaken himself to distant parts the insurgents who held Rhegium were overthrown, and most of them put to death; but those who held Messana were not so easily suppressed. Indeed, the Romans had no rights on that side of the channel, and the Sicilians were unable to dislodge the rebels. The latter called themselves Mamertines, or sons of Mars, and they justified this assumption by making war upon the surrounding districts, wasting the country and killing the inhabitants.

At length their ravages provoked the anger of Hiero, king of Syracuse, who went against them with an army, defeated them in battle, and shut them up in Messana. Here they were besieged for five years. At last, when they were brought to the verge of starvation they appealed to Rome for aid. The Senate had a difficult question to decide. It was known that if the appeal should be refused the Mamertines would apply to the Carthaginians, and that Messana would be given into their power. On the other hand, Hiero was the friend and ally of the Roman people. Six years previously he had aided them in the reduction of Rhegium and for the same reasons he was now besieging Messana. All consistency would have to be blown to the winds before the Romans could now take the part of the Mamertines against him. But Rome was not the state to allow so slight a matter as consistency to stand between her and the allurements and profits of war; and so, though it was foreseen that a conflict with Carthage would be inevitable, the appeal of the Mamertines was favorably entertained, and an affirmative vote given by the Senate. The command of the expedition charged with the liberation of Messana was intrusted to Appius Claudius, the consul.

Before the Roman army could be brought to the seat of war the movement was anticipated by the Carthaginians. Hanno, with a large force, arrived at Messana, and induced the Mamertines to make peace with Hiero. He was then himself admitted into the city, and when the Roman consul arrived on the other side of the strait he found the Sicilians as much at peace as though war had never raised his banner in the island. But Appius Claudius was little disposed to return home empty-handed from a campaign which had promised such great results. He accordingly sent an ambassador to Messana, and persuaded the Mamertines to expel the Carthaginians from the city. The latter again made common cause with Hiero, and Messana was a second time besieged. Appius Claudius, managing to elude the Carthaginian fleet which guarded the strait, crossed over with his army into Sicily in B. C. 263. The event is noteworthy as the first occasion on which the soldiery of Rome trod the soil of a foreign state. The Mamertines in Messana were at once relieved; and Appius Claudius, advancing in the direction of Syracuse, inflicted a severe defeat on Hiero and the Carthaginians.

In the following year Rome sent two consular armies into Sicily. The towns of the island deserted the Syracusan cause and joined the invaders. For the time it appeared that the Romans would soon be in possession of all Sicily. It now became apparent to Hiero that in selecting an ally he had made a great mistake by giving the preference to Carthage. He accordingly made peace with the Romans, and was ever afterwards careful not to incur their displeasure.

The consular forces were now free to prosecute the war in other parts of the island. At this time the stronghold of Carthage in Sicily was the old Greek town of Agrigentum, on the southern coast. For seven months this city was invested, and was finally—though not without great loss to the besiegers—compelled to surrender. The result was the entire expulsion of the Carthaginians from all points in the island except Eryx and Panormus. So great was the success achieved by her arms that Rome no more aspired merely to the expulsion of her rival from the island, but began to cherish the ambition of adding the whole to her dominions. It was the first impulse of that tremendous lust which led to the conquest of the world.

It was not long until the mistress of Italy found herself confronted with a serious problem. Though the Sicilian cities were nearly all in her power, and though victory after victory declared the superiority of her arms, yet she possessed *no fleet*. The sea belonged absolutely to her rival. Centuries of experience, not only in the Mediterranean, but among the breakers of the Atlantic, had made the Carthaginians the most expert and courageous seamen in the world. Rome, on the other hand, had gained her supremacy on the land. Of ships, their building and management, she knew nothing. History furnishes no other example of a people who had grown so powerful, wealthy, and aggressive, who were at the same time so little experienced in the affairs of the sea. Having conquered all Italy, and now adding Sicily to her dominions, she suddenly awoke to find her coasts in every part exposed to the assaults of an enemy whose chief renown was in the mastery of the deep. As fast as Rome could conquer the Sicilian seaports they were assailed from the side of the sea by the powerful squadrons of Carthage, sailing wherever they would, and doing as they liked. In the very midst of her successes in Sicily she found her own shores assailed, and her seaboard populations kept in constant alarm by the Carthaginian galleys. She saw her rival making good that threat which said that no Roman should dare to wash his hands in the Mediterranean.

In this condition of affairs Rome had the alternative of two courses: she must either stop short in her career of conquest, and surrender a portion of what she had already gained, or else she must build fleets, and meet her enemy on the sea. It could hardly be doubtful which of these two courses she would pursue. The race of Romulus was not likely to stop short in the career upon which it had entered. The Romans would build a fleet, defend their own coasts from assault, meet and overwhelm the foe on his chosen element.

Hitherto, there were no Roman ships larger than the trireme, or galley of three banks of oars. The Carthaginian fleet was composed of vessels of the largest bulk then known to the ship-carpenter's art. They were quinqueremes or galleys of five benches, ponderous and strong. Against these the lighter triremes would avail nothing in battle. Meanwhile Neptune, not unmindful of the sorrows of Æneas, heaved up on the coast of Bruttium one of the huge quinqueremes of Carthage. There lay the wreck, and Rome found a model. Then were the dock-yards enlarged; the Roman forests on the slopes of the Apennines fell with a crash; and the ominous hulks of one hundred and twenty vessels of war were seen in outline against the western horizon of Latium.

In B. C. 260 the first Roman fleet, of seventeen ships, put to sea under command of Cneius Cornelius Scipio. The squadron was surprised in the harbor of Lipara, and armament, crew, and consul were captured by the Carthaginians. Nothing daunted, the other consul, Caius Duillius, sailed with the remainder of the squadron, and met the enemy off the coast of Mylæ. Here the first sea-battle of the Romans was fought. Knowing the superior tactics of the Carthaginians, and aware of their own want of skill, the Romans invented the grappling-hook and boarding-bridge, with which each ship was supplied, and by which it was to be lashed to the enemy's vessel, side by side, thus converting the double deck into a battle-field, on which the terrible soldiers of Rome could do their work as usual.

Calmly confident of victory, and unaware of the boarding-bridge contrivance, the Carthaginian ships bore down swiftly upon the Roman squadron, but were suddenly surprised, on the dropping of the grappling-hooks, to find themselves lashed vessel to vessel, and their inveterate foemen pouring over the sides. The result was a complete victory for Duillius, who returned to Latium with the wrecks of the Carthaginian armament, and was granted a triumph in honor of his great achievement. The victory was commemorated by the erection of a pillar called the Columna *Rostrata;* for it was decorated with the beaks (rostra) of the enemy's ships. Thus by a single heroic blow was the maritime supremacy of Carthage shattered and dispelled.

But the struggle was by no means decided. It was now an open question with the Romans whether in following up their success, they would carry the war into Africa, or limit their present operations to the conquest of the islands in the western Mediterranean. The latter plan was adopted, and expeditions were at once fitted out against Corsica and Sardinia. Another army was sent against Hamilcar, who now commanded the Carthaginian forces in Sicily. All of these movements were attended with success. The first two islands mentioned were speedily overrun, and Hamilcar was driven back to the western end of Sicily. In B. C. 257, a second naval victory was gained by the Romans in the battle of Tyndaris.

All of these achievements were backed up with the greatest energy by the Senate and people. New levies of troops were ordered, the fleet was enlarged, and preparations made on an elaborate scale to transfer the war to Africa. The command was given to the two consuls, Marcus Atilius Regulus and Lucius Manlius Vulso. While coasting Sicily on the south, off the town of Ecnomus, the squadron met the Carthaginians, commanded by Hamilcar and Hanno. The latter were superior in ships and men, having, according to Polybius, three hundred and fifty vessels carrying a hundred and fifty thousand soldiers; while the Roman force was reckoned at three hundred and thirty ships and a hundred and forty thousand men. Nevertheless, the Romans gained another great victory. The Carthaginian fleet was so badly shattered as to be unable longer to oppose any serious obstacle to the progress of the Roman fleet toward the African coast. A landing was effected near the town of Clypea, and there the consuls established their camp and base of supplies.

This part of the African coast was populous and wealthy. It was a favorite neighborhood with the Carthaginian nobility. Here they had their villas. Here, on every hand were flourishing towns and villages. These were overrun by the Romans with little opposition, and enormous spoils were sent home to Italy.

Carthage itself was in imminent danger of capture. The authorities made overtures for peace, and the same might have been concluded on terms especially favorable to Rome; but the conditions prescribed by the consuls were so humiliating to the Carthaginians as to make their acceptance impossible. In her desperation, Carthage now displayed the greatest energy. New levies of troops were made, and it was determined to fight the Romans to the last.



BATTLE OF ECNOMUS.

At this juncture the besieged city was greatly encouraged by the arrival of the Spartan general, Xanthippus, who at once added the resources of his military genius to those of the Carthaginian commanders. He urged upon his colleagues the necessity of a new plan of battle. Hitherto they had chosen the hill country, thereby sacrificing the advantage of using their elephants to a supposed superiority of position. Xanthippus now induced them to leave the hills, and offer battle to the enemy in the open plain. Regulus hesitated not to accept the challenge, and in B. C. 255, a great battle was fought in which Regulus was taken prisoner and the consular army disastrously defeated.

The remnants of the Roman forces were gathered up by the fleet, and borne away for Italy; but off the Sicilian coast, the squadron was overtaken by a terrible storm, and the shore for miles was strewn with the wrecks of the armament and the bodies of dead men. The whole fortune of war seemed to be suddenly reversed, and the prospects of Rome grew dark to the horizon.

It was, however, in crises such as this that the splendid recuperative power of the Romans revealed itself most strikingly. In the very next year after the disasters just described, a new fleet of two hundred and twenty vessels was equipped and sent to sea. The squadron bore down at once upon the coast of Sicily, and, before the enemy was aware of the presence of the armament, surprised and captured the stronghold of Panormus. So signal was this success that the expedition was continued to Africa; but the Carthaginians now guarded their shores with such vigilance that the Romans were unable to regain a footing. The fleet returned to Italy, but, like its unfortunate predecessor, was caught in a storm off the coast of Lucania, and a hundred and fifty vessels were dashed to pieces on the shore. The disaster was such as could not be immediately repaired, and for several years neither party was able to renew the conflict with the accustomed energy. All Northern Africa and the two Sicilian towns of Lilybæum and Drepana were held by the Carthaginians, while the rest of the island and all of her own dominions remained to Rome.

Carthage was the first to renew the contest. In B. C. 251, Hamilcar made a descent on Sicily with a large army and one hundred and forty elephants. His progress was not much resisted until he approached Panormus, when he was given battle and completely overthrown by the consul Lucius Metellus. The victory was so signal as to restore the fortunes of Rome and send great discouragement to Carthage. The latter again offered to make peace, and to this end sent an embassy to Italy. Regulus was taken from prison and made one of the envoys who were dispatched to Rome to negotiate a settlement and an exchange of prisoners. And here follows that celebrated tradition, coined perhaps by the Roman poets, which recounts the story of Regulus as ambassador of Carthage to Rome. The Carthaginians bound him by an oath before his departure either to secure a peace or else return to his captivity. True to his country, he refused to plead for peace, but urged the Senate to continue the war. His family and friends besought him to break his pledge and remain in Rome, but he was deaf to all entreaties. He declared that the Carthaginians would soon be exhausted; that no exchange of prisoners should be made; that his own life was now nothing since he was legally dead, being a prisoner; that the enemy had already administered to him a slow poison which would soon end his days; and that he would keep the faith of a Roman by returning to prison. He accordingly quitted Rome and went back to the Carthaginians, by whom he was cruelly put to death. True or false, the story has obtained a place in the annals of heroism, and is not likely to be forgotten.—The embassy came to nought, and the war was continued.

Rome now bent all her energies to the expulsion of the Carthaginians from Sicily. As already said, the fortress of Lilybæum, in the western extremity of the island, was still held by the enemy. A siege of this stronghold was begun, and continued for ten years. The works were built on a promontory, and had been rendered well-nigh impregnable. The assaults of the Romans proved of no avail. Meanwhile a consular army, commanded by Publius Claudius Pulcher, was sent into Sicily to operate against Drepana. Before this town a great battle was fought, in which the Romans were disastrously defeated, losing eight thousand in killed and twenty thousand prisoners. So signal was the overthrow that Rome was for a season thrown into consternation. Shortly afterwards the other consul, Lucius Junius Pullus, was conducting a fleet of eight hundred transports along the coast of Sicily, on his way to supply the army before Lilybæum, when he was overtaken by a storm and lost his fleet to a ship; not a single transport was saved from the sea.

These continued losses and defeats affected somewhat even the iron purpose of Rome. She

had now lost four great armaments and one-sixth of her fighting population. The Sicilian fortresses still held out as stoutly as ever. The enormous spoils of her first campaigns in Sicily and Africa could hardly compensate for the destruction with which she had subsequently been visited. Fifteen years of war had not



REGULUS, UNMOVED, DEPARTS.

materially augmented her territory. The industries of Italy were paralyzed. The people became sullen and gloomy. The warlike spirit subsided, and for the next six years the military operations of the Romans were limited to the blockade of Lilybæum and Drepana.

At the same time that discouragement was thus prevailing in Rome, the fortunes of Carthage were revived by her great general, HAMILCAR BARCAS. He was made Suffete in B. C. 247, and remained in command for six years. During this time he conducted the war with the greatest ability. In Sicily he seized Mount Herote, which commanded the town of Panormus, and was able to threaten the Romans in their stronghold. In like manner he secured Mount Eryx, overlooking Drepana, and for two years menaced that fortress of the enemy. Against every coast where the Romans had an interest he directed his expeditions, and even the shores of Latium trembled at his approach.

In the mean time the maritime power of the Romans had declined, and the squadrons of Carthage sailed everywhere at will. In this ebb of her fortune and fame Rome suddenly

aroused herself, and built a new fleet of two hundred ships. The command was given to the consul Caius Lutatius Catulus, who at once made a descent on Sicily. The Carthaginians had now grown careless with confidence. Their fleets were scattered abroad on marauding and mercantile expeditions. The army in Sicily was thus left without proper support. Catulus found time and opportunity to land his forces, and to drill them carefully for the approaching conflict. Drepana was again blockaded before Hamilcar was able to intercept the movement.

But it was now the beginning of the end. In a short time (B. C. 241) the two fleets met off the Ægatian islands, and a decisive battle was fought, in which victory declared for Rome. Carthage again found herself deprived of her supremacy over the sea. The effect of the naval defeat was to deprive the blockaded armies at Lilybæum and Drepana of the means of subsistence, and to compel a surrender. Hamilcar was granted honorable terms and permitted to carry his arms and ensigns to Carthage; but it was evident that he would not for the present be enabled to renew the contest.

The Carthaginians were virtually exhausted. The spirit of the people was broken by the recent defeats. The mercenaries who composed the army were sullen and discontented. It was determined by the Carthaginian council to renew the negotiations for peace, and to this end Hamilcar was authorized to treat with Catulus. The Roman consul was anxious to signalize his term of service by bringing to an end a war which had continued for twenty-four years. The conditions were soon agreed upon, and peace was concluded on terms which were in general favorable to the Romans. It was stipulated that Carthage should evacuate Sicily and recognize Hiero as king of Syracuse; that she should restore all her prisoners without ransom and pay a war indemnity of three thousand two hundred talents. Thus closed the First Punic War with an enlargement of the resources of Rome at the expense of her rival.

The two great nations that had thus grappled with each other in deadly conflict for nearly a quarter of a century now entered upon a period of peace of twenty-three years' duration. But the benefits of such a period were, in the case of Carthage, overcome by the internal commotions of the state. These troubles were partly civil and partly military. About the time of the close of the war the African dependencies of the Carthaginians revolted; and when the mercenaries, who for the most part composed the army of Hamilcar, returned from Sicily, they mutinied for want of pay. These mutineers and the insurgents of the African provinces made common cause against the government. The rebellion made great headway, and at one time all the Libyan towns except Carthage were in the hands of the mutineers. It required the utmost exertions of Hamilcar and three years of war to suppress the insurrection. The revolt was directly traceable to the vicious military system of the Carthaginians, which, instead of organizing a native soldiery, interested by family and patriotic ties in the honor and success of the state, substituted a horde of mercenaries, gathered from the ends of the earth, and interested in nothing except being paid and *not* being killed.

Rome employed the interval to better advantage. Husbanding her resources and governing the allied states with lenient sway, she grew stronger year by year. She knew, as well as Carthage, that the treaty of B. C. 241 would ultimately be broken, and that another war more sanguinary than the last would be the result. To prepare for the inevitable struggle and to stand ever on guard against any possible advantage of the rival power became the policy of both the states while breathing from one fight and waiting for the next.

From this period in the history of Rome is dated the beginning of her Provincial System. The same began incidentally with the conquest of Sardinia, in B. C. 227. This island had been a dependency of Carthage, but had taken advantage of the late war to throw off the yoke. After peace was declared Carthage made an attempt to reässert her supremacy, but was met by Rome, who presumed to regard such a step as a threat of war. She accord-

ingly interdicted her rival from interference in Sardinian affairs and compelled a surrender of the island to herself. She also obliged Carthage to pay one thousand two hundred talents as the cost of this supposed menace to Roman domination. The island of Corsica was given up along with Sardinia, and both were organized under one government as a province of Rome. A system of taxation was devised, and a governor, called a prætor, was appointed to execute the laws, maintain order, and collect the revenues. In the same year Sicily, which since the close of the war had been subject to the will of the conqueror, was organized as the second Roman province. Such were the beginnings of that vast system of provincial government by which for several centuries a large part of the world was held in subjection to the Senate and people of Rome.

Having thus obtained control of the principal Mediterranean islands, and having no longer cause to fear the loss of their supremacy at sea, the Romans began to look abroad for a further extension of their dominions. An excellent occasion of war was soon found with the people of Illyria. The tribes of this country had made the useful but not very proper discovery that piracy yields a readier revenue than vulgar industry in the field and shop. The Illyrian coast was peculiarly favorable, from its innumerable inlets and hiding-places, for the work of buccaneers, and the craft of these marauders swarmed in all the upper Adriatic. Many times they ravaged the eastern coast of Italy, always taking care to escape before the legions could be brought against them. Rome now found time to square the account with the pirates, and at the same time to advance her territorial interests beyond the Adriatic.

In this work she proceeded with her usual circumspection. At the time referred to Illyria was ruled by Queen Teuta, who was engaged in a broil with Demetrius of Corcyra, who was her subject. To him the Romans offered their assistance on condition that the island should be added to the Republic. The offer was accepted, and not only Corcyra, but Epidamnus and Apollonia, following her example, were added to the dominions of Rome.

It was at this time that inter-state relations began to be established between the Romans and the Greeks. The Grecian states, especially in the western parts of the country, sympathized with the Italian Republic because she suppressed violence and established order in all her borders, but more particularly because the Romans were of the same race with themselves, having like traditions and religions, and perhaps a common ancestry. It was, therefore, with delight that in B. C. 228 the Greeks sent an invitation to the Roman people to participate in the Isthmian games. The Athenians hailed the people of the West as kinsmen and heroes, and gave them the freedom of their city. By a special act, the Eleusinian mysteries, to which none but Greeks had ever before been admitted, were opened to candidates of the Roman race. Thus by degrees was the influence of the Republic extended over the dissolving fragments of Grecian greatness.

Until the present time no effort had been made to extend the dominion of Rome on the north. The upper boundary of Etruria and Umbria had continued to be the territorial limit of the Republic. The great valley of the Po and the ridges of the northern Apennines were still possessed by the Gauls. These people, especially the Boii and the Senones, were engaged in almost constant war with the tribes on the north and west. It was this circumstance, no doubt, which had prevented the Gauls, at those times when Rome seemed to be under the foot of the Carthaginians, from again pouring down and devastating the fruitful regions of Central Italy.

After a time, however, the Gauls became sufficiently consolidated to undertake again what had been so successfully accomplished in the days of Marcus Manlius. Nor was such a movement to be regarded with contempt, even by the Senate and people of Rome. It was believed that the Trans-alpine tribes would pour through the mountain passes and swell the deluge which was to roll over Italy. A great army of Boian and Senonian Gauls, augmented by large bodies of their brethren from beyond the Alps, was organized for the expedition, and Rome, whose iron jaws had

munched the bones of the Carthaginians, trembled at the name of the Gaul. Even the gods of the city were excited and sent forth omens and portents. The Capitol was struck with lightning, and the Sibylline books were found to contain the following prophecy: "Beware of the Gauls, when the lightning strikes the Capitol." Another tradition of the augurs said that the Roman Forum should one day be occupied by the Gauls and the Greeks. Then came the priests, and said that the prophecy might be averted if two Greeks and two Gauls should be buried alive in the Forum. So Superstition lifted her horrid spade, and Rome, who had conquered Italy and faced Hamilcar's elephants, felt relieved when four innocent human beings were entombed alive in her public square.

Nevertheless the Republic—so wise does human reason grow, even in the presence of the priest—failed not to prepare what human agencies soever she could, to meet and repel the northern invaders. New legions were enrolled and sent to the front. Every city was required to accumulate supplies and put itself in a position of defense. And then, when all her preparations were complete, crafty Rome sent emissaries among the Cenomani and Veneti, advising those nations, as soon as the Gauls should begin the invasion of Italy, to fall upon their rear and despoil their country.

The Roman army of defense was stationed at Ariminum, from which direction it was expected that the attack of the Gauls would be made. The allied states joined their contingents, and made common cause for the protection of their homes. The Gauls, however, disappointed the expectation of the Roman consul, and, moving to the west, advanced on Rome by an undefended highway. While making the advance, they fell in with the reserves, who were on their way to join the army at Ariminum, and inflicted on them a severe defeat. The surrounding districts were then pillaged; but the barbarians, now laden with spoils, concluded to make good what was already gained by carrying away their plunder into Cisalpine Gaul. By this time, however, the consul Atilius Regulus, commanding at the north, was hard on their track; and the other consul, having landed at Pisa, with his army recently from Sardinia, intercepted the enemy's retreat. The Gauls were thus hemmed between the two consular armies, and in a decisive battle at Telamon, were utterly routed and dispersed.

Meanwhile, in B. C. 232, the question of the distribution of public lands was again agitated, and led to the adoption of a new agrarian law. After the previous victory gained over the Gauls at the Vadimonian lake, a large portion of the *ager publicus* in Northern Italy had remained unoccupied. To preserve the quiet of these regions the Romans had planted on the frontier the two important colonies of Sena and Ariminum. In the year above mentioned, the tribune Caius Flaminius secured the passage of a law by which these public lands of the North were distributed among the veterans of the army and the poorer classes of citizens. The Senate, although that body had not for a long time claimed the right of annulling an act of the people, violently opposed the adoption of the statute proposed by Flaminius; but the measure was carried, and the public domain opened to the occupation of colonists. The same tribune then signalized his administration by the construction, as far as Ariminum, of the great military road known as the Flaminian Way.

It was not to be expected that the Romans, after the overthrow of the Gauls, would forbear to press their advantage by extending the dominions of the Republic in the direction of the Alps. In B. C. 222, a successful campaign, conducted by the consul Marcus Claudius Marcellus, was made against the Insubres, and their capital, Mediolanum, was taken. Expeditions were then made in different directions, until the whole valley of the Po was overrun, and the territorial limit of Rome carried completely around the vast region of Cisalpine Gaul. To secure these great conquests the two additional colonies of Placentia and Cremona were established, and occupied by settlers from the capital.

While these movements were taking place in Italy, Demetrius, by whose instrumentality the Romans had secured their foothold on the Illyrian coast, renounced his alliance with

them, and went over to ANTIGONUS of Macedonia. Believing that the struggle between Rome and Carthage must soon be renewed, he sought to secure his own interests by entering into friendship with a new master. To signalize his defection, he organized a fleet, put to sea, and began in the character of a pirate to prey upon the commerce of Rome and her allies; but he had mistaken the men with whom he had to deal. The consul LUCIUS ÆMILIUS PAULLUS was sent against him, and Demetrius was glad to escape with his life. Fleeing into Macedonia, he endeavored to persuade the young king PHILIP to declare war against the Romans; but that discreet monarch was wary of such an antagonist, and Demetrius found opportunity to repent in exile.

The time was now at hand when the smouldering enmity between Carthage and Rome was destined again to break forth in the flames of war. The Carthaginians had in the mean time succeeded in reducing their mercenaries to obedience, and in restoring order in the dependencies. The civil condition of the state, however, was by no means happy. There had been a division of parties, which had destroyed the political unity and disturbed the peace of the commonwealth. The old Carthaginian aristocracy, claiming, as such bodies always do, the exclusive privileges which they had inherited, refusing to recognize the principles of progress and the natural growth of the state, had arrayed themselves, under the leadership of HANNO, against the party of the people led by the great soldier, Hamilcar Barcas. The baleful influence of this division was manifested in the factious opposition of the Senate to the war measures of the generals in the field. The latter were frequently thwarted in their movements and plans by the refusal of the aristocratic party to support them with men and means. This opposition of the civil authorities of Carthage to the proceedings of the party of war had been felt disastrously during the progress of the first struggle of Carthage with Rome, and was now destined to distract the state in a still more alarming degree.

It was under the influence of these disturbing political conditions that the veteran Hamilcar, after the suppression of the mutineers' rebellion, gladly retired from Carthage, and undertook the conquest of Spain. This country now offered the finest possible field for military adventure. The possession of Hispania indeed had become almost essential to the Western nations. The gold mines of the East—notably those of Asia Minor—as well as the silver mines of Greece and of other countries, were well-nigh exhausted. In both of these great resources of wealth, the Spanish peninsula was especially rich. Her stores of gold and silver surpassed those of all of the rest of Europe combined. The country, moreover, was beautiful and varied in climate and product, and the people were among the most brave and hardy of the West.

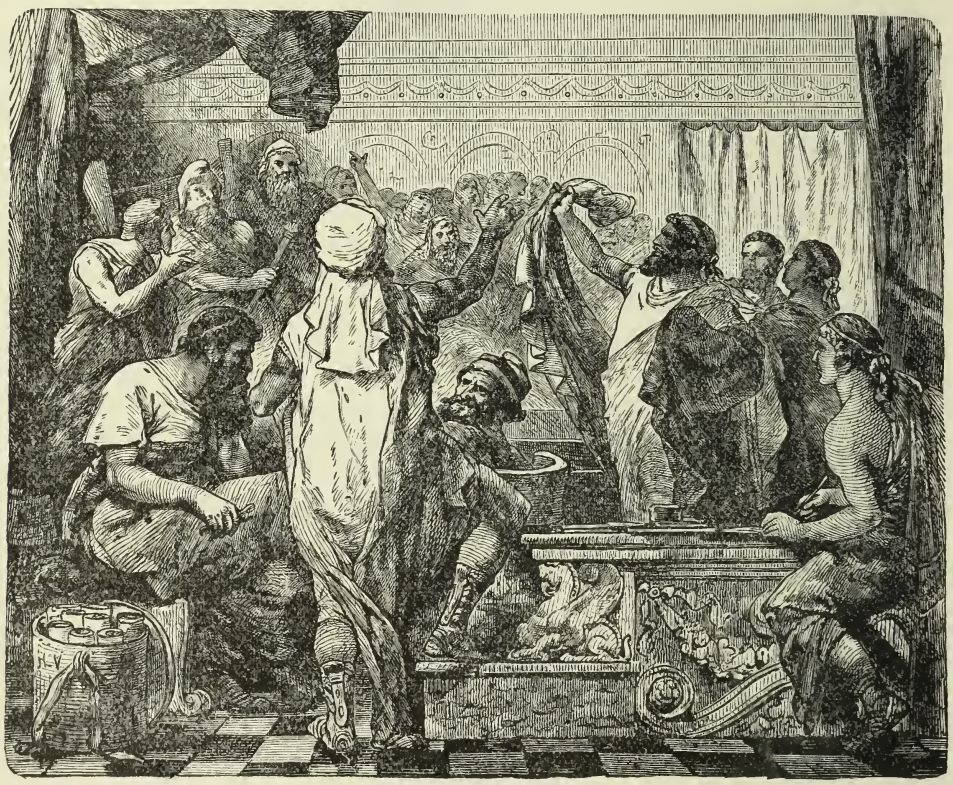
For nine years (B. C. 236–228) Hamilcar waged successful war in the southern part of the peninsula. In that portion of the country between the Ebro and the strait the authority of Carthage was thoroughly established. But in the midst of these successes Hamilcar was killed in battle, and the command was devolved upon his son-in-law, HASDRUBAL. The latter was also an able and prudent general, who maintained and promoted the cause of his country, both at home and in Spain.

The Romans now became alarmed at the progress of the Carthaginian arms to the north, and in order to prevent the further extension of the power of her rival declared themselves to be the protectors of the Greek cities in the Spanish peninsula, as well as those of the Mediterranean islands. An alliance was made with the towns of Saguntum and Emporiæ, and Carthage was notified that any aggression on the countries north of the river Ebro would be resented as an act of hostility done to the allies of the Roman people. Hasdrubal was obliged to assent to this declaration of policy.

Hamilcar Barcas left to his country and the world a son greater than himself. This was HANNIBAL, to whom any historians other than his enemies would have conceded the title of *Great*. From his youth he had been schooled in the discipline of the camp. At the age of nine he was taken by his father—then about to depart for Spain—to an altar in Carthage, and there made to swear eternal enmity to the Romans. He afterwards accompanied his father

in the Spanish wars; and when, in B. C. 221, Hasdrubal was assassinated, he was called to the chief command of the Carthaginian army. He was now in his twenty-ninth year, and was the idol of the soldiers. It was his preference to begin at once a war with Rome, while that power was still engaged with the Gauls and Illyrians; but the still unsettled condition of Spain and Africa forbade, and two years elapsed before a sufficient degree of security had been reached to permit him to pursue his purpose. In the spring of B. C. 219, however, he proceeded to Saguntum, which, under the rather flimsy pretext of being originally a Greek town, had claimed the protection of Rome. The Roman Senate sent a warning to Hannibal to stand off and leave the Saguntines in peace; but the young general was by no means to be deterred. He proceeded against the town, began a siege, pressed it with great vigor for eight months, and compelled the place to surrender.

Rome, now thoroughly aroused, made haste to send an embassy to Carthage. The authorities of that city were required to disavow the work of Hannibal, and to give him up as a pledge that there should be no further aggression either in Spain or elsewhere. A long debate ensued. The Carthaginian Senate, although the party of Hanno was still powerful in that body, was little disposed to surrender the son of Hamilcar to the tender mercies of a Roman prison-keeper. At last Quintus Fabius, who was the chief oracle of the embassy,



QUINTUS FABIUS DECLARING WAR TO THE CARTHAGINIAN SENATE.

gathered up his cloak, and said: "Ye men of Carthage, here in this toga I carry peace and war; which do you choose?" "Whichever you will," was the answer. "Then," said Fabius, dropping the folds of his toga, "we pour out war upon you." "And we accept it," was the reply.—And thus began one of the most memorable conflicts recorded in the annals of the ancient world.

In the mean time the city of New Carthage[1] had been founded as the capital of the Cartha-

[1] The modern Cartagena.

ginian dominions in Europe. Thither repaired Hannibal, as soon as he had brought the siege of Saguntum to a successful conclusion, and there began to prepare for the now imminent struggle with Rome. It was his purpose to adopt no half-way measures, but to make his enemy at once feel the blow by carrying the war into Italy.

All things considered, the general advantages were in favor of the Romans. Throughout Italy there was peace. Liberal concessions to the commons in the way of agrarian laws and many extensions of popular rights had removed the causes of discontent, and the system of mutual checks established in the government prevented a recurrence of the ancient disorders. The Roman army was composed largely of citizens in whom the old instincts of patriotism still prevailed over mercenary motives; and of those who had been recruited from the allied states, the most were loyal subjects of the Republic. The Roman treasury was well filled, and the revenues were managed with economy and prudence. In Carthage the condition of affairs was less auspicious. The popular or war party was now in the ascendant, but the conservatives, under the lead of Hanno, were still a powerful faction in the state. The Carthaginian army was composed mostly of mercenaries, whose patriotism extended no further than pay and booty. The treasury had been bankrupted by the first war with Rome and the waste and ruin attendant upon the mutineers' rebellion. Of late, however, the resources of the government had been greatly improved by the yield of the Spanish mines, so that in resources wherewith to conduct a long war the two powers were not unequally matched.

The impetuous Hannibal was not disposed to leave every thing to the naked contest of armies. He zealously sought to strengthen himself by friendly alliances. Negotiations were opened with young Philip of Macedon, and with the Cisalpine Gauls, and both were urged to make common cause against her who had either been or would be a common enemy. The Roman colonies recently established among the Gauls furnished good ground for discontent, and Hannibal was not without hopes that all the nations of the North could be won over to his cause, and their country made a base of operations against Italy. Nor was it beyond his expectations that the Latin towns and several of the Italian states, reviving the antagonisms of the past, might be induced to revolt against the power which had so long controlled them.

By the beginning of the year B. C. 218, the Carthaginian was ready to begin his Italian campaign. His army consisted of ninety thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and thirty-seven elephants. The leader chose to make his way into Europe by way of the Spanish peninsula. He accordingly crossed the river Ebro, and entered upon his invasion. In the country below the Pyrenees he met with serious opposition, and nearly a fourth of his forces were wasted in battle before he reached the mountain passes. Before leaving Spain he left his brother, Hasdrubal, with ten thousand men, to hold the conquered territory, and with the remainder pressed on to the Rhone. Here the Gauls had mustered an army to prevent his passage; but he performed a flank movement, crossed the river at another point, and easily routed the barbarians.

In the mean time there was at Rome no spirit commensurate with the occasion. The peril was not regarded as imminent. The consuls were apparently ignorant of Hannibal's plans, and the preparations made were altogether inadequate, as well as misdirected. One of the consular armies, commanded by Tiberius Sempronius Longus, was sent into Sicily, with the ulterior object of crossing into Africa. The other force, led by Publius Cornelius Scipio, was dispatched to Spain under the belief that Hannibal was still in that country. On arriving at his destination Scipio learned that his antagonist was already beyond the Pyrenees. Following in his track the consul reached the Rhone, and there learned that Hannibal was on his way to Rome! Scipio then sent the larger part of his army back to Spain under his brother Cneius, and with the remainder embarked for Rome. On reaching home he proceeded into Northern Italy, where, at the head of the troops to be gathered *en route*, and in Cisalpine Gaul, he proposed to meet the enemy.

While these preparations were making on the side of the Romans, Hannibal was steadily though not without great difficulty, advancing to his purpose. After the passage of the Rhone, he proceeded to the Isere, and ascended this stream to the foot of the Little St. Bernard. From this point he commenced the passage of the Alps. The native tribes of this region attacked him with great audacity, and many of his troops were cut off. Many more perished amid the solitudes of the mountain passes. Most of the elephants pitched from the precipices, and went down roaring into fathomless chasms—a scene without a parallel in history. At last the survivors emerged in the valley of the Duria, and soon found themselves on the sunny plains of Cisalpine Gaul. The Carthaginians were reduced one-half in numbers, and the rest were chilled and exhausted. A few days' rest, however, brought the veterans again into condition for battle, and Hannibal signalized his first week in Italy by the capture of the capital of the Taurinians—the modern Turin. So decisive and energetic were his blows that the other Gaulish tribes took counsel of discretion and sent in their submission to the invader.

Meanwhile the consul Scipio gathered what forces he could from the colonies of Placentia and Cremona, and with no adequate idea of the character of his antagonist, advanced to meet him. The Roman march was up the left bank of the Po as far as the Ticinus, where the consul encountered a part of the Carthaginian array, and was severely handled. He was himself badly wounded and compelled to save his army by a retreat to Placentia. Here on the banks of the Trebia he made a stand, and awaited the arrival of Sempronius from Sicily. The latter had already been ordered to return to Italy, and his troops had been embarked for Ariminum. From this point the army marched rapidly to Placentia, and formed a junction with Scipio.

The Romans were now superior in numbers to the Carthaginians, and the consuls no longer avoided battle. It was already midwinter, B. C. 218. The December rains had filled the Trebia bank full. The weather was cold and gloomy, the air thick with sleet and snow. Hannibal succeeded by maneuvering in drawing the Romans from their position on the other side of the river and joining battle on a field of his own choosing. The consuls proved no match in generalship for the Carthaginian. The contest was hotly waged for a brief time, but the Romans were presently thrown into confusion by a charge of the Numidian cavalry, and driven back to the river. The slaughter became excessive. Those who were not slain or drowned escaped across the Trebia and took refuge within the fortifications of Placentia. The defeat was decisive. The Gaulish populations of Cisalpina rose in a mass and joined themselves to Hannibal's standard. To the barbaric imagination of the North as well as to the sun-born imagination of Africa the spoils of all Italy seemed waiting to be devoured.

Rome was now thoroughly aroused from her apathy. She came suddenly to understand that there was a herd of African lions loose within her borders. After the battle of Trebia she began to prepare resistance with her old-time energy. In the spring of B. C. 217 four new legions were levied and equipped. Two of these were sent forward, under command of the recently elected consul, Cneius Servilius, to Ariminum, and the other two, commanded by Caius Flaminius, were dispatched to Arretium. The latter general was the favorite of the Roman people, being the same who as tribune had secured the passage of that agrarian law by which the northern lands had been recently distributed to the poor; but he was by no means possessed of such military talents as to make him a match for Hannibal.

The latter now crossed the Apennines, and reached the valley of the Arno, whence he proceeded towards Perusia, leaving the consular army under Flaminius in Arretium. The Roman consul followed in his track as far as Lake Trasimenus, where the Carthaginian had posted himself for battle. The latter took possession of the heights commanding a narrow defile, through which the Roman army must pass. On the day of the battle the region about the lake was surrounded with a thick fog, and the Romans, uninformed of the position of their enemy, advanced into the defile,



HANNIBAL CROSSING THE ALPS.
Drawn by H. Leutemann.

much as the army of old Postumius had done at the Caudine Forks. The trap had been successfully set. As soon as the rearguard had entered the pass the Romans were assailed on every side—in front, from the cliffs above, and in the rear—by an invisible enemy, magnified into terrible proportions by the phantom of the mist. Unprepared for battle, weighed down by their baggage, impeded in the attempted execution of any maneuvers by the sides of the narrow pass, the soldiers fell into inextricable confusion, and were slaughtered by thousands. Very few succeeded in escaping; the remainder were killed or captured.

In the use which he made of his victory, Hannibal exhibited the keenest penetration into the political condition of Italy. In disposing of his prisoners he carefully discriminated between the Romans and their allies. Hoping to wean the latter from their allegiance, he dismissed them without ransom, assuring them that his purpose in invading Italy was to make war on Rome and liberate the Italians. In the results of this policy, however, the Carthaginian was completely disappointed. Not a single state was shaken from her allegiance. All remained steadfast in their loyalty to the great power which, though it oppressed, had hitherto shown itself able to protect.

The effect of the battle of Lake Trasimenus was to wrest all Etruria from the Romans, and to open the way for the invader to the capital. It was confidently expected that Hannibal would immediately follow up his success by marching on Rome. The Senate accordingly, in anticipation of such a step, ordered the bridges over the Tiber to be broken down, and took such other measures of defense as seemed best calculated to keep the African lion at bay. Meanwhile Servilius was ordered to lead his legions to the defense of the capital, and Quintus Fabius Maximus was appointed dictator without the constitutional prerequisite of a nomination by the consuls.

Hannibal, however, again disappointed expectation by turning aside, crossing the Apennines, and invading Umbria and Picenum. This movement was doubtless dictated by the hope which he still entertained, that the Italian states would renounce their allegiance to Rome and join his standard. He accordingly continued his march from town to town, as far south as Apulia and as far east as the Adriatic; but the loyalty of these old cities of Magna Græcia remained sound to the core, and Hannibal received such comfort only as he could extort by the uplifted sword.

In the mean time the Roman Senate was by no means idle. A levy was made of four new legions, and, Fabius being now in supreme command, there was no further lack of military unity in the measures which were adopted for Hannibal's expulsion. The dictator exerted himself to the utmost to inspirit the army and the people, and at the same time adopted a new plan of strategy, so different from that to which the Romans had been accustomed as to receive the name of "Fabian," which it has ever since borne. The new policy embraced the avoidance of battle and every other critical hazard with the enemy, and the gradual reduction of his resources by cautious and indecisive movements.

Fabius advanced into Apulia to a position within easy distance of Hannibal's camp. In vain did the latter strive to bring on a general engagement. The dictator was proof against all provocations. He held steadily to his policy of risking nothing, in order that he might gain every thing. At length Hannibal broke up his encampment, marched past his antagonist, crossed the mountains, and entered Campania. This rich district, the most populous and fertile in all Italy, was ravaged by the African army, more in the hope of bringing on a battle than of gathering spoils. Some of the leading knights of Capua had given Hannibal cause to believe that they would deliver the city into his hands and join his standard. But their promise was without fulfillment. Capua remained faithful until taken by force. The Carthaginian then gathered up his enormous booty, and again retired into Apulia.

In these movements Fabius followed close after his enemy. While Hannibal was recrossing the mountains the dictator took possession of one of the passes, as if to dispute the progress of the Carthaginians; but the

latter in their turn avoided battle in this unfavorable locality, and made their way into Apulia through another pass. In effecting this movement Hannibal outwitted his antagonist by tying torches to the horns of oxen and driving them to the hill-tops by night, thus deceiving the Romans in regard to the course which he was taking. Hannibal proceeded without molestation into Apulia, and, having pitched his camp at Geronium, sent out a part of his forces to gather supplies from the surrounding country, and with the remainder continued to confront Fabius.



THE STRATAGEM OF HANNIBAL.

With the apparently overdone caution of the latter the Senate and people now became greatly dissatisfied. The belief gained ground that in the case of the dictator strategy and inefficiency meant the same thing. An anti-Fabian party arose, both in Rome and in the army. A certain Minucius, who was master of the horse, gained a small success over the enemy, and was immediately proclaimed the champion of a new policy by which Hannibal was to be overthrown. The assembly of the tribes at Rome voted to divide the command between this parvenu officer and the experienced Fabius. The latter bore the interference with equanimity, and when Minucius at the earliest opportunity rushed rashly into battle, and was about to be destroyed, the old general came promptly to his aid, and the disaster was avoided. It was the end of the fiasco. Minucius returned to his command, and the former policy was resumed.[1] The title of

[1] How often in the history of the world has this bit of military experience been repeated!

Cunctator, or the Delayer, which the Romans had conferred in mockery upon Fabius, became his badge of distinction.

The winter of B. C. 217–216 was passed by Hannibal at Geronium. His hopes of an Italian uprising had proved completely abortive. No material aid had been given him from any quarter, and the astute genius of the Carthaginian perceived that he must beat or be beaten by the Romans single-handed. The latter, meanwhile, divided into parties, though both were agreed on the main issue of prosecuting the war. After the defeat of Flaminius, who was the popular leader, the nobility gained the ascendency. Fabius himself was of this party, and it was hoped that under his auspices the old aristocratic principles would in some measure be revived. But in the new consular election of B. C. 216 the people's party was again triumphant, and CAIUS TERENTIUS VARRO was elected over Lucius Æmilius Paullus.

The season was already well advanced when Hannibal broke up his camp at Geronium, and posted himself at CANNÆ, on the south side of the river Aufidus, in Apulia. Thither he was followed in midsummer by the Romans, who took up a position on both sides of the river within striking distance of the Carthaginians. Varro was now in command. It was his determination not any longer to avoid battle. Choosing his own field he arranged the legions with great care, the cavalry guarding the wings, his right resting against the Aufidus. The legionaries of the center were commanded by Servilius and Minucius; the right wing, by Paullus; the left, by Varro in person. Hannibal's arrangement was in the same manner; the infantry occupying the center; Hasdrubal, with the Spanish and Gaulish cavalry, holding the left, and Hanno, commanding the Numidian horse, the right. The battle was begun on both sides at the same time. The conflict was the fiercest which had ever been witnessed in Italy; but from the first it was evident that the Romans had staked every thing only to lose. Nothing could stay the terrific charges of the Carthaginian cavalry. The Roman legions were crowded together against the river, and the carnage became dreadful. The Carthaginians gave no quarter. Escape there was none. Seventy thousand Roman soldiers—so Livy records the butchery—were heaped in piles of dead on that fearful field of slaughter. Of the general officers only Varro escaped. All the rest, including eighty members of the Senate and many knights, were slain. Never was the annihilation of an army more complete. The loss of Hannibal was six thousand men.

Any people less resolute than the Romans would have been overwhelmed with such a disaster. Since the days of the Gauls no such a calamity had fallen upon the city of Romulus. Great was the alarm in the capital, for it was confidently expected that the knock of the Carthaginian would soon be heard at the gates. The nerves of the Senate, however, were unshaken. A tone of confidence, born of native energy and fearlessness, was assumed, and the people were reässured. In such times of peril the factions in Roman politics generally made common cause. So in the present danger the feuds of the commons and the aristocracy were laid aside to the end that the state might be rescued from the clutches of her assailant.

The course pursued by Hannibal after his great victory of Cannæ has been the subject of much discussion. By some it has been thought that he became the victim of a strange fatuity which prevented him from pressing home his advantage and destroying Rome. Certain it is that he failed to reap what appeared to be the natural fruits of his triumph. Why did he not at once march on Rome and fulfill on her the oath made to his father? Many and diverse answers have been given. Maharbal, the able commander of the Numidian cavalry, besought him to press forward and consummate the work. "Give me the horse," said he, "and in five days you shall dine in the Capitol." But the general had his own purposes. Perhaps he still hugged the delusion of an uprising among the states. Perhaps

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Instance the career of the braggart Gates, who for the time supplanted Washington in public confidence. Instance the fate of the reckless Hood, who for a day blazed meteor-like, and then went out in the presence of the cautious Johnston.

he had, after all, a profounder penetration into the spirit and reserved forces of the people with whom he had to deal. Perhaps, like many other great heroes, the victory, the rout, and slaughter of the enemy in battle, were to Hannibal an end rather than a means unto an end. Perhaps the *after that* was a question beyond the scope of his genius. At any rate, instead of marching upon Rome, he sent thither an embassy to seek an exchange of prisoners and to make proposals for peace!

Never did the character of the Romans appear in stronger light than in their conduct towards the Carthaginian envoys. *The latter were forbidden to enter the city!* The attitude of the Senate was that of a body in a position and with the purpose to dictate rather than receive dictation. Hannibal contented himself with returning into Campania, where he established his winter-quarters in Capua.

Meanwhile a few of the less important peoples of Southern Italy went over to the Carthaginians, but there was no general defection. Hannibal took advantage of the season to send his brother MAGO to Carthage with accounts of his great victory, and to ask for supplies and reïnforcements. These were tardily voted, for the party of Hanno still opposed the war measures of the Carthaginian Senate, and the support of Hannibal had to be carried against their factious resistance.

The winter spent at Capua has been represented as fatal to the discipline of the African army. The climate was conducive of ease and indulgence. It is said that the veteran Carthaginians, under the stimulus of high living, broke over the necessary restraints of the camp, and that Hannibal himself gave way to excess. Be these things as they may, certain it is that with the opening of the next season Rome was renewed in courage and the African less able to cope with her reviving energies.

The second Punic War now assumed wider proportions. Other countries became involved in the contest. Indeed, during the progress of Hannibal's invasion of Italy, there was no time when interesting, though perhaps not critical, movements were not on foot in foreign parts. It will be remembered that when, in B. C. 218, Publius Scipio was called into Northern Italy to resist the advance of the Carthaginians, he dispatched a part of his army, under command of his brother Cneius, to continue the war in the Spanish peninsula.

The diversion was in the course of the following year attended with considerable success. Nearly all of the country between the Pyrenees and the river Ebro was recovered by the Roman arms. In the latter part of the year Publius was himself ordered to return to Spain with an army of eight thousand men and a fleet of thirty sail. The campaign was vigorously carried forward by the two brothers, for the double purpose of regaining the territories which had been lost and of preventing the passage of reïnforcements to Hannibal. Many of the native tribes threw off their temporary and enforced alliance with Carthage, and made common cause with the Romans.

Among the chief measures adopted by the Carthaginian Senate for the maintenance of the war in Italy was the levying of twenty-thousand troops *in Spain*—this in accordance with the immemorial usage of the state of recruiting her armies from among the provincials. In order to prevent the success of this levy, the two Scipios advanced into the country south of the Ebro, and in the battle of IBERA defeated Hasdrubal so severely that his attention was limited to the security of Spain rather than the support of his brother in Italy. The effect of the victory was to encourage the Spanish tribes in their disposition to go over to Rome, and to prevent that succor which the principal actor in the great drama was expecting from the African government.

Hannibal ceased not to seek and to incite the enemies of Rome wherever they might be found. Remembering the career of Pyrrhus, he sought to instigate Philip of Macedonia to join him the conquest of Italy. Between him and the Carthaginian embassies passed back and forth, and the Macedonian king was about to yield to the temptation of a war with Rome when his messengers were seized by the consular authorities, and the whole scheme exposed. Philip soon found enough to do to defend his own dominions from the menace of the power which he had provoked.

The summer following the battle of Cannæ was passed without any important military movements in Italy. The Romans busied themselves as never before with preparations for the expulsion of the invader. All the men of military age in the Republic were called into service. Prisoners were freed and slaves were armed for the great emergency. A fleet of a hundred and fifty vessels was built, and twenty-one legions were organized and equipped. Meanwhile Hannibal gained no accession of strength. His brother, Hasdrubal, now in Spain, was obliged to act on the defensive, and the Greek cities of Southern Italy, with few exceptions, were held in subjection by force rather than affection. The year B. C. 215 passed with the greatest augmentation of resources on the side of the Romans, and no material gain on the side of Hannibal.

The first revival of the Carthaginian's prospects came from the quarter of Sicily. So long as Hiero reigned in Syracuse—and the whole island was under the influence of Syracuse—the insular state remained faithful to the Romans. For the Senate had made Hiero a *socius* of the Republic. With his death, however, a new state of circumstances supervened. Hieronymus, son of the late king, came to the throne at the age of fifteen, and being at that ripe epoch of his life wiser in his own esteem than his father, he turned to the Carthaginian party. Hearing of this, Hannibal sent to Syracuse as his agents two of his officers, Hippocrates and Epicydes, with instructions to strengthen the young king's purposes and aid in the overthrow of Roman authority.

For a brief season every thing looked favorable for a restoration of Carthaginian supremacy in the island; but Hieronymus was presently assassinated and his party driven from the city. The latter took refuge in Leontini, and persuaded the people to renounce the Syracusan government and expel the Roman garrison. This act brought upon them the vengeance of the prætor Marcellus, who laid siege to Leontini, and soon carried the place by storm. In the use which he made of his victory he behaved with so much harshness towards the Roman deserters who were found in the town that the Syracusan soldiers put themselves under Hippocrates and Epicydes, and the Roman party in Syracuse was again suppressed.

The Carthaginian interest was thus completely triumphant, and Marcellus was obliged to begin a siege in the hope of regaining by force what he had lost by folly. The investment continued with varying successes for the space of two years. A Roman fleet of sixty vessels was added to the land forces of the prætor, but these were rendered of little avail by the wonderful contrivances invented by Archimedes, who—if the tradition is to be credited—constructed huge grappling hooks or cranes, which, hanging out over the bay, reached down their insensate arms from above, clutched the Roman ships, lifted them from the water, and dashed them to pieces by dropping them as an eagle would a tortoise on the rocks! Still more apocryphal is the story of his great concave mirrors, which he is said to have set up as burning glasses on the beach, in the light of whose concentric eyes of flame the ships in the harbor took fire like tinder! So the siege was delayed.

Meanwhile a Carthaginian army landed in Sicily and marched to the relief of the city. Agrigentum was taken and Marcellus was brought into a strait place, when he suddenly improved his fortunes by the carelessness of the enemy. By an oversight a certain part of the ramparts was left unguarded, and the Romans, taking advantage of a festival, which had absorbed the attention of the besieged, made a dash, and gained the heights of Epipolæ, which in part commanded the city. At this juncture the Carthaginian army arrived before Syracuse, but the Romans were now able to retain their position. In a short time a violent epidemic broke out among the African soldiery, and they were obliged to decamp in order to save their lives. Soon afterwards a Spanish officer, having charge of the walls next Ortygia, opened the gates to the Romans, who on the following day gained possession of the entire city. The lives of the people were spared, but Syracuse was sacked by the soldiers, whose appetites were whetted by the delays and hardships of a two

years' siege.[1] The art treasures of the city were preserved by Marcellus and transported to Rome—the first of many such stupendous robberies. In the course of the following two years the reconquest of the island was completed. Agrigentum withstood a protracted siege, at the conclusion of which the leading defenders of the place were put to death, and the rest of the inhabitants sold as slaves. The dominion of Rome over Sicily was completely reëstablished.

While these events were taking place in the vicinity of Italy, the war was continued by the Scipios in Spain. The power of Carthage in the peninsula was rapidly broken down. In B. C. 215 Saguntum was retaken, and the African coast began to be threatened by the Romans. The Carthaginian allies dropped away. Syphax, a leader of the Numidian clans, deserted the cause of Africa for that of Europe. Finally, Hasdrubal was obliged to relinquish the Spanish possessions, the hard-earned fruits of Hamilcar's victories, and return to Carthage to defend the home kingdom from the dangers with which it was menaced. He was soon enabled to secure the alliance of the Numidian chief Gula, with whom he made a joint attack on Syphax, who was overthrown. The success was so marked that Hasdrubal recruited his forces, and, returning to Spain, was enabled to assume the offensive against the Scipios. The latter had indiscreetly divided their army, and thus exposed themselves to the blows of an antagonist of whom previous experience ought to have taught them to be wary. Taking advantage of the separation of his enemy's forces, Hasdrubal attacked each division in turn and gained an overwhelming victory. The Romans were utterly discomfited. The whole army was either dispersed or killed. Both the Scipios were found among the slain. The greater part of Spain was recovered by a single blow, and Italy again lay open to invasion by way of the Pyrenees.

But the Roman Senate proved equal to the emergency. It was immediately resolved to recover the Spanish peninsula, at whatever cost. To this end a new expedition was organized, and intrusted to the command of Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of the consul recently killed in Spain, a young man of but twenty-seven, who until now had never held any office higher than that of ædile. The enterprise was one of the most hazardous and daring upon which any general of Rome had ever entered. In the fall of B. C. 210 he set out on his campaign, and, arriving in Spain, took up his head-quarters in Tarraco. Here he devised his plans, a knowledge of his purposes being shared by a single person. Nearly two years were spent in developing and disciplining his army, and obtaining information of the position and movements of his enemies. Early in B. C. 207 he broke up his camp, and advancing rapidly upon New Carthage, succeeded in effecting its capture before the Carthaginians could come to the rescue. Shortly afterwards a battle was fought with the army of Hasdrubal, at Bæcula, in Andalusia.

The result was not decisive, but was so far favorable to the Carthaginians that Hasdrubal was enabled to make his way to the north and carry out the long-cherished plan of reïnforcing his brother in Italy. His departure from Spain enfeebled the opposition to Scipio, who in B. C. 206 fought a second battle, on the field of Bæcula, with a second Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo. The result was a complete rout of the Carthaginians, whose recently wide-extended possessions in the Spanish peninsula were suddenly reduced to the single city of Gades.

The effects of this defeat were exceedingly disastrous to Carthage. The loyalty of the Spanish nations—never to be depended on—was now completely broken down. In Africa a defection occurred which was still more serious. Masinissa, the son of the Numidian chief Gula, who with his father had aided in the overthrow of Syphax, having conceived a sudden admiration for Scipio, abandoned the Carthaginian cause and went over

[1] It was during the sack of Syracuse that Archimedes lost his life. The philosopher sat intently gazing upon some geometric figures which he had drawn in the sand, when he was rudely approached by a Roman soldier, who asked him a question. Archimedes, heeding not, simply said, "Don't disturb my circles." Thereupon the ruffian slew him on the spot.

to the Romans. In the course of the negotiations between the young Numidian and Scipio, the latter crossed over into Africa, and was entertained for some days at the court of Syphax. It is related that he here also met that Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, who had suffered the recent defeat in Spain.

While Scipio was absent a serious trouble occurred in the Spanish army. A large division of the troops, having been neglected in the matter of pay, mutinied, and at the same time several of the vacillating native tribes rose in rebellion against the Roman authority. But on the return of the general the mutineers were reduced to obedience and the insurgent natives quickly subdued. The city of Gades was presently (B. C. 206) invested and taken, and thus the last foothold of Carthage in Spain was obliterated.

The circumstances just narrated will explain in part the inefficiency of the support given by the home government to Hannibal in Italy. The continuance of the struggle in Italy, the broken allegiance of the Numidians, the natural difficulties of transporting troops and supplies to such a distance, and the jar of an opposing faction in Carthage, all conspired to hinder any movements for the relief of the great leader, whose hold on the throat of Rome was weakening from year to year.

The interval of B. C. 216–214 was passed without any material successes in Italy. Neither could Hannibal again reduce the Romans to the desperate straits in which he had once held them, nor could they succeed in his expulsion from the peninsula. The war had thus far developed no general who was his equal, unless Cornelius Scipio should be so regarded—and he was still in Spain. The attention of the Carthaginian was now directed to the capture of Tarentum, and of the Romans to the recovery of Capua. Both of these purposes lagged in the execution. In B. C. 212, however, Hannibal succeeded in securing his prize. Tarentum was taken—though not without an act of treachery on the part of its defenders. His attempt upon Cumæ failed; for the place was defended by Sempronius Gracchus, the first great Roman of that illustrious name. Hannibal was also defeated, with a loss of five thousand men, in a battle before Nola—a disaster to his cause not easily repaired. About the same time Fabius crossed the Vulturnus, and gained some advantages in the neighborhood of Capua. Hanno was defeated by Sempronius Longus in an engagement at Grumentum; and Marcellus, sallying forth from Nola, overran nearly all of Samnium. A defection of the Numidian cavalry and a body of Spanish infantry still further reduced the now slender army of Hannibal, who, with each succeeding loss, was less likely to receive needed succor from home.

After the capture of Tarentum, however, he turned his course to the north, and with the greatest audacity undertook the capture of Rome. The consuls were now engaged in an effort to reconquer Capua, and the Carthaginian imagined that he might be able to force his way into the capital. In this enterprise he was completely foiled. Rome, no longer alarmed at his approach, shut her gates and bade him defiance. The army before Capua was divided, and one-half sent to the relief of the capital. At the approach of this force Hannibal was obliged to retire. He had *seen* Rome!

The year B. C. 211 was marked by the siege of Capua. The Roman armies, now swollen to great proportions, began a regular investment. Hannibal, realizing the importance to his waning cause of holding the city, made a great effort against the besiegers. He made an attack upon their lines from Mount Tifata, but was repulsed. He then attempted by ravaging the surrounding country to divert the efforts of the Romans from the siege; but all to no purpose. Capua was taken, and was punished with almost unparalleled severity. The city, one of the most refined and cultured in Italy, was given up to pillage. Nothing was spared. The art treasures were either destroyed or carried away to Rome. Seventy Capuan senators were beheaded for their adherence to the cause of Hannibal. Three hundred nobles and officers were thrown into prison. The rest of the people were sold as slaves. The town—so much as remained of the ruin—and the adjacent territory were confiscated to Rome, and colonies were sent out

to repeople the devastated region. The old Capua, founded and cultivated by the Greeks, was no more.

The same year was signalized by still further successes of the Romans. The prætor VALERIUS LÆVINUS secured a treaty with the Ætolian leader Scopas, by which the country of the latter was interposed as a barrier between Macedonia and Rome. Another compact of similar import was made with Ptolemy, of Egypt, who was induced to cultivate the friendship of the Romans in preference to the Carthaginians. Thus by vigilance and diplomacy the horizon of Rome was widened at the very time when she was engaged in a desperate struggle to free herself from an army of African invaders.

After the fall of Capua and the consequent loss of Campania, Hannibal was obliged to retire from Central Italy. He still strove to maintain himself in the South, but dangers menaced him on every hand. Roman legions rose as if by magic from the ground. Those cities of Italy that had been induced, after the battle of Cannæ, to espouse his cause became suspicious and began to take counsel for their own safety. Silapia and other Samnian towns were put into the hands of the Romans. But even in this condition of affairs the consuls did not dare to badger Hannibal too closely. In one instance the general, FULVIUS, to whom the recovery of Apulia had been intrusted, made an attempt to capture the town of Herdonea. While engaged, without due caution, in the prosecution of this enterprise Hannibal suddenly burst upon him out of Bruttium, and gained a signal victory.

In the year B. C. 209 the Romans achieved several successes in the South. The Lucanian and Bruttian towns were mostly recovered. Fabius Maximus added another to his long list of triumphs by the recapture of Tarentum. The city and its people, who, according to the Roman standard of loyalty, had been altogether too well satisfied with Carthaginian rule, were treated as in the case of Capua: the town was sacked and the inhabitants sold into slavery. In B. C. 208 the veteran Marcellus, believing perhaps that the time had at last come when the Roman legionaries could meet the Numidians in the field, ventured on a general engagement at Venusia. The action resulted in a defeat for his army and death for himself. His body fell into the hands of Hannibal, who honored the memory of his dead antagonist with a proper funeral. Rome was thus obliged from time to time to relearn the lesson of experience and to fall back on the policy of Fabius.

Notwithstanding the great present preponderance of the Roman armies—in spite of their successes and the isolation of Hannibal from his own country and even the sympathies of his countrymen—the contest was not yet decided. In B. C. 209 an event occurred which showed that Rome as well as her assailant had as much of the contest as she could well desire. In making the demands for that year upon the Latin towns for the annual contributions of money and men twelve out of the thirty cities responded with the declaration that their resources were exhausted—they could give no more. The response of the other eighteen members of the old league was more favorable, but the ominous echo of "exhaustion" had been heard in the land, and the shadow of overthrow was still seen walking specter-like on the horizon.

At length came the news that the long-delayed movement of Hasdrubal from Spain into Italy had been accomplished. That leader had succeeded in eluding his opponents in the peninsula, made his way—by what route is not certain—across the Alps, and had debouched into the valley of the Po. At first the intelligence was hardly accredited, but when it was known that the movement had actually been accomplished Rome responded with her usual vigor. Two new legions were added to the army, and every nerve strained for the great contest which was now imminent. Hannibal also learned of his brother's approach, and made the most unwearied efforts to favor his progress. To this end he broke up his own camp in Bruttium, marched to the north, and met the newly elected consul NERO on the field of Grumentum. Here a battle was fought, hotly contested, but without decisive results. Hannibal, however, was enabled to continue his progress to Canusium, where he

posted himself to await his brother's arrival, or, at any rate, news of his approach.

Meanwhile the other consul, MARCUS LIVIUS SALINATOR, had marched to the north to confront Hasdrubal and prevent his progress. The two consular armies were thus interposed between the two of the Carthaginians. In this situation of affairs Nero, as it appears, grasped the solution of the problem. He conceived the plan of retiring unnoticed from before Hannibal, marching quickly to the north, joining his colleague, and crushing Hasdrubal by a combined attack of both arms. The latter general had in the mean time laid his plan to advance into Umbria, join his brother, and then march on Rome.

Nero's scheme was successfully carried out. Selecting his best soldiers he escaped from his camp without exciting the suspicions of Hannibal. Marching rapidly northward he joined his colleague at Sena, taking care by a night entrance into the camp of Livius not to give the enemy notice of his approach. Nevertheless, Hasdrubal detected by the sound of the trumpets and the increased numbers in his front that the other consular army, or a portion of it, was in his front. From this he drew the inference that his brother had been defeated, perhaps destroyed, and that the whole issue now depended on himself. He therefore determined to seek a stronger position on the other side of the river Metaurus, which was just in his rear. But in attempting to retire across this stream he was pursued by the Romans, and missing the fords was obliged to give battle on the south side of the river. The struggle that ensued was one of the most desperate of the war. Though the Carthaginians were exhausted as well as foiled in their attempt to retreat to a more defensible position, they fought with almost savage heroism; but the legionaries gradually drove them back and crowded them against the river. The slaughter and rout became general. Hasdrubal, despairing at last of the battle, threw himself upon the Romans and was slain. His army was well-nigh annihilated; only a few escaped in broken detachments.

As soon as the victory was complete, Nero began his march to Canusium. He was the herald of his own triumph. Hannibal had learned nothing of what was done. On arriving safely in camp, Nero sent to the Carthaginian *his brother's head* as an earnest of the news. Two prisoners were also sent to Hannibal's quarters to tell him in their own way the story of the Metaurus. "I foresee the doom of Carthage," was the melancholy comment of Hannibal when his brother's head was thrown over the rampart into the camp.

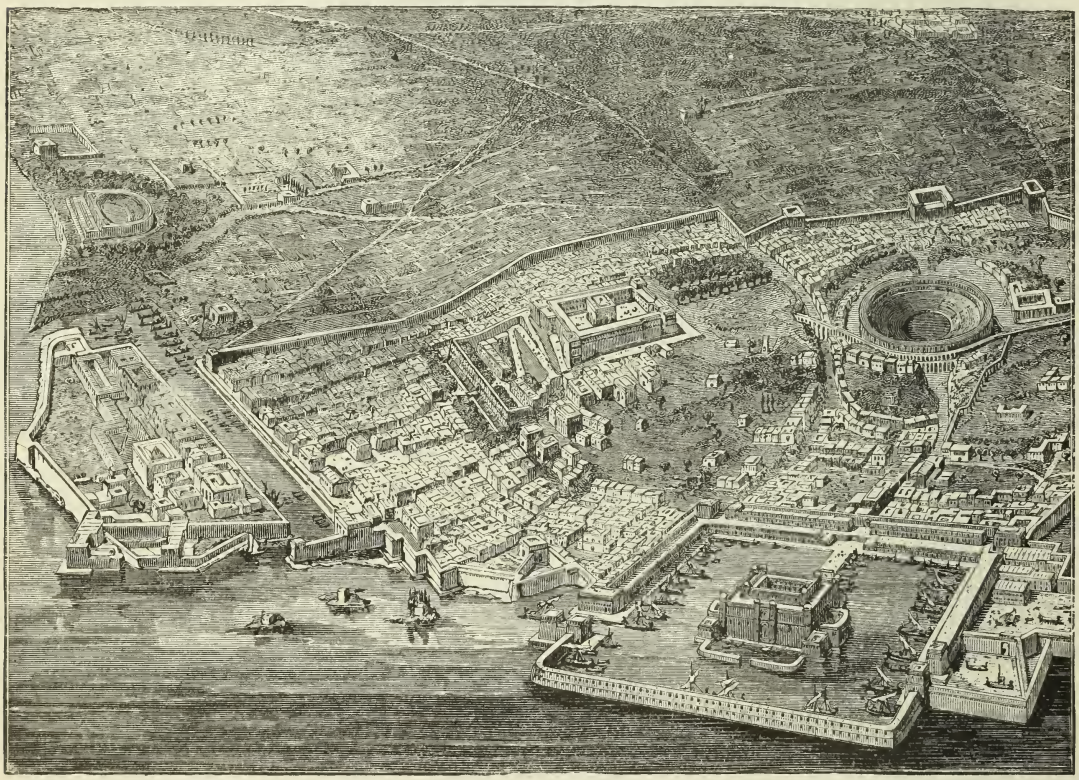
It is the quality of the greatest not to despair. So did not Hannibal. He saw that Italy was lost—but perhaps not hopelessly. As for himself, the Romans had never yet beaten him in an open battle of the field. He would remember his oath of eternal enmity. Looking around the horizon, he saw that the best course for him to pursue was to retire into the hill-country of Southern Italy, and there continue the struggle according to the suggestions of destiny. He accordingly retired from Canusium, and fell back into the Bruttian peninsula. Here, on account of the nature of the country rather than from the now slender forces at his command, he was enabled to take such positions as to give him comparative immunity from attack.

Meanwhile Publius Cornelius Scipio, having completed the conquest and pacification of Spain, returned to Italy, and was elected to the consulship.[1] To him the people now began to look with confidence for the completion of the war. For himself, he had long entertained the design of invading Africa, and repaying Carthage in her own dominions for the devastation of Italy. The conservative and unenthusiastic Senate was little disposed to favor his plan—indeed, opposed it; but the popular party were heartily for the daring Scipio. The vote of the popular assemblies was unanimous for his measures. The Senate, having assigned him Sicily as his province, gave a reluctant consent to the African invasion, but crippled the enterprise by voting no adequate support to the proposed expedition. Scipio was left to the expedient of raising an army by volunteering, and the first year (B. C. 205) of his au-

[1] It will be remembered that this remarkable man had never yet held a higher office than that of ædile.

thority was consumed in developing and supplying such a force as could be relied on in so hazardous an enterprise.

Carthage, with her political wrangles, still looked on across the Mediterranean—a not disinterested spectator of the fates of Italy. In one instance, after the defeat and death of Hasdrubal, the home government made an attempt to succor Hannibal. MAGO, his youngest brother, was sent out with a reinforcement of fourteen thousand men to create, if possible, in Northern Italy a diversion which should



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liberate the great leader from the hills of Bruttium. Mago made his way into Liguria, and his effort to rouse the transapennine populations to rebellion was attended with some success. Many of the Ligurians and Gauls were won over to his standard, but he was presently encountered by a Roman army under QUINTILIUS VARUS, and defeated in battle. His army routed and himself wounded, the diversion was of no practical benefit to Hannibal.

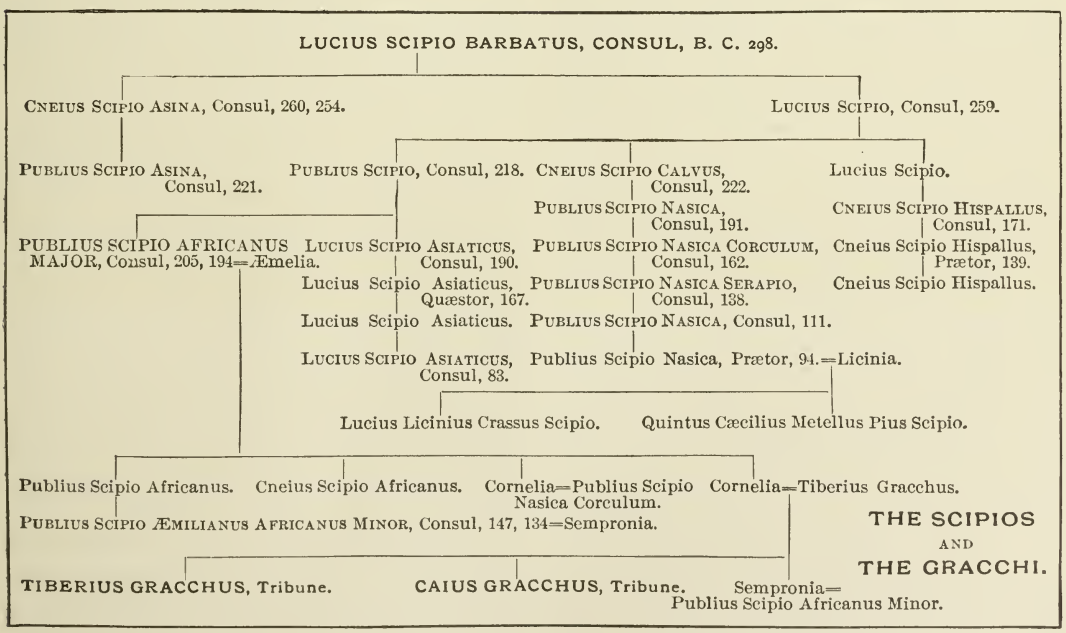
By the beginning of the second year of his command Scipio was ready to assume the offensive. With a well disciplined army of about twenty-five thousand men, he embarked from Lilybæum in the spring of B. C. 204, and passed over to Africa. He marched directly against Utica, and began a siege which continued during the summer. The city, however, was so vigorously defended that at one time the besiegers were driven back and obliged to entrench themselves at Fair Promontory, where the expedition had landed. Scipio was joined by his admirer, Masinissa, but opposed by Syphax who made common cause with Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, to whom the defense of Utica had been intrusted. Acting on the advice of Masinissa, Scipio made an attack by night upon the camp of the enemy before the city. The movement was a surprise, and the Carthaginians were routed from their position. A second attack was also successful, and Syphax fled into Numidia. Thither he was followed by Masinissa with a division of the Roman army, and was presently overtaken and captured. All of Numidia was thus secured to the cause of Rome.

The general effect of these continued successes of the Romans was to strengthen the anti-war party in Carthage. The adherents of Hannibal were discouraged and put under. It was, moreover, evident to the most patriotic of the Carthaginians that the prospects, immediate and remote, were exceedingly gloomy as it respected the fate of their country. Negotiations were accordingly opened for peace. Scipio himself was not adverse to a settlement, provided the same could be made on conditions sufficiently advantageous to Rome. The approaching exhaustion of Roman resources, as it respected both means and men, was a powerful general reason, and the desire of éclat in bringing the war to a successful conclusion, a strong personal motive for his wishing to end hostilities. The general, therefore, submitted an outline of the terms which would be satisfactory to himself, subject, however, to the approval of the Senate. The conditions embraced the surrender of all prisoners and deserters held by the Carthaginians, a renunciation of territorial claims in Spain and the islands of the western Mediterranean, the calling home of Hannibal and Mago from Italy, the thousand talents as a war indemnity to Rome. These preliminaries being accepted by the Senate of Carthage, an armistice was declared, and the Roman prisoners were set at liberty in anticipation of a like acceptance by the Romans. Hannibal and Mago were recalled to Carthage, and it was confidently believed that the war was at an end.



SCIPIO AFRICANUS (BRONZE), NAPLES.

These opening buds of peace were quickly nipped in the severe air of the Roman Senate. That body had rightly divined that the condition of Hannibal in Italy, the progress of Scipio



recognition of Masinissa as king of Numidia, the reduction of the Carthaginian navy to twenty ships-of-war, and the payment of five on the other side of the Mediterranean, and especially the overthrow of Syphax in Numidia, were the inevitable precursors of the

ruin of Carthage; and when did Rome's iron purpose ever relent in the presence of a foe tottering to his fall? The ambassadors sent to Italy by the Carthaginians were dismissed with ill-disguised contempt, and the thought of ratifying the preliminaries proposed by Scipio was not entertained for a moment. It is said that the news of the treatment accorded to her ambassadors preceded their own arrival at Carthage, and that the indignation created by the perfidious course of the Romans was so great as to restore the war party to power; for who could oppose the war when he himself was obliged to fight by the merciless intolerance of his enemies?

Meanwhile Hannibal, after having for four years beaten back his foes, like a baited lion, in the hills of Bruttium, being now called home, landed at Hadrumetum, and became the herald of an additional uprising. The presence of their great leader reïnspired the Carthaginians, who now felt that they had in their own country a general whom they could match against the victorious Scipio. The clamor of the peace-party was suddenly hushed, and the spirit of war revived throughout the remaining dominions of Carthage. The negotiations opened by Scipio having failed of practical results, the general at once renewed the conflict. He now had a different antagonist to contend with, and proceeded with great caution.

The latter part of B. C. 203 and the summer of 202 were consumed in preparations for the final struggle. Nor were the Carthaginians slow in gathering together their last resources for the closing conflict. The battle was fought at ZAMA, on the river Bagradas, in October, B. C. 202. Hannibal's generalship was as conspicuous as ever, and his inferior forces were managed with the greatest skill. But the tactics of Scipio were even superior to his own. In order to prevent the elephants, which, notwithstanding many years of experience, still continued to be the *bêtes noires* of the Roman soldiery, from breaking his lines, Scipio arranged his troops after a new method, so that the columns could be opened for the passage and repassage of the huge beasts, whose progress could not be otherwise opposed. The battle was joined with great fury on both sides; but the Romans gradually pressed their adversaries from the field, and gained an overwhelming victory. The ghost of vanquished Africa was seen for a moment hovering on the outskirts of the conflict, and then fled into the shadows.

It was now evident that no further successful resistance could be offered to the progress of Rome. The resources of Carthage were utterly exhausted. It only remained for the conqueror to dictate what terms of peace soever she might be pleased to concede to her fallen foe. Hannibal frankly advised his countrymen not to attempt a continuance of the struggle, but to limit their exertions to securing the best possible terms of peace. The Senate announcing the conditions of a settlement was as inexorable as ever. The general outline of the treaty, which was now forced upon the Carthaginians, was the same as that proposed by Scipio in the previous year; but the conditions were made more onerous by a change in the war indemnity from the sum in gross of five thousand talents to an annual tribute of two hundred talents to be continued for fifty years, and by exacting a pledge that Carthage henceforth would never, either in Africa or elsewhere, undertake a war without the approval of Rome.

Thus after a continuance of more than seventeen years, the Second Punic War was ended. The iron resolution of the Roman people had again won the victory over her rival, led, as the latter was, by the greatest military genius of the age. The chief glory of the result fell to Scipio. On his return to Rome he was received with wide-open arms. The triumph which was voted him by the Senate was one of the most splendid ever witnessed in the Eternal City. In honor of his great achievements he was given the title of AFRICANUS; nor were any of those marks of pride and confidence which nations fond of glory are accustomed to bestow on their heroes withheld from him who, though still in his youth, was now the first man in Rome.

As for Hannibal, whose career seemed now at an end, he still gave himself with untiring zeal to the interests of his country. His influ-

ence at Carthage was perhaps greater in the day of her humiliation than ever before. He undertook and carried through successfully a reform in the constitution of the state. The effete oligarchy which, under the influence of tradition and prejudice, had still retained its influence in the state, was now suppressed, and more popular forms of political society organized on the ruins of the old order. A better system of finances was instituted, and many measures proposed well calculated to revive the drooping energies of the kingdom.

Hearing of these reforms and recognizing their restorative influence in the city to whom she had so recently given the cup of bitterness to drink, Rome, in B. C. 196, sent an embassy to Carthage to inquire into the business which was fostered by Hannibal, and to uphold the waning aristocracy. Hannibal perceived in the counter revolution thus effected the end of his usefulness, and perhaps the close of his career. He accordingly made his escape from the city of his birth and took refuge at Ephesus, with Antiochus, king of Syria. By him the Carthaginian was received with many marks of favor, and him the exile, by every means in his power, endeavored to persuade to take up arms against the Romans. Thus would he still remember the oath of his youth, and keep ever uppermost eternal enmity to Rome.

But when the war which thus ensued was ended by the overthrow of Antiochus the latter was compelled, as a condition of peace, to agree to the surrender of Hannibal; but the fugitive escaped from the country and sought refuge with Prusias, king of Bithynia. But no retreat in the world's extreme could hide him longer from the deadly hate of the Romans. Prusias was commanded to deliver him up, and fearing to refuse, he agreed to the requisition. Hannibal, however, now sought the final remedy. For years he had carried with him a phial of poison ready for the last emergency. He stood a moment like a tall shadow on the farthest horizon of his greatness, then drank the subtle potion, and lay down to that oblivious sleep which could never again be disturbed by the blare of a Roman trumpet.

The political condition of the Mediterranean countries was considerably changed at the close of the Second Punic War. Carthage was reduced to the rank of a dependent state. The Spanish peninsula acquired by the campaigns of the Scipios was organized into two Roman provinces. The small territory surrounding the city of Syracuse, which had hitherto maintained her independence, was absorbed in the province of Sicily. The annihilation of the Carthaginian navy left Rome without a rival in the Mediterranean, and the pathways of the sea, whose farther termini lay in the ports of distant nations, were opened to the aggressive descent of her galleys whenever caprice or interest should lead her to engage in foreign conquests.

For the present, however, she devoted her energies to the pacification of Italy, and the reörganization of the enlarged Republic. As it respected those cities and states—especially the provinces in Southern Italy—which had broken their allegiance and espoused the cause of Hannibal, their domains were confiscated and repeopled with Romans from the capital. Large districts of Cisalpine Gaul were treated in a similar manner; nor was any effort spared—so far as artificial agencies could accomplish such a result—to unify and *Romanize* the whole of Italy. The outposts of the Republic were strengthened by the establishment of frontier towns and fortresses. Thus in B. C. 183 was founded in the Istrian peninsula the colony of Aquileia as a protection to the state in the direction of Illyria and Macedonia. The Transalpine Gauls were driven back to their own place and the passes of the Alps henceforth guarded against the recurrence of an invasion. The last of the races on the hither side of the Alps to be subdued were the Ligurians, who among the fastnesses of the northern Apennines maintained a semi-independence for nearly half a century after the downfall of Carthage.

The first half of the second century B. C. was marked by the extension of Roman influence in the East. The general condition of the oriental kingdoms in the times succeeding the death of Alexander the Great has already been narrated at some length in the preceding

Book.[1] It will be remembered that the countries dominated by the Conqueror had finally, after many struggles among his generals and their successors, been reduced to four separate kingdoms. These were, first, EGYPT, embracing, besides the valley of the Nile, the countries of Palestine, Phœnicia, and Cœle-Syria in Asia, Cyrenaica in Africa, Cyprus in the Mediterranean, several of the Ægean islands and not a few of the towns and settlements on the coast of Thrace. The second of the Macedonian kingdoms was SYRIA, with its capital at Antioch. The territory of this state was vastly extended, including—though in many instances nominally—most of the Asiatic dominions of Alexander. The third fragment of the great Empire was the kingdom of THRACE, extending on both sides of the Bosphorus, and including several of the provinces of Asia Minor. The fourth power was MACEDONIA, embracing the major part of Greece.

At the time of which we speak, B. C. 205, Egypt was ruled by Ptolemy V., surnamed Epiphanes, who coming to the throne at the ripe age of four years fell under the influence of a regent, who, as a safeguard against the menaces of Syria and Macedonia, put the kingdom under the protection of Rome. Syria was, at the beginning of this century, ruled by Antiochus III., surnamed the Great, whose reign extended from B. C. 238 to his death in 187. Thrace, it will be remembered, had in the division of the Empire fallen to Lysimachus, under whom and his successors the kingdom gradually declined until it was finally absorbed in Macedodonia, to be carried over with the conquest of that power to the dominions of the Romans. The Macedonian kingdom fell in B. C. 220 to Philip V., who in that year succeeded his uncle, Antigonus Doson, and became immediately embroiled in the war then raging between the Ætolians and the Achæan League.

Besides the great states here enumerated, there were in the East, especially on the shores of the Propontis and in other parts where Greek civilization still clung in fragments, many petty principalities, which in the vicissitudes of the times had still succeeded in maintaining their independence. To this class of small powers belonged several of the Ægean islands, and more particularly the two great cities of Byzantium and Cyzicus, the first on the Bosphorus, and the second on the Propontis. In the same category should be mentioned the Republic of Rhodes, which, owing to its favorable position, its liberal institutions, its policy of free trade, and its artistic and literary renown, had, in the beginning of the second century B. C., achieved a great reputation among the states of the eastern Mediterranean. Such was the general condition of the East at the time when Rome, disengaged by victory from her struggle with Northern Africa, found herself free to mark out new highways of conquest.

The condition of Greece at this epoch may be briefly referred to. After the death of Alexander the Great, the Greek states were ultimately divided in their political sympathies into two parties, the one being headed by the Ætolian, and the other by the Achæan League. The latter was by far the more powerful, embracing among its members Arcadia and Corinth, as well as a majority of the Peloponnesian states. Around the banners of this confederacy were ranged the better elements of what remained of the civilization of the Greeks. The policy of the League was generally directed in an enlightened way to the end of Grecian independence; nor can it be doubted but that for the inauspicious condition of the times and the remains of old factions still working distress and bitterness among the members of the confederation, the final eclipse of Hellas might have been postponed. The Ætolian League was less patriotic in its origin and less salutary in its influence. The Ætolians were themselves the least cultured of the races of Central Greece, and the confederacy of which they became the leaders was selfish and narrow in its principles and methods. It will be remembered that during the progress of the Second Punic War the Romans had made use of the Ætolians to neutralize the sympathy of Philip of Macedon, about to be actively expressed for Hannibal in Italy. As for Athens and Sparta, who had for so many generations shared the glory of Greece between them, they had now sunk into comparative insignificance, and were of less importance in the politics of Hellas than were

[1] See Book Ninth, pp. 664–680.

several of those states which they had formerly despised as barbarous.

When, after the battle of Cannæ, the tide of success swelled high in Hannibal's favor, Philip V., instigated to such a course by Demetrius of Pharos, sent ambassadors into Italy to conclude a Carthaginian alliance against Rome; but the envoys were captured and delivered over to the consuls. Philip then stood aloof for a season, and the league was not concluded until B. C. 215. A Macedonian fleet was then sent into the Adriatic. The town of Oricum was captured, and Apollonia invested by Philip's squadron; but MARCUS VALERIUS LÆVINUS, one of the consuls for the year, came suddenly to the scene of these aggressions, and quickly recaptured all the places which had been taken by the Macedonians. Philip was obliged to burn his fleet and fly to his own dominions for safety. For three years he was glad to act on the defensive against the power which his rashness had provoked. It was this episode in the great war with Carthage that enabled the Romans through the agency of Lævinus to stir up the Ætolians to make war against Philip. The monarch was so severely beaten by these adverse winds that he had more occasion to seek aid from Carthage than the latter had need of him. The Græco-Macedonian war (B. C. 211–206) continued for five years, and was then concluded with a treaty between the Ætolians and Philip, to the terms of which the Romans themselves assented.

The half-decade succeeding these events was employed by the Macedonian king in extending his power throughout Greece, and in accumulating the requisite resources for another war. In the furtherance of his plans, he entered into an alliance with Antiochus III. to divide between them the dominions of the boy Epiphanes of Egypt, while the latter, as already narrated, applied to the Roman Senate for aid. Philip struck right and left all around the horizon. He made a double war on Rhodes and Attalus, king of Pergamus. He sent a division of four thousand soldiers to join Hannibal in the battle of Zama. He pressed every enterprise which seemed likely to conduce to the strength of his kingdom or hinder the further progress of Rome.

Meanwhile the latter power, after the downfall of Hannibal, sent an embassy to the East, to prevent the contemplated partition of Egypt. Philip was plainly told that he must resurrender to Ptolemy those dependencies which he had taken away. He was also forbidden to make any further aggressions on the cities of Greece. It seemed, however, quite impossible for the latter to keep his claws from the delicious chestnuts which lay in the smouldering ashes of Hellenic civilization. The first pretext was eagerly seized for violating the interdict of Rome, and war was the immediate result.

Two young men of Acarnania, while visiting at Athens, betrayed their vulgar boorishness by intruding upon a celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries. For this they were seized and put to death by the pious Athenians. Acarnania, not appreciating the delicate issues involved in the sacrilege, resented the death of her citizens, and sent an embassy to King Philip to implore at his hand a proper punishment of Athens. He told them in answer to make war on their enemies, and that he would join them in ravaging the Attic territory. Hereupon the Athenians sent an embassy to Rome, and the Senate sent immediately a menace of war should he not desist in annoying the states of Greece and Egypt. The latter, however, was now thoroughly aroused. A defiant answer was returned, and declaration of war (B. C. 199) followed hard after.

For the first two years of the conflict hostilities were carried on in a desultory and feeble manner. In the third campaign the command of the Roman forces was intrusted to TITUS QUINCTIUS FLAMINIUS, who at once passed over into Greece and began the war in earnest. By liberal proclamations he speedily won over to the Roman cause nearly all the Grecian states. He then pressed on with his united forces, and, in B. C. 197, brought Philip to a stand on the field of CYNOCEPHALÆ. Here he inflicted upon the Macedonians a defeat so signal and decisive as to end the war with a blow. Philip eagerly sued for peace. His temerity cost him dearly. All the terms of the previous treaty were reïmposed by the victorious consul, and to these were added the

payment of a war indemnity of a thousand talents, the reduction of the Macedonian navy to five ships and of the army to five thousand men. Hereupon—so complete was the destruction of the power of Macedonia—the Roman garrisons were withdrawn from the towns and fortresses of the Hellenic peninsula, and at the following celebration of the Isthmian games the consul Flaminius, in the midst of the applause of the assembled states, made by the mouth of a herald the paradoxical proclamation of the independence of the cities of Greece under the protectorate of Rome.[1]

While the Macedonian campaign of Flaminius was progressing Antiochus III. availed himself of the opportunity to promote his own interests in the East. Acting with bad faith toward Philip, and leaving that monarch to his fate, the Syrian king overran Phœnicia, Palestine, and Cœle-Syria, adding by conquest these countries to his own dominions. He then made an expedition through Asia Minor into Thrace, but was met in the latter country by an embassy from the Romans, and was warned to desist from his aggressions. At this juncture, however, a rumor came that Ptolemy Epiphanes had died, and Antiochus was recalled by this supposed event rather than by the menace of the Romans.

The settlement of the affairs of Greece was, for the most part, well received by the states of that long-distracted country. The Ætolians, however, were dissatisfied, not so much on account of the conditions which were imposed, as from the fact that their own part in bringing about the result had been ignored in the Roman proclamation. Acting under the influence of the jealousy thus excited, they instigated the king of Sparta to break the peace, and at the same time invited Antiochus to become the arbiter of the affairs of Greece. Him they induced to believe that the Greek states were disaffected towards the Roman protectorate, and would gladly join his standard. The Syrian king accepted without hesitation the tempting offer thus held out to him, and proceeded into Greece with a large army. Scarcely, however, had he reached that country when he was met with a declaration of war by the Roman Senate, and by the consul Marcus Acilius Glabrio at the head of the legions. Surprised at this sudden display of force Antiochus hastily retired to Thermopylæ, where he took a strong position and acted on the defensive. Learning soon afterwards that the Ætolians had been put to rout by a division of the Roman army under Marcus Porcius Cato, the king of Syria discovered that discretion was the better part of valor, and hastily left the country. The Ætolians were thus left unsupported to reap the fruits of their own folly. After a brief resistance they were in B. C. 192, overpowered at Naupactus, but were surprised at the liberal terms granted to them by Flaminius, who permitted them to capitulate and return to their allegiance.

It remained to punish Antiochus. In B. C. 190, the consular army, led by Scipio, crossed into Asia Minor, and met the king on the field of Magnesia. Here was fought a decisive battle, in which the power of Antiochus was broken at a single blow. He was obliged to pay the forfeit by accepting the usual conditions which Rome was accustomed to impose on those who had offended her. Antiochus was compelled to make a cession to the king of Pergamus as the friend of the Roman people of all his dominion west of the Taurus, and to reduce his navy to ten ships, which were to be restricted henceforth to the waters east of the Calycadnus, in Cilicia. The payment of a war indemnity of fifteen thousand talents was also exacted as the price of peace, and to this was added a requisition for the surrender of Hannibal. So marked had been the success of Scipio that he was honored by the Roman people with the title of Asiaticus, after the manner of the surname Africanus, which had been given to his brother.

After three years of quiet, the Ætolians were again found in insurrection. In B. C. 189, a Roman army, led by Marcus Flavius Mobilior, was landed at Apollonia, which place was subjected to a siege. After holding out for a season, the town was taken, as was also Ambracia, the capital of the province. The Ætolians, finding their country ruined by war and themselves deserted by their allies, made

[1] See Book Ninth, p. 680

a humble suit for peace; and this was granted by the Romans, but with a loss of independence to the insurgent state. The Ætolian League was at an end. Each of the confederate states sought the best terms that could be made with the conqueror, and the country was absorbed as a Roman province.

The overthrow of the Ætolian confederacy was specially favorable to the associated states of Southern Greece. The Achæan League had for a long time been the dominant political influence in the affairs of Greece. Its leadership dated back to B. C. 251, when the Sicyonian Aratus was elected chief of the confederacy. Soon afterwards Corinth was admitted as a member of the league, and in B. C. 208 the celebrated Philipœmen, called the "last of the Greeks," succeeded Aratus as general of the allied states. Sparta joined the League in B. C. 191, which then included nearly all the commonwealth of Peloponnesus, besides Athens in Central and several towns in Northern Greece. For nearly fifty years the decaying institutions of Hellas were preserved from further decline by the interposition of this Achæan confederacy; and the wisdom of its management during this long period was such that not even the punctilious Senate of Rome could find any reasonable ground of complaint.

In the recent war with Antiochus, which, as just narrated, was ended with the battle of Magnesia, the Romans had been materially aided by their *friend*, Philip V., of Macedon. This monarch was encouraged to believe that when the conflict should be brought to a successful conclusion he might recompense himself for his trouble by annexing the territory of *his* friends, the Ætolians. Not so, however, the result; for no sooner was the war ended than the Romans instigated the Ætolian towns to appeal to them against the encroachments of Philip. By this ill-disguised duplicity the king was prevented from gathering his share of the spoils. Vain were his complaints. He was told that he must confine himself within the limits of Macedonia, and not interfere with the independence of the friends of Rome. This perfidy rankled in the heart of Philip during the rest of his life, and he died with the unfulfilled purpose of revenge.

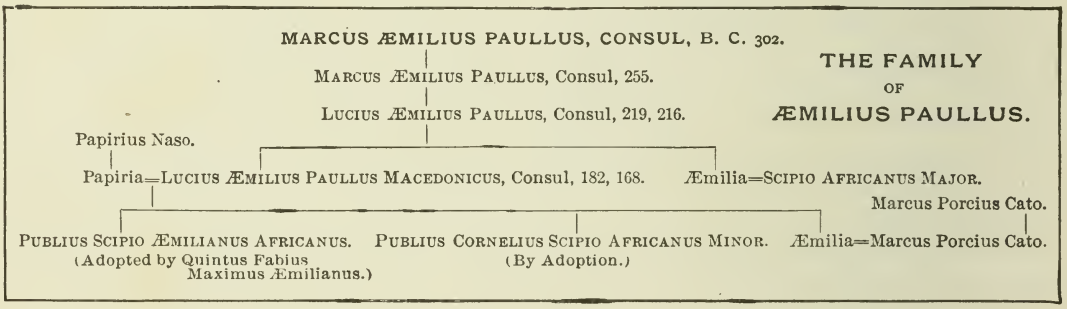
The successor of the Macedonian king was the celebrated PERSEUS, who inherited his father's plans and more than his father's genius. By carefully husbanding the resources of his kingdom, by opening new mines, by a judicious system of taxation and customs, and by encouraging agriculture and commerce, he collected a large treasury and brought into existence an efficient army. He carefully cultivated the sympathies of the Greeks, and was rewarded by securing a transfer of the allegiance of that fickle people from the Romans to himself. The Greek states had—not without cause—come to consider the Romans as oppressors rather than as the guardians of liberty. The social condition of the country had become deplorable, and predatory bands preyed upon the spoils of cities, once the repositories of art and learning.

Perseus having availed himself of this condition of affairs, easily put himself at the head of the Greek principalities, and for the moment bade a passing defiance to Rome. His conduct, however, speedily estranged those who had accepted his protection; nor were his movements marked with the expected prudence and vigor. Meanwhile the Roman Senate looked on, well satisfied with this precipitation of a state of affairs which would give them a good excuse for a measure long contemplated, namely, the obliteration of the nominal independence of the Greeks. In pursuance of this end an army was sent over into Epirus, in B. C. 171, for the purpose of breaking the alliance between Perseus and his confederates. In an engagement between him and the Romans the Macedonian was victorious, but he does not appear to have reaped any decided advantage from his success. The consular army retained its foothold in the country, and was presently transferred to the command of LUCIUS ÆMILIUS PAULLUS, who in B. C. 168 gained a great triumph in the battle of PYDNA. The army of Perseus was completely routed and himself soon afterwards made prisoner.

This conflict put a virtual end to the Macedonian monarchy. The country was divided into four provinces, and an annual tribute was imposed on the people. The Senate did not, however, for the present, assume the govern-

ment of the districts, but left them to themselves. They were made independent of one another, but all dependent on Rome. The leading men of the kingdom, especially those who had taken a prominent part in upholding the policy of Philip and Perseus, were, together with their adult sons, transported to Italy, where they could no more disturb the peace.

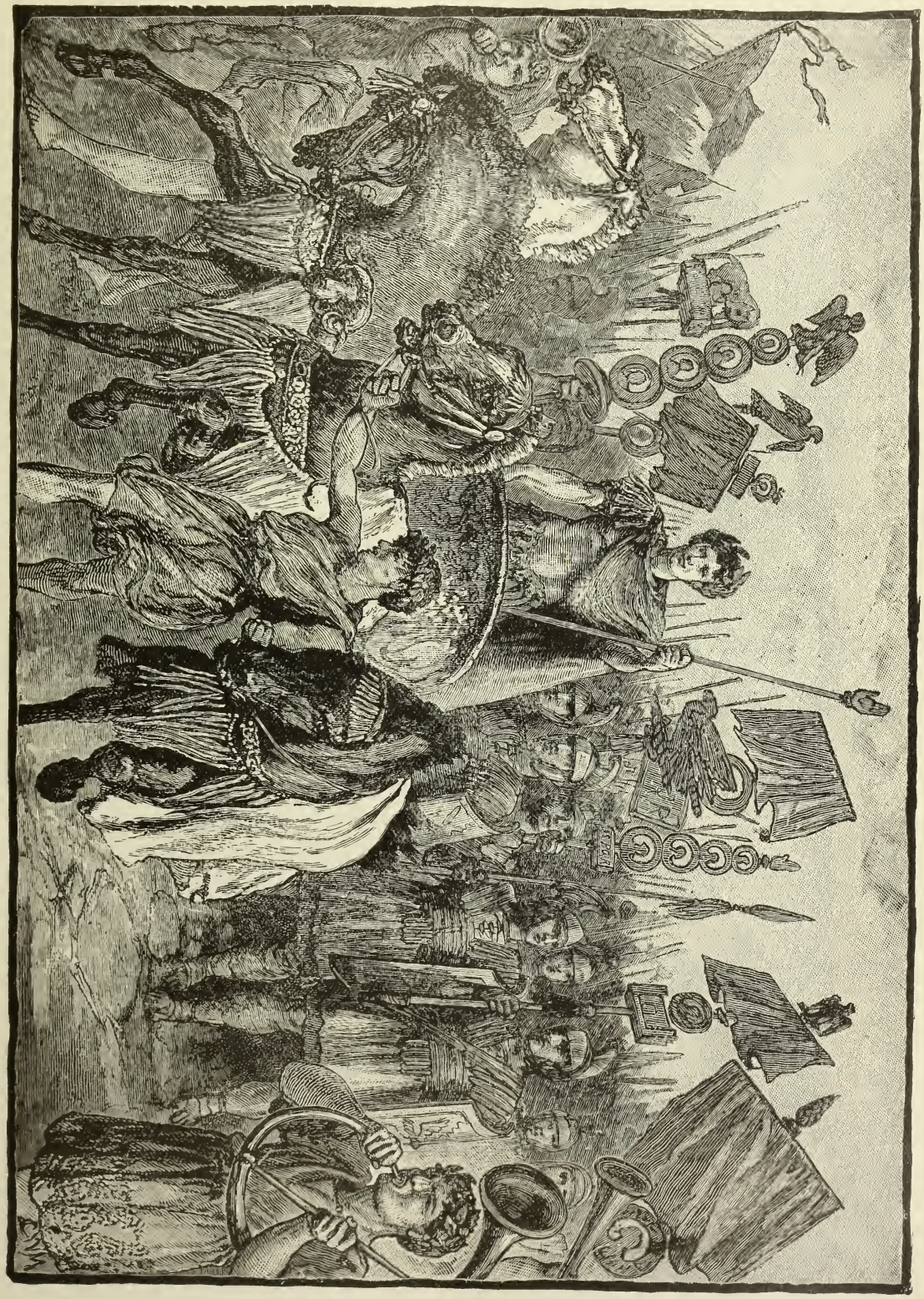
Returning to Rome, Paullus was honored with a magnificent triumph. He had stretched the tremendous arm of the city to the Ægean and the borders of Thrace, and had overthrown the successor of Alexander the Great. The festival which was celebrated in his honor far surpassed any spectacle ever previously witnessed in Rome. Three days were required for the completion of the procession. During the first, two hundred and fifty vehicles, laden with the magnificent art treasures of Greece—



paintings, sculptures, bronzes — passed along the Sacred Way, and were exhibited to the thousands. On the second day, the splendid arms and other military trophies of which the Macedonians had been despoiled headed the procession. After these came three thousand men, carrying the silver coin and vessels which had been captured from the enemy. On the third morning, the procession was preceded by the animals intended for the sacrifice, and then were borne along the treasures of gold which ages of war had heaped together at the court of Macedon. After this display came the royal chariot of Perseus, his armor, and his crown. Then followed *on foot* the king himself, and his children and servants—a pitiable spectacle of wretchedness and despair. Close after the monarch were four hundred footmen, bearing an equal number of golden crowns, which the Greek cities had at various times sent as evidences of their subservient loyalty to the Macedonian court. Then came Lucius Æmilius himself, seated in his chariot of war, dressed in the garb of the Capitoline Jove, carrying the laurel branch of triumph. Finally, the rear of the procession was occupied by the army, bearing the emblems of victory, singing battle songs, and indulging, after the manner of the triumph, in jests and satire at the expense of the general. The festival was then concluded with a sacrifice of animals on the hill of the Capitol.

Rome was politic, as well as strong. In assessing the tribute upon the people of the Macedonian provinces, the sum was fixed at only one-half the amount previously paid to the king. Albeit, the new master must appear a better one than the old. So also in making the levy upon the Greek states care was taken that the burden should be less onerous than before. This measure, when coupled with the transportation of the leading men of the various cities to Italy, tended powerfully to produce in the conquered states a condition of quiet, a docile acceptance of the situation not to have been expected, especially of such a people as the Greeks.

When it came to removing those who had given her trouble, Rome found that the leaders of the Achæan League were a host. No fewer than a thousand persons were selected as proper characters for banishment. These were sent into Etruria and imprisoned. There they remained for seventeen years, without ever having the privilege of defending themselves by trial. Rome thus shut up in her jails a large part of the remaining genius of Greece. There many of the wisest men of the times lay languishing. Their countrymen at home heeded



A ROMAN TRIUMPH.

not, or turned away in despair of bringing relief. Others of the Roman party in Greece rejoiced at the forced emigration of their rivals in politics. Such was Callicrates, an adherent of Rome, who after the banishment of the Achæan leaders obtained the mastery of the League. Among the exiles in Italy was the historian Polybius, to whom the world is so much indebted for one of the truest accounts which have been preserved of the best period of Roman greatness. Not until B. C. 151 were these unfortunate victims of the heartless policy of Rome liberated and permitted to return to Greece. Their numbers were reduced to three hundred, and these were in rags and prematurely gray from the hardships of their long confinement. Their arrival at home produced a profound indignation and desire for vengeance.

Meanwhile other powers in the East were in like manner humbled and degraded. The Republic of Rhodes was robbed of its dependencies. Eumenes, king of Pergamus, another *friend* of the Roman people, was brought into subjection; and the king of Syria—for better reasons—was driven out of Egypt, and compelled to keep the peace under the dictation of the Senate.

The year B. C. 146 was marked by the last act in the drama of Grecian civilization. The temper of the people of Central and Southern Greece was greatly aroused by the return of their countrymen from Italy. The poor wretches who came tottering into the streets of the cities were fine examples of what the *freedom* of Hellas under the *protection* of Rome was able to accomplish. A trivial contingency fired the train of rebellion. A certain Andriscus, claiming to be a son of Perseus, advanced his claim to the kingdom of Macedonia and called to his aid the Greeks. The members of the League were in the humor to go to war with any power for any provocation. They accordingly took up arms only to lay them down again. They were defeated in two battles by the consul Metellus, whose term of office, however, expired before the Achæans yielded. He was succeeded in the consulship by MUMMIUS, who drove the insurgents into Corinth, and having taken the city by storm, burned it to the ground. The devastation was completed by selling the inhabitants into slavery, and transporting the vast art treasures there accumulated to adorn the public buildings and private villas of Rome.

In the same year that witnessed the destruction of Corinth, the *coup de grace* was given to Macedonia. The four provinces which had, since the capture of Perseus, been allowed to retain a shadow of independence, were now consolidated, and together with Dyrrhacium and Apollonia constituted the province of Macedonia, over which a proconsul was appointed, as in the case of Sicily and Spain. To this officer was intrusted also the management of the fragmentary principalities which were once glorified under the name of Greece. It was a century and a quarter before these fragments were gathered together and honored as a distinct provincial government under the name of ACHAIA.

The policy pursued by Rome in thus widening her borders is worthy of special note. The system was as methodical as it was merciless. The cold-blooded purpose to build upon the ruins of others was never better illustrated. The aggrandizement of the Republic at whatever cost of principle, was the sole criterion of conduct in this aggression upon the liberties of the nations. The particular method employed by the Senate was to send envoys—spies—into foreign states to learn the political condition and the internal broils with which the neighbors of Rome might chance to be afflicted. Acting upon the basis of this information, the envoys were instructed to foment existing difficulties, and engender new ones to the end that one or the other of the parties might appeal to the Romans, either to interfere directly, or to act as arbiters in the various controversies.

It thus happened that real or factitious issues in surrounding countries were more and more referred to Rome for decision—a circumstance which she never failed to turn to her own account. This policy was often carried out with a cynical diabolism which would have done credit to the Italian diplomacy of the Middle Ages. It had the merit of being easier and less

expensive than the method of Alexander, who conquered by the sword and held as he had won. The Roman envoy was generally like Cæsar's Gaul, "divided into three parts," of which the first was lion, the second fox, and the third, jackal. In his relations with foreign states he was expected to be lion and fox by turns, and jackal always.

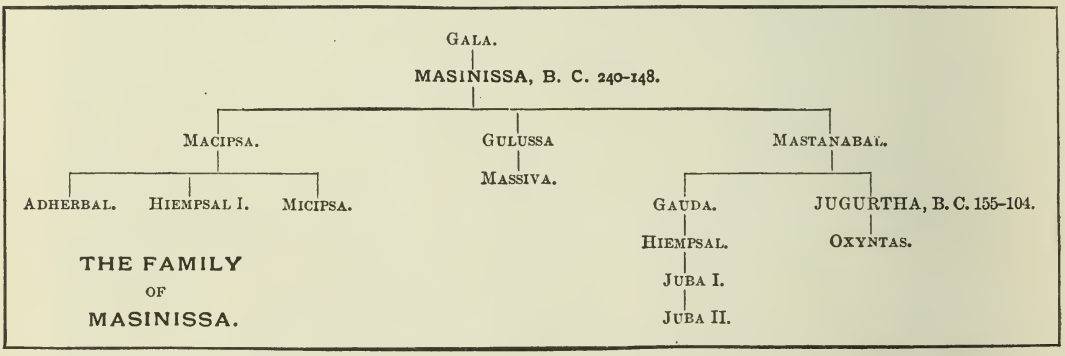


METELLUS IN GREECE.

It will now be of interest to revert to Carthage. In the half century succeeding the close of the Second Punic War she stood aloof from the entanglements on the other shores of the Mediterranean, and endeavored to regain by commerce what she had lost by the sword. This course led inevitably to the restoration of the prosperity of the city. Rome saw with a jealous eye the Carthaginian ship traversing the sea and laden with a foreign cargo. Meanwhile Masinissa made the most of his position, as king of Numidia, by attacking the territo-

ries of Carthage; and he being a friend of the Roman people, the Carthaginians durst not repel him by force without first obtaining the permission of Rome. Such were the terms of the treaty of B. C. 201. When, however, the appeal of Carthage was carried by ambassadors to the Senate, that body made answer by assigning the disputed territory to Masinissa. This intolerable course was pursued until Masinissa was enriched by the towns and districts taken from the Carthaginians by a process in no wise differing from robbery. Time and again the appeal was made to Rome for justice, but in each case the ambassadors asked for a fish and received a serpent.

Finally, in B. C. 157, MARCUS PORCIUS CATO was sent to Africa to adjudicate one of these ever-recurring disputes between Masinissa and the Carthaginians, in which the latter pro-



tested in the name of the existing treaty and the former in the name of self-interest. The controversy was decided as usual, but not until the Roman ambassadors, particularly Cato, were struck with amazement at the prosperous condition of the city which only thirty-four years previously had been sacked and ruined by the army of Scipio. The region round about was a mosaic of cornfields, orchards, and gardens. The harbor was white with ships and the streets thronged with busy multitudes.

On his return to Rome Cato loosed the floods of old enmity by reciting to the Senate the things which he had seen. Finally, in a dramatic way, he thrust his hand into a fold of his toga and drew out a bunch of luscious figs, saying as he held them before the senators: "This fruit has been brought from Carthage—so nigh to us is a city so strong and prosperous. I think that Carthage must be destroyed." For several years this distinguished Roman reiterated at every opportunity the closing sentiment of this speech. Whatever might be his theme, he would, when his argument was finished, add the ominous words,[1] *Ceterum censeo Carthaginem est delendam.*

His hearers were scarcely less willing than himself to see the birthplace of Hannibal, now reviving from the ruin of war, utterly blotted from existence. Nor was it long until a cause of quarrel was either found or made. As on so many previous occasions, the ever-froward Masinissa was the fruitful source of the new conflict which was destined to end the existence of Carthage. In that city the popular party was now in the ascendency—a party which embraced the fragments which had once been the magnificent following of Hannibal. The opponents of this party included all those who stood for the Roman and Numidian interest. Some of the latter—about forty in number—having made themselves especially offensive to the Carthaginians were banished from the city. Masinissa thereupon espoused the cause of his friends and demanded their recall. Upon the refusal of the Carthaginian authorities to receive them, Masinissa took up arms, marched against the city, and inflicted upon the popular party a severe defeat. The captured soldiers of Carthage were driven under the yoke and then massacred. It was this action of the Carthaginians in taking up arms to resist the invasion of their inveterate enemy without first asking permis-

[1] For the rest I think that Carthage must be destroyed.



THE ATTACK ON CARTHAGE.

sion of Rome that furnished to the latter the long-sought pretext for a war of extermination upon her ancient rival.

In the struggle that ensued neither Cato, its great instigator, nor Masinissa, its occasion, lived to see the issue. The former at the age of eighty-five and the latter at ninety, both died in the first year of the conflict.

Carthage now exerted herself to the utmost to avert the storm which her simple action of self-defense had raised. Ambassadors were sent to the Roman Senate to explain the situation, and to offer such apology as might be necessary for the conduct of the state in resisting Masinissa. The messengers were received with little respect, and in answer the Senate demanded that three hundred Carthaginians should be given up as hostages. It was thought that this concession would placate the factitious anger of Rome, but nothing could allay her hate. A fleet under command of PUBLIUS SCIPIO ÆMILIANUS was at once dispatched to the African coast, and landed at Utica. The Carthaginians hastened to inquire the occasion of this further menace, and were informed that their city and state, being now under the protectorate of Rome, and having no further necessity to engage in hostile enterprises, should deliver up all her arms and munitions of war. Astounding as was this demand, it was complied with by the Carthaginians, who knew too well the temper of the race with whom they had to deal. When this business was accomplished, the Romans threw off all disguise and made known the real purpose of the expedition, which was: "That Carthage must be destroyed, and the inhabitants colonized in a new settlement ten miles from the sea," Among the doings of the civilized nations of antiquity, there is not perhaps another instance of open and formal treachery so revolting and perfidious as that of the Romans in their course toward Carthage.

As soon as the people of that fated city heard of the cruel and insolent demand now made upon them, they broke out under the inspiration of despair into universal insurrection. The spirit of faction was heard no more, and every man, woman, and child rose as one to fight to the last the heartless foe whose fell purpose was no longer concealed. The whole city was suddenly metamorphosed into a camp. The public buildings—even the temples—were converted into shops and factories. On every hand was heard the din of preparation—the noise and tumult of that despairing energy which had lost all sense of fear. A new supply of arms was produced as rapidly as possible. The women were everywhere present with their husbands and brothers, encouraging and aiding the work. They cut off their long hair, and gave it to the manufacturers to make strings for the bows and catapults. Hasdrubal was recalled from banishment, and was intrusted with the defense of the city. So energetic and thorough was the preparation, that when the Roman army arrived from Utica the city was found impregnable to assault. Having made one effort to carry the place by storm Scipio, who commanded only as military tribune, was obliged to content himself with the slow processes of a siege. The Roman army, however, was badly equipped for such an enterprise, and little progress was made towards the reduction of the city.

In B. C. 147, Scipio, then but thirty-seven years of age, and thus legally disqualified for the office, was invested with the consulship. Returning to Africa he renewed the siege with great vigor. The ramparts were broken through. Square after square was carried in the face of the most stubborn resistance. Every house was burned as soon as taken. The narrowing line of destruction closed around the old citadel of Byrsa, where the remnant of the people and soldiery had taken their last stand for the defense of their altars. At last this stronghold was also carried, and with it were captured the remaining fifty thousand inhabitants of the doomed city. These were carried away into slavery. Scipio, glancing over the ruin of what had so recently been the proudest emporium of Northern Africa, is said to have had a presentiment of a similar doom for Rome, and to have repeated in sadness a prophetic couplet of the *Iliad:*

"The day shall surely come when sacred Troy shall fall,
And Priam and the people of the ash-speared Priam fall."

On his return to Rome, Scipio was honored with a magnificent triumph, and the surname of Africanus, which he had already received from his adoptive father, was renewed in his own right by the voice of his countrymen.

When Carthage was no more, the Roman Senate proceeded to reörganize Africa. The recently conquered territory was annexed to the other dominions of Rome on the African coast, and Utica was made the capital. The districts



STORMING OF THE BYRSA, CARTHAGE.
Drawn by H. Leutemann.

and towns which had adhered to the Roman cause were left with little disturbance, but those which had given offense were captured and punished. Tributes were assessed and the political condition fixed on a basis analogous to that already existing in Spain and Sicily. Roman customs and institutions were rapidly introduced. The Latin language took the place of the harsh tongue of Syria and the guttural dialects of the native tribes. The commerce of Carthage was transferred to Utica, and was thenceforth conducted by Roman merchantmen. The plains of Northern Africa were found to be of as great fertility as those of Campania and Sicily. An agricultural interest—well in keeping with the primitive tastes of the Romans—sprang up along the whole coast; and to this source, more even than to her Mediterranean dependencies, the capital city began to look for the ultimate means of support. The spite of Rome, meanwhile, like that of a savage who mutilates the body of his dead enemy, was pleased to plow up and sow with salt the site of Carthage, and to pronounce a curse on him who should attempt to rebuild the city. The queen of the Seven Hills was victorious from sea to sea. She made herself glorious out of the spoils of the nations, and feasted without compunction on dainties prepared by the weary hands of slaves.

CHAPTER LXI.—THE IMPERIAL REPUBLIC.

THE final subjugation of Greece and the destruction of Carthage—both of which events occurred in B. C. 146—may be cited as marking the limit of formidable opposition to the domination of Rome over the states of the Mediterranean. Henceforth she was mistress, and did as she would. Not that there were no more wars. Not that Rome was not obliged to defend with the sword what she had acquired by violence. Not that a spirit was wanting among the subject nations to rise in revolt against the colossal despotism under which they were pressed in servitude. But the power of further successful resistance was gone. To go to war with the Imperial City became an act of rashness which only the most reckless and foolhardy dared to indulge, even in dreams. It will be of interest to glance for a moment at the number and character of those countries now held in subordination by the great Republic.

The provincial system of the Romans began, as already said, with the establishment of proconsular governments in Sicily and Sardinia. The kingdom of NUMIDIA, in the western part of Northern Africa, though not absolutely reduced to a province, was ruled by Masinissa in the interest of Rome. GALLIA CISALPINA was overrun at the close of the Second Punic War. and the limits of the Republic were thus extended on the north to the barrier of the Alps. The reduction of MACEDONIA in the times of Philip V. and Perseus has been but recently narrated. When the paternal dominions of these kings were stripped of independence, and soon afterwards organized as a proconsular government, GREECE was added as a kind of subject of a subject. The authority of Rome was thus extended from the river Strymon to Cape Matapan. Meanwhile, to the east of the PROVINCE OF AFRICA, the ancient kingdom of the Pharaohs, now ruled by the successors of Ptolemy Soter, had sought the protection of Rome on more than one occasion, thus paving the way for an easy assumption of right on the part of the Senate. In the East the Roman arms had been felt and the voice of Roman dictation heard as far as Ephesus, and the whole of ASIA MINOR but awaited the cataclysm by which all things were to be broken up and handed over to the Republic.

Thus were established by the middle of the second century B. C.—from which date Rome may be said to have become Imperial—the great provinces of Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, Cis-

alpine Gaul, the Two Spains, the Two Africas (Numidia and Carthage), and Macedonia, including Greece. And to these already vast dominions must be added many minor dependencies in the eastern parts of the Mediterranean, while all the remaining fragments of the Empire of Alexander the Great but awaited the inevitable absorption. As yet the influence of Rome was but slightly felt among the barbarian nations of Northern and Central Europe.

In the epoch of which we speak the most threatening foreign relations of the Republic arose from difficulties in Spain. At the beginning of the second century B. C. that country had been subjugated by Marcus Porcius Cato. The authority of Rome was established, but rested mainly on the eastern borders of the peninsula. The native tribes of the interior and the north were still unsubdued; but the towns in those regions offered few inducements to the cupidity of the Roman general, and not many efforts were made towards the further conquest of the country.

In the year B. C. 154, while Cato was in his usual vein insisting that Carthage must be destroyed, war broke out among the Celtiberians. The town of Segeda, a Roman dependency, undertook the extension of its walls, but was ordered to desist. It was said that such a course was contrary to the existing treaty. The authorities replied that the treaty stipulated only the building of new towns, and not the improvement of old ones. The demand for tribute and a contingent of soldiers was also refused, and the people armed themselves for resistance. When the consul Fulvius Nobilior proceeded against the insurgents, they marched out and defeated him in battle. They then retired to Numantia, and were received by the people of that city. In a second engagement the Romans were again worsted, insomuch that the Lusitanians, encouraged by the example of a successful revolt, also took up arms and added a third defeat to the list of consular backsets.

In the year 152, a treaty was concluded with the insurrectionary tribes, who consented, on condition of Roman protection, to pay tribute and give hostages for good conduct. In the following year, when Lucullus assumed the government—having taken the same with the hope of gathering much booty from the Spanish towns—he was disgusted to find that peace had already been established. It only remained for him to stir up a war with other tribes whose offense consisted in doing nothing to offend. In the mean time an event had occurred in Lusitania which illustrated the worst phase of Roman official character.

Sulpicius Galba had been sent to that country to adjust the difficulties growing out of the recent revolt. By him the Lusitanian ambassadors were received with the greatest apparent good will. He entered into friendly conferences with them, and it was agreed that the people should be removed to a more fertile district, and that Rome should protect them in the removal. A great multitude of the tribe was accordingly gathered together preparatory to the removal, but when their arms had been given up, the Roman soldiers fell upon them and slaughtered the whole band, with the exception of a few who made their escape. So black was the perfidious cruelty of the transaction that for once the Senate disavowed the deed of its subordinate. Galba was impeached by Cato, but the wealth and eloquence of the criminal enabled him to escape the punishment which he had so richly merited.

In the breasts of the survivors of the massacre all the slumbering fury of their nature was aroused. What good thing—what show of justice—could they ever expect at the hands of their tormentors? So reasoned old Viriathus, the chief man of the nation, who, swearing eternal vengeance against the oppressors of his people, began a war of extermination. With consummate ability he raised an army, and planted himself in the hills. He became a veteran in every species of war-craft. With superior knowledge of the country, he beat back his foes at every approach. His blows fell like thunderbolts in the faces of his assailants, and they recoiled like wounded bears.

For ten successive years one consular army after another was defeated by this untaught general of the mountains. Even Quintus Fabius Æmilianus was hurled back like the rest;

nor did it appear that there was any likelihood of success against the illustrious rebel. Treachery came to the rescue. In B. C. 141 Variathus was induced by fair promises to make peace. He was for the time declared to be a "friend" of the Senate and Roman people; but the whole transaction was for no other purpose than to put the great insurgent off his guard. In the following year the consul suddenly renewed the war, and Variathus, at last defeated in battle, was compelled to seek peace. While the conditions were yet undecided he was assassinated by his own ambassadors, who had been hired by the Roman consul CÆPIO to perform this finishing piece of supreme villainy. Thus, in B. C. 139, was Rome set free from the terror which the Lusitanian chieftain had so long inspired. Then she breathed more freely.

Before the overthrow of Variathus the Celtiberians had again (B. C. 143) revolted and renewed the struggle for the overthrow of the Roman power in Numantia. The consul, Metellus, was sent against them, and during the first two campaigns gained several successes over the rebels. Afterwards the tide turned, and the Romans were brought to great straits in a series of defeats. CAIUS HOSTILIUS MANCINUS was compelled, in order to save himself and his army, to sign a treaty recognizing the independence of Numantia. The Roman Senate was enraged at this act, and repudiated the compact. Hostilius was taken by an officer and redelivered in chains to the Numantians, but they refused to take personal vengeance on their recent foeman, and permitted him to return to Rome. It was thus that alleged barbarism set an example of humanity to be wasted on her who had none.

After the Numantine war had continued for nine years Scipio Africanus was sent out to bring it to an end. He found the Roman army in Spain demoralized and set himself at once to the restoration of discipline. The horde of hangers-on, who for profit or license had infested the camp, were expelled and every thing speedily brought to a military standard. He then advanced to Numantia and undertook the reduction of the place by siege. Never was the heroism of a people better illustrated in defense of their country than in the conduct of the Arevaci fighting for their last stronghold. They held out until famine came to the aid of war. Then they ate the bodies of the dead and then yielded.

The whole population, with the exception of fifty of the principal citizens, who were reserved for Scipio's triumph, were sold as slaves. What remained of Numantia was leveled to the earth. Resistance to the will and purpose of Rome ceased throughout the peninsula. Colonies of Romans—adventurers, merchants, land-speculators—came in like a flood. Latin was heard at first in the sea-coast communities, and then in the towns of the far interior. Spain was Romanized, and the new order was accepted from the Pyrenees to the pillars of Hercules. As to Scipio, to whose military genius must be attributed the final conquest of the country, he returned to Rome to be honored with the title of *Numantinus*, in addition to Africanus, by which he was already distinguished for his triumph over Carthage.[1]

In the same year (B. C. 129) which witnessed the final pacification of Spain, the first Roman province was organized in Asia Minor. The circumstances attending this event were anomalous. Attalus III., king of Pergamus, who for a long time had been entitled a friend by the Senate, died in B. C. 133, leaving no heir to his throne. In his will he bequeathed his dominions to the people of Rome. In the mean time a certain Aristonicus, a natural son of Eumenes, father of the late king, advanced his claim to the Pergamine crown, and endeavored to maintain his right by arms. The movement, however, ended in a fiasco. Aristonicus was defeated and captured, and the will of Attalus was carried into effect. Pergamus was organized into a proconsular government under the title of the PROVINCE OF ASIA.

One of the most marked results of the great

[1] In the army which Scipio led against Numantia were three young officers who were destined in a short time—though in different fields of action—to play an important part in the great drama of Rome. These were Caius Marius, one of the great leaders in the Civil War; Jugurtha, grandson of Masinissa and present ruler of Numidia, and Tiberius Gracchus, the great commoner of his times.

conquests made by the generals and armies of the Republic was to fill Rome and all Italy with multitudes of slaves. The policy of selling into servitude not only the soldier population, but all the inhabitants of conquered countries was universally adopted. The slave-sale was looked for as a matter of course after every victory won by the Roman arms. Among the upper classes of society free labor was almost unknown. The vast landed estates of the nobles were cultivated by a servile race, driven mercilessly to their tasks, punished, whipped, starved, killed, with impunity. Nor was there any badge of nationality, color, or natural inferiority to distinguish the slaves from the other classes of population. They were not by any means the refuse peoples of other states, but were a heterogeneous aggregation of human beings swept together by the surging tides of war from all quarters of the world, and embracing every grade and rank and tribe from the blackest son of the Libyan desert to the most refined philosopher of Athens. In intelligence and the possession of those arts and refinements which tend to humanize mankind, the slaves were frequently the superiors of the coarse and brutal masters into whose power they had been flung by the vicissitudes of war. It was in the nature of things to be expected that this immense throng of creatures, made wretched by exile and callous by the miseries of servitude, would in some moment of passion, aroused perhaps by unusual barbarity and injustice, make a clutch at their masters' throats and repay in an hour of fury the wrongs of a generation.

The first revolt of the slaves occurred in Sicily. A certain serf, named ENNUS, became the leader of the insurrection. The circumstances of the revolt were illustrative of the condition of society and the spirit of the times. Ennus was a prophet. He claimed to be in possession of the lore of Syria. He predicted events, which, as fortune would have it, chanced to come true. Among other things he foretold his own royalty that was to be.

Great was the reputation which this servile seer acquired, especially among the desperate class to which he belonged. He had communion with the gods, and could blow flames of fire out of his mouth. To him the slaves of the island began to look as a divinely appointed leader. Presently the serfs on the estate of a cruel tyrant, named Damophilus, driven to desperation by abuse, rose against their master, murdering him and his whole household, except a daughter who had previviously treated them with kindness.

The outbreak was the spark in a magazine. The insurrection spread like a flame, and in a short time Ennus found himself at the head of a host of two hundred thousand slaves. For the time Sicily was at their mercy. Four consular armies were sent against them, and were as many times defeated. The town of Enna was captured and plundered. The years B. C. 134–132 were consumed by the Romans in futile efforts to suppress the insurrection. The rebels gained possession of the town of Tauromenium, and made it their stronghold. Against this place in B. C. 132 was sent the consul PUBLIUS RUPILIUS with a fifth army. The town was besieged and finally taken, as was also the fortress of Enna, but not until the desperate wretches within the works were reduced to the extremity of eating the bodies of their comrades in order to preserve life. Those who survived were seized by Rupilius and hurled down a precipice. Ennus, the king of the slaves, made his escape and took refuge in a cavern, where he was presently caught and destroyed. Rupilius, acting as proconsul, and assisted by ten commissioners sent out from Rome, then proceeded to restore order in the island; but the repressive measures which were adopted by him and his colleagues were so atrocious and cruel as to be a disgrace alike to the home government and the officers who devised them.

It will be of interest in this connection to note some of the features of the government established by Rome in her principal provinces. When a new country was conquered and organized, it was assigned to a praetor, who, acting as proconsul or governor, assumed the management of the province. He conducted the affairs of his district as he would. He received no salary for his services, but was permitted to enrich himself by wringing from the provincials the very blood and marrow of their

lives. To this end a system of extortion was adopted by the prætors unparalleled in rapacity and barbarity. The only check upon the absolute despotism of the provincial governors lay in the fact, that at the expiration of their terms of office they might be summoned before a senatorial court to answer for the acts of their administrations. But by this time they had generally so enriched themselves with the spoils of their provinces as to be easily able to purchase immunity for any crimes they might have committed. As society became more luxurious, the abuses attendant upon the provincial governorship grew greater and greater until the nobles of Rome contended for the office as vultures for the prey.

Among the dispositions which were developed by the politics of Rome may be mentioned—in addition to the lust of office already referred to—the greed for titles and other artificial distinctions. In order to secure these, it became customary with the generals in charge of expeditions to falsify reports and exaggerate their successes. To gain the applause of the people and the rewards bestowed by the Senate, trivial encounters were reported as great battles, and even defeat made to read as victory. As a check against this factitious method of winning fame, the Senate was obliged to enact a law that no general of Rome should be allowed to triumph unless he had slain five thousand of the enemy in a general battle. When, however, such a distinction had really been won, it was expected that the commander would be duly honored for his achievement. To this end, it was customary for the Senate to vote statues and monuments to her victorious generals. When these marks of public esteem became common by their frequency, the usage prevailed of distinguishing the conqueror by some surname significant of his success in war. So one general was called Africanus; another, Macedonicus; a third, Asiaticus, etc. Perhaps no people were ever more delighted with such artificial honors than were the Romans, with whom neither toil nor sacrifice nor the shedding of blood was permitted to interpose as an obstacle to the applause of their countrymen.

The accumulation of wealth, honors, and distinctions in the hands of the nobles and senators, gave them a monopoly of those influences by which such things were attained. Thus the lust for power was whetted by the general tendencies of society. The slow accumulations of industry, commerce, and even of usury, were neglected by the public men of Rome, who saw in the fertile and populous provinces the gold-paved way to sudden opulence. The maintenance of privilege at home was also secured by the spoliation of the provincial districts. Rome was a great center of gravity towards which were drawn all ranks and classes. There the senators had their homes. There the commons abounded. There the freedmen swarmed the streets and sought the small and narrow ways of fortune. There the slaves, twisted together in desperate knots of toil and despair, drew from the barren breasts of the world the diseased milk of famine. These vast under-masses of humanity looked up and saw princes and princesses fanning themselves in the colonnades of villas.

It was a dangerous situation. The multitude adopted the motto of "*Bread and the Circus.*" The demand had to be met. Even a tiger when stuffed is gentle. So the prætors, proconsuls, nobles, grandees, adopted the plan of gratuitous distributions of food to the hungry horde. The supplies had to be drawn from the provinces. The cornfields of Sicily, Africa, and Asia were laid under contribution to keep the peace in Rome. Extortion furnished the means not only to support the voluptuary in his villa, but to appease a savage maw which would otherwise have broken through the gates and filled itself with viands.

As to legal remedy there was little or none. Against the gross abuses of the provincial monopolies, the knights, being themselves debarred from participating in the plunder of the world, set themselves in jealous hostility. Many of the worst features of the system were thus prevented from displaying their hideousness in the full light of gratification. Such crimes as were practiced by the provincial governor might be properly brought before the assembly of the tribes, and in that popular body it was not likely that robbers and murderers would receive much quarter. But the

Senate, from whose ranks the prætors and proconsuls were generally chosen, and whose members looked forward to the day when each in his turn should try his hand in the spoliation of a province, soon neutralized the antagonism of the knights by contriving a new court from the senatorial rank before which nobles and monopolists accused of malfeasance in office should be tried. The opulent robber found it not difficult to "influence" the decisions of such a tribunal.

The system of making public distributions of corn—though it subserved the temporary purpose of placating the temper of the multitude—became a premium on idleness, a discount on industry. Why should the Samnite peasant continue to toil in the fields when he could go to Rome and be fed? Erelong the effects of the system were felt throughout Italy. The under-classes opened their mouths and flew to the center. Large and fruitful districts were virtually abandoned. The call of the laborer was heard less frequently in the field, and the mechanic's hammer lay idle in the workshop. Meanwhile Rome roared like a deluge of waters.

There were not wanting a few thoughtful men—Romans of the old Republican stamp—who perceived the perilous condition of the state, and exerted themselves to ward off the danger. To this class belonged Marcus Porcius Cato, the Censor. After distinguished services in the Hannibalic wars, he rose from one position to another until in B. C. 195 he was elected consul. He at once set himself like flint against the abuses of the times. Incorruptible himself, he scorned corruption in others. In the time of his ascendency the nobility were chiefly concerned with measures calculated to prevent the admission to high places of those who were designated as *novi homines*, or "new men"—those who had no aristocratic lineage. By his profound knowledge of the law, his fruitfulness in expedients, and his powers as a speaker—no less than by his irreproachable character—he became a terror to the oligarchy. Himself a *novus homo*, he was none the less ardently attached to the Roman constitution, and was fain to purge the state of its dross and defilement.

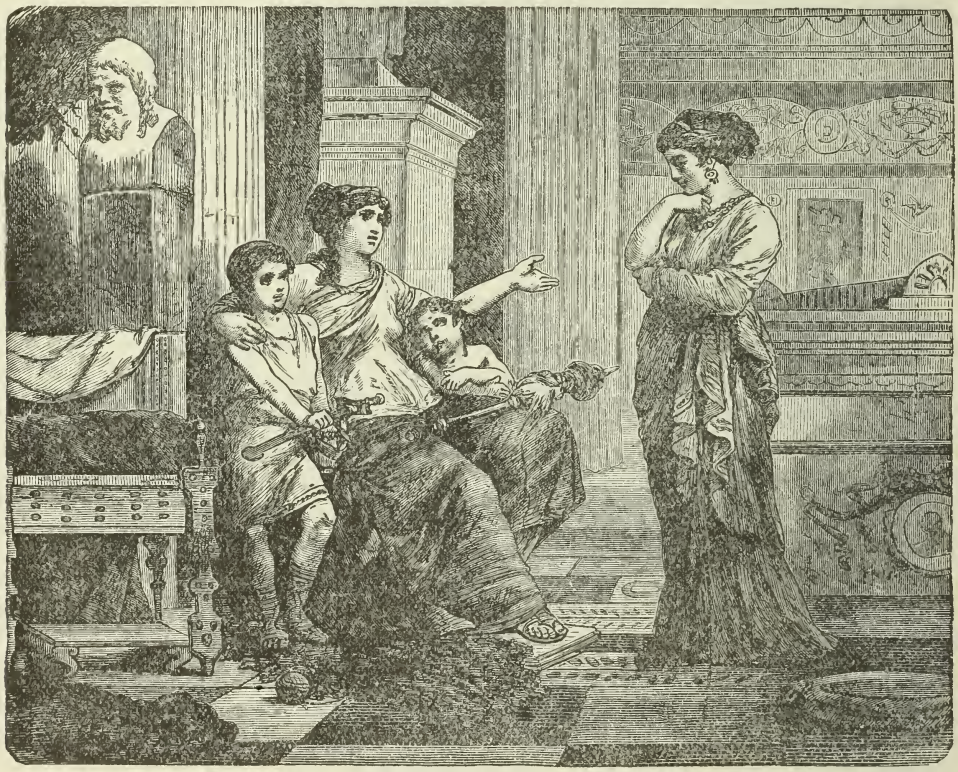
The first public break of Cato with the existing order occurred between himself and the Scipios. The latter were now—for it was just after the battle of Zama—in the heyday of their renown. But the fearless Cato, believing Lucius Scipio to have been guilty of receiving bribes, induced the tribune to bring charges against him, and he was held to answer the accusation. His accounts were demanded; but when they were about to be read Africanus, the brother of the accused officer, snatched them from his hand and tore them to pieces, declaring that it was an outrage for one who had brought millions into the Roman treasury to be thus called on to account for a paltry sum. Nevertheless Lucius was condemned to pay a heavy fine; and when Africanus attempted to take him by force from the hands of the officers who were conducting him to prison, the attempt was defeated by the authorities, and the punishment enforced. Cato did not hesitate to follow up this prosecution with another directed against Africanus himself; but the day of the trial happened to fall on the anniversary of the battle of Zama, and a conviction was impossible. Scipio shortly afterwards removed from Rome, and passed the remainder of his life at his country-seat in Liternum. Here he died, and was buried with this inscription, composed by himself, to mark the spot: "You, ungrateful country, do not possess even my bones."

In B. C. 184 Cato was elected censor. While holding this office he steadily pursued the policy to which he had adhered during his consulship. No fewer than forty-four times did his enemies prefer charges of malfeasance and crime against him, but it was impossible to shake the confidence of the people in his integrity. He continued to prosecute those who abused the trusts of office, and retired from public life without the smell of fire on his garments. In extreme old age he gave up his hostility to foreign culture, and signalized his eightieth year by learning Greek.

Such was the general condition of Roman society in the last half of the second century B. C. The state was corrupted by luxury and conquest, and the old heroic virtues of Republican, agricultural Rome were well-nigh ex-

tinct. Troubled no longer by formidable foes abroad, it only remained for her to rule what she had acquired, and to give opportunity for the growth of the arts of peace. For this duty the character of her people and the political constitution of her society rendered her unfit. The habit of conquest had become fixed by centuries of indulgence; the disposition to take by plundering rather than create by industry was now a second nature, whose demands would not be hushed. The fundamental difficulty in the state arose from the question of landed property. The multitudes of small farms which had been the pride of the Republic were now absorbed in a few vast estates owned by the nobles. The former land-owners had become impoverished, and had gone to Rome. Their places were taken by slaves. The poor freemen became the clients of the rich. The old Licinian Law, which required that the lands of Italy should be cultivated—at least in part—by free labor, had become a dead letter. All attempts to revive and enforce its provisions were resisted by the combined power of the aristocracy. When appeals for relief were made to the government the same power confronted the petition. It was evident that nothing less than a blow struck at the fundamental principle of land-ownership could bring about the needed equilibrium in Roman society.

At this juncture there arose the two brothers, Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. They came in the character of popular reformers to remedy the ills to which the state was subject. They were the sons of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africanus the Elder. The father of the Gracchi had been a governor in Spain, and had by his prudent administration acquired an enviable reputation for wisdom and patriotism. By his death the two boys were left at an early age to the care of their mother, famous in story. Tiberius Gracchus, the elder of the two, accompanied Scipio Æmilianus in the last expedition against Carthage, and tradition has



CORNELIA AND THE GRACCHI.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

preserved a probably authentic story to the effect that when that ill-fated city was taken Tiberius was the first man to scale the rampart. While holding the office of augur he became intimate with Appius Claudius Pulcher, who, though a senator, was deeply anxious on account of the evils prevalent in the state. At a later date Tiberius served as quæstor in Spain, in which office he achieved distinction by saving the army of Mancinus from destruction. He aided in the conclusion of that treaty which was rejected by the Senate—an act which caused him to go over to the political party called the *Populares*—as opposed to the *Optimates* or the senatorial party.

In B. C. 134 Tiberius, after his return from Spain, was elected tribune of the people. Now it was that he began to agitate his measures for a general reform in the state. His aims were to relieve the poor and to restore the farming interest in Italy. He first secured the coöperation of his father-in-law, Appius Claudius, Publius Crassus, who was at that time pontifex maximus, and Publius Mucius Scævola, one of the best lawyers of Rome.

With the counsel and assistance of these three influential citizens Tiberius matured his measures, which were really as conservative as any patriotic land-owner could have desired. The plans proposed contemplated, first of all, a reënactment of the Licinian Law, which, never having been repealed, was still nominally in force. To this statute certain clauses were appended with a view of adapting it more perfectly to the altered condition of society. Such was the sum and substance of the measure to the passage of which Tiberius now devoted his whole energies.

The arguments which were advanced in favor of the proposed measures of reform were unanswerable except in one particular. This point was that since the Licinian Law had become a dead letter a new state of circumstances had supervened, the undoing of which by the revival of the old statute would work great hardship to the present possessors of the lands. To this it could only be answered that the present possessors of land, that is, those who held more than five hundred jugera of the *ager publicus* did so contrary to law and with a knowledge of the fact. "We have inherited the lands from our fathers and grandfathers," said the monopolists. "Your fathers and grandfathers did not own them," said the tribune.

When it became evident that the Optimates were going to be beaten in the struggle they became desperate.[1] They first suborned Octavius, one of the tribunes of the people, to interpose his veto against the measures proposed by his colleague. This temporary check, however, was quickly removed; for the people, now thoroughly aroused and acting on the suggestion of Tiberius, deposed Octavius from office, and the new statute was adopted. A board of commissioners was thereupon appointed to carry into effect the legislation which, though conservative in its own nature, was radical in its application.

Great were the real difficulties which now appeared in the way of the reform. The existing abuses had continued so long that it seemed impossible to determine what was at present or had been originally a part of the *ager publicus*, and what was truly private property. The condition of Rome, as it respected her real estate, had been for centuries chaotic. A cosmos had now to be established, and this, too, while the dispossessed spirits of the old chaos still hovered over the flood and refused to be quieted. Believing that if the decision of the question as to which was and which was not *ager publicus*, should be left to the consuls and the Senate—with whom such matters were lodged according to existing legislation—the whole scheme of reform would be defeated, Tiberius adopted the extra-legal expedient of a supplemental act empowering the commissioners to decide all questions of dispute arising under the recent statute. The effect of this measure was still further to embitter the aristocracy, who now denounced Tiberius

[1] The privileged classes of mankind have no conscience on the subject of their privilege. History does not adduce one instance in which a nobility or even a monopoly, entrenched in precedent and custom, has ever voluntarily made restitution to society of the rights of which she had been despoiled. The iron jaws which close on the marrowy bone of privilege never relax until they are broken.

as a breaker of the law. His popularity was somewhat shaken, and two Senators—Scipio Nascia and Quintus Pompeius—gave public notice of their intention to impeach the tribune as soon as the expiration of his official term should expose him to such a proceeding.

In this emergency Tiberius determined to offer himself for reëlection; for by that means the tribunal office would secure him against arrest or molestation. In order to strengthen his cause with the people, he announced several measures of great importance as a part of his policy for the future. Among these were statutes limiting the term of military service, conferring upon the knights the right of sitting upon juries, extending the appeal to civil as well as criminal causes, and admitting the Italian allies to full citizenship. These were the issues involved in the election. The day for voting was set in the busy season of summer, in order to prevent a concourse of the people. But the public excitement ran high, and another expedient had to be adopted. On the day of election the nobles interdicted the voting with the legal objection that it was unlawful to elect a tribune as his own successor.

The partisans hereupon engaged in a violent dispute, and the assembly was adjourned to meet on the following day. Promptly on the next morning the people gathered in a great throng on the Capitoline Hill. The friends and the enemies of Tiberius again confronted each other, and a violent riot was threatened. It was whispered through the ranks of the popular party that the Optimates had made a plan to destroy the life of Tiberius; while the adherents of the aristocracy were told that the tribune, by raising his hand to his head, had signified his ambition to be crowned.

While this tumult was surging angrily in the open space before the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the Senate was holding a session near by in the temple of Fides. In that body Scipio Nascia addressed the consul, and demanded that the ambitious Tiberius be at once put down by force. Scævola replied that he would not undertake the death of any citizen who had not been condemned according to law, but that if the tribune should obtain the passage of measures by the assembly contrary to the constitution, he would refuse to sanction the act. On this conservative declaration, Scipio arose, denounced the consul as a traitor to the cause of the Senate, and demanded that all who would aid in saving the Republic should follow. A large company of senators thereupon rushed forth from the hall, armed themselves as they might, and fell upon the popular assembly. The latter gave way at their approach, and Tiberius, being left undefended, was beaten to death with staves. About three hundred others were likewise killed, and their bodies cast into the Tiber.

Thus by violence was destroyed the leader of the people. So great, however, was his influence that the senatorial body was obliged to stand back from the results of the bloody deed. The aristocracy did not dare to attempt the legal abrogation of the Agrarian law which had been revived by Tiberius. The Senate itself divided on the question at issue, and the party favorable to the recent legislation gained a majority even in that venerable conclave of the privileged order. Scipio Nascia, in order to save his life, was obliged to be sent on a mission to Asia, and never saw his country more.

In the mean time Scipio Æmilianus returned from Spain, and became involved in the political troubles of the state. At length he ventured, in the popular assembly, to justify the assassination of Tiberius, and thenceforth became an object of distrust and aversion of the people. Being a soldier, he braved the tumult, and, addressing the assembly, said: "Ye step-sons of Italy, cease your clamor! Do ye think by your noise to frighten me, accustomed to the terrors of battle?"

Those who had been deprived of their lands now found in Scipio a champion of their cause. A resolution was adopted by the Senate transferring the authority of the land commissioners to the consuls of the Republic; but the latter, fearing to assume such a trust, found opportunity to escape therefrom by going into foreign parts. The law was thus, for the time, left unexecuted, and no further distributions of land were made. The wrath of the Populares was now directed in full force against Scipio. The meetings in the Forum and

Senate were characterized by great violence. There were not wanting those who cried, "Down with the tyrant!" meaning Æmilianus. At length, after a day of great commotion, Scipio was found dead in his bed; nor was the suspicion absent that he had been assassinated. The great general was buried with such honors as his distinguished services to his country so well merited. His funeral oration was delivered by Caius Lælius; and even his political enemies, notably the censor Metellus, paid reverence to the departed shade of greatness.

The lull, however, was but temporary. The disappearance of Scipio from the stage was a signal liberation of all those forces which had been held in restraint by his influence. A new question of the enfranchisement of the Italian allies was added to the land agitation. The inhabitants of the Latin cities crowded into the assemblies at Rome, and became a powerful faction in alliance with the oligarchy; for the revival of the Licinian Law by Tiberius had worked a great hardship to the Latins by dispossessing them of their lands. It was not long, however, until the people of the Italian towns were won over to their natural affiliation with the popular party. The break between them and the nobility was hopeless, and an edict was passed by the Senate requiring all aliens to retire from Rome.

In B. C. 125 the people's party succeeded in carrying the election. Fulvius Flaccus was chosen to the consulship. Espousing the cause of the Italian allies, he brought forward a law conferring upon them the rights of citizenship, including the privilege of voting in the popular assemblies; but before the measure could be passed the Senate dispatched him on a foreign mission. That body had also taken the precaution to send away young Caius Gracchus, brother of Tiberius, to perform the duties of quæstor in Spain. By these means the popular party was deprived of its leaders, and the Optimates left free to pursue their own course without serious opposition. The Latin towns had the mortification of seeing the bill for their enfranchisement defeated, and themselves left naked to the mercy of existing laws. One of them, the colony of Fragellæ, raised the standard of revolt, but was quickly overpowered and ruined for its rashness. The town was destroyed, and the inhabitants scattered into other districts.

In B. C. 123 Caius Gracchus returned from Spain, and was elected tribune of the people. The aristocracy feared him, not less for the magic of his name than for his extraordinary natural abilities. The political views of the new tribune were more radical than those of his brother. In order to prepare the way for the reforms which he intended to champion, he first procured the passage of a measure rendering incapable of holding office any person who had been deposed by the people. The object was to prevent a recurrence of such backsets to his legislation as had been given to the work of his brother by the factious veto of Octavius. His next measure was a revival and extension of the Porcian Law, by which capital punishment in the case of Roman citizens was abolished. These preparatory steps cleared the way for the introduction by Gracchus of the six great statutes, henceforth known as the Sempronian Laws.

The first of the new measures had respect to the distribution of grain. It provided that the tithes of corn hereafter to be collected from the provinces should be sold at a low price to the people of Rome. By this means it was hoped to prevent the further gratuitous distributions made by the nobility for the purpose of maintaining their own ascendency over the proletarians. The second law was specifically directed to the administration of affairs in Asia. It embraced such modifications in existing laws as would enable the provincials of the East to collect their own revenues and pay their own taxes to the government without the interference of the Roman extortioners and tax-gatherers. The third statute stipulated that the provisions of the Licinian Law should be extended into the provinces as well as the Italian states, and that the distribution of lands should be restored to the commissioners appointed in the tribunate of Tiberius. The fourth act provided that soldiers should not be enlisted before reaching the age of seventeen, and that the military outfit should be furnished by the state. The fifth enactment

opened the judicial offices to the knights as well as the senators; and the sixth provided that the assignment of the provinces—hitherto made to favorites by the Senate—should be so restricted as to prevent the corruption previously attending the appointments. All of these laws were carried in the assembly, and Caius Gracchus himself undertook their enforcement.

In the following year the great tribune was reëlected, and the radical measures of his administration were enlarged by further enactments. The movement for popular reform, however, now began to degenerate into fanaticism. Marcus Livius Drusus, one of Caius's colleagues, outstripped him in the race for popular favor, and new laws were proposed at once revolutionary and impractical. A reäction set in, and in the third year Caius failed of a reëlection. At the same time his personal enemy, Lucius Opimius, was raised to the consulship. It was evident that the career of Gracchus was at an end. Opimius at once brought forward a resolution for the repeal of the Sempronian Laws, and the bill came before the assembly of the people. There was another great tumult similar to that in which Tiberius lost his life. Caius appeared in the Forum and attempted to address the people. This was declared to be an interruption of the assembly then in session elsewhere. Meanwhile, in that body, one of the friends of Gracchus was struck down, and the assembly was dissolved. The partisans withdrew to their own quarters, and civil war broke out in the city. Caius was pursued across the Tiber and was slain by one of his slaves, who then killed himself on his master's body. Fulvius was also killed, with three thousand of his adherents. Their property was confiscated, and out of the spoils was erected the temple of Concord, in commemoration of the forcible restoration of peace. The judgment of after times was divided respecting the character of the Gracchi, the nobles and magnates denouncing them as factious demagogues and destroyers of the Roman constitution, and the popular party praising them as the champions of liberty.

Whatever might be the merits of the respective parties to the recent contest, certain it is that the oligarchy was now triumphant. How rapidly and to what extent they would proceed to undo the legislation of the popular party was only a question of time and political prudence. One by one the provisions of the Sempronian Laws were abrogated. One by one the annulled privileges of the senatorial order were restored. The same conditions of corruption and bad government which had more than once brought the state to the verge of ruin came back in full force, and Italy again lay weltering.

While the Roman oligarchy, thus restored to authority, was holding on its way, one of those events occurred which, rising above the wills of men and parties, accomplish the general ends of history. This was the rebellion of Jugurtha in Africa. It will be readily called to mind that after the destruction of Carthage, a large part of the kingdom was assigned to Masinissa, the ally of the Romans. This prince on his death left three sons to inherit his dominions—Micipsa, Gulussa, and Mastanabal. Numidia was accordingly divided among the three. It was not long, however, until Gulussa and Mastanabal died, leaving Micipsa sole ruler of the kingdom. This monarch had two sons, Hiempsal and Adherbal, and with them he reared Jugurtha, a natural son of Mastanabal. Jugurtha had genius. He was sent by his uncle with the Numidian troops to aid the Romans in the Numantine war. There he made the acquaintance of the principal men in the consular army, and became familiar with Roman manners and principles. Before his return to Africa, he was instigated to destroy the reigning family and seize the crown for himself. Micipsa, meanwhile, died and left the kingdom to his two sons. Jugurtha soon procured the murder of of Hiempsal and divided the realm between Adherbal and himself—taking the better portion for his own. Presently he made war on Adherbal, besieged him in Cirta, captured him, put him to death with torture. Among those who were executed were a number of Italian merchants. At this the Romans were incensed, and war was declared by the Senate against Jugurtha.

In the year B. C. 111, the consul Lucius

CALPURNIUS BESTIA was sent with an army to Africa to punish the crime of the Numidian prince. But Jugartha had learned with what kind of weapons he should contend in a war with Rome. He bribed Calpurnius and the legates who accompanied them, and induced them to make a treaty of peace which by its own terms was to be final; that is, not dependent on ratification by the Senate and people. As for Numidia, it was granted to Jugurtha as the friend and ally of the Romans.

Of course, this astounding piece of business was straightway canceled by the Senate. The wrath of the popular assembly knew no bounds. The tribune MEMMIUS carried a resolution to the effect that Jugurtha should come to Rome and divulge the methods which he had used to procure the treaty. The king came, and was about to speak when he was prevented by the veto of the tribune BÆVIUS, whom he had just bribed to do that very thing. Meanwhile Massivo, the son of Gulussa, arrived in the city, and preferred before the Senate his claim to be king of Numidia. Jugurtha hired some assassins to kill him. He then made his own escape from Rome, and looking back exclaimed, "O venal city, about to perish if it can find a buyer!"



FLIGHT OF CAIUS GRACCHUS.

In the following year (B. C. 110) the war was continued by the consul ALBINUS; but his campaign—whether serious or feigned—had no success. Nor did the consul AULUS, who succeeded him, attain any better results. Rather worse; for he and his army were ensnared by Jugurtha and miserably subjugated. The Roman people, unused for a long time to being baffled, much less defeated, were now thoroughly aroused. QUINTUS CÆCILIUS METELLUS was sent to Africa in B. C. 109, taking with him as *legati* CAIUS MARIUS and PUBLIUS RECTILIUS RUFUS. A new order of things was now introduced. The army was at once brought to discipline, and Jugurtha found that a different style of procedure would have to be adopted. The Roman army advanced from town to town, and the Numidians were everywhere defeated. Jugurtha was obliged to fly for his life and seek protection with Bocchus, king of Mauritania. Metellus, however, was superseded and returned to Rome, and the completion of the war was intrusted to his lieutenant, Caius Marius, who was destined henceforth to bear so conspicuous a part in the history of his country.

Marius was born in B. C. 157, at the Latin town of Arpinum. The district of country was rude and the people uncultured. Marius himself was illiterate and of savage manners. His tastes from boyhood led him to the bivouac and battle-field. His first public office was the tribunate, conferred in B. C. 119, though previous to that time he had distinguished himself as a soldier. His next distinction was his election to the prætorship, which occurred in B. C. 115. Soon afterwards he went with Metellus to Africa. Here his unconquerable will and dauntless courage found opportunity to display themselves in full force. His constitution was of so rugged a mould as to enable him to endure all manner of hardships. He was a commoner even in the camp. He shared the lot of the common soldiers, and sought no distinction except what arose from endurance and contempt of danger.

From an early age Marius aspired to the consulship. He even while serving as a subordinate made application to Metellus for the privilege of returning to Rome and offering himself for the highest office in the gift of the Roman people. Metellus is said to have replied contemptuously: "You need not be in such a hurry; it will be time enough for you to apply for the consulship with my son"—the latter being a youth who still lacked twenty years of eligibility. But Marius was not to be put off with an insulting answer. He more assiduously than ever cultivated the good-will of the soldiers and bided the time that should bring him to the goal. A few days before the next election he obtained a reluctant leave of absence and sailed for Rome. On arriving there he was elected consul, and as such was intrusted with the conduct of the war in Africa. It was thus that a *novus homo* was assigned to the unfinished task of Metellus.

Marius at once renewed the war with Jugurtha. The cause of the latter had meanwhile been espoused by Bocchus, king of Mauritania. Their combined armies were defeated in two decisive engagements. In B. C. 106 Bocchus was detached from the alliance, and made his peace with the Romans. Jugurtha also surrendered, and the war was at an end. The captive king was taken to Rome to grace the triumph of the consul, and was then thrown into prison, where he died in a few days.[1] The western part of his dominions was detached and given to Bocchus, and the remainder was assigned to Gauda, a descendant of Masinissa.

Thus far in her history Rome had had few relations with the countries of the North. She had taken the precaution to establish Eporedia and Aquileia as outposts in Cisalpine Gaul, to keep the passage of the Alps. Meanwhile a great thoroughfare, called the DOMITIAN WAY, had been built from the Rhone to the Pyrenees, thus connecting the home government with the Spanish provinces. As for the rest of the peoples beyond the Alps, they were left unmolested.

It remained for the Cimbri, a Teutonic tribe, to force upon the attention of the Roman

[1] It is related that when Jugurtha was turned aside from the procession and led into the dungeon of the Mamertine he touched the cold damp walls, and exclaimed: "By Hercules! they have cold stoves in Rome!"

Republic the danger which might be apprehended from the Transalpine nations. This people came southward as far as Noricum, in the neighborhood of Aquileia, and there defeated the army of PAPIRIUS CARBO. The Cimbri, however, instead of following up their advantage and invading Italy, crossed the Jura Mountains to the west. In this region they persuaded other tribes to join them in their hostilities to the Romans. In B. C. 109 the consul JUNIUS SILANUS was defeated by the barbarians, and two years afterwards a second consular army, under command of LUCIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS, was almost annihilated by the same tribes. The town of Tolosa then rose in revolt, but was retaken by the consul and despoiled of its treasures. In B. C. 105 the Cimbri began to retrace their course, with the evident purpose of carrying the war into Italy. At the fords of the Rhone they were met by three Roman armies. These were, each in its turn, disastrously defeated. For the moment it appeared that Rome was once more at the mercy of the Gauls, as she had been in the days of Brennus. This peril of the country, as was believed, had been brought about by the incompetency of the oligarchy which now swayed the destinies of the state, and popular fury broke forth against the aristocrats and their adherents. A second time, however, the danger of invasion was averted by the action of the Cimbri themselves, who, instead of pouring into Italy, turned aside into Spain.

During his absence in settling affairs after the overthrow of Jugurtha, Marius was reelected consul. Such an action was a double violation of the law; for the statute required the candidate for the consulship to be personally present in the city, and also forbade his reëlection until after the lapse of ten years. On the very day of the celebration of his triumph over the king of Numidia he entered upon his second term of office, and began immediate preparations for repelling the invasion of the Gauls. To him the people now looked with entire confidence, as to one who had both the will and the ability to see that the Republic should receive no harm. The movement of the Cimbri into Spain removed the immediate danger of invasion, and Marius availed himself of the respite to construct a canal from the Rhone to the sea, thus opening a better line of communication.

In the mean time the Cimbri, having satisfied themselves with predatory excursions into the northern districts of Spain, returned into Gaul, gathered other nations to their standard, and again bore down on Italy. In doing so, however, the barbarian army divided into two. One division crossed the Rhone with the purpose of reaching Italy through the Eastern Alps, while the other marched against Marius, who was then encamped on the Rhone, with a view of entering Etruria by the passes of the Maritime Alps. The consul had taken his position so as to command both of the western routes into Italy. On came the barbarians, under the lead of their great warrior Teutoboch, and made a fierce assault upon the entrenched camp of the Romans; but the place could not be carried by mere ferocity; and the Teutones were obliged to file past the consular army without bringing it to a general engagement. This movement occupied six days, so great was the host, and was not interrupted by Marius. The barbarians, believing that the Romans were afraid to give battle, taunted and derided them as they passed, inquiring *if they had any messages which they wished to send to their wives!*

As soon as the Germanic horde were well *en route* for Italy, Marius broke up his camp and pursued them. At AQUÆ SEXTIÆ he overtook the enemy and offered battle, which was eagerly accepted. A dreadful conflict ensued, in which the discipline and valor of the Roman legions finally gave them the victory over the brute force and personal prowess of the German warriors. They were completely routed and dispersed. The tremendous Teutoboch was taken, brought into the presence of Marius, and reserved for the triumph. While the consul was about to apply the torch to an immense pile of spoils and arms, which could not be appropriated, word was brought to him that in the election just held at the capital he had been, for the fifth time, chosen to the consulship.

In this same year (B. C. 101), the other division of the barbarian army had beaten

back QUINTUS LUTATIUS CATULUS from the Brenner pass of the Alps, and made its way into the valley of the Po. In the mean time Marius had proceeded to Rome, and was there offered a triumph; but he declined the honor on the ground that the Cimbri had not yet been subdued. As soon as practicable he proceeded to the north and joined his forces with those of Catulus. After crossing the Po, the consul made offer of battle to the enemy, but gained his first victory after entering Italy. As in the previous engagement, the Romans were victorious; the barbarian host was overthrown and dispersed. Only a few of the vast horde escaped. Those who survived the carnage of the battle were reserved for the slave market of Rome.

Now it was that Marius accepted of a double triumph. His name was associated by the multitude with those of Romulus and Camillus as the third founder of the city. *Novus homo* as he was, he overtopped the whole aristocracy as the burly oak looks down on the forest of saplings. Nor was his fame undeserved by great achievement. He had protected the Republic from foreign violence. The civil questions which now confronted his administration were not less serious than the craft of Jugurtha or the recent menace of barbarism. In the course of the late wars it had been found in making drafts upon the



THE CAPTURE OF TEUTOBOCH.
Drawn by H. Leutemann.

the Cimbri, made cautious by the annihilation of their countrymen, seemed unwilling to stake all on the hazard of an engagement. They accordingly entered upon negotiations, and sent an embassy to Marius, requesting the privilege of settling on the lands of Cisalpine Gaul; but the consul sternly answered that the Teutones had their possessions on the other side of the Alps, and that there they should remain. A battle was then fought at VERCELLÆ, on the same field where Hannibal had

provinces for contingents of troops that they had none to give. The reason was that the Roman publicans of the frontiers, in the character of kidnapers, had sold nearly the whole class eligible for service into slavery. The abuse had become so outrageous as to be no longer endured. A decree was accordingly passed that every native freeman of a country in alliance with Rome, who might now be held in servitude, should be liberated and permitted to return to his own country. Multitudes at once applied for manumission. Most of them were the property of the Roman knights. Of course, it was not to be expected that the masters would quietly surrender the means by which they cultivated their estates. So the law could not be enforced, and the servile race were doomed to the bitter disappointment of *seeing* a freedom which they could not taste. A slave insurrection broke out on every hand.

In Sicily the insurgents found two able leaders in SALVIUS and ATHENION. The former had commanded in the eastern, and the latter in the western part of the island. Both proved to be capable commanders. They drilled their troops according to the Roman tactics, and armed only those who were able to act as soldiers. The old mistake of Ennus in shutting himself in fortresses where he could be besieged and starved into submission was now avoided, the slave army keeping to the open country. During the progress of the war with the Cimbri, the Romans were three times defeated by the rebel serfs; but after the victory of Marius at Vercellæ, the consul MARIUS AQUILIUS was in B. C. 101, sent against them and they were finally subjugated. This result, however, was not reached until after two years of war and a vast deal of bloodshed. The slaves who were taken were either destroyed, resold into bondage, or sent to fight with wild beasts in the Roman amphitheaters. Those who were assigned to the latter fate defeated the purpose of them who thought to witness their struggles by taking one another's lives.

Such was the desperate condition of affairs in Roman society, precipitated as it had been by the selfishness of that oligarchy whom the gods, wishing to destroy, had first made mad. To Marius, now in the full tide of his renown, the people looked as to a deliverer. Strongly imbued with respect for the constitution and the laws he avoided the short road to reform which would have been by way of a military despotism on the ruins of the aristocracy, and undertook by constitutional means to bring order out of chaos. For this work he was incompetent. He had neither learning nor experience in civil affairs, and was not even well versed in the history of his country. So the sincere, honest, savage old man fell into the hands of the politicians and demagogues of Rome.

Two of the latter—named LUCIUS APPULEIUS SATURNINUS and CAIUS SERVILIUS GLAUCIA—obtained a great ascendency over the mind of Marius. They were both ambitious and unprincipled leaders who had their own ends to subserve at the expense of the state. Through their agency Marius—assisted by his own overwhelming popularity—was elected to the consulship for the *sixth* time, and at the same election the prætorship fell to Glaucia. Saturninus, who desired to be tribune, was defeated; but AULUS NONIUS, his successful opponent, was presently set upon and killed by a band of the veterans of Marius. The office was then assumed by Saturninus.

Two new laws were now brought forward by the tribune. The first provided for the revival of one of the statutes of Caius Gracchus, by which the public grain should be sold at a nominal price to the people; and the second, that the lands lately held by the Cimbri in Cisalpine Gaul should be parceled out to Italian and Roman citizens, thus providing a vent for the ever-accumulating forces of the capital. These measures were opposed to the bitterest extreme by the alarmed and angered oligarchy. There were several disgraceful riots, but the satellites of the nobility stood in dread of the old soldiers of Marius, who now thronged the city, and the proposed laws were adopted. The senators were thereupon summoned by the tribune Saturninus to take an oath to support the new statutes.

Now it was that Marius found himself embroiled between the conflicting parties. In order to extricate himself from his embarrassing

situation he adopted a course less sincere and open than that which had marked his previous career. He came to understand the essential unsoundness of those to whom he had committed himself, and yet as profoundly as ever distrusted the Senate and the whole aristocracy. He at first declined to take the oath required by the tribune, but afterwards did so with some reservations. The senator, Metellus, refused outright to subscribe the obligation, and his adherents took up arms to defend him, but he declined their services and went into exile. Marius kept away from the violent scenes of these days, and helplessly contemplated the disorders of the state. In the ensuing election Saturninus was again chosen tribune; but when Glaucia was about to be beaten for the consulship by Caius Memmius he hired some assassins to attack and kill his opponent in the streets. The crime was so notorious and outrageous that Glaucia found no defense. Marius took command of a body of soldiers, fell upon Saturninus and Glaucia, and they were both killed, the latter in a private house and the former in one of the chambers of the Senate, where he had taken refuge.

By this time the influence of Marius was well-nigh broken down. The senators hated him as of old, and the people turned from him for his refusal to support their unprincipled leaders. An African soothsayer had predicted that Marius should be seven times consul. He was now in his sixth term; but the seventh seemed at a great distance. The question of the return of Metellus was agitated, and Marius, foreseeing his own downfall, left the city on the pretext of performing vows in Asia Minor. It appears, however, that his real purpose in going to the East was to regain by some adventurous enterprise of war his waning ascendency over the minds of the Roman people. The relations at present existing between the Senate and MITHRIDATES, king of Pontus, promised an early outbreak of hostilities, and Marius hoped to find therein a more congenial exercise for the baffled forces of his nature. With his retiracy from Rome the reäction gathered head and broke forth into all the channels of political life.

It is proper at this point in the narrative to consider briefly the causes which led to the outbreak of the SOCIAL WAR. The Latins had never yet obtained the rights of citizenship. Measures to secure such an end had been frequently adopted, only to be defeated in their application and results. For thirty years the hope of full rights had been hung before the Latin subjects of Rome, only to be lifted like the mirage. The oppressions to which these people were subjected were intolerable. The Roman magistracy sat astride of their necks, booted and spurred, and the cruel whip of injustice was applied without mercy. Even the public officers of the Latin towns might be beaten like dogs at the dictation of the consul. A Roman citizen was carried on a litter through Venusia. A freeman not without wit said to those who bore it: "Are you carrying *a dead man* on that litter?" Thereupon the supposititious dead arose and made a real dead man out of the wit. The grandee had been insulted. And there was no punishment for the murder. Still the Latin allies hoped for citizenship. When, after the departure of Marius for the East, the senatorial party regained full sway, the two consuls, LICINIUS and MUCIUS SCÆVOLA, succeeded in carrying a law by which every person not a citizen who should advance a claim to be a citizen should be severely punished. The measure was leveled directly against the Italians, whose claims to the freedom and franchise of Romans were thus choked in the very utterance or suggestion of a right.

The measure was resisted by the allies. When the knights were disposed to espouse the cause of the Latins, the Senate undertook to deprive the Equites of the judicial offices to which they were entitled. It came to pass that neither could a knight obtain justice before a tribunal of senators, nor could a senator maintain his rights before a bar where the Equestrians were in a majority.

In its attack upon the judicial power of the knights the Senate committed the management of the cause to MARCUS LIVIUS DRUSUS. The propositions which he as tribune of the people brought before the assembly were that colonies should be established in Italy and Sicily to relieve the distress of the poor, that three

hundred new senators should be chosen from the Equites, and that jurymen or judges should henceforth be chosen from the body thus enlarged. The measures were met with plausible objections. It was said that there were no more lands in Italy and Sicily to be colonized. The Senators resented the proposal to dilute their dignity by the addition of three hundred new members, and the knights were too shrewd to be deceived by the bait which dangled before them. Nevertheless the measures of Drusus were supported by many of the best men of the state, who were willing, in the desperate condition of the Republic, to accept almost any plan which seemed to promise relief.

In the midst of great political agitation the laws proposed by the tribune were carried. Other clauses of more doubtful expediency—such as the one providing for a distribution of corn, or that legalizing the plating of copper coins in imitation of silver—were added before the vote was taken; but all the provisions were included in one statute, so that, however objectionable certain parts might be, the whole had to be accepted or rejected together. So repugnant to the capitalists and traders were those enactments relating to the coinage that the consul PHILIPPUS induced the Senate to declare the laws of Drusus unconstitutional. Thus by their own act did the senators annul the legislation which, at least in its initial stages, had been leveled against the exclusive rights of the Equestrian order.

A crisis was now at hand. In about two months more Drusus must retire from the tribunate. It was necessary, therefore, that his measure for the enfranchisement of the Latins must be immediately carried, or else fail. The spirit of partisanship ran so high that civil war seemed imminent. Nevertheless, Drusus attempted to secure the passage of his bill of citizenship; but on the day before the meeting of the assembly to vote on the proposed enactment he was assassinated in his own house. He fell a victim to the merciless lust of capital, which, blind to its own true interest, would sooner glut itself to satiety than to secure perpetuity to the Republic by the loss of a few denarii.

The fall of Drusus, though it disconcerted, did not wholly paralyze the work which he had undertaken. His colleagues in the tribunate still supported his measures, and the Italians were called to the capital to aid in securing the right of franchise. The Marsians rose to the number of ten thousand men, and marched towards Rome; but they were met *en route* by ambassadors of the alarmed Senate, and were promised their rights if they would return. In many of the towns there were unmistakable symptoms of revolt. The Roman prætor, CAIUS SERVILIUS, learning that an insurrection was brewing in the Picenian town of Asculum, menaced the discontented people with threats of punishment. Thereupon they rose and put him to death. The other Romans who lived in Asculum were also killed. Then the flame of revolt broke out everywhere.

The rebellion had been carefully planned. All the details had been discussed. Rome was to be destroyed. The town of Corfinium, on the river Aternus, was, under the new name of Italica, to become the capital of regenerated Italy. The forms of the government that was to be were all determined. The Samnite language was to be revived, but Latin was to remain the medium of official intercourse. The rebels were well armed and disciplined according to the Roman tactics. The day of the judgment of battle was at hand.

The peril of the state evoked a certain measure of the old spirit of the Romans. Marius offered his services to his country, as did also LUCIUS SULLA and PUBLIUS SULPICIUS. In a short time an army of one hundred thousand men was at the disposal of the consuls, while the forces of the Latins were fully equal in numbers and discipline. Hostilities began in the year B. C. 90, and continued with varying successes through several campaigns. The principal fields of operation were in the region between Picenum and Campania and in Samnium. At the first onset the results were rather favorable to the insurgents, but in the next two campaigns the Romans gained several victories. It appeared that the insurrection would soon be suppressed and peace restored by force; but Rome had at last discovered in the struggle the elements of a conflict

which was likely to be renewed to her own destruction, and was for this reason willing to bring about a settlement on a basis satisfactory to the Latin towns. As early as the close of the first year of the war, B. C. 90, a series of legislative acts were brought forward with a view of pacifying the insurgents and bringing about a peace. The measures were precipitated by a threatened insurrection in Umbria and Etruria, and at a time when it was evident that Rome must either effect a settlement or engage in a war with all Italy. The concessions now proposed embraced two clauses. The first, known as the JULIAN LAW, granted enfranchisement to all Latins who had remained loyal to Rome, or who should now, by surrendering, renew their allegiance. The new citizens now to be recognized as a factor in the state, were to be divided into eight tribes. The second, known as the PAPIRIAN LAW, extended the rights of citizenship to all Italians who, being now resident in Italy, should, within sixty days, register their names with the prætor of the Republic.

As soon as these concessions were made known to the insurgent states, the revolt began to crumble. Rome had virtually conceded the very thing for which the Latins and Italians were contending, and most of the rebels were willing to accept the present offer rather than contend for more. The town of Nola, in Samnium, however, still refused to surrender, and Southern Italy, remained, to a considerable extent, in the power of the insurgent armies.

In the mean time, however, events had occurred at Rome which changed the whole current of affairs, and influenced the subsequent history of the state. When Drusus was killed and his legislation overthrown, a demagogue named QUINTUS VARIUS, obtained a brief ascendency, and incited the leaders of the aristocratic party to prosecute all those who had favored the laws of Drusus. Many of the best citizens of Rome were brought before the equestrian tribunals and condemned to exile. Æmilius Scaurus was arrested and tried, but his popularity was so great as to secure his acquittal. These persecutions soon brought about a reäction, which led to the adoption of a statute, proposed by the tribune PLANTIUS SILVANUS, by which the appointment of the judicial officers was taken from the control of the knights, and intrusted to the assembly of the tribes. The convictions ceased or were turned against those who had been the authors of the late proceedings, several of whom, including Varius himself, were sent into banishment.

The concessions made to the Latins and Italians proved to be less salutary than was expected. The legislation had been contrived with the usual cunning which marked the acts of the Roman Senate. The eight new tribes were set last on the list, so that if twenty-two of the thirty-five old tribes should vote for a given measure, the recent citizens were not called at all. Moreover, the voting-place was still in Rome, and to the allies an election involved a trip to the capital. Some would thus be obliged to come from the valley of the Po, and others from the peninsula of Bruttium. These considerations led to much dissatisfaction among the allies, who perceived in the concessions another example of how the Roman Senate, appearing to concede, conceded not at all. In the third year of the war (B. C. 88) it became necessary to make a formal declaration against Mithridates, king of Pontus. Such a step was attended with unusual embarrassments. The treasury of Rome had been drained to meet the expenses of the servile and social wars, and it was found necessary to sell the land in front of the capital in order to raise funds for a new consular army.

A financial crisis was precipitated upon the country. The capitalists of the city, many of whom were themselves deeply in debt, were cut off from their revenues in the East, and became bankrupt. Meanwhile the debtors added to the general distress by reviving the Genucian Law, by which they were empowered to collect from those who had charged them usurious rates of interest fourfold the amount which they had paid above the legal rate. This led to an insurrection of the creditors, who assembled in the forum and killed the prætor, AULUS SEMPRONIUS ASELLIO, through whose influence the old law had been revived.

As already said, it became necessary to

press with vigor the war against Mithridates. By a series of aggressions in Asia Minor, most of which were directed against the allies of Rome, this ambitious king had compelled the Senate to make a vigorous opposition against him, or else abandon Asia Minor to his sway. In B. C. 88, Mithridates expelled from their dominions the kings of Cappadocia and Bithynia, and in spite of the Roman armies in the country, overran nearly the whole of the province of Asia. In the course of these campaigns, he is said to have ordered the massacre of at least eighty thousand Roman subjects, and for a while it appeared doubtful whether a vestige of the authority of the Senate would be left in the country beyond the Ægean.

In the choice of a general to command in the Mithridatic war, the lot fell to Lucius Cornelius Sulla, now one of the consuls of the Republic. This remarkable character, whom Byron has designated as the "man-slayer," and described as "the most lucky among mortals anywhere," is one of the most unique figures in Roman history. He was born of an aristocratic lineage, in B. C. 138, and lived to the age of sixty. His first public service was in the Jugurthine war, in which he served as a quæstor in the army of Marius. He remained with that austere commander during the times of the Cimbric invasion, and in B. C. 103 was elected military tribune. From this time forth he became the rival of Marius, becoming the leader of the Optimate party, as Marius was of the old savage republicanism of uncultured Rome. The feud between the two chieftains was for awhile allayed by the common perils of the social war. With the outbreak of the troubles in the East, both desired the command against Mithridates; but the rising renown of Sulla, and the advanced age of Marius—which circumstances had already raised the former to the consulship—led to the choice of the Sulla to command in the hazardous enterprise of recovering Asia Minor.

Great was the chagrin of Marius. The slumbers of his old age were disturbed with fierce jealousy. He left his home at Misenum, and encamped with the young soldiers who were drilling in the Campus Martius. In order to heighten his popularity, he exerted himself to secure, through the tribune Publius Sulpicius, the introduction of a new statute in favor of the Italians. The measures so proposed were three in number: First, that the citizens recently enfranchised and assigned to the eight new tribes should now be redistributed among the tribes already existing; second, that all who had been condemned to exile in the time of the Varian prosecutions should be recalled; and third, that every senator who owned more than two thousand denarii should lose his seat in the Senate. In order to prevent the passage of these radical laws, Sulla, who was now preparing for his eastern campaign, hastened from Nola to Rome, and declared all the remaining days of the year to be holidays, for on a holiday no law could be legally adopted. Sulpicius, however, with the support of Marius, raised a force, and drove Sulla from the city. A resolution was then adopted by the assembly transferring to Marius the command of the Mithridatic expedition. But when two military tribunes were sent to the camp at Nola to assume command of the army, they were killed by Sulla's soldiers, who demanded to be led against the capital. Sulla was by no means loath to give a favorable answer to their clamor. With six legions he left the camp at Nola, marched to Rome, expelled Marius and Sulpicius, encamped his army in the city, and summoned the Senate.[1] A resolution was adopted by which Marius and his supporters were declared public enemies; but the old republican succeeded in making his escape. Sulpicius was captured and put to death.

In order to secure the ground thus gained, the laws passed during the tribunate of Sulpicius were revoked, and three new measures adopted, with a view to the restoration of the ancient prerogatives of the Senate. The first of these laws was a provision limiting the power of the tribunes of the people, and requiring every legislative proposition to be first submitted to the Senate, as was the usage before the passage of the Hortensian Law. The

[1] This was the first occasion in the history of Rome on which an army had been encamped within the city walls.

second provision revived the old Servian Law for voting in the *comitia centuriata;* while the third enactment provided for filling vacant seats in the Senate by the election of three hundred new members, all to be chosen from the Optimates. As a sop for the poor, some clauses were added for the establishment of colonies, and the reduction of the rate of interest. Having remained in Rome until after the election of B. C. 87, in which CNEIUS OCTAVIUS and CORNELIUS CINNA—both Optimates—were chosen consuls, Sulla extorted a promise from the new officers that the new law should be faithfully executed, and then left Italy to prosecute the war with Mithridates.

After a perilous escape from Rome the aged Marius made his way to Ostia and took ship for Africa; but the vessel was presently driven ashore near the Circeian headland. Here he was left to perish, but found a temporary refuge in a fisherman's hut. Afterwards he fled into the swamps of Minturnæ, and sank himself up to his throat in a quagmire. Here his pursuers overtook him, dragged him from the marsh, and before the magistrates, by whom he was condemned to death; for a great reward had been offered for his head. He was accordingly pitched into a dark dungeon, and a Cimbric slave was sent to dispatch him. But when he entered the prison and met the unquenchable gleam of the savage veteran's eyes glaring at him out of the darkness, he quailed before the apparition and could not perform his task. "Durst thou kill Caius Marius?" said a steady and solemn voice out of the gloom, and the slave fled, repeating to those who sent him, "I can not kill Caius Marius."

The magistrates were also seized with a spell, and said one to another, "Let him go and find his fate in some foreign land, lest the gods who preside over Roman hospitality should smite us for our crime." The exile then escaped to the island of Æniria, where he was joined by some friends, and thence made his way to Africa. On reaching the site of Carthage a messenger came to him from the prætor SEXTILIUS, bringing a warning not to land in the country under penalty of death. Then it was that he who had been six times consul of Rome made to the envoy the celebrated answer: "Go and tell the prætor that you have seen Caius Marius sitting among the ruins of Carthage." He, however, obeyed the warning, and sailed away with his son to the island of Cercina.

Meanwhile in Rome there remained a strong party favorable to the Marian cause. Shortly after the departure of Sulla the tribunes of the people, led by the consul Cinna, brought forward a measure looking to the enrollment of the enfranchised Italians among the thirty-five tribes, and the recall of those who had been banished. The other consul, Cneius Octavius, at the head of the senatorial party opposed the measure with great violence, and civil war broke out in the city. The riot grew to such frightful proportions that ten thousand people were killed. The party of Octavius gained the day, and Cinna, with his following, fled from the city. Making his way into Campania he gained over a portion of the army posted there, and marched on Rome. Marius, who was watching from afar, returned in haste to Italy, captured Ostia, and effected a junction with Cinna. Meanwhile the Senate had summoned home Pompeius from Gaul and Metellus from Samnium. With the troops commanded by these generals, an effort was made to regain what was lost; but the larger part of the soldiers were in sympathy with the Marian party, and the Senate was obliged to recognize Cinna as consul. Marius himself refused to enter Rome until the sentence of outlawry should be revoked. When this was done the army marched through the gates, and a scene began such as Rome had never witnessed before. For five days massacre held a carnival in the streets. Distinguished men were cut down by hundreds. Octavius was murdered while sitting in his chair of office and wearing his consular robes. Generals and orators were slain in every quarter. When Cinna's vengeance was appeased that of Marius still demanded fresh butcheries. The truculent old man was now in the height of his glory. After he had glutted himself with blood he demanded and obtained the passage of an act by which Sulla was condemned and his property confiscated.

When in B. C. 87 the time for the election



MARIUS AMONG THE RUINS OF CARTHAGE.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

arrived, Cinna had himself and Marius proclaimed consuls without the formality of a ballot. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of the African soothsayer, who had predicted that Marius should be seven times consul of Rome. The end, however, was at hand. He whom the sword of the Cimbric slave had spared now perished on the sword of his own passion. Tormented with constant apprehension of his enemies, haunted by superstition, and finding no further vent for his ferocity, he sought oblivion in drink. On the thirteenth day of his consulship he died, in the seventy-first year of his age. Cinna, however, continued to rule for two years longer. Without regard to the forms of law, he *appointed* Lucius Valerius Flaccus to the consulship, and at the end of the term brought it about that himself and Cneius Papirius Carbo should be declared consuls for two years longer.

Let us now trace the career of Sulla. Early in B. C. 87 he landed with five legions in Epirus. On his way across the Hellenic peninsula he paused to capture Athens, which was sacked by his soldiers. Archelaüs, who had defended the city, made his escape and joined a second army sent by Mithridates into Greece, and now in Bœotia. Sulla met his enemies on the field of Chæronea, and inflicted on them a severe defeat. In the following year, B. C. 85, another battle was fought at Orchomenus, in which the Romans were again victorious. In the mean time Lucius Valerius Flaccus, who had been sent to the East to supersede Sulla in the command, landed in Greece with two legions, and used all his arts to induce a defection in the Roman army. But Sulla's soldiers adhered steadily to his cause, and Flaccus soon afterward lost his life in a mutiny of his own troops.

By this time the people of the provincial states of the East had had enough of Mithridates. They had found that Rome was the gentler master of the two. The Greeks openly expressed their preference for a restoration of Roman authority. The victories of Sulla conduced to the same result. The younger Mithridates was defeated near Pergamus by the Roman general Fimbria, who succeeded in capturing the city. The king became anxious to save the wreck of his dominion by securing the best terms possible from his vanquisher. Sulla met Mithridates in B. C. 84, at the town of Dardanus, and there the terms of a settlement were dictated and accepted. The Pontic king was compelled to surrender all his conquests, to confine his claims to Pontus proper, to surrender his eighty ships of war, and to pay an indemnity of three thousand talents. Sulla then proceeded against Fimbria, who, being abandoned by his soldiers, fled to Pergamus and committed suicide. The conqueror then imposed a contribution of twenty talents upon the province of Asia, and the inhabitants of the country, in order to meet the requisition, were obliged to borrow the money from the Roman usurers at a ruinous rate of interest.

In B. C. 84 Sulla found himself in a situation to write a letter to the Senate, announcing the overthrow of Mithridates and the pacification of the East. The Marian party now held complete possession of Rome, and the news of Sulla's victory sounded a death-knell in their ears. The Senate sent ambassadors to Sulla, expressing their desire for peace; but the two consuls, Cinna and Carbo, knowing that a reconciliation was impossible, prepared for the worst. Cinna, at the head of a large force, set out for Greece, but on reaching Ancona a mutiny broke out among his soldiers, and he was killed. Nevertheless preparations continued, and before Sulla could reach Italy an army of two hundred thousand had been raised to resist him. His own forces numbered but forty thousand, but these were veterans who were devotedly attached to their leader. In the spring of B. C. 83 Sulla landed at Brundusium, and began his march on Rome. The consuls were armed with dictatorial powers, but nothing availed to stay his progress. Several of the leaders of the consular armies went over to his standard. He defeated the consul Norbanus at Mount Tifata, won over the troops of Scipio, blockaded Capua, and wintered in Campania.

Meanwhile Norbanus and the younger Caius Marius—though the latter was not of legal age—were chosen consuls, and Sulla and his adherents were declared enemies of the Re-

public. In the spring of B. C. 82 the war was renewed, but Marius, in the first battle, fought at Sacriportus, was overwhelmingly defeated. At this the prætor, Damasippus, acting under the orders of Marius, put to death the leading Optimates in Rome and evacuated the city. Many eminent senators were murdered in their own seats in the chamber. Both of the ædiles and the pontifex maximus, Quintus Mucius Scævola, were murdered before the desperate Marians relaxed their grasp on Rome. Sulla soon entered the city without opposition, but presently set out to the North to join Metellus against the consul Carbo, who still commanded a large army in Etruria.

While these movements were taking place an unexpected turn was given to the tempestuous tides which were surging through Italy. The Samnites and Lucanians, still harboring the grudges of centuries, rose in revolt, and under their able leader, PONTIUS TELESINUS, marched first on Præneste and then on Rome. Pontius saw amid the distractions of the civil war a final opportunity of avenging the wrongs of centuries. To him the party of Marius and the party of Sulla were both alike, and he declared his purpose to avenge the wrongs of generations by destroying the lair "in which the Roman wolves had made their den"—meaning Rome.

The Samnite leader came near entering the city. Only the opportune arrival of Sulla, who, hearing of the peril, turned back from Etruria, prevented the catastrophe. As it was, Telesinus reached the Colline Gate, and was there confronted by the veterans. One of the fiercest battles ever fought in Italy ensued, and Sulla was on the point of suffering an overthrow; but he suddenly bethought him of the gods, and prayed to the Pythian Apollo. Then the tide turned, and the Samnites were utterly routed. Three thousand prisoners were taken into the Campus Martius and butchered. It was the end of the Samnite nation.

Then began the proscription. The scenes that ensued beggar description. Sulla, as the master of Rome, threw the reins to the Optimates and set them the example of destruction. The aim was to annihilate the Marian party. It was to be torn out root and branch. To this end the relentless leader of Rome drew up a proscription list, which included not only those who had taken an active part in the recent struggle, but also the leading citizens and even prominent Italians at a distance from the city. A reward was offered for the heads of all the proscribed. Their estates were confiscated. None might offer them shelter. When the first list was exhausted another was prepared, and then another. All Italy was a scene of ever-recurring murder. Forty-seven thousand persons were butchered. The estates of those who were destroyed were put up at auction; but none dared to bid for the confiscated property except the known friends of Sulla. It became the order to kill men merely to secure their property. To have a villa was equivalent to a death-warrant. In many instances men were killed and their names added to the proscription list afterward. All these atrocities were sanctioned by the Senate, which body not only formally approved of all things done under Sulla's consulate, but proceeded to order an equestrian statue to be set up in the forum, inscribed to Lucius Cornelius Sulla, the *Happy* General.

The kindly consul next proceeded to revolutionize the government by a restoration of the ancient *régime*. All the old prerogatives of the Senate were restored to that body, and every popular feature which had been introduced into the political system of Rome was abrogated. It was one of those unreasoning, backward movements in the policy of states to which no amount of force or statecraft has ever been able to give permanency. Sulla was made dictator with unlimited powers to reörganize the Republic. He proceeded in the exercise of his authority to reduce the tribunes to a state of miserable dependency, and to close the office to all but members of the senatorial order. It was also enacted that the consulship, as of old, must follow the prætorship, and the prætorship succeed the quæstorship. The law forbidding the reëlection of a consul was abrogated, and that requiring an interval of ten years between a first and second election was revived. The college of prætors was increased from six members to eight, and that of the quæstors from twelve to twenty.

Three hundred new members were elected to the Senate, all of them being from the equestrian order. The judges were now restricted to the senatorial rank, the college of the priests was made a close corporation with power to fill its own vacancies. The presidency of the criminal courts was assigned to the prætors, and a new order was established by which in the trial of civil causes a single judge should preside instead of a bench of jurymen. In addition to these measures, certain sumptuary laws were enacted by which the amount to be expended at banquets and funerals was limited.

In no part of this reäctionary legislation were Sulla and his party doomed to greater disappointment than in his scheme of colonization. The confiscated lands of the Italians were for the most part bestowed on the veterans of the army, and the Optimates were so little skilled in the nature of man and the tendencies of the times as to suppose that these old soldiers whose lust of plunder and destruction had been gratified in so many campaigns, could now be converted into industrious citizens by the simple expedient of a colony. How dull and insipid to a centurion who had reveled in the excesses of the Mithridatic war, and afterward in the greater license of the civil conflict in Italy, must have appeared the apple trees and sheep on a farm in Picenum! The history of subsequent times soon reveals the fact that this old soldier element was the most inflammable and dangerous of all Italy.

Hitherto no one had held the office of dictator for a longer period than six months. Sulla kept his power for nearly three years, during which time the Roman Republic was absolutely at his disposal. Suddenly in B. C. 79, without previous notification of his intentions, he resigned his office and declared himself ready to render an account for his deeds. No one durst bring charges against him. He retired without molestation to his villa at Puteoli, and there began to take his rest. He zealously sought the pleasures of privacy, and allowed his mind to be distracted as little as possible with the affairs of the state. It was not in the nature of things, however, that his influence should at once cease to be felt either in Rome or the provinces. He was still employed as the arbiter of disputes, and was accustomed to render decisions in the same merciless way as when in public life. He busied himself in writing his autobiography, of which twenty-two books were completed. On the day before his death he had one of the quæstors strangled by his bedside for some act of official dishonesty. It was a fitting preliminary to his exit. He died at the age of sixty, and was honored with the most elaborate funeral which had ever been witnessed in Rome. His tomb was built in the Campus Martius, and bore the following inscription, composed by himself: "*No friend ever did me a kindness, no enemy a wrong, without receiving a full requital.*" For once the epitaph was in keeping with the character of the dead.

After the death of Sulla, the affairs of the Republic went rapidly from bad to worse. The extreme oligarchs had their fill of satisfaction, but all other classes of persons were gloomy and discontented. Under the new order—which was the old order with all of its worst conditions—the rich grew richer and the poor, poorer. It was an age of plunder under the sanction of law. The accumulated wealth of generations was squandered in debasing luxuries, and the brutal passions of the people excited by the bloody combats of the arena. The number of gladiatorial shows and funeral games was greatly multiplied. Costly banquets gave opportunity for the expenditure of whole fortunes in the attempted gratification of insatiable appetites. On one occasion Lucullus is said to have expended on a supper given to Cicero and Atticus the sum of one hundred and seventy thousand *sesterces* equivalent to seven thousand five hundred dollars.

Under the condition of affairs, the oligarchy soon became as weak as it was absolute. Though there were many who had Sulla's spirit, there was none who had his abilities. Soon after his death the rumbling of discontent began to be heard in the Republic. The consul Lepidus undertook to revolutionize the revolution, and was only prevented from success by the opposition of the other consul, Catulus, the leader of the Optimates. It was found necessary, however, to calm the roaring multitude with a distribution of corn, and to send the

two consuls out of Italy. The rivals, however, soon raised armies, and went to war. Lepidus was defeated in a battle near the Campus Martius, and driven from the country.

At this epoch the hopes of the Marian party were revived by Sertorius in Spain. This able leader contemplated not only the overthrow of the aristocracy, but the establishment of independence for the Spanish provinces. He became equally influential with the Roman population and the native tribes of the peninsula. For eight years (B. C. 79–72) he maintained himself against the most strenuous efforts of the Senate for his suppression. The Roman armies which were sent to Spain were successively defeated, and at one time there was good ground for apprehending that Sertorius would carry the war into Italy. Finally the command of the Roman forces was transferred to CNEIUS POMPEIUS, afterwards known as Pompey the Great, who now appeared on the stage to begin his distinguished career. He was a member of the party of Sulla, but was more moderate than the extreme members of that faction. He won considerable reputation in the Civil War; and at the close of that struggle was appointed, in accordance with his own request, to suppress the Spanish rebellion. In B. C. 77 he made his way through the Alps and the Pyrenees, and encountered the forces of Sertorius at LAURO and Sucro. In both battles Pompeius was worsted, and it appeared probable that his ambitions would end in complete disaster; but his colleague, Metellus, came to his assistance. The war then continued with varying successes for five years, until in B. C. 72 Sertorius was assassinated by a certain Paperna, who was presently thereafter defeated by Pompey, and the insurrection brought to an end.

During the Spanish war the Republic was disturbed in all her borders. Italy was infested with bands of robbers and outlaws. The Mediterranean swarmed with pirates, and the brigand tribes of Macedonia openly defied the Roman arms. Mithridates, too, had watched his opportunity, and lent his aid to Sertorius. Against him in B. C. 74 was sent an army under command of Lucullus. It thus happened that Rome, under the management of the effete oligarchy, was left without an adequate defense: one army was in Spain, and the other in the East. The capital, however, took no thought for the morrow. She gave herself up to the passion of the hour, and went to the circus.

At this time one of the chief sources of entertainment to the Roman people was the gladiatorial shows. The training of gladiators had become a business—a profession. Schools were established, in which swordsmen were carefully trained for the bloody sports of the arena. One of the most flourishing of these institutions was at Capua. The men there trained for the combats were mostly Celts and Thracians. Among these, the most distinguished gladiator was SPARTACUS. Seizing an opportunity he headed an insurrection of his own class, burst out of the town, and made his head-quarters in the crater of Vesuvius. The slaves of the neighborhood also rose in revolt, and joined his standard. He soon found himself at the head of a hundred thousand men—desperate savages, who fell upon the first Roman force which they could find, defeated it, and armed themselves with the spoils.

In B. C. 72 the consular armies were both routed by the insurgents, and for a while it appeared certain that Spartacus would accomplish his purpose of escaping from the country, crossing the Alps and dismissing his followers to their homes. The gladiators, however, could not be controlled by their leader. They preferred, even at the peril of destruction, to glut themselves for a season on the riches of Italy. In the following year MARCUS CRASSUS assumed the command of the Roman army, and succeeded after a brief campaign in driving the gladiators into Southern Italy. Here Spartacus made a league with the Cilician pirates, and paid them a large sum to transport his forces into Sicily. The treacherous buccaneers, however, as soon as they had received the money, sailed away and left Spartacus to his fate. He was now obliged to fight for his life. He was besieged by Crassus, but succeeded in breaking through the lines and escaping into Lucania. Thither he was followed and overtaken on the river Silarus. Here the decisive battle was fought, and the

gladiators after contesting the field with the courage of despair and having twelve thousand of their number slain, were routed.[1] A small remnant escaped into Cisalpine Gaul, and was there exterminated by Pompeius, who was then returning from his victories in Spain. Nor was the latter, who was jealous of the military reputation of Crassus, slow to claim the credit of the result for himself. "For," said he in a message to the Senate, "Crassus has defeated the enemy in battle, but I have plucked out the war by its roots."



DEATH OF SPARTACUS.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

The two generals, however, were not disposed to quarrel, but rather to make the most of the political situation. They both desired the consulship, and both were legally ineligible to the office. In order to cut the knot they joined their interests and proclaimed their sympathy with the popular party. They proposed in case of an election to restore the prerogatives of the tribunes. Pompeius by his brilliant military reputation, Crassus by his enormous wealth, and both by their lavish promises were chosen for the coveted office. The former was granted a triumph, and the latter an ovation, as the customary rewards rendered for distinguished services to their country.

The new administration kept its pledge with the people. In B. C. 70 Pompeius secured the passage of an act restoring to the tribunes the power of which they had been stripped by the constitution of Sulla. The reform was next directed to the purification of the courts—a more difficult task than the restoration of the tribunate; nor is it likely that the monopoly of the judicial offices by the Senate could have been broken but for one of those circumstances which to the casual observer appearing accidental are by the historian,

[1] It was just before this battle that the incident occurred so many times related of Spartacus. An attendant brought him a horse, but, instead of mounting, he thrust him through with his sword, saying, as the animal fell: "If I am victorious I shall have horses enough; if I am defeated I shall have no need of this one."

with whom no event is an accident, known to be a part of that unvaried scheme in accordance with which the destinies of the world are fulfilled. It was at this juncture that VERRES, the provincial governor of Sicily, carried the abuses of his office to such a scandalous excess as to compel a decision of the question whether Rome were to be master or he. Of all the rapacious and plundering robbers into whose hands the Roman provinces had fallen, no other perhaps had ever equaled Verres in cruelty and greed. He systematically despoiled Sicily, not merely to enrich himself—to fill his already glutted coffers to overflowing with the treasures wrung from the blood and sweat of hundreds of thousands of peasants—but also to lay by an enormous overplus or corruption fund for the express purpose of buying up the Roman courts, before whose bar he was liable to be arraigned at the expiration of his official term. For three years he continued to rob and accumulate, until at last the outcry of the starving island reached even the dull ears of Rome. Articles of impeachment were declared against him, and his prosecution was undertaken by Marcus Tullius Cicero. Such was the appalling array of damning facts and such the vehemence, ability, and fiery eloquence of the prosecutor, and such the rising indignation of the Roman populace against the great provincial robber who had so unblushingly despoiled Sicily, that in order to escape the worst he fled from the city and went into exile.

The tides were now in. LUCIUS AURELIUS COTTA, the prætor, brought forward a law by which it was enacted that one-third of the judges should be chosen from the senatorial rank, another third from the equestrian order, and the remainder from citizens below the knights. The statute was speedily adopted, and received the approval of the consuls. The popularity of the latter had constantly increased during their term of office, and this, too, without their incurring a positive hostility from the Senate. The two leaders vied with each other in the competition for applause. The one made a lavish use of his means and the other of his military reputation — not scorning the arts of the demagogue—to make themselves the centers of the admiration of Rome.[1]

The next menace to the Republic was given by the Mediterranean pirates. The whole sea was infested with their craft. Twice in the previous history of the country—once in B. C. 103 and again in 78—their suppression had been attempted; but they swarmed all the more, until from Phœnicia to Spain there was not a square mile of safe water. Every coast



POMPEIUS MAGNUS.

was kept in terror by the pirate vessels hovering along the horizon. Italy herself was annoyed beyond measure by these brigands of

[1] An interesting incident is related of this bidding for popular favor on the part of Pompeius. Among the many customs prevalent in the city was that which required the Roman knight to appear on a certain occasion before the censors, to give an account of the exploits which he had performed in arms, the generals under whom he had served, and to deliver up his horse. Pompeius appeared, wearing his badges of office and leading his steed, and, advancing to the censor, gave in humble attitude an account of his own career as a soldier. The officer addressed him, saying: "Have you, O Pompeius Magnus, served all the campaigns which the law requires?" The general replied: "I have served them all—*and under myself as general!*" Then the people shouted.

the deep. They seized the coast towns, made their way inland, plundered and burned villas, and finally made a foray along the Appian Way, seizing and carrying away two Roman prætors.[1]

The chief seat of the buccaneers—if seat that might be called which was only a lair—was in Cilicia, in Asia Minor. Here the malcontents of the East congregated, and sought by the hazardous profession of piracy to be avenged for the wrongs which the Roman governors had inflicted on their respective countries. They became the enemies of the human race, and regarded all the fruits of civilization as contraband of war. The life led by them was wild, free, contemptuous of danger. More and more they gained the ascendency, and more and more Rome felt the distress occasioned by the destruction of her commerce. At last the tribune GABINIUS proposed a heroic remedy. He brought forward a bill in the Senate and assembly, providing that a general of consular rank should be chosen with full power to have command of the whole Mediterranean for three years. The surrounding coasts also, to the distance of fifty miles inland, were to be under his jurisdiction. He was to have twenty-four subordinate commanders, and a fleet of five hundred ships. His military chest was to be supplied with six thousand talents; and the number of soldiers to be placed at his disposal was to be limited only by his own desires.

The name of Pompeius was not mentioned in the bill, but there could be no mistake as to whom Gabinius and the people had in mind. The measure was violently opposed in the Senate, but was enthusiastically adopted by the assembly. Among those through whose influence the law was finally passed was CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR, already a recognized leader of the democratic party, and just now returned from his quæstorship in Spain.

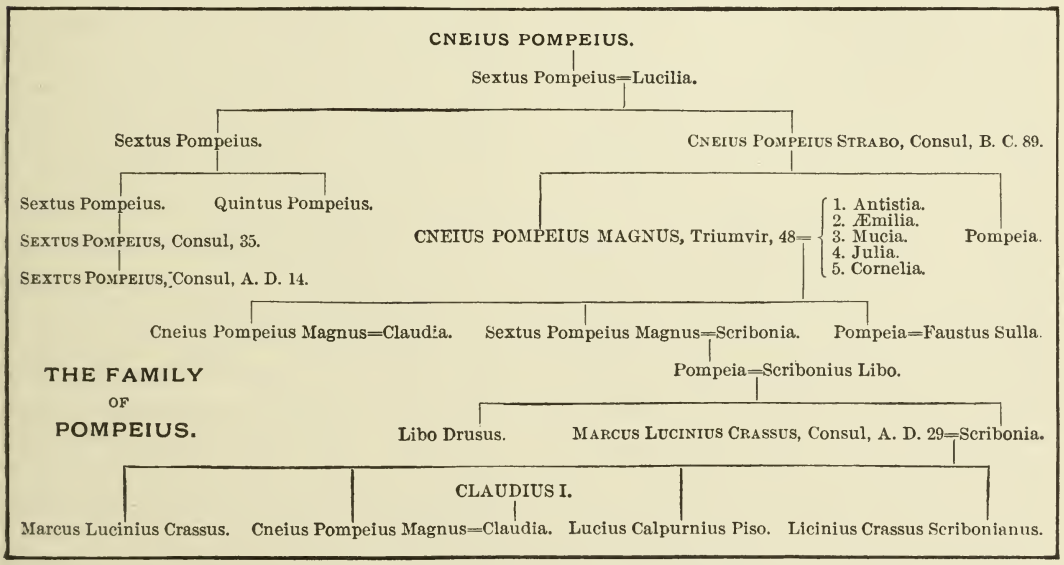
As soon as the bill was adopted, Pompeius was chosen to the responsible position of commander. For two years after the expiration of his consulship he had lived in retiracy, and now in B. C. 67 he was called to the performance of one of the most onerous duties ever imposed on a Roman general. Early in the following year he entered upon his work with an energy fully equal to the high expectations of the people. The Mediterranean was divided into thirteen parts, and a certain contingent of ships, under command of a legate, was stationed in each to cruise against the pirates, while Pompeius himself, with the greater part of the fleet, beginning at the pillars of Hercules and making his way eastward, swept the sea clean of the buccaneers. In the space of forty days not a piratical vessel was left in the Mediterranean west of Italy. Commerce was resumed, and corn began to pour into the empty markets of Rome.

Pompeius then sailed to the east with a fleet of sixty ships, and attacked the pirates in the seat of their empire in Cilicia. He drove their craft before him, and finally compelled them to give battle at Carascesium. They were utterly defeated, and fled each ship to its own hiding-place. But Pompeius hunted them down in every bay, inlet, and creek, until the whole nest was broken up and destroyed. Twenty thousand of the sea-robbers were captured and were compelled to settle in the Cilician towns among the colonists of Achaia. The whole enterprise of clearing the ocean from end to end had occupied but eighty-nine days. In this brief space of time the

[1] Many amusing things are told of the conduct of the pirates in their war upon mankind. They were magnanimous rascals, full of jocularity. Of course their great enemy was Rome, but their booty was mostly derived from the commerce of other states. It was the custom of the times, when a Roman chanced to fall into the hands of an enemy, for him at once to declare his citizenship as a subject of the Imperial Republic. This was generally sufficient to secure for him immediate exemption from punishment or persecution. It appears, however, that the Cilician freebooters were not properly inspired with a sense of the overpowering majesty of Rome. Whenever they took one of the great race prisoner he would, after the manner, cry out, "I am a Roman citizen." Thereupon the pirates would gather around him in feigned admiration, get down on their knees, salute him as a superior being, ask his pardon for their rude violence to his sacred person. They would adjust his garments, being careful to arrange his toga *à la mode*. Then, when the farce had been carried out to their satisfaction, they would let down a ladder *into the sea*, and tell him to depart in peace. If he refused to descend, they would push him headlong into the brine!

navigation of the Mediterranean had been made as safe as in the days succeeding the overthrow of Carthage.

In the mean time hostilities had been renewed by Mithridates, king of Pontus. Even before the death of Sulla, that monarch had to be again subdued in a conflict called the Second Mithridatic War. In the consulship of LUCULLUS and COTTA, hostilities had been again renewed, and Mithridates had been defeated in a great battle near the Granicus, in which his army of nearly two hundred thousand men was scattered to the winds. From this time B. C. 73, the affairs of Asia Minor were in an extremely unsettled condition.



Again and again Mithridates raised armies and endeavored both by force and intrigue to overthrow the dominion of the Romans in the East. With a view to a permanent settlement of the affairs of the Asiatic province on a basis not to be further disturbed, the tribune Caius Manilius, in the year B. C. 66, brought forward a bill to intrust Pompeius with the sole charge of the affairs of the East, embracing in the commission discretionary authority as to both peace and war. The measure was violently opposed by the oligarchy, or as much as remained of the Sullan faction, but was advocated with equal zeal by the popular party, headed by Cæsar and Cicero. The latter delivered in defense of the proposition one of his most celebrated orations, and Manilius had the gratification of seeing the resolution adopted by which powers were conferred on Pompeius never before intrusted to a citizen of Rome.

It is related that the latter shrank from the assumption of so great responsibilities, declaring his preference for the privilege of retiring to the quiet of private life. But there is little doubt of the insincerity of such a declaration; for Pompeius showed both in his previous and subsequent career that he emulated the fame of Scipio rather than that of Cincinnatus. Among the first acts of the general was an edict annulling the laws of Lucullus, and reinstating the old tax-gathering provincial system, under which the province of Asia had groaned since the date of its establishment. He next stirred up Praätes, king of Parthia, to make war on Tigranes of Armenia. The attention of the latter was thus restricted to the defense of his own territory. Mithridates, thus left to his own resources, opened negotiations for peace; but Pompeius would accept of nothing less than absolute submission, and the conference ended without results. The king then retreated to the river LYCUS, where he was overtaken by the Romans, and defeated in a great battle. Mithridates fled to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and Pompeius made his way into Armenia, where Tigranes at once made his submission, and became dependent

on Rome. A payment of six thousand talents was extorted as the price of peace; while Syria, Phœnicia, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Lower Cilicia were detached from his territorial dominions.

Pompeius now found time to pursue Mithridates. In the course of the autumn he made his way as far as the river Cyrus, where he established his army for the winter. In B. C. 65 he continued his way northward, subduing the mountain tribes of Albania until he reached the Phasis, which he followed to the sea. There he was joined by his fleet, and afterwards turned back into Pontus. In the years B. C. 64–63 he subdued Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine. He found the latter country engaged in a fierce civil broil under the two leaders, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. The latter held the city of Jerusalem, which Pompeius besieged and captured after a three months' investment. The dispute about the high-priesthood was decided in favor of Hyrcanus, who became tributary to the Romans.

The invincible Mithridates had availed himself of the opportunity afforded by Pompeius's absence to attempt to regain his kingdom. His ambition extended even to an imagined conquest of Italy, which was to be accomplished with an army of Scythians; but before the now aged king could make any progress in this undertaking, he was surprised by the rebellion of his son Pharnaces. Thus menaced on one side by foreign foes and on the other by filial ingratitude, he sought refuge in self-destruction. Foreseeing such an emergency he had, for many years, experimented with poisons, until, as is related, they lost their power upon him, leaving him invulnerable except to more brutal agents.[1] He accordingly induced a mercenary Gaul to run him through with his sword. He had been king of Pontus for fifty-seven years, and during the larger part of this period had been the terror of the Romans in the East.

The death of Mithridates left Pompeius complete master of Asia Minor. It only remained to settle the affairs of the province on a basis satisfactory to the conqueror. To this end he appointed Æmilius Scaurus governor of Syria. Pharnaces, the rebel son of Mithridates, was recognized as a king tributary to the Romans. A general pacification ensued in which the whole country as far as the Euphrates was reörganized into convenient districts as dependencies of Rome. Pompeius then set out on his return to the capital, and proceeding by easy stages arrived there in the beginning of B. C. 61.

On returning to Rome he found the country in a ruinous condition. The old question of land ownership had again revived in its most dangerous aspect. The agricultural interest had once more been driven to the wall by the aggressions of the Optimates and capitalists. The veterans of Sulla, alike unable and indisposed to manage the lands which had been assigned them by the Republic, had squandered their farms, joined the Proletarians, and were strolling in bands through the country, ready to repeat the story of the proscription and confiscation. The Senate had sunk into a condition of imbecility, and the equestrian order, during the absence of Pompeius, had found no leader of commanding influence in the state. Meanwhile the tribunes continued their assaults upon the hereditary privileges of the nobility, while the latter, generally headed by the consuls, endeavored to maintain their time-honored prerogatives by impeaching the officers of the popular party. At no previous time in the history of Rome had the old aristocracy and the new power known as the *People* stood out in a more clearly defined antagonism to each other than at the present. Such was the condition of affairs while Pompeius was consummating his work in the East.

At this time occurred the great conspiracy of Lucius Sergius Catiline. The insurrection found its pabulum in the fact of debt and inability to pay. The profligacy and recklessness which prevailed in all ranks of society had been especially ruinous to the young patricians. They had wasted their estates in excesses and riotings. No kind of revenues could support the extravagant expenditure

[1] Thus Lord Byron in *The Dream:*

"Until,
Like to the Pontic monarch of old days,
He fed on poisons, and they had no power,
But were a kind of nutriment."

demanded by their appetites and passions. Once at the end of their resources, they became reckless borrowers of the means of others. Then, when their debts began to press them, they beat about for some means, fair or foul, wherewith to discharge their obligations. The memory of the great proscriptions and confiscations of the Civil War was still fresh in the minds of all, and the criminal imaginations of the young profligates who fed themselves on the vices of Rome constantly suggested the possibility of an escape from their debts by a repetition of the scenes of B. C. 82.

The large and desperate class of abandoned bankrupts found in Catiline a leader worthy of their cause. He was a man of patrician rank, trained in the school of Sulla, skillful in every vice. He was of commanding presence, reckless, courageous, subtle, unscrupulous to the last degree. He had begun life under favorable auspices as a member of the Optimate party. In B. C. 68 he was prætor, and in the following year obtained the province of Africa. In his official duties he was guilty of malfeasance, and on his return to Rome was defeated for the consulship.

Hereupon he determined to take by force what the suffrage had denied him. A conspiracy was organized, which readily drew into its meshes the larger part of the discontented elements of Rome. The dissolute nobleman, the bankrupt, the adventurer, the injured Italian—all who cherished the memory of wrong or the hope of plunder—joined the dark-visaged group in the midst of which rose the figure of Catiline. His chief confederates were Antonius Pætus and Cneius Calpurnius Piso, the former a disappointed politician, and the latter a dissolute patrician. Their plan embraced the murder of the new consuls and the seizure of the government. The date was fixed for the first of January, B. C. 64, but the plot became known, or at least suspected, and the conspirators postponed the execution of their plans until the ides of February. When this day arrived Catiline gave the signal prematurely, and the business was again defeated. Meanwhile the Senate sat paralyzed in the presence of the danger.

After his first two fiascos Catiline became more desperate than ever. He planned and plotted day and night. His demeanor was that of a man who had set all on the cast of a die. He is described by Sallust as going about with his gaze turned to the pavement or fixed on vacancy; striding rapidly along or stopping short in his walk, as one might do whose mind was engendering crime or driven by fierce passion.[1]

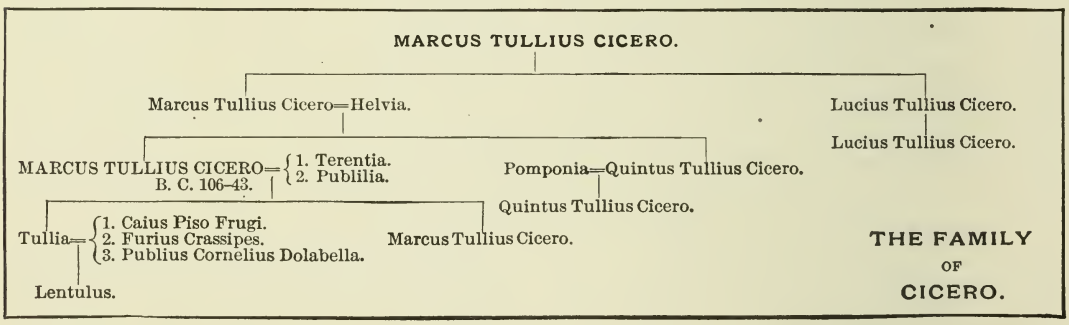
At length the trial of the chief conspirator for extortion came on, and he was acquitted by means the most audacious and corrupt. Several senators now joined his standard—if standard that might be called which was set up in darkness—among whom the principal were Caius Lentulus Sura and Caius Cornelius Cethegus. When the band was greatly increased in numbers a midnight conclave was held, in which a scheme of action was discussed and adopted. The plan included the election of Catiline to the consular office, the abolition of debts, the confiscation of the property of the wealthy, and a general license to plunder. To support this scheme and carry it into effect, the conspirators pledged their lives, and sealed the oath by drinking from a cup filled with a mixture of blood and wine.

In B. C. 63, Catiline and his friend Caius Antonius were openly put forward for the consulship. While the election was pending, a certain Fulvia, mistress of Quintus Curius, one of Catiline's confederates, gave the conspiracy away to the opposing party. So great a terror was diffused by the knowledge thus obtained that even the senators—many of whom had been already marked for destruction in case of Catiline's success—went over to the support of the popular party, whose candidate, Marcus Tullius Cicero, though a *novus homo*, was triumphantly elected. Catiline had the double mortification of seeing himself defeated and his co-candidate Antonius elected. The latter, however, was quickly detached from his associates by Cicero, who succeeded in getting his dangerous colleague sent away as governor of

[1] "You may sometimes trace
A feeling in each footstep, as disclosed
By Sallust in his Catiline, who, chased
By all the demons of all passions, showed
Their work, e'en by the way in which he trode."
—Byron.

Macedonia. Marcus Tullius was thus left with the whole care of the government at home, to which was added the imminent peril of a revolution, headed by his deadly enemy.

The man upon whom was thus, in a large measure, devolved the fate of Rome owed his preëminence to his unrivaled powers as an orator. He had none of the adventitious aids of fortune. By birth (B. C. 106) he was a plebeian, being the son of a farmer living at Arpinum, in the Volscian hills. At an early age he was sent by his father to Rome to be educated. Here, under the instructions of the poet ARCHIAS, he soon made a revelation of his wonderful powers of study and speech. From his youth he frequented the Forum, and there eagerly watched and emulated the great orators who directed public opinion and controlled the state. He chose the profession of



law, but found time while pursuing his studies to include the various philosophic systems of Greece in his curriculum. But his ideal was the orator—to excel in public address his great ambition.

In B. C. 80 Cicero made his appearance at the bar, and gained much applause by his fearless defense of SEXTUS ROSCIUS, a favorite of Sulla. Afterwards he continued his studies in Greece and Asia Minor, where he added greatly to his already large acquirements. In B. C. 77 he returned to Rome and began to participate actively in public affairs. Two years afterwards he conducted the prosecution of Verres with such signal ability as to force that distinguished criminal into exile before the close of the trial. The event raised Cicero to the position of the first orator of Rome.

The official life of Tullius began with the year 66, in which he was elected prætor. Now it was that he espoused the cause of Pompeius and aided in securing the passage of the Manilian Law. At this time an element of political vacillation appeared in his character and conduct. Beginning life under the banners of the senatorial party, he went over to the popular side. In B. C. 64, Cicero, being then forty-two years old, was elected consul. He was thus enabled to make the boast that he had been honored by his country with an election to all the higher offices of the Republic in the very year in which he became eligible to the respective trusts. To him was now committed the duty of confronting Catiline.

The great conspirator was busily engaged in preparations for civil war. So secret were his proceedings, and so powerful his support, that for the time the consul was obliged to content himself with a defensive policy. At length, however, definite proofs were obtained and laid before the Senate. Catiline participated in the debate, and made but little concealment of his purpose to overthrow the government. A resolution was now adopted that the consuls should "see that the Republic suffered no harm"—equivalent to arming them with dictatorial powers. Meanwhile, Catiline had secured the coöperation of Caius Manlius, commanding a division of the Roman army at Fæsulæ, in Etruria, and the states of Capua and Apulia were believed to be ripe for a revolution in favor of the conspiracy.

The leaders now had a meeting, and it was decided that Cicero should be assassinated, and that in the confusion following, the mutinous army, led by Catiline, should take Rome and proceed to the work of devastation. Cicero, however, was warned of the danger, and his

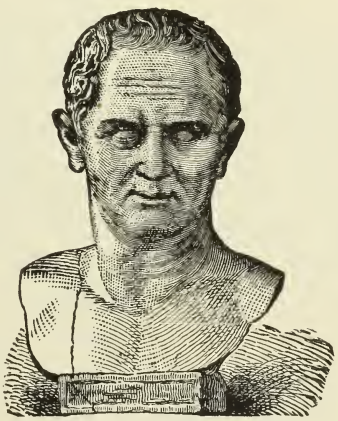
doors were closed on the day appointed for his murder. He then summoned the Senate to meet in the temple of Jupiter Stator. Catiline came with the rest, but his fellow senators left the bench where he sat and clustered around the consul. The latter then arose and delivered his famous First Oration against Catiline, in which the plans of the insurgents were fully divulged, and the exposure backed up with the blackest proofs of guilt. The chief conspirator attempted to reply, but was hissed from the hall. He hastily left the city and betook himself to the camp of Manlius, having first assured his followers in Rome that he would presently return with an army.

Cicero now went into the Forum and delivered to the people the Second Catilinarian Oration, explaining the nature of the conspiracy and the course pursued by the government. The Senate passed a resolution declaring Catiline and Manlius to be public enemies, and directed Antonius to put them down by force. The defense of the capital was intrusted to Cicero. The adherents of Catiline in the city were soon detected in the treasonable business of stirring up civil war in Gaul. The Allobroges had sent an embassy to Rome to protest against the exactions of the provincial governor. These envoys were tampered with by the Catilinarians, who gave them letters to be delivered to their chiefs at home. The treasonable missives were given up by the ambassadors to Cicero, and the writers of them, unaware of the disclosure, were summoned to the Senate House. There they were confronted with the letters. Out of their own mouths were they condemned. The prætor Lentulus was thus ginned in his own trap, and was obliged to resign his office. An effort was also made by some of the sanguine partisans of the times to implicate Crassus and Cæsar; but it was never established that either of these distinguished men had had participation in, or sympathy with, the cause of Catiline.

The conspirators were now arraigned for trial. It was the occasion of a stormy scene in the Senate. SILANUS, the consul-elect, favored the sentence of death. Cæsar spoke for life-imprisonment and confiscation of goods. Quintus Cicero took the same view; but Cato advocated the extreme penalty, as did also the consul, who summed up the argument in the Fourth Catilinarian Oration. The vote of the senators was for the death penalty; and those who had spoken for moderation were menaced by the knights as they retired from the Senate House.

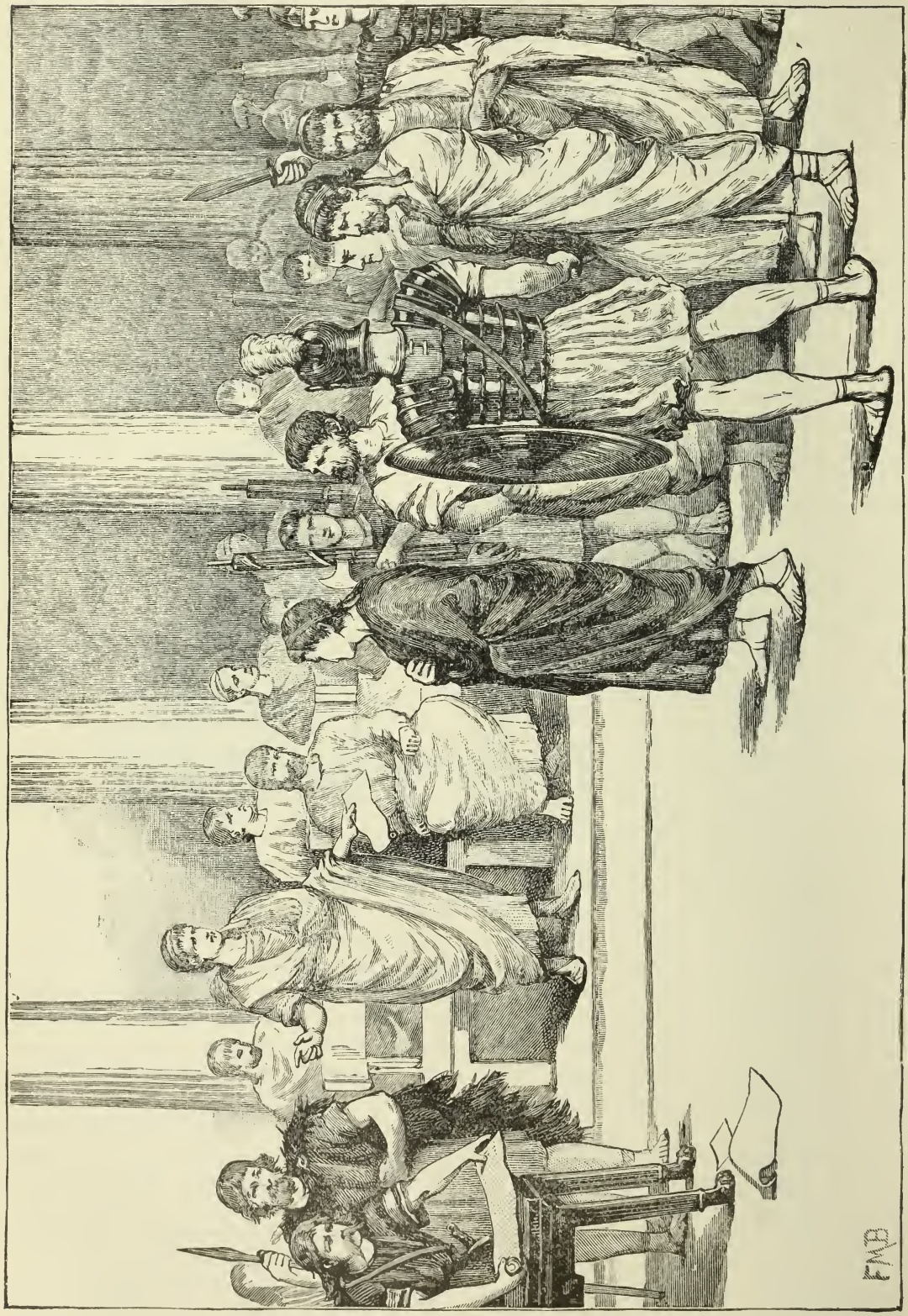
It only remained to carry the sentence into execution. So great was the peril of the state that Cicero felt constrained to have the warrants immediately issued and carried into effect. The prætor Lentulus and four others were accordingly strangled in prison—and Rome breathed more freely when they were dead!

In the mean time Catiline had joined Manlius in Etruria, and collected an army of two legions. It was a force by no means to be



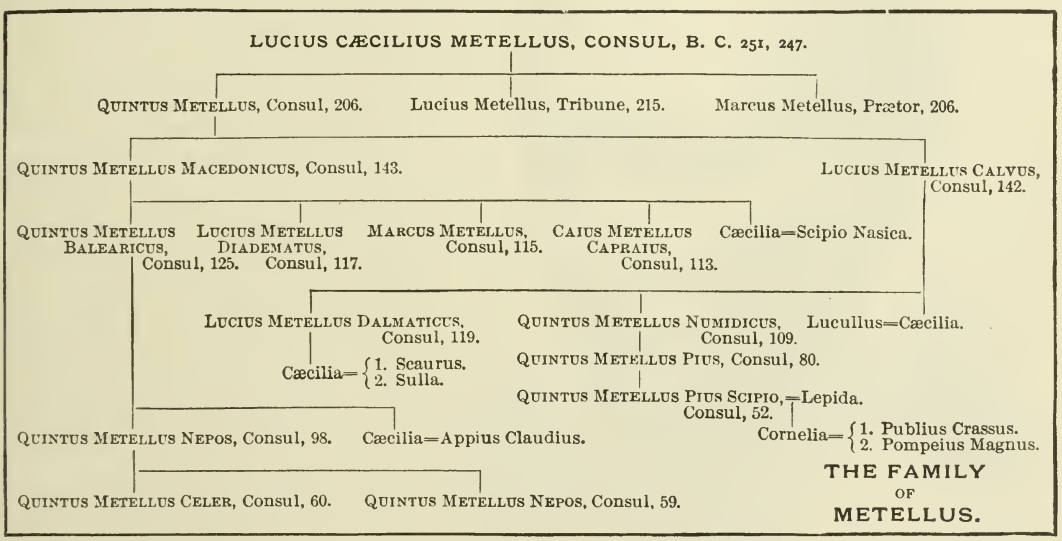
CICERO, MADRID.

despised; for the leaders were desperate and able, and the soldiers were mostly the veterans of Sulla. When, however, it became known in the insurgent camp that the leaders in Rome had been convicted and put to death, many of the legionaries deserted, thus thinning the ranks upon which Catiline placed his last dependence. Believing himself unable to meet the consular armies in the field, he undertook to escape into Cisalpine Gaul, where he hoped to find a vantage ground for renewing the war. But the consul Metellus Celer was sent around to preöccupy the passes of the Apennines, and Antonius was ordered to pursue the fugitive. When Catiline found that he could not force his way through the mountains, he turned about and confronted Antonius, believing, perhaps, that the latter, hav-



THE CATILINARIAN CONSPIRATORS BEFORE THE SENATE.

ing been his friend and co-candidate for the consulship, might strike him less fiercely than Metellus. Nor does it appear that this view was wholly unsupported by the facts; for when the battle was about to be precipitated, Antonius feigned sickness, and the command devolved upon PETREIUS, who had[1] not the same tenderness for the conspiracy. The two armies met at Pistoria, and a conflict ensued hardly surpassed in the annals of ferocious battles. The conspirators had made up their minds to conquer or die in the struggle, and this resolution was carried out with a courage worthy of a better cause. It is said that not a single freeman in the army of Catiline was left alive.



He himself was found dead far in advance of his lines, still grasping his sword and his face distorted with a scowl of defiance, which not even the agony of death could relax. He died as he had lived, fearless, audacious, and revengeful.

Notwithstanding the indisputable evidence adduced against those who had been executed at Rome, and the still more palpable proofs of guilt on the part of those who had perished in battle, still the law had been violated. For the law required that a Roman citizen should not be condemned without being heard in his own defense. Besides, there has been in all ages a disposition to sympathize with the fallen as against those by whose agency they fell. The dead, even the treasonable dead, fight for the restoration of their forfeited fame, more desperately than they fought to destroy it while living; and posterity generally concedes the battle.[1] Before the close of his consular year, Cicero was obliged as best he could to stem the tide of a reaction which set in in favor of the overthrown rebellion. The tribunes-elect—Metellus and Bestia—were both of this sympathy, and when at the close of his really brilliant consulship, Cicero went into the Forum to render to the people an account of his deeds, one of the new officers forbade him to speak,[2] but the influence of the great orator was still so potent that when in spite of the interdict, he cried out with an oath that he had saved the Republic and the city from ruin, the people answered with a shout of approval.

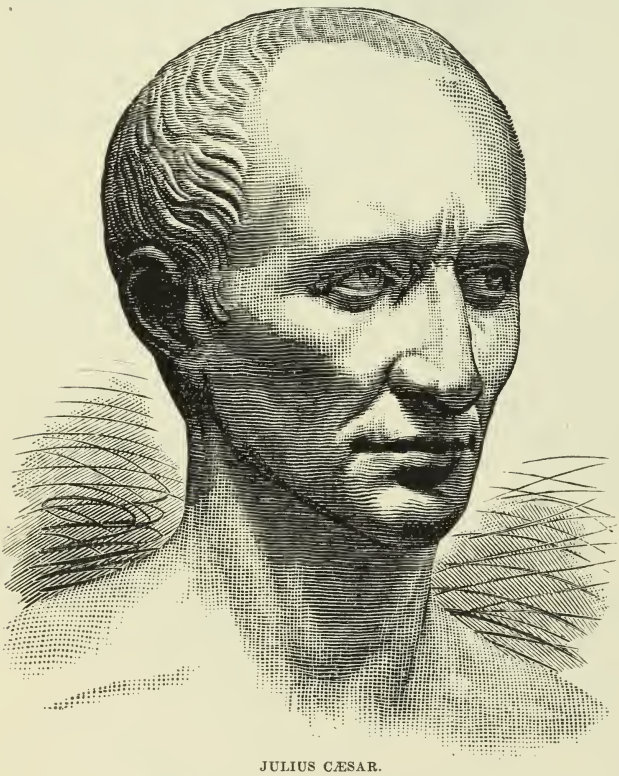
Such was the course of events in Rome

[1] Doubtless if any of the friends of Catiline had narrated the story of the conspiracy it would appear in different colors, and perhaps in several parts the characters would be reversed. As it is, we have only the Ciceronian and Sallustian view of the business, and must, therefore, accept the voice of partisanship as the verdict of history.

[1] In the last half of the nineteenth century, justice and charity have joined their forces to save as much as is salvable of the wrecked fame of Benedict Arnold. It has been agreed to write his epitaph thus: "*Here lies a Patriot Traitor.*"

[2] "This man, who condemned our fellow-citizens unheard, shall not himself be listened to," said Metellus.

during the absence of Pompey in the East. The stormy consulship of Cicero occupied the year B. C. 63, and in the following year Pompeius reached Italy. He and Crassus were rivals, and were mutually suspicious of each other's movements. The former desired the privilege of entering the city without forfeiting his right to a triumph, but he was obliged by Cato to conform to the law and custom. He therefore tarried beyond the walls till January 1st, B. C. 61, and entered with a grander triumph than had ever been previously witnessed in Rome. The representatives of fifteen nations, including more than three hundred princes, walked before his car. The conqueror required the Senate to ratify the acts of his administration and to reward his soldiers with a distribution of lands. But the party of the Optimates, jealous of his ascendency, refused to comply with his wishes, and he was obliged to go over to the party of the people.



JULIUS CÆSAR.
After the Bust in the British Museum.

At this juncture Cæsar appeared on the scene as a peacemaker. His own successes in Spain had given him a military reputation second only to that of Pompeius. His civil abilities were equal to any emergency of the state, and his ambition all-absorbing. In the power to penetrate a situation and to adapt means to an end he far surpassed all the other great men of his day. In his relations with Pompeius and Crassus it soon became sufficiently apparent that while they had talents of the highest order he had genius.

Caius Julius Cæsar was born July 12th, B. C. 102. He was of the patrician order, but his sympathies, even from boyhood, were with the party of the people. Before reaching his majority he was known as a partisan of Marius. When the Sullan persecutions were on Cæsar was ordered to divorce his wife because she was the daughter of Cinna; but he refused to comply, and his name was added to the proscription list. He thereupon sought refuge among the Sabine hills until the storm was past and his pardon secured[1]. His first military reputation was achieved in Asia Minor, where he won the civic crown. On his return to Rome, after the death of Sulla, he became more than ever identified with the popular party. He conducted the impeachment of Dolabella and Antonius, and though unsuccessful he won the notice and applause of the public. He soon afterwards went to Rhodes to study rhetoric; for that island was then the greatest seat of learning in the world.

At the age of thirty-three Cæsar was elected quæstor. At the expiration of his term he was made ædile, and as such had charge of the public amusements and decorations of the city. He distinguished his administration by a reckless profusion of display never before witnessed in the city. And to this he added a certain political audacity well calculated to draw to himself the attention of both friends and foes. He even ventured upon the hazardous measure of restoring to their places the

[1] It is related that when a petition for Cæsar's pardon was made by the moderate nobility and the vestal virgins, Sulla replied: "Well, I grant your request, but this boy *has many Marii in him.*"

trophies and statues of Marius. Then it was that the old democratic soldiers came from their retreats, surrounded the effigy of their great leader, and wept for joy at seeing again openly displayed the emblems of their day of glory. In his personal affairs Cæsar was equally reckless, prodigal, audacious, even dissipated. He spent his means and borrowed and went in debt until he was burdened with obligations amounting to a sum equal to a million and a quarter of dollars. He spread tables public and private the like of which had never before been seen in the Eternal City. He equipped in silver armor three hundred pairs of gladiators and sent them into the arena for the delectation of the people. By every variety of expenditure and invention, as well as by real magnanimity of purpose, he sought to arouse the enthusiasm and admiration of his countrymen. Whatever great natural genius, brilliant wit, profound insight, refinement, culture, and a certain splendor of vice could do to fascinate the multitude and to wean them withal from the gloomy scenes and calamities of the past, that Cæsar studiously exhibited in his life and manners and official conduct.

After the expiration of his term as ædile the ambitious Julius next sought the office of pontifex maximus, recently made vacant by the death of Catulus. In this purpose he was hotly opposed by some of the most eminent men of Rome. It is related that on the morning of the election he said to his mother, "To-day I shall be either pontifex or a dead Roman." He was triumphantly elected, receiving from the tribes of his opponents more votes than they did themselves. The result showed conclusively that a new master had appeared whom in popular esteem not even Pompeius himself could long hope to eclipse.[1]

At the age of forty Cæsar was still a mere tyro in the field. As a soldier—much less as a commander—he had no reputation except what he had won by acts of personal bravery at the siege of Mitylene. It was a late beginning for a military hero. He had already made himself prematurely bald by his reckless life at the capital. He was pale, lean, slender; shaken somewhat by the too early and too frequent gratification of passion; subject to epilepsy. From this time forth, however, he became a changed man; and during the remaining seventeen years of his life displayed such a series of amazing and rational activities as have never been equaled except by Napoleon Bonaparte.

At the expiration of his prætorship (B. C. 62) Cæsar was assigned to Spain. It is said that at this time Crassus was his security for five millions of dollars. Now it was that the lightnings of his genius began to flash. The multifarious forces of his mind could never be sufficiently occupied. He read, wrote, spoke, discussed affairs, cogitated, dictated *to seven amanuenses at a time*, swam rivers, slept out of doors, defied the dank morass and the snow-blast of winter, ate hard bread, shared the lot of his soldiers, heaped up through sleepless nights the glowing embers of his ambition. Meanwhile Crassus and Pompeius eyed each other askance, and the moribund Senate croaked out its jealousy at both.

In the rivalry of the two leaders just mentioned Cæsar saw his golden opportunity. Instead of inciting them the one against the other, he conceived the idea of effecting a reconciliation between them which should be used to his own advantage. He now had in view the consulship, and he knew that with the united support of Pompeius and Crassus he could easily obtain the prize. In the face of such a combination the opposition of the Senate would be little less than ridiculous. In the furtherance of this object he was completely successful. Crassus and Pompeius were reconciled, and between them and Cæsar, under the guiding hand of the latter, was formed that great coälition known as the First Triumvirate. The popularity of Pompeius and the money of Crassus were both subordinated to the end of Cæsar's consulship. He was elected in B. C. 59, with Marcus Bibulus, an Optimate blockhead, for a colleague.

This was just to Cæsar's liking. Bibulus

[1] Just before the pontifical election one of the opposing candidates offered to pay Cæsar's debts if he would withdraw from the contest. He merely answered that if it were necessary to his election *he would borrow more!*

was the *cipher* which made him *ten*. With Pompeius he kept his pledge. The acts of the latter in the East were ratified by the recalcitrant Senate, and a bill was adopted distributing a liberal quantity of public lands to the veterans who had overthrown Mithridates.



GYPTIS PRESENTING THE GOBLET TO EUXENES.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

The tax-system now prevalent in the province of Asia was revolutionized. A commission of twenty members was appointed, under the presidency of Pompeius and Crassus, to superintend the distribution of lands, and the equestrian order was gratified with several concessions. The administration was preëminently one of conciliation, but was not lacking in any element of strength or vigor.

At the end of his consular term Cæsar was assigned to the government of the Two Gauls and Illyricum. His commission extended over five years, and he was given eight legions of soldiers. The Transalpine Gaul presented a field for the proconsul's military ambition not so rich, but far more adventurous than that which had been spread before Pompeius in the East. It opened to the aspiring genius of Cæsar precisely the vista through which the goal could be seen afar. To Pompeius was assigned the government of Italy and that of the East to Crassus.

Before departing for his province Cæsar took the precaution to leave behind him in the city an able dependent. For this purpose a certain Publius Clodius Pulcher was chosen as the proconsul's representative. Clodius, himself of high birth, secured his adoption into a plebeian house in order that he might be elected to the tribunate. In this measure he was supported by Cæsar, who further strengthened himself by inducing Pompeius to marry his daughter Julia, then but twenty years of age. The proconsul also procured the election of Lucius Calpurnius Piso, his father-in-law, to the consulship. Thus gradually were lengthened and made stronger the cords which the genius of one man was stretching from itself to every part of the Republic.

On assuming the duties of tribune, Clodius proposed four new laws. The first provided for a gratuitous distribution of corn; the second forbade the consuls to impede the passage of legislative acts with the pretext of augury; the third revived those ancient cross-road guilds or associations which, until their abolition by the Senate, had exercised an important political influence in the state; and the fourth abrogated a part of the authority of the censors.

The next step after the adoption of these measures was taken for the purpose of weakening the Senate by depriving it of leaders. Clodius introduced resolutions into the assembly so worded as to drive into exile Cicero and Cato. The latter was to be asssigned to the governorship of Cyprus, and the former, though not mentioned by name, was to be interdicted from fire and water.[1] In vain did Cicero clothe himself in mourning and go into the Forum. In vain did he appeal to Pompeius. In vain did he defend himself against the charge of the illegal execution of the Catilinarian conspirators. The sentence was carried, and he who had been called *Pater Patriæ* by Cato was forced into exile. The pitiable old Senate, already sunk into senility, and now deprived of the two principal defenders of the ancient *régime*, virtually collapsed before the omnipotence of the triumvirs and their supporters.

Affairs being thus reduced to quiet in the capital, Cæsar set out for his provinces. Transalpine Gaul, as a country, had hitherto been but little known to the Romans; though the Celtic warriors of that region had been a frequent, and not always agreeable, apparition in the South. The enterprise of Rome had, however, in some measure penetrated beyond the mountains. Commercial relations had been established between some parts of Gaul and Italy. The old manufacturing city of Massilia — the modern Marseilles — had already scattered her luxurious goods into the marts of the Republic.[2] The time had now come when a more intimate but less pleasant ac-

[1] The wording was that any magistrate who had put Roman citizens to death without a trial should be interdicted from fire and water within four hundred miles of Rome. The name of Cicero was omitted, but could be seen everywhere between the lines.

[2] This town of Massilia was not a little celebrated for the story of its founding. At the close of the seventh century B. C. the country surrounding the bay was held by a Gaulish chieftain named Mann. In course of time he would, at a banquet—after the manner of his tribe—give his daughter Gyptis in marriage. It was the custom of the Gauls that the maiden who was to be given should herself come to the banquet at its close, bearing in her hand a full goblet of wine. She then made choice

quaintance should lead to the establishment of the Roman system beyond the Alps.

At this point we strike the page of Cæsar's *Gallic War*. To him, as an author, we are indebted as much for the narrative of his career in subjugating the transalpine nations as we are to him as a warrior for carving that history with his sword. On reaching Gallia Cisalpina he was informed of a contemplated movement of the Helvetians, who, pressed between the Jura and the Rhine, had determined to abandon that pent-up region for some other more open and fertile. Cæsar alleges that he considered this movement dangerous to his province. He accordingly hastened to the Rhone, and constructed a line of fortifications from Lake Lemanus to the Jura, to prevent the passage of the Helvetians. The tribe, thus baffled in its progress, turned down the right bank of the river, attempting to find a way to the west; but Cæsar followed the host, and in a great battle at Bibrax virtually destroyed the nation. The remnants were driven back to their original seats.



GAULISH WARRIORS.—Drawn by A. Beck.

The times were fruitful in tribal migrations. The Suevi, living beyond the Rhine, had crossed into Gaul, a hundred and twenty thousand strong. They were led by their great king Ariovistus, who had come hither—so he declared—at the instance of some of the Gaulish tribes, to be arbiter in their difficulties. The Suevi were driven back across the river. This movement brought Cæsar into the country of the Belgæ, who dwelt next to the Rhine, and were hardened in almost continual warfare with the Germans. During the year B. C. 57 the Belgic race was subdued, and the way thus paved for an invasion of Germany. In the following year Cæsar made a great campaign against the Veneti, whom he overthrew both by land and sea.[1] The Morini and

of him who was to be her husband by handing to the preferred and happy youth the cup.

In this case it came to pass that Gyptis chose most strangely. It was the year B. C. 600. At that very time it happened that a stranger merchant named Euxenes, from Phocea in Asia Minor, had come into the bay with his merchandise. Him the chieftain Mann had invited to the marriage feast of his daughter. To the surprise and mortification of the Gauls, when at last Gyptis came into the banquet she presented the goblet *to Euxenes*, who was not slow to accept both the compliment and the giver. Nor was it long until the wealthy Phocean returned to his native city, gathered a shipload of adventurers, came back to Gaul, and founded the colony of Massilia. Thus was the culture of the Greeks planted in the south of France.

[1] Cæsar's naval victory over the Veneti is noteworthy as being the first great sea-fight that ever occurred on the Atlantic.

the Menapii were also subdued, and the conquest of all Gaul completed within the year.

In B. C. 55 Cæsar devoted himself to the German war. It was his purpose to beat back all the Teutonic tribes across the Rhine, and to establish that river as the western boundary of the Germanic race. Another great battle was fought with the Teutonic peoples west of the Rhine, and then Cæsar built a bridge over the river—one of the famous exploits of his career—and crossed into Germany. The movement was made as much to terrify as to conquer the Germanic tribes. After a successful summer campaign he made his way to the coast and crossed over into Britain. He then withdrew into his winter-quarters in Gaul, but the fulsome praise was that it was *true!* For the mountains had their passes and gateways, but the vigilance of the great proconsul none.

During the winter of B. C. 54–53, while the Roman army was dispersed to several quarters on account of the scarcity of supplies, the Gallic tribes rose in a general revolt. One division of Cæsar's forces was attacked and utterly routed by the Aduatici, and the camp of Quintus Cicero, in the country of the Nervii, was surrounded by sixty thousand barbarians. The whole situation was one of extreme peril, but the courage of Cæsar rose with the occasion. He sped to the relief of Cicero, and before the Celts were aware of his presence they felt the blow. They paid for their temer-



LANDING OF THE ROMANS IN BRITAIN.

in the following year returned into the island, defeated the British Celts under their king Cassivellaunus, and reduced the country to a dependency, compelling the Britons to pay tribute and give hostages.

No such startling campaigns as these had been heard of since the days of Alexander. The half-paralyzed body of Rome felt the thrill of a new life. The city rang with acclamations. Cicero, who after a year's exile had been permitted, in B. C. 57, to return to the capital, and was again in the blaze of the Forum, declared that the gods of old time had set the Alps as a barrier against barbarism, but had now raised up a greater bulwark than the Alps—Cæsar. And the strange part of ity at a terrible expense of blood and treasure. Many of the Germans were again engaged in a common cause with the Gallic tribes, and the proconsul found it necessary to make a second campaign into Germany. This movement occupied the latter part of B. C. 54, and was followed up in the beginning of the next year by the punishment of the Eburones, who had instigated the recent revolt. After this Cæsar returned into Cisalpine Gaul; for the news from Rome was of such a character as to indicate that his presence might at any time be demanded as a participant in the civil war which seemed impending.

The Transalpine tribes had not yet learned wisdom by experience. In B. C. 52, as soon

as it was known that the attention of Cæsar was drawn to the other side of the mountains, a general insurrection broke out in all parts of Ulterior Gaul. In this revolt the Averni, under their great leader, VERCINGETORIX, were the leaders, and to him the other tribes looked for the management of the war. The proconsul again crossed the mountains, fell upon the town of Genabum, which the insurgents had taken, recaptured and burnt the place almost before the enemy had knowledge of his coming or intentions.

Vercingetorix now adopted the policy of wasting the country, and the Romans were greatly straitened for supplies; but Cæsar made a sudden investment of Avaricum and succeeded in securing a large store of provisions. He then laid siege to Gergovia, the capital of the Avernian territories, but was presently defeated in so signal a manner that he was obliged to save himself by a retreat. The news spread like a flame in stubble, and all Gaul, excepting only the tribe of the Remi, again rose in revolt. All the barbarian floods were loosed. The desperate warriors swore that they would not return home until they had twice fought their way through the broken lines of the Romans. It was not the first or last rash oath of barbarism.

For Cæsar was equal to the emergency. He called a new levy from the province of Cisalpina. He concentrated his forces. He drove Vercingetorix into Alesia, and there besieged him and his eighty thousand Gauls. Another barbarian army, said to have numbered more than two hundred and fifty thousand men, came to the relief of their brethren, and Cæsar found himself with his ten legions surrounded by an almost countless host of savage and vindictive warriors. Still he quailed not. Alesia was forced to capitulate. Vercingetorix was taken and reserved for the coming triumph. The rest were reduced to slavery. Every soldier was given a Gallic servant. The encompassing army was routed and dispersed. So signal was the overthrow of the rebellion that the various tribes each sought to placate the anger of the conqueror and to procure favorable, or at least merciful, terms of peace. The conquest of all Gaul was completed without another blow. It only remained for Cæsar to spend the winter in settling the conditions of peace and organizing, after the Roman method, the vast territory into the two provinces—soon to be consolidated into one—of GALLIA and BELGICA.



ROMANS INVADING GERMANY.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

Now it was that the qualities of the Cæsarian mind began to display themselves with that rational magnanimity for which the subsequent career of the great leader was so notably marked. The policy which he pursued towards the Gauls was characterized by a

breadth of liberality without a parallel in the previous history of the Roman provinces. The Gauls having submitted, all persecutions ceased. They were conciliated and treated as friends. Their own chiefs were recognized and honored. Roman citizenship was freely



VERCINGETORIX SURRENDERS TO CÆSAR.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

extended to many of the leaders. Several of the most distinguished were admitted to the Senate. The local institutions of the country were as little disturbed as possible; but the Latin tongue was made the language of official intercourse. No effort was spared to unify the nation as well as to Romanize the people.

While these great events were taking place in the North, the capital of Italy had been shaken with the incipient but unmistakable throes of revolution. Pompeius proved unequal to the task which had been assigned him by the triumvirs. The civil agitations which blew up from every direction, in whose breath the state stood quivering like an aspen, were more than he could apprehend or control. The audacious tribune Clodius had matters as he would. The Senate sat horrified in the shadows, while he proceeded from step to step with his revolutionary measures. Pompeius ceased to appear in the forum, and confined himself to his villa. It was in August of B. C. 57 that Cicero was at last recalled from banishment. He was hailed with delight by what remained of the senatorial party, and by the more moderate classes of the people; but Clodius and his bands of proletarians would fain have killed him in the street.

An effort was now made by Pompeius to heal the breach between himself and the senatorial party. A bill was proposed conferring upon him such powers as might have enabled him to give quiet to the city; but the Senate, ever jealous of the extension of consular authority, refused its assent, and the measure failed. The old distrust between Pompeius and Crassus had in the mean time revived, and Cæsar found it necessary to invite them to Luca, the capital of his country, where a conference was held in B. C. 56, and the two triumvirs were again reconciled. The plan suggested by Cæsar was that they should be elected consuls for the following year, with a view to being thereafter assigned to the proconsular governments of Spain and Syria. In return for his support, the triumvirs were to secure an extension for another five years of Cæsar's term in the proconsulship of Gaul. This arrangement was carried out, but not until the elections held in the Campus Martius had been debauched of all virtue by armed bands acting in the interest of the triumvirate.

Pompeius finding himself again in authority chose not to depart with his army for Syria, but to remain in Rome. His plan was to give secret encouragement to those influences and tendencies which were likely to lead to the appointment of himself as dictator. While with the one hand he attempted to force this necessity upon the Senate, with the other he showered favors upon the people. He encouraged the games and plays, built a splendid theater in the Campus Martius, and turned five hundred lions and eighteen elephants into the arena for the delectation of the multitude. In the mean time the government was agitated by the proposition to declare war against Parthia. Not that Parthia had been in any wise aggressive; not that a treaty was lacking to preserve the peace, but in order that the ambition of Crassus might be gratified by an Eastern expedition was the measure pressed before the Senate and assembly.

Though the proposition to go to war failed of legal adoption, Crassus prepared his army and departed for Syria. Here he spent the winter of B. C. 54–53, adding to his revenues by plunder and extortion. In the following spring he made his way eastward, crossed the Euphrates, and was led into the desert by an Arabian chief who acted as guide for the expedition. When the Roman army was thus treacherously exposed on the waste plains of Mesopotamia, the Parthian host appeared on the horizon. The desert grew black with their coming. Then out of the rolling cloud of sand the long line of breast-plates flashed in the sun, and in the midst of a terrible uproar the Romans of the front ranks felt the sting of the Parthian arrows. The lines were broken under the impetuous onset. The son of Crassus, who undertook to stay the battle, was surrounded and killed. The rout became general, and the army was only saved from annihilation by the coming of darkness.

Crassus, overpowered with grief and fatigue, committed the fate of his soldiery to Octavius and Cassius. Under the guidance of these two officers a retreat was effected during the night, as far as the town of CARRHÆ; but even the

fortifications of this place were deemed insufficient for defense, and the retreat was about to be continued, when a demand for surrender was made in the name of the Parthian king. Crassus was not disposed to yield, but a division of the army mutinied, and he was obliged to capitulate. He, together with several of his leading officers, was seized by the Parthians and put to death. One division of troops, under command of Cassius, escaped from Carrhæ, and reached Syria in safety. All the rest of the army, amounting to thirty thousand men, were either killed or captured.

Rome was now a prey to the rival bands of Clodius and Milo. The triumvirate was falling to pieces, and so was the Republic. The death of Crassus reduced the masters to two. It was already a duumvirate, and the ties which held the two together were dissolving. In B. C. 54, Julia, the wife of Pompeius and daughter of Cæsar, died. The latter attempted to furnish his colleague with another wife, but Pompeius, who now looked to the senatorial party for support, took, instead of Cæsar's choice, the daughter of Metellus Scipio. Soon afterwards Clodius was met in the Appian Way and killed by a company of gladiators led by Milo. The people, however, took the body to the city, tore up the benches of the Senate House for a pyre, and burned the corse and the edifice together. So terrible and frequent became the riots that in February of B. C. 52 Pompeius was appointed dictator—though without the name—and intrusted with the defense of the city. He thereupon renounced his alliance with Cæsar, and announced his purpose to uphold the Senate and maintain the ancient *régime*.

The power of the state now fell into the hands of the Optimates. Order was measurably restored in the city. The leaders of the mobs were exiled. Even Milo, though an adherent of the senatorial party, was banished to Massilia. In the next place, a law was proposed for the purpose of overthrowing Cæsar. The measure provided that no one should be a candidate for office during his absence from Italy. The friends and partisans of Cæsar demanded that he should be exempted from the operation of the law; but this was refused, though Pompeius himself was considered as exempt. The years B. C. 51–50 were passed in suppressed excitement. Cato had given notice that on the expiration of Cæsar's term he would impeach him. The condition of the proconsul was one of extreme delicacy, not unmixed with danger.

It is necessary to understand succinctly the condition of affairs. When the conference was held between the triumvirs at Luca it was expressly agreed that when Cæsar's second five years in the proconsulship of Gaul should expire—which would be at the close of B. C. 49—he should be again elected, or permitted to stand for election, to the consulship. In order to do so, he must present himself in person in the city. In order to do this, he must resign his proconsular authority before entering Italy. Should he do so, he would no longer be protected by the sacredness of his office, and would certainly be seized and impeached as soon as he should arrive at Rome. The law, however, requiring the personal presence of the candidate in the city had become by frequent violations a dead letter, and indeed had been positively abrogated. It was now only dragged forth from the sepulcher and galvanized into apparent life to prevent by the *form* of law what the *spirit* of law no longer demanded. It can not be denied that the senatorial party, now headed by Pompeius and Cato, had determined to prevent at all hazards the reäppearance of Cæsar as a candidate for the consulship, and this in the very face of the agreement which Pompeius had subscribed at Luca, in accordance with the terms of which he had himself with presumed legality enjoyed for nearly five years the government of Italy.

Meanwhile Cæsar made unwearied efforts to effect a reconciliation. He may have intrigued to produce the condition of affairs now present in the state, but there is no denial of the fact that his conduct was henceforth on the side of law, and mostly on the side of right. Seeing from a distance the coälition of his enemies, and knowing that if he yielded, his fate was sealed, and perceiving more clearly than any other man in the Republic that the old system was effete, and that

there was neither virtue nor patriotism in performing a dance around the body of death and singing hymns to the gods of the Past, he determined to gird himself for the inevitable, and commit himself to his destiny. He accordingly proceeded to strengthen himself in the North by extending the rights of the Gauls, and lightening their burdens. At the same time he took care that nothing should bedim his fame in the capital. Near the spot formerly occupied by the Senate House he erected a palace known as the *Julian Basilica.* He instituted at his own expense—for he was now grown rich—splendid games and festivals, and left unused no means which money could procure to baffle the designs of his enemies.

At last, in B. C. 50, a measure was introduced by CAIUS MARCELLUS, requiring that Cæsar, though his term of office had not yet expired, should resign his command. When the resolution was presented to the assembly TRIBONIUS CURIO, one of the tribunes, ardently attached to the Cæsarian cause, seconded the motion on condition that the provision should be extended to Pompeius also.[1] To this, of course, the adherents of Pompeius could not well agree, and their refusal to agree meant civil war and revolution. Cicero, who by his spirit of compromise and commanding abilities, though not by his political steadfastness, was the Henry Clay of the tottering Republic, was now governor of Cilicia, having been purposely sent by the Pompeians to that distant trust to destroy his influence at the capital. So the winds were left to blow, while one thunder-cloud rose from the horizon of Cisalpine Gaul, and another hovered over Rome.

Notwithstanding the superficial supremacy of the Pompeian party, there was in Rome—even in the Senate—a tremendous underflow of sentiment against it. The senators well remembered that Pompeius was but a recent convert from the popular party, and they distrusted him. They were willing to use him in maintaining their crumbling prerogatives, but wished to free themselves from his domination. These dispositions were clearly manifested when Curio's resolution to include Pompeius with Cæsar came to a final vote. The amendment was adopted by a majority of three hundred and fifty *concurros*,[1] in a vote of three hundred and ninety. So the measure was passed requiring Pompeius as well as Cæsar to lay down his command. The consul Marcellus, however, seeing that this resolution would by giving an equal chance to the two rivals at the bar of public opinion prove the ruin of the Pompeians as well as of their leader, refused to publish the decree. He even went further, and directed Pompeius to call out the troops and defend the city; for he had already circulated the false report that Cæsar was marching on Rome. The latter had in the meantime been deprived of two of his legions by a fraud of the Optimates. Under the pretense of sending a reinforcement to Syria, they had procured the passage of a resolution requiring Pompeius and Cæsar each to surrender a legion for the war in the East. During the Gallic insurrection Cæsar had been under the necessity of borrowing a legion from his colleague, so that both the required legions were now drawn from Cæsar's command, and none at all from that of Pompeius. Then, as soon as the legions were brought down from the North—for Cæsar cheerfully complied with the order of the Senate—they were stationed at Capua, and Syria was left to take care of herself. It was an adroit maneuver to weaken the proconsul of Gaul.

The crisis was now at hand. When the decree of the Senate was borne to Cæsar he expressed his entire readiness to resign his command if Pompeius would also comply with the law and do the same. He sent this, his determination, to the Senate, as an ultimatum, by the hands of Curio, who had fled for safety

[1] Here was the gist of the whole question. The party of the aristocracy had determined that Cæsar should be suppressed. They had determined to destroy him. He knew it. All Rome knew it. In order to succeed, they must deprive him of his command. Pompeius held his office by a tenure not one whit more constitutional than did Cæsar. The proposition of Curio, though adroit, was fair. It was shrewd, but honorable. It was politic, but legal; cunning, but right.

[1] When a Roman senator was called for his vote, he arose and said, *concurro* (I concur), or *non concurro* (I dissent), according to his views or interests.

to Cæsar's camp at Ravenna. The senators, on the receipt of this message, buzzed about like old wasps stiffened with age around their venerable nest of privilege. A resolution was carried that Cæsar should by a given day disband his army and surrender his province, under penalty of being declared a public enemy. Against this measure the tribunes of the people protested in vain, and then fled from the city to join Cæsar. The Senate thereupon proceeded to arm the consuls with dictatorial powers, and called on Pompeius to defend the city.

Now must Cæsar decide. From Ravenna he looked into Italy. To cross the Rubicon, which here constituted the boundary between his province and the parent state, was to break the law, already broken by his enemies. He is represented as pausing—hesitating whether he would or would not take the step which should waken the echoes of war and revolution in all the civilized world. But the hesitation was only momentary. He delivered an address to his soldiers, declared that the die was cast, gave the order, and crossed the Rubicon. Rome was once more in the throes of civil war.

In the mean time Cicero had returned to the capital, and was exerting his influence for peace. His constitutional timidity and lack of any well-grounded political faith left him all at sea; but he was able to apprehend clearly enough that the only security for *him* lay in the direction of reconciliation. He wrote to both Cæsar and Pompeius, beseeching them to make peace; and it is not unlikely that but for the aristocracy at the back of the latter the efforts of the great orator might have somewhat availed. It is said that when Cæsar had advanced to Ariminum he was met by secret messengers from Pompeius, proposing an adjustment. To these Cæsar replied in a conciliatory tone, repeating in substance the terms which he had offered to the Senate. But the Pompeians — whatever their leader might have been disposed to do—durst not accept a settlement; for in that event Cæsar's popularity would burst out like a flame through



CÆSAR CROSSING THE RUBICON.

all Italy, and they would be consumed. So they returned an answer that he should instantly retire from Ariminum and disband his army. Thereupon the proconsul immediately set out for Rome.

The Pompeians now had to face the issue which themselves had made. As Cæsar came on by rapid stages they fled from the city and took refuge in Brundusium. Here were gathered the remnants of the nobility, and all the prominent adherents of that cause which now depended for its success upon the generalship of Pompeius. Having passed by the capital, Cæsar followed his antagonist, and began a siege of Brundusium; but Pompeius, having control of the navy, put his followers and soldiers on board, and departed for Greece. Cæsar now turned about and made his way to Rome. Here he arranged for the government of Italy, and then set out for Spain; for he had no fleet with which to pursue Pompeius, and the lieutenants of that distinguished personage were having every thing as they would in the Spanish peninsula. In a battle fought with them at Ilerda, Cæsar met with a serious check, but soon recovered himself and reduced the Pompeians to submission. The expedition of Curio into Africa, where that general was slain in the battle of Bragadas was less fortunate in its results. But the disasters of this expedition were more than counterbalanced by the conquest of Sicily. The granaries of the island were thus wrested from the Pompeians, and made to supply the armies of Cæsar.

The plans of Pompeius were greatly disconcerted by the overthrow of his forces in Spain. It had been his purpose for that division of his army to pass by way of the Pyrenees into Cisalpine Gaul, and there form a junction with the other division commanded by himself to be brought over from Macedonia, which country he had designated as the rendezvous for all the drifting fragments of the aristocracy. The union of his forces having been once effected in the valley of the Po, he purposed to invade Italy from the north, defeat Cæsar wherever he could find him, and restore the ancient *régime* in Italy. Now, however, by the defeat of Afranius and Petreius in Spain one of his arms was broken, and with the other he must fight the battle with his antagonist in a foreign land.

Nevertheless, in the crisis which was now at hand, the advantages were on the side of Pompeius. At his camp in Macedonia he had nine legions of infantry and seven thousand horse. His supplies were abundant — inexhaustible; for behind him was the great storehouse of the East. To his assistance came Cato with the residue of his forces from Sicily, and Domitius from Massilia. Around him flocked the aristocrats and officers of the government. The Republic was now peripatetic, and had moved over into Macedonia. Cæsar held Italy, but Rome—Old Rome—the Rome of Africanus and Sulla, was with Pompeius.

In the mean time Cæsar, busy at the capital, had cleared away the *débris*, and in the dictatorship of eleven days had laid anew the foundations of the state. New Rome — the Rome that was to be — budded from the ground. A few wholesome laws—calling back exiles, calming the populace, and restoring public credit—were enacted; and then, on the 4th of January, B. C. 48, Cæsar, having assembled his war-worn veterans—the survivors of six legions—at Brundusium, made ready to embark for Epirus. With the first division of the army he crossed the Adriatic in person; but while his fleet was returning for the rest, it was attacked by Bibulus, who commanded the squadron of Pompeius, and thirty vessels were captured. The rest of the armament was driven into the harbor of Brundusium, from which perilous position, however, it was soon relieved by the energy of Marcus Antonius.

The position of Cæsar was now critical in the extreme; but he succeeded in bringing over the remainder of his forces, and secured a favorable camp near Dyrrhachium. His supplies, however, ran short, and nothing but the invincible spirit of his veterans prevented either famine or mutiny. From the first Cæsar assumed the offensive. He threw up works sixteen miles in length around the position of Pompeius. The latter, however, succeeded in breaking through the lines, and Cæsar fell back into Thessaly. This movement was really indecisive, but the followers of Pompeius foolishly regarded it as the end of the war. The



FLIGHT OF POMPEIUS FROM PHARSALIA.

profligate nobles who thronged his camp fell to debating the distribution of offices and spoils. It was only a question with them how long it would be before Cæsar's head would be displayed on a pike. When Pompeius showed some caution and hesitation, the consulars and senators began to taunt him with indecision and even incompetency. He was thus driven to follow his antagonist and make the onset. Cæsar had taken up a position at PHARSALIA, and here awaited the approach of his enemy.

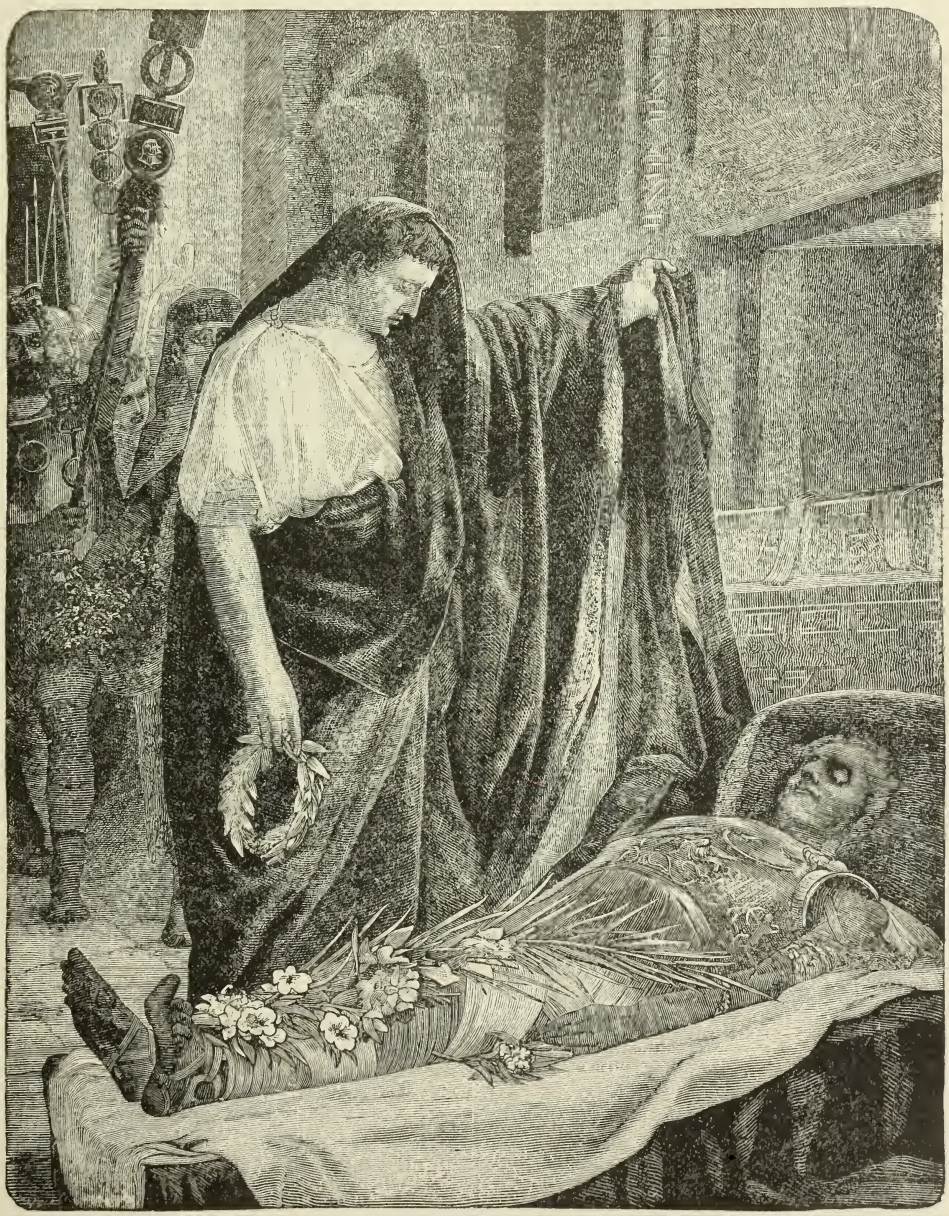
On the 9th of August, B. C. 48, the Pompeian army offered battle, and the gage was gladly accepted. Cæsar's forces numbered twenty-two thousand men, while Pompeius had forty-seven thousand infantry and seven thousand horse; but the first was an army of veterans hardened by every sort of conflict and exposure, enthusiastically devoted to their general, and ready to live on roots and bark rather than concede the victory to their foes. A short but hotly contested battle ensued; in which Pompeius was utterly overthrown. Scarcely an organized company of his army remained. All were either killed, captured, or dispersed. Many went over and joined the standard of Cæsar. Pompeius with a few companions escaped from the field and took ship for Lesbos. Thence he sailed away for Egypt and landed in the harbor of Pelusium. On stepping ashore he was stabbed to death by an assassin, who had been sent thither for that work by the court of Alexandria, who hoped by this bloody deed to win the favor of Cæsar. But they little knew the temper of the man with whom they had to deal. When he arrived at Alexandria and the gory head of his former colleague was brought to him as a trophy, he turned away in horror and refused all fellowship with the murderers. He ordered the remains of Pompeius to be buried with every mark of honor, and refused to patronize that style of revenge which had hitherto prevailed as the method of Roman victors.

After the flight and death of Pompeius the remnant of the Optimate party gathered around Cato in Illyricum; but their numbers were not formidable nor their military character such as to create alarm. Cæsar, therefore, after the battle of Pharsalia, sent a small force to watch the movements of Cato, and himself set out with his army for Egypt. In that country the sovereign Ptolemy Auletes had recently died, leaving a will in which it was directed that the kingdom should be divided between his daughter, Cleopatra, and her brother Ptolemy. The guardians of the latter, however, refused to recognize Cleopatra's rights and undertook her expulsion. But the princess appealed to Cæsar, as did also the party of Ptolemy. It was to settle this civil broil of the Egyptians that Cæsar now entered the country. The adherents of Ptolemy refused to accept his arbitrament, and Cæsar espoused the cause of Cleopatra; nor is the suspicion wanting that his judgment in so doing was not a little influenced by the personal charms of the Egyptian princess. It is alleged that the bronzed warrior of Rome showed in his relations with the young queen how little he had forgotten the arts and sentiments of his youth. After a serious war of nine months' duration the forces of Ptolemy were dispersed and Cleopatra was restored to her rights.

The provincials of Rome had not yet learned the character of the conqueror of the Gauls. Rumors were circulated from time to time that he was dead, that his army had mutinied, that he had been defeated in battle. Such a story was set afloat in Asia Minor, and Pharnaces of Pontus, son of Mithridates, raised the standard of revolt. Cæsar, hearing of the rebellion, passed over hastily into the Asiatic province, fell upon Pharnaces at Ziela, and annihilated his army at a blow. It was on this occasion that he sent to the Senate that celebrated dispatch in which he announced his victory in the three words: *Veni, vidi, vici.* "I came, I saw, I conquered."

The horizon was now sufficiently cleared to admit of Cæsar's return to Rome. He found affairs at the capital in a state of great confusion. The Tribune Dolabella and Antonius, to whom Cæsar had intrusted the defense of the city, had managed matters with little skill. More serious by far than the disquietude occasioned by the imprudence of his subordinates was the mutiny of the tenth legion at Capua. This body of soldiers had been the

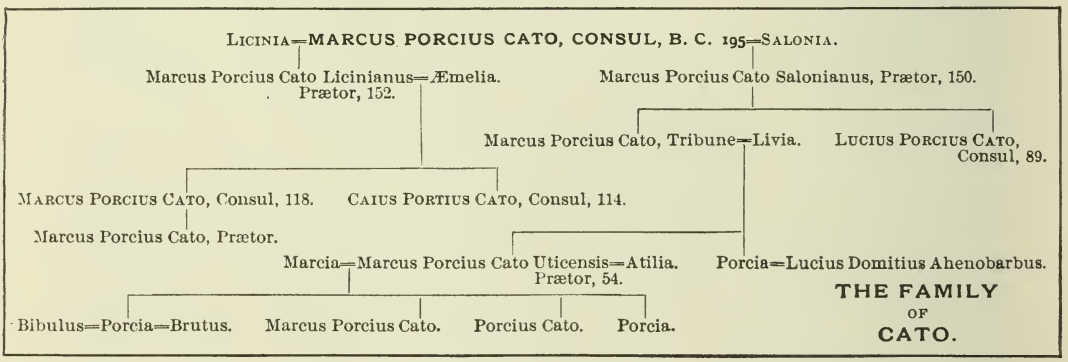
favorites of Cæsar, but during his long absence had become impatient of the restraints of the camp and arrogant in their demands. They had first killed their officers, and then marched on the capital. The city was endangered by the mutineers, and Cæsar's coming was anxiously awaited. He mustered the soldiers in the Campius Martius, and requested a statement of their grievances. Their demands appeared to have reference to a payment of their dues, the bestowal of promised presents, and a release from further duty. Cæsar well knew that the best way to humiliate an insurrection is to grant what it clamors for. He accordingly made an address to his old legion, being careful to begin with "Citizens," instead of "Soldiers." This was gall and wormwood. To be addressed as *citizens* by their beloved



CÆSAR AT THE GRAVE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.
After the painting by H. Showmer.

commander! "I discharge you," said he. "You have had enough of fatigue and wounds. I release you from your oaths. As to your presents, you shall be paid to the last sesterce." The old veterans could stand no more. They burst into tears, and began to beg for forgiveness. With a certain prudent hesitation, Cæsar received them back to favor; but he took care that the leaders who had fomented the mutiny should be executed. It was the work of a master.

During the former stay of Cæsar at Rome—after the escape of Pompeius from Brundusium—he had reörganized the government as nearly on the former basis as was practicable under the circumstances. The Senate, the assembly, the tribunate, and all the political and confiscation should begin. Against all this Cæsar stood like a pillar of stone. He would permit no work of spite and revenge—no spoliation of the state in the interest of his friends. Antonius, who bid in the estate of Pompeius, was obliged to pay for it just as though he had bought the villa of a friend. He who had formerly, at the peril of his life, restored the statue of Marius now restored those of Sulla and Pompeius, which had been thrown down by the populace after the battle of Pharsalia. In every department and every work of his administration—for he had now been named dictator, with full powers both in peace and war—he showed the same spirit and purpose. His genius rose above the narrow and revengeful spirit of his times, and soared



forms to which the Romans were accustomed were preserved without alteration. As to the Senate, however, the complexion of that body was greatly changed. The old aristocratic element was nearly extinct. After the battle of Pharsalia a certain number of those who had been Optimates made their peace with the victor, and returned to their former place in the government. Cicero was reconciled—a thing not difficult with so pliant a character—and hastened back to his old haunts at the capital.

It thus happened that on the return of Cæsar from Asia Minor he found a government thoroughly favorable to himself, but not very competent for the great work of political transformation. The *spirit* of the government, moreover, as well as the spirit of the people, was in many respects antagonistic to the purposes of Cæsar. There was an expectancy—even a demand—that the work of proscription into a new atmosphere, too fine and deep for the gaze of his countrymen.

The Pompeians still held Africa. With them was leagued Juba, king of Numidia. Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompeius, refusing to recognize the logic of events, and still believing in the Rome that was, held command of the African province, and refused to be reconciled. Cato also refused to write *Respublica fuit*, and held out with his old-time obstinacy at Utica. In the beginning of B. C. 46 Cæsar found it necessary to go in person to Africa to reduce the country to submission. He crossed the Mediterranean, and in April encountered the forces of Scipio at Thapsus. The latter was completely overthrown. Not a vestige was left of his army. His losses were reported at fifty thousand, while those of Cæsar were less than a hundred men! A few of Scipio's officers, such as Labienus and the two sons of Pompeius, escaped and took refuge in Spain.



"CITIZENS! I DISCHARGE YOU."

Utica was still held by Cato. But this sturdy and honest old republican saw that the cause was hopelessly lost. He accordingly urged his friends and followers to escape or make peace with the conqueror. He dismissed the Utican Senate, and discouraged all further efforts at resistance. For himself, however, he determined to seek a peace which could never be disturbed. He wrote a letter to Cæsar, in which he denounced him with all the devoted folly of expiring patriotism. As to himself, he declared that he had lived an unconquered life, and had achieved superiority in those things in which he wished to excel. He told Cæsar that the vanquisher was vanquished, and that the arbiter of others' fate ought to be a suppliant for his own; and, moreover, that he who was convicted of ambitious designs against his country was already falling and ready to perish.

Having prepared this message, so true and so false—for such a paradox is the utterance of him who outlives the virtue of his age and country—Cato bathed, supped, and retired for the night. He lay on his couch and read twice through that part of the *Phædo* of Plato in which the author reasons of the immortality of the soul. He inquired anxiously if his friends who had gone down to the coast had succeeded in embarking, and then felt at the head of his couch for his sword. It was already the dappled-gray of morning, and the first sounds of the waking day gave token that the great drama would soon begin, but for Cato nevermore. He arose from his place of repose, thrust his sword through his body, and sank back into that other repose from which not even the knock of Cæsar could awake him.

The reduction of Africa was the end of the struggle which left Cæsar master of Rome. After five hundred years the great Republic had paid the debt which was in large measure due to her cruelties and crimes. Oligarchy on the surface, and slavery in the bottom, had made popular liberty impossible. Yet popular liberty was necessary to perpetuity. Cæsar was a leader of the people. He was a reformer of the heroic type. In all the qualities of greatness, whether of mind and purpose or actual deeds, he was a head and shoulders above the age he lived in. He alone,

"In form and gesture proudly eminent,"

was able to control and calm the turbulent elements which whirled in a vortex around the axis of Rome. He was necessary to his times, as all men are necessary to theirs. He rose out of chaos, and reigned because the chaos feared him. To him the state, sinking into the sea, held up her hands for rescue. It is needless to speak of his vanity, his egotism, his ambition, his extra-constitutional methods. It was a time of fruitful anarchy, of transition, of growth. Some single intelligence stronger, clearer than the rest was necessary to the further advance of the human race. It is easy for reäctionists and croakers to point to Julius Cæsar as the despoiler of liberty. So far as Roman Liberty was concerned, she had already perished—at least in character. She was no longer virgin, matron, or widow. She kept the bagnio of Old Rome. She had visitors from Sulla to Spartacus. The purblind Scipios and Catos still believed her pure. They gave their lives in attestation of her chastity. Cæsar knew her to be what she was, and proceeded to the demolition of the establishment. It was necessary; just as the barbarians will be necessary five hundred or a thousand years to come.

If in his battle with the Nervii, "Cæsar had every thing to do at once," the same might be said of his present condition. The state was to be reörganized; society, reinstituted. The provinces must be quieted; their government, reformed. Rome must be lifted to a new level; her people, pacified. New institutions must be formulated; old prejudices, cajoled. The situation was such as to bring out the best qualities of the Cæsarian genius. Fortunately for himself, the associated powers of the government were in a mood to give him ample latitude. In B. C. 46, he was made dictator for ten years, and in 44 the office was extended for life. His rank of censor, or Prefect of Morals, was likewise made a life tenure. He was chosen tribune for life, and consul for ten years. He already held the place of pontifex maximus, and to these accumulated dignities

and powers was now added the title of *Imperator*. Nor was any social distinction which it was possible to confer withheld. A golden chair was provided for him in the Senate House. His effigy was carried in the procession of the gods. The month Quintilis was changed to *Julius* in his honor. He was called the Father of his Country, and a statue erected to him in the Capitol, was inscribed, KAISARI HEMITHEŌ—"to Cæsar the Demigod."

Perhaps this adulation had less effect on the master of the world than appeared on the surface. At any rate, he concerned himself more with the substantial honors of a triumph than with the lucubrations of the obsequious Senate. The celebration which was given in his honor far surpassed the greatest of the great triumphs previously accorded to the generals of Rome. The pageant of Cæsar embraced the spoils and trophies of Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. The captives of the train presented a strange jumble of races and conditions. An African chief walked by the side of Vercingetorix and British Celts kept pace with the swarthy sons of the Syrian desert. The car of triumph was drawn by white horses, and was conducted to the Capitol in charge of seventy-two lictors. Then came the division of spoils. Each soldier received five thousand denarii. The people received four hundred sesterces apiece, besides a liberal distribution of corn and oil. In the public places of the city twenty-two thousand tables were spread with what viands soever the spoilated markets of the world could furnish, and the citizens were invited to feast until they were full. Then the circus, covered for the first time with an immense awning of silk, was opened, and the horrible combats of beasts and men began.

On this great occasion it was noticed that nothing was exhibited to remind the people of the battle of Pharsalia. The magnanimous Cæsar refused to celebrate a victory over Romans.[1] Aye, more: he insisted on an amnesty. None were exempted from its provisions except those officers who had taken the part of Pompeius after the battle of Ilerda. Many of the friends of the Imperator, who had stood hungering for the confiscation to begin awoke to the fact that there was to be no confiscation at all. So they murmured, not loud, but deep.

Measures of reform were now pressed with long and rapid strides. The debtor class was relieved by judicious legislation. The rights of citizens were made equal. The executive department of the government was made independent of the Senate. The plan of relieving Rome, and at the same time strengthening the provinces by establishing colonies in foreign parts, was adopted in earnest. The Roman clubs were either suppressed or made obedient to law. The recipients of the gratuitous distribution of grain were reduced in number more than one-half. Order suddenly sprang from anarchy, and prosperity from the *débris* of civil war.

While these great reforms were progressing, the energies of Cæsar's mind were directed to the decoration and improvement of the city. A new Senate House was projected. A theater was planned on a scale surpassing any thing hitherto accomplished. A great public library was designed to rival—perhaps surpass—that of Alexandria. The engineers were ordered to consider the establishment of a new channel for the Tiber, by which the Campus Vaticanus, now on the right bank, should be thrown to the left, and made a substitute for the Campus Martius. The latter was thus to be recovered from its present uses, and devoted to the purposes of private and public building. The plan also embraced the draining of the Pontine marshes and the establishment for the city of a seaport more eligible than that of Ostia.

In the mean time the legislative revolution was carried steadily forward. Laws were passed for the abolition of usury; others for the development of the agricultural interest; others reviving the statutes of Licinius; others relating to the subjects of debt and bankruptcy; others reforming the calendar and codifying the laws of the state. Of still larger aim were those enactments by which the rights

[1] If Pompeius had won the battle of Pharsalia, he would have exhibited the cloak of Cæsar (if not his bald head) as an object fit to elicit the loudest applause. And the Optimates would have taken care that the applause was given.

of citizenship were conferred on the Roman colonists in Africa, Gaul, and Spain. Above all these laws and executive measures rose the one great purpose of Cæsar, which was to unify and consolidate, not only the peoples of Italy, but those of all the states and provinces ruled by Roman authority, under one dominion—the EMPIRE of the future.

During the progress of these great civil movements at the capital a serious rebellion had been organized in Spain by Cæsar's old lieutenant, Labienus, and Sextus and Cneius, the two sons of Pompeius. In the year B. C. 45 they succeeded in putting into the field an army so large and well equipped that Cæsar was unwilling to intrust the command of the expedition against them to any but himself. The spring and summer months were occupied with an arduous campaign, which culminated in the battle of MUNDA. Hardly since the day when he fought with the Nervii—certainly not since the day of Pharsalia—had Cæsar seen a field so hotly and bloodily contested. Not until thirty thousand of the enemy, including Cneius Pompeius, the eldest of the brothers, had been slain, did the victory declare against the insurgents. The rebellion was extinguished at a blow, and Cæsar was honored with another splendid triumph at Rome. He was still further honored by the Senate, which body passed resolutions assigning to him a golden chair in the Senate House, a triumphal robe to be worn at the games, and a diadem decorated with gems.

By this time, however, an under-current of hostility was created against him. Every cause and occasion of public and private grief conduced to produce disaffection. Jealousy, envy, discontent—every motive which could inflame the passions of those who saw a greater than themselves in the world—played upon the dispositions and purposes of those who, having no policy of their own, were willing to obliterate the new institutions and their creator for the mere gratification of hatred and revenge. A knowledge of the foment against him reached Cæsar himself; but he refused the precaution of a body-guard, preferring exposure to cowardice. He occupied himself with the great business of state, and began to organize an expedition against Parthia. In the midst of these preparations, rumors were circulated in the city that Cæsar was aiming to be king. The hated name, which had last been borne by Tarquin the Haughty, was trumped up and flung like a firebrand into the multitude. There is little doubt that the people were on one or two occasions instigated to hail him as king; but the Imperator merely replied, "I am no king, but Cæsar." Presently afterwards, at the feast of Lupercalia, Marcus Antonius is said to have offered him a diadem as he sat in the golden chair decreed him by the Senate. But Cæsar rejected the bauble, saying, "I am not king; the Romans have no king but Jupiter." During the night the statues of Cæsar were crowned with wreaths, though whether by friends or foes did not appear.

These circumstances furnished material for a conspiracy against Cæsar's life. The malcontents, embracing about seventy plotters of high and low degree, banded themselves together to destroy him. The ringleader of the conspirators was a certain LONGINUS CAIUS CASSIUS, who had been a lieutenant in the army of Pompeius. After the battle of Pharsalia he had fallen into the hands of Cæsar, who not only granted him a pardon, but received him into favor, promising the office of prætor and the province of Syria. To this monstrous ingrate fell the dastardly work of developing the plot for the destruction of his benefactor's life. With him was joined MARCUS JUNIUS BRUTUS, the son-in-law of Cato, who, though honorable in his intentions, was easily abused with the belief that Cæsar was aiming at the name and authority of king.

Like Cassius, Brutus had been a lieutenant under Pompeius at the battle of Pharsalia, but had received the favor and pardon of the conqueror. He, as well as his co-conspirator, must now add to the crime of murder the crime of ingratitude. It is said that Brutus hesitated to enter into the conspiracy, but the other plotters threw billets into his window, demanding that he should awake and do his duty, and put notes into the hands of the statue of the elder Brutus, expressing the wish of the anonymous writers that *he* could arise from



ANTONIUS OFFERING THE DIADEM TO CÆSAR.

the dead and save Rome. Marcus Brutus was thus induced to give his name and influence to the base and bloody work.

A meeting of the Senate was called for the 15th (or Ides) of March. The subject to be considered was the question of the Parthian war. It was determined by the conspirators to consummate their work at this meeting. The city was full of rumors and agitation. The plotters more than half betrayed themselves by their looks and actions. Popular tradition has preserved the story of prodigies and portents in both the earth and the heavens. Battalions of warriors were seen contending in a cloud. Cæsar's horses wept and would not eat. A solitary bird of evil omen croaked in the forum. A lioness gave birth to whelps on the steps of the Capitol. A soothsayer came and warned Cæsar that the Ides of March was a day of fate, and Calpurnia, Cæsar's wife, besought him not to go forth to the Senate House. But the latter could not be moved and went to his duty and his death.



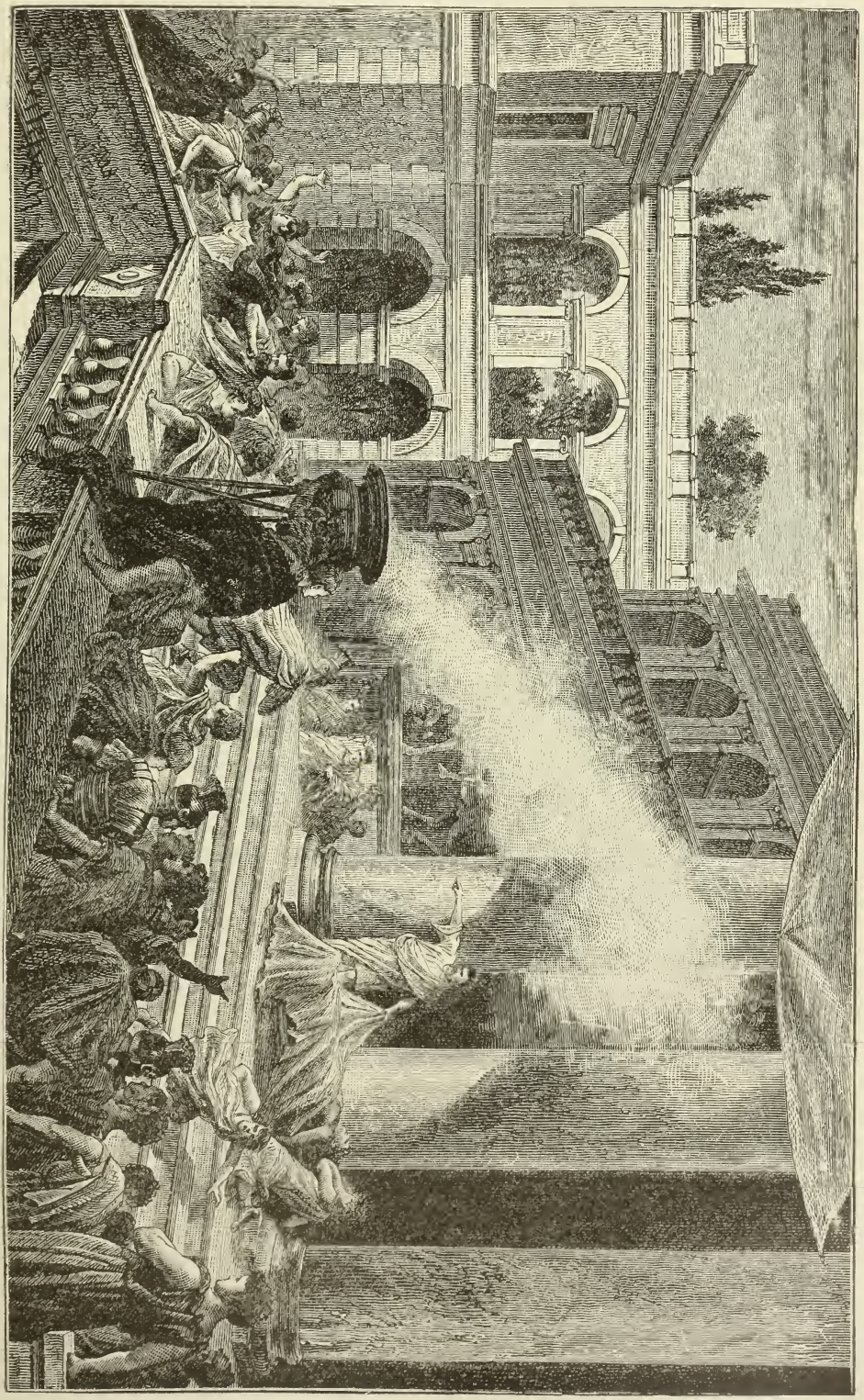
MARCUS JUNIUS BRUTUS.—Rome, Capitol.

When he entered the chamber the senators were already seated. As soon as he had taken his chair the conspirators, with daggers under their cloaks, crowded around him and began to petition for the recall from banishment of a certain Cimber, brother of one of the senators present. Cæsar refused the petition, which was pressed with additional earnestness by Brutus and Cassius until the Imperator in some anger rose from his seat. Thereupon he was attacked. Casca, one of the meanest of the crowd, stabbed him in the neck. Cæsar seized the arm of his assailant, exclaiming: "Villain, what dost thou mean?" For a brief moment he defended himself from the daggers of his enemies, but seeing Brutus among the number he cried out, *Et tu, Brute*,[1] then drew his mantle over his face and fell, pierced with twenty-three wounds, at the foot of the statue of Pompeius.

It was one thing to murder the greatest man of the age, and another to explain the deed. The conspirators had acted without much regard to the future. They had cut down the main stay of the state and had nothing to offer instead. They had hoped in a vague sort of way for the restitution of the Republic, and to this end relied upon the senatorial party for support. But most of the senators were Cæsar's friends, and when they saw him fall they fled in dismay from the Senate House. When the murderers looked around after the accomplishment of their infamous deed, expecting to be applauded, they saw only empty benches. They stood face to face with the vacuity of a great crime.

At the time of the assassination the Roman army, under command of LEPIDUS, was outside the city gates waiting for the announcement of the Parthian expedition. The chief friend of the dead Imperator was MARCUS ANTONIUS, and to him the conspirators—though they had recently discussed the question of killing him also—were now obliged to look for aid in the business of restoring the Republic. Antonius, fearing for his life, had escaped to his own house, but he soon learned that the assassins had stopped with the murder of Cæsar, and that he himself was sought for by Brutus. He determined to make the most of what remained of the world, and should opportunity offer to make a terrible settlement with the murderers of Cæsar. He accordingly gave in his adherence to the scheme of the restoration and

[1] "Thou, too, Brutus!"



MARK ANTONY DELIVERING THE FUNERAL ORATION OVER THE DEAD BODY OF CÆSAR.

Drawn by H. E. v. Berlepsh.

began to take counsel with those who had struck down the impersonation of the state.

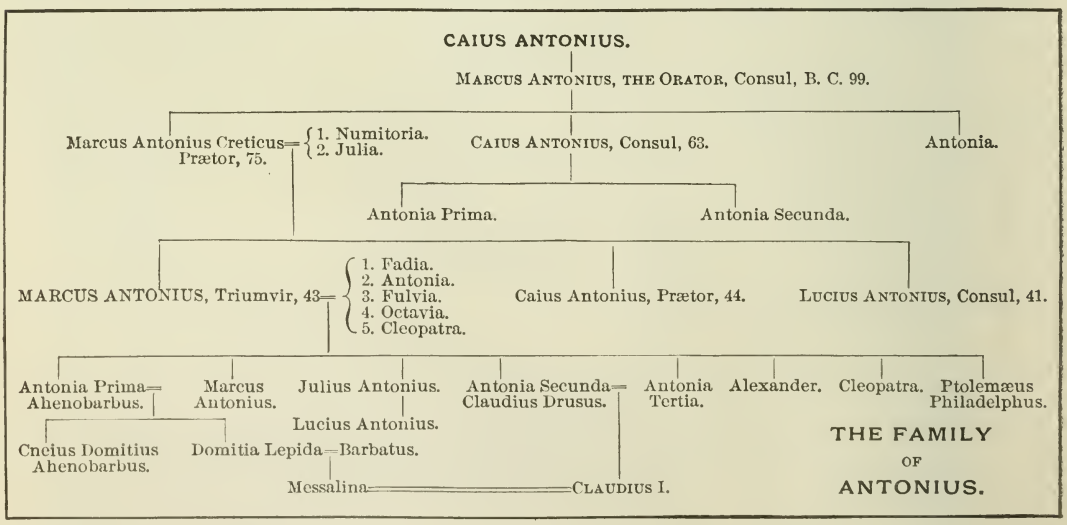
As soon as it was known that Cæsar was slain there were stormy scenes in the capital. The populace rolled in unsteady masses from side to side. The sea-beds of Rome were shaken as by an earthquake. There was no uprising in favor of the conspirators. Here and there the solitary cries of the old aristocrats could be heard in cheerless applause like the notes of ill-voiced birds crying out of the shadows of the past. The assassins of Cæsar had to seek refuge in the Capitol; but through the agency of Cicero a conference was presently held and a reconciliation effected.



THE YOUNG CAIUS OCTAVIUS.
Rome, Vatican.

The opportunity soon came. Antonius was appointed to deliver the funeral oration over the body of Cæsar. He took advantage of the occasion, and produced a marvelous discourse, in which genuine praise of the virtues of the great dead was adroitly interwoven with ironical concessions to the virtues of his murderers. A waxen effigy of the body of the illustrious hero, with its twenty-three gaping wounds, was shown to the people under the glare of tapers. Finally Antonius read Cæsar's will, in which *many of the conspirators were remembered with legacies!* The Imperator's gardens beyond the Tiber were bequeathed *to the people,* and every citizen was to receive three hundred sesterces! The effect of this disclosure of Cæsar's benevolent purposes was tremendous. The inflammable multitude took fire. The storm of reäction swept every thing before it. The conspirators' houses were burned and themselves driven from the city. Brutus and Cassius were glad to escape with their lives.

In the mean time all of Cæsar's acts had been confirmed by the Senate. The world can murder the doer, but can not undo the deed! A transformation had been effected which could not be transfixed with a dagger. Antonius was master of the city. Lepidus commanded the army. Young Caius Octavius, son of the daughter of Cæsar's sister, had been recognized as his heir; and the word *heir* might already have been rendered "successor."

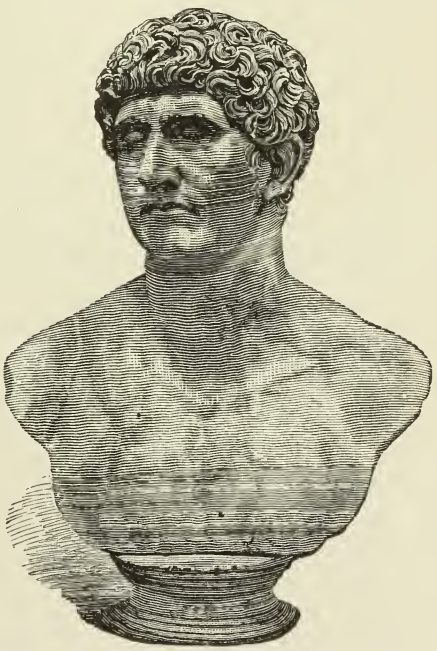


It was agreed that there should be no more bloodshed and an amnesty for all past offenses. Meanwhile Antonius had obtained possession of Cæsar's will and estate, and awaited the opportunity which was to make all things even.

The policy of Cæsar was pursued, and things which he merely contemplated were made the basis of new laws.

It now appeared that Antonius was to be master of Rome in Cæsar's stead. That great mouth by the name of Cicero had occasion to declare that though the tyrant was dead, the tyranny still lived. Nor is it impossible that Antonius, who had now by the marriage of his daughter to Lepidus, secured that general's cordial support, might have retained his ascendency in the state. To his complete success, however, one serious obstacle opposed itself, and that obstacle was Octavius. This young man, himself of large ambitions and abilities, was in Apollonia at the time of his great uncle's assassination. As soon as he heard the news he hastened to Rome, assumed his adoptive name of Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus, and laid claim to the rights and duties of his inheritance. He was received with much favor by the people. Even the Senate was cordial; for it was hoped in that body that Octavianus could be played off against Antonius, and an opportunity be thus obtained for the restoration of the Republic. The aristocracy at this time was led by Cicero, who for policy's sake induced the senators to support the young whelp of Cæsarism until what time they might the more conveniently dispose of him and his cause. So, while Marcus Antonius was absent on an expedition against the insurgent Decius Brutus, in Cisalpine Gaul, Cicero procured the passage of a resolution declaring him a public enemy. Octavianus was authorized to go to the relief of Brutus, who was besieged in Mutina by Antonius. The latter was twice defeated; Brutus was relieved; Antonius joined Lepidus beyond the Alps, and the young Cæsar was left master of Italy. No sooner, however, had this leadership been attained than the senatorial party, having used Octavianus till they thought his services no longer needed, and disliking him as heartily as they did Antonius, transferred the command to Brutus. This act precipitated a crisis. Octavianus returned to Rome. His soldiers entered the Senate House and demanded the consulship for their master. The aristocrats had to succumb, and Cæsar was made consul.

Negotiations were now opened with Antonius and Lepidus. An interview was held and a reconciliation effected. The three leaders agreed to a joint government of Rome. Thus was formed the Second Triumvirate. The settlement was to continue for five years. It was stipulated that the new Cæsar and Lepidus should proceed at once against Marcus Brutus and Cassius, under whose banners had gathered or were gathering the fragments of the aristocratic opposition. Nor were the triumvirs slow to eliminate from the capital and the neighboring states the residue of the faction which upheld the counter-revolution. Chief



MARCUS ANTONIUS.

among this party was Cicero. The great orator had endeavored to please every body, and had pleased none. The lawyer had been uppermost in him so long that his eyes had been transferred to his back, and he could only gaze down the pathway of the past and sigh for a precedent. He advanced blindly against the naked sword of his fate. For the triumvirs made up a proscription list, and Antonius pricked the name of Cicero. The orator endeavored to escape, and would have succeeded had not a certain sentimental indecision prevailed over common sense to bring him back to his villa at Formiæ. His friends endeav-

ored to dissuade him, but he replied that he preferred death to exile from that country *which he had so often saved!* The egotism of the great but weak old man haunted him to death. When his pursuers were close at hand, his servants endeavored to bear him away, but he made their stand in Macedonia. Here for the last time the Republic lifted its sword against the Empire—the Past against the Present. Antonius went first with an army into Epirus, and was there joined by Octavianus with another. The combined forces proceeded across



MURDER OF CICERO.

was overtaken and killed in his litter. His head was cut off and presented to Fulvia, the wife of Antonius, and by her orders the protruding tongue was nailed with a bodkin to a post in the Forum. "Now," said she, "wag no more!"

These events occupied the year B. C. 43, In the mean time Brutus and Cassius had Greece, where the leaders of the opposition had thus far appeared more concerned about spoils than for the overthrow of Cæsarism. The two forces met at PHILIPPI, which place had already been pointed out to the superstitious mind of Brutus by the specter of the murdered Julius as the spot where they should meet again. Here two battles were fought, in the first of which

Cassius, being defeated by Antonius, committed suicide. The other division, however, led by Brutus, gained the advantage over Octavianus, but in no part of the field was the result decisive. After twenty days of preparation another conflict ensued, in which the army of Brutus was totally routed. The principal adherents of the old cause were either killed or captured. A few escaped to the ships, and fled to Sextus Pompeius, in Sicily. Brutus made amends for the murder of Cæsar by fall-



THE SUICIDE OF BRUTUS.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

ing on his own sword. He left his transfixed body to the gaze of the conqueror, and to posterity a reputation far better than his deeds.

After the battle of Philippi a new assignment of provinces was made, by the terms of which Antonius was to receive Transalpine Gaul and Illyricum; while Spain and Numidia were given to Octavianus. Antonius, however, preferred to remain in the East and extort from its opulent cities the means of gratification for himself and his friends. At this point his really great abilities began to be eclipsed by personal vices. His ambition evaporated like morning dew in the fire of a passion which was kindled during his stay in Cilicia. Cleopatra, the youthful and voluptuous queen of Egypt—the same who had tried her ruinous charms not wholly without avail on the great Julius—visited the more susceptible Antonius, who from the time he first saw her in her galley ascending the Cydnus became her slave. Nothing ever availed to break for more than a brief period the spell which the enchantress flung around him. He followed her to Alexandria, and drowned himself in African dissipations.

In Italy, Octavianus was for a while severely beaten by adverse winds. The soldiers had to be supplied with the lands which had been promised as their reward for services in overthrowing the last forces of the old Republic. These lands had to be procured by the spoliation of estates, and even by the depopulation of towns. Those who were dispossessed became the breeders of discontent. Fulvia, the



CLEOPATRA GOING TO MEET ANTONIUS ON THE CYDNUS.—After the Painting by H. Makart, Stuttgart.

wife of Antonius, hearing of his proceedings in the East, stirred up strife in the hope of recalling him to Italy. His brother was in the mean time cooped up in Perusia, on the Upper Tiber, and compelled to surrender by Agrippa, the general of Octavianus. These doings at last aroused Antonius, who embarked with a part of his forces and sailed for the capital.

On his way thither he entered into a league with Sextus Pompeius to make war on the Cæsar; but the Roman soldiers refused to fight their brethren with whom they had so recently encamped as friends in Macedonia, and the triumvirs were obliged to make a treaty. A conference was held at Brundusium, and the rivals were once more pacified. The world was divided into two parts, the East and the West. Antonius took the former, and Octavianus the latter; and to make the settlement final, Octavia, the sister of the Cæsar, was married to Antonius. He and Octavianus then went to Rome, and the pacification was properly celebrated with games and festivals.

There still remained to be placated Sextus Pompeius. Holding possession of Sicily and commanding the fleet, he was master at least of the stomach of Rome. When the stomach began to gnaw, then the mouth of Rome began to clamor. The triumvirs were obliged to open their triangular compact, and take in Sextus. To him was assigned the government of Sicily and Achaia, on condition that the Roman corn-market should be at once supplied.

The treaty was no sooner made than broken. Sextus did not receive his provinces, and Rome did not receive her corn. Antonius came with a powerful fleet to enforce compliance, but Octavianus would not coöperate, and another

settlement was undertaken at Tarentum. Sextus was now left out, and his suppression was intrusted to Cæsar. In the following year, B. C. 37, Octavianus, having equipped a powerful squadron, met the fleet of Sextus near Naulochus, and gained a victory so complete as to transfer to himself the undisputed dominion of the Mediterranean. Sextus escaped from the island, and sought to obtain the favor of Antonius in the East, but was seized by one of that general's lieutenants and put to death.

In a short time after these events a new and serious complication arose, which for the time threatened the destruction of the triumvirate. Lepidus came over from Africa to aid Agrippa, the general of Octavianus, in the reduction of Messana, held by the Pompeians. As soon as the city was taken, the soldiers of the old cause saluted Lepidus as Imperator. Nor was the triumvir insensible to the dangerous compliment. His forces, united with the Pompeians, amounted to no fewer than twenty legions, and with these, if their loyalty remained unshaken, he might well hope to bid defiance to any force which could be immediately brought against him. The crisis was truly perilous, and it was put aside by a method truly Cæsarian. Octavianus went unarmed into the camp, and won over the army of Lepidus by a wave of the hand. The treacherous triumvir was deposed and shut up in the island of Circeii, where he remained until his death.

Thus was the world divided between the rivals, Octavianus and Antonius. The former from his central position at the capital of the Empire was now welcomed by all classes as the head of that government which had been established by the logic of events. He planted himself, as far as it was practical, within the forms of the Roman constitution. Large concessions were made in extending the rights of citizenship and securing that amelioration of the condition of the people for which the great Julius had so earnestly contended. He wisely endeavored to turn men's minds to the pursuits of peace. To this end he made MÆCENAS his principal counselor, and joined with him in the encouragement of literature and art.

With the deposition of Lepidus, in B. C. 36, the triumvirate ended, though the partnership between Antonius and Octavianus still remained in force. According to the terms of the treaty of Tarentum, the former leader received from the latter a division of twenty thousand soldiers, to aid in the war against Parthia. After the lapse of nearly two years, Antonius finally departed for the East. An army of a hundred thousand men was assembled on the Euphrates. He crossed Mesopotamia, and pressed his way into the Parthian kingdom as far as Prasapa. But here he was compelled



CLEOPATRA.

to pause. The Parthians, hovering on the wings and rear of the army, cut off his supplies, and, when he began to retreat, inflicted severe losses on the legions. In the next campaign, which was directed against Armenia, he was more successful, and he returned to Alexandria laden with the spoils of the Orient.

Octavia had been left at Rome, and Antonius was again ensnared in the net of Cleopatra. The former excesses and dissipations of the illustrious pair were totally eclipsed by the profligate abandonment to which they now surrendered themselves. To her personal charms the Egyptian queen added the highest intel-

lectual attainments of the age. She was versed in languages; a proficient in music, art, and literature. Her recklessness was equaled by her ambition. Through all the wasteful extravagance and dissipations in which she indulged with Antonius there ran a thread of policy which united all her subordinate designs in a single great purpose, that of becoming queen of the Roman Empire. In the way of this ambition stood the figure of Octavianus. She clearly perceived that the world must be mastered by one, not two. Or failing in this scheme of dominion, her next purpose was to detach Antonius from the very recollection of Rome, and to fix him and his court permanently at Alexandria. Thus at any rate would be established an oriental monarchy having herself for its queen.



ANTONIUS AND CLEOPATRA AS OSIRIS AND ISIS.
Drawn by B. Moerlings.

While the empire of passion thus flourished for a season in the East, the empire of reason was instituted in the West. The influence of Octavianus was constantly extended, and the



BATTLE OF ACTIUM.

Cæsarian *régime* was already accepted as a fact accomplished. Octavianus was careful to popularize his government by fostering methods and practices to which the people were attached. In Italy his policy of peace secured the tranquillity of the state, and his successful foreign wars with Dalmatia and Pannonia added luster to his reputation as a warrior. By the aid of his friend and counselor, Agrippa, now ædile of the city, Rome was beautified and adorned with magnificent public works. Statues and fountains were seen on every hand, and beautiful buildings in the Corinthian and composite styles of architecture were erected in number and proportions hitherto unequaled. Nor did Octavianus forget that "*Bread and the Circus*" was still the motto of the great mass of Romans. He therefore made large distributions of grain, patronized the games and combats, and improved the theaters.

As was natural under the circumstances, the two leaders of the Roman world became first estranged and then hostile. Not without good reason did Octavianus charge his brother-in-law with squandering the revenues of the East in the vain attempt to satisfy the passions and caprices of the Egyptian queen. When the consular elections for B. C. 32 were held the officers chosen were the friends of Antonius. They openly opposed the policy of the Cæsar, and the latter was obliged to go into the Senate House with a body-guard, and reply to the charges of his enemies. He soon managed, however, to obtain possession of the will of Antonius, which had been deposited with the vestal virgins, and in which the purposes of the testator were fully developed. The distinguished profligate had sure enough bequeathed his provinces and treasures to the children of Cleopatra. One of this spurious brood, named Cæsarion, was declared to be the heir and successor of Julius Cæsar. Finally Antonius had provided for the burial of his own body with that of Cleopatra in Alexandria. The contents of the document were divulged by Octavianus, and the public mind was so incensed towards Antonius that the Senate declared war, not indeed against *him*, but against the enchantress, who had woven around him the web of her African ambition and passions.

Antonius accepted the gage thus thrown at his feet. He divorced Octavia, and thus broke the last tie binding him to Rome. By the terms of the existing compact between the two leaders their partnership was to last until the close of B. C. 32. Already before this date the rivals were busily engaged in preparations for the coming conflict. Antonius had his head-quarters first at Athens and then in Epirus, and there he mustered his army. Octavianus crossed over with his forces from Brundusium and landed at the Acroceraunian promontory. Thence he directed his march to the Ambracian Gulf, where he encamped opposite Actium.

The limited supplies of his army, as well as the disaffection of his soldiers, compelled Antonius to risk a general battle. His own preference was to decide the conflict in an engagement by land, but Cleopatra induced him to accept a battle with the enemy's fleet. The two squadrons were accordingly drawn up off Actium. Here, again, the mastery of the world was staked upon the conflict. The engagement took place on the 2d of September, B. C. 31, and was long and obstinate. Late in the day, while the issue was still undecided, Cleopatra, who with her sixty galleys was in the rear of the line of Antonius, believing, perhaps, that victory was inclining to the side of Octavianus, caught a favoring breeze and fled from the scene. Antonius, thereupon, choosing the society of a woman to the dominion of the world, flung himself into a swift-sailing galley and followed in the wake of her flight. For a while the conflict was continued by his lieutenants, but they were presently borne down by the vessels of Agrippa and driven from the sea. The victory was decisive and final. The land forces of Antonius made a voluntary surrender and were incorporated with the army of the conqueror.

Octavianus made haste to settle the affairs of Greece, long groaning under the exactions of Antonius, and then pursued that illustrious fugitive to Egypt. There he and Cleopatra had resumed their old life of luxury and abandonment. They feasted and reveled to satiety



CLEOPATRA DURING THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

and spent the residue of their time in experimenting with poisons and venomous insects to see if nature had provided any creature able to afford a pleasurable exit from life. For the distinguished voluptuaries knew full well that for them the door would soon swing outward which opens into the shadows.

As soon as Octavianus arrived in Egypt, Antonius and Cleopatra sought to be reconciled with him and perchance obtain another lease of power. But the victor would have no more trifling. Pelusium was taken and Alexandria besieged. In the defense of the city, Antonius rose suddenly to the full stature of a soldier. Stripped of resources and left almost to the nakedness of personal valor, he defended himself like one of the heroes of Troy. While the siege was progressing Cleopatra, beaten by conflicting emotions and interests, sent word to Antonius that she had committed suicide. He thereupon stabbed himself with his sword, but before expiring was carried into Cleopatra's presence. The soldiers of Octavianus soon broke into the mausoleum, and Cleopatra was taken. She exhausted all her arts on Octavianus, but neither her grief nor her beauty availed her any thing with the unimpressionable Cæsar. He prepared to convey her to Rome to grace his triumph, but she was presently found lying among her attendants, dead—such was the common belief—from the sting of an asp, which had been sent to her in a basket of figs.

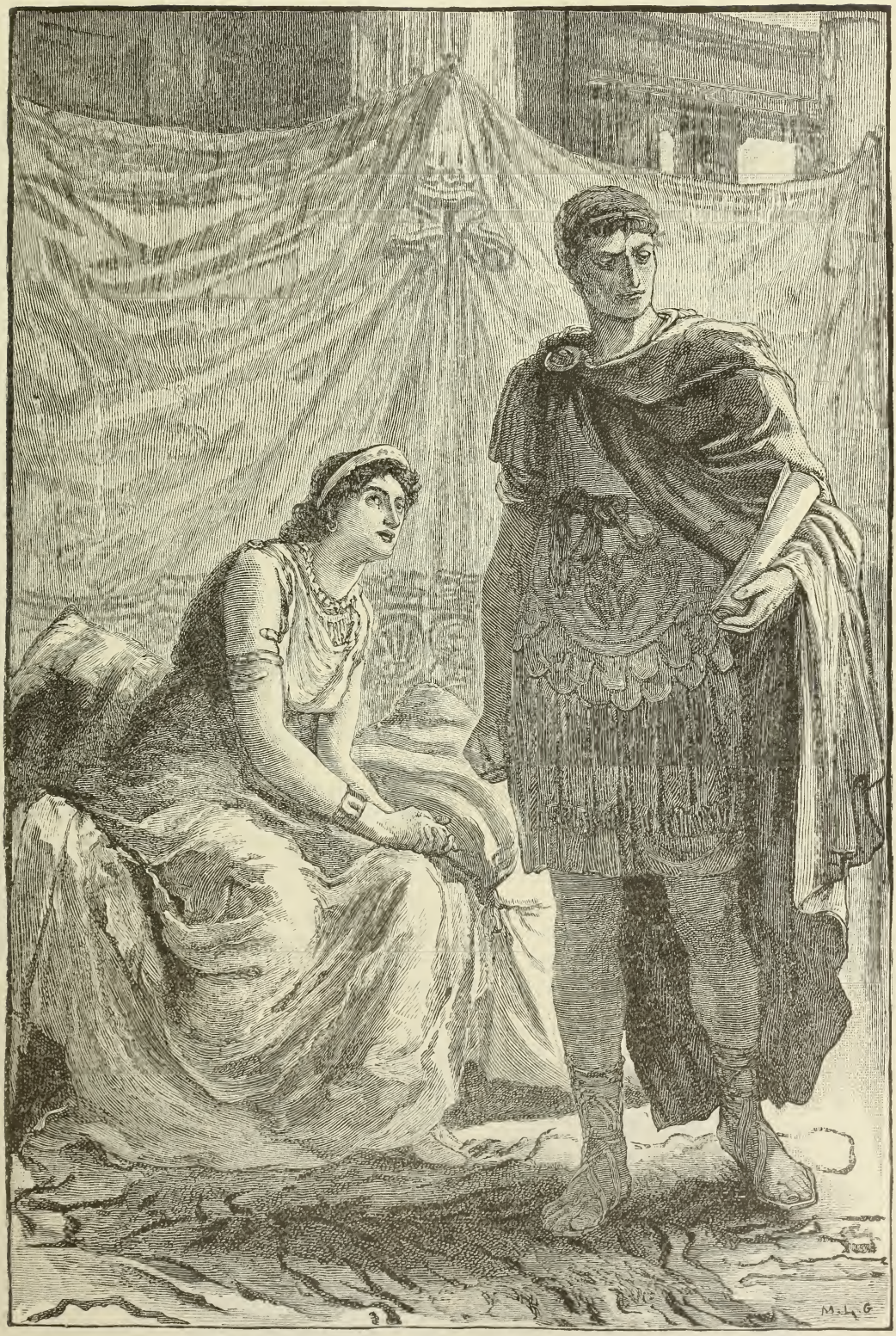
After spending a short time in settling the affairs of Egypt,[1] now organized as a Roman province and committed to the governorship of Cornelius Gallus, Octavianus, in the Summer of B. C. 29, returned to Rome, and celebrated a threefold triumph for his victory at Actium and his conquests in Dalmatia and Egypt. The temple of Janus was closed to indicate the cessation of war, and Octavianus, with the titles of Imperator and Augustus, was recognized as sole ruler of the Roman world.

The transformation of the Republic into the Empire was one of the great crises in human history. The change, though gradual and conservative in many respects, was none the less sufficiently striking in its causes, its character, and its results. The shadow of the great event had been forecast upon the screen. Doubtless the first minds of the epoch perceived with sufficient clearness the trend of current history, and were able in some measure to appreciate that combination of forces which thrust up from the decaying stump of the Imperial Republic the green and far-branching tree of the Republican Empire.

It could but prove of the greatest interest to analyze with care the historical condition of Rome in the time of the transformation—to look with the calm eye of philosophy upon the situation, out of which sprang of necessity the Cæsarian system. The limits of the present work forbid the consideration *in extenso* of such subjects as the occult causes, the relations, and tendencies of historical events. Only at intervals is it permitted in these pages to turn from the body to the soul of history—to consider the spirit and essence of that great fact which embraces all others, and of which all others are but the parts. If, then, we pause to reflect upon the true nature of those tremendous impulses which transformed the Rome of Cato into the Rome of Octavianus, we shall find the major causes to be about as follows:

1. The Republic gave place to the Empire on account of *the vast territorial limits* to which the dominions of Rome had expanded. The difficulty of human government is always to some degree proportioned to the extent of the area over which it is established. Within narrow limits the governing power is able to see to the horizon. If in any part the spirit of turbulence is manifested, it can be easily and promptly suppressed. Rome began with a municipality on the Tiber. She spread first to the boundaries of Latium; then to the limits of Italy; then to the countries of the Mediterranean, and then to the rim of the world. With each expansion of her territory the difficulty of controlling the diverse populations around which she had drawn her cords was increased; and no improvement in administration could keep pace with the multiplying embarrassments attending her authority. All the more were

[1] It was during his stay at Alexandria that Octavianus visited the grave of Alexander the Great, (see p. 241) and stood for a brief spell in silence over the sarcophagus of that illustrious conqueror.



INTERVIEW BETWEEN OCTAVIANUS AND CLEOPATRA.

her political troubles increased on account of her republican form. The wills of the many were at cross purposes in the Senate and the Forum. Faction paralyzed the arm of the Republic, and it became more and more apparent that the distracted counsels of aristocratic Rome must yield to the Imperial will of one, in order that the great state created by the valor of Roman arms and maintained by the vigor of Roman law might be saved from universal insurrection and imminent dismemberment. Cæsar answered to the great emergency.

2. In the second place the Empire rose over the Republic because of *the decay of those peculiar virtues* by which only a popular form of government can be upheld. Old Rome was pervaded with patriotism. The contention of faction was counterbalanced by the love of country. The Roman character was, at the first, one of great simplicity. The man of Rome was frugal, brave, temperate, virtuous—according to the standard of his age. His neighbor was like himself. The people of the city coöperated in the work of government. The senators were content to be equals. The gross vices of ambition and the grosser lusts of power had not yet germinated in the Early Republic. It remained for war and conquest, the inflamed passions of haughty consuls, the envy and distraction and burning jealousies of the day of triumph to kindle in the Roman breast those fierce and relentless enmities in the flame of which patriotism is consumed and virtue melts like wax.

3. The Roman Republic gave place to the Imperial rule because of *essential vices in the old constitution.* The Republic, so called, was not a republic in fact. It was an aristocracy: at first, an aristocracy of intellect and birth; but afterward, an aristocracy of wealth and luxury and pride. The theory that government of right proceeds from the people—that it is of the people and for them—never prevailed in the Imperial City. The Roman Republic, great and glorious as it was, was a mockery. The state existed for itself, and not for its subjects. In such a condition one of two things must ultimately ensue: anarchy or Imperialism. In the case of Rome the Cæsarian system answered to the call of this necessity.

4. In the fourth place, the peculiar character of *the personal agencies* which controlled the closing decades of the Old Era contributed not a little to replace the Republic with the Empire. The affairs of the world are in part—albeit not largely—controlled by *men.* Such leaders as they who composed the two Triumvirates have sufficient influence in their own age to shape somewhat the general destinies of mankind. Such leaders were the Catos, the Scipios, Crassus, Lepidus, Pompeius, Antonius, and especially Julius Cæsar. The strife of Pompey the Great and his greater rival—the one the representative of the tottering Past and the other of the titanic Future—was precisely the kind of a strife required for the furnace heat of a great revolution. The existence of such a man as Julius—so daring, so creative, so great—was of itself a strong suggestion of the substitution of the progressive and audacious One for the paralyzed and retrogressive Many. The Man came to the aid of Destiny.




MAP VIII.
ROMAN EMPIRE.
By A. von Steinwehr.
From Thalheimer's Ancient History, by permission.
Scale of Miles.
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GERMAN SEA
BRITANNIA
CALEDONIA
GERMANIA
SARMATIA
SCYTHIA
Hill Sveones
Scandia
Veltae
Sudini
Galindae
Gutones
Rugii
Suiones
Saxones
Cherusci
Langobardi
Semnones
Chauci
Frisii
Hermunduri
Marcomanni
Quadi
Carpi
Iazyges
Peucini
Alazones
Roxalani
Iaxamatae
Massagetae
Hunni
Amadoci
Tanais R.
Rha R.
Duina R.
Hypanis R.
Borysthenes R.
Tyras R.
Vistula R.
Viadua R.
Suebi
Helvetii
Boii
Cantabrian Sea
Aquitania
Lugdunensis
Belgica
Germania Superior
Germania Inferior
Raetia
Noricum
Pannonia
Dalmatia
Moesia Superior
Moesia Inferior
Thracia
Macedonia
Gallia Narbonensis
Hispania Tarraconensis
Hispania Baetica
Mauretania Tingitana
Mauretania Caesariensis
Numidia
Gaetulia
Libya
Aegyptus
Arabia
Mesopotamia
Syria
Armenia
Pontus
Galatia
Cappadocia
Cilicia
Lycia
Pamphylia
Phrygia
Lydia
Mysia
Bithynia
Paphlagonia
Colchis
Iberia
Albania
Caucasus Mts.
Taurica Chersonesus
Panticapaeum
Maeotae
Sea of Azov
Black Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Tyrrhenian Sea
Ionian Sea
Aegean Sea
Adriatic Sea
Sardinia
Corsica
Sicily
Crete
Cyprus
Rhodus
Malta I.
Meninx I.
Roma
Augusta Taurinorum
Lugdunum
Mediolanum
Ravenna
Aquileia
Salona
Narona
Scodra
Dyrrhachium
Thessalonica
Athenae
Sparta
Corinthus
Capua
Neapolis
Beneventum
Massilia
Narbo
Emporiae
Tarraco
Saguntum
Valentia
Carthago Nova
Gades
Corduba
Hispalis
Ebora
Olisipo
Augusta Emerita
Segovia
Complutum
Toletum
Caesaraugusta
Pompelo
Asturica
Bracara
Lucus Augusti
Flaviobriga
Burdigala
Durocortorum
Lutetia
Augustodunum
Vesontio
Argentoratum
Moguntiacum
Colonia Agrippinensis
Treviri
Augusta Vindelicorum
Vindelici
Regina
Batava Castra
Carnuntum
Vindobona
Aquincum
Porolissum
Sarmizegetusa
Trocmis
Viminacium
Ratiria
Marcianopolis
Nicopolis
Philippopolis
Byzantium
Nicomedia
Nicaea
Amisus
Sinope
Trapezus
Amaxia
Artaxata
Tigranocerta
Edessa
Carrhae
Zeugma
Antioch
Apamea
Laodicea
Seleucia
Salamis
Palmyra
Damascus
Ptolemais
Caesarea
Jerusalem
Petraea
Pelusium
Alexandria
Tanis
Heliopolis
Arsinoe
Memphis
Arsinoë
Heracleopolis
Hermopolis
Sinai Mt.
Parae tonium
Berenice
Cyrene
Ptolemais
Appollonia
Arsinoë
Leptis Magna
Sabrata
Thubactis
Charax
Ara Philaenorum
Augila
Ammonium
Marmarica
CYRENAICA
Thapsus
Hadrumetum
Thevesté
Sicca Veneria
Hippo Regius
Carthage
Utica
Cirta
Sitifi
Caesarea
Tingis
Lixus
Sala
Siga
Tabraca
Thamugadi
Lambaesis
Theveste
Capsa
Thelepte
Tacape
Leptis Minor
Oea
Garama
Nasamones
Garamantes
Augustodunum
Lugdunum
Vienna
Genua
Pisae
Florentia
Arretium
Perusia
Ancona
Asculum
Beneventum
Capua
Latium
Campania
Apulia
Calabria
Samnium
Neapolis
Panormus
Messana
Rhegium
Catana
Syracuse
Agrigentum
Lilybaeum
Tarentum
Brundisium
Aquileia
Iulium Carnicum
Tergeste
Siscia
Mursa
Sirmium
Singidunum
Naissus
Scupi
Dyrrhachium
Lissus
Apollonia
Nicopolis
Dyrrhachium
Philippi
Amphipolis
Thessalonica
Pella
Beroea
Dium
Larissa
Thermopylae
Delphi
Thebae
Athenae
Corinthus
Sparta
Argos
Patrae
Nicopolis
Actium
Dodona
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Nicomedia
Nicaea
Prusa
Amisus
Sinope
Trapezus
Cerasus
Pharnacia
Dioscurias
Phasis
Artaxata
Tigranocerta
Nisibis
Edessa
Carrhae
Zeugma
Hierapolis
Antioch
Apamea
Laodicea
Seleucia
Salamis
Palmyra
Damascus
Ptolemais
Caesarea
Jerusalem
Petraea
Pelusium
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Thevesté
Sicca Veneria
Hippo Regius
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Tabraca
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Vienna
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Florentia
Arretium
Perusia
Ancona
Asculum
Beneventum
Capua
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Apulia
Calabria
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Neapolis
Panormus
Messana
Rhegium
Catana
Syracuse
Agrigentum
Lilybaeum
Tarentum
Brundisium
Aquileia
Iulium Carnicum
Tergeste
Siscia
Mursa
Sirmium
Singidunum
Naissus
Scupi
Dyrrhachium
Lissus
Apollonia
Nicopolis
Dyrrhachium
Philippi
Amphipolis
Thessalonica
Pella
Beroea
Dium
Larissa
Thermopylae
Delphi
Thebae
Athenae
Corinthus
Sparta
Argos
Patrae
Nicopolis
Actium
Dodona
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Nicomedia
Nicaea
Prusa
Amisus
Sinope
Trapezus
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Pharnacia
Dioscurias
Phasis
Artaxata
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Nisibis
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Carrhae
Zeugma
Hierapolis
Antioch
Apamea
Laodicea
Seleucia
Salamis
Palmyra
Damascus
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Arsinoe
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Arsinoë
Heracleopolis
Hermopolis
Sinai Mt.
Parae tonium
Berenice
Cyrene
Ptolemais
Appollonia
Arsinoë
Leptis Magna
Sabrata
Thubactis
Charax
Ara Philaenorum
Augila
Ammonium
Marmarica
CYRENAICA
Thapsus
Hadrumetum
Thevesté
Sicca Veneria
Hippo Regius
Carthage
Utica
Cirta
Sitifi
Caesarea
Tingis
Lixus
Sala
Siga
Tabraca
Thamugadi
Lambaesis
Theveste
Capsa
Thelepte
Tacape
Leptis Minor
Oea
Garama
Nasamones
Garamantes



PART III.—THE EMPIRE.

CHAPTER LXII.—THE FIRST CÆSARS.

THE establishment of the Roman Empire is generally dated from the battle of Actium, B. C. 31. This event, however, as well as the peaceable recognition of his authority after the conquest of Egypt, was but the culmination of a series of historical movements, which, so far as personal agency was concerned, had their origin with Julius Cæsar. As a matter of fact, Augustus was the inheritor of a vast estate whose limits had been circumscribed by the sword of his great-uncle, and whose fields had been sown and orchards planted amid the tumults and agitations of the civil wars. It now remains to trace out briefly the history of that colossal power which, under the name of the EMPIRE, was destined to survive in the West for five hundred and in the East for fifteen hundred years. The picture will be crowded with more splendid but less heroic events than those which make up the history of the Republic.

The great fact in the new power thus established was centralization. The civil and military authority was lodged in the hands of the Cæsar. The Empire promised peace. With the coming of tranquillity, the people became content with the change. Even the senators learned that their remaining rights and prerogatives were more secure when protected by the imperial sword than when exposed to the vicissitudes of the Republic.

Augustus was prudent and politic. He declined the dictatorship, and sought to preserve the forms and even the name of the Republic. The shadow of liberty was exhibited to the people, and they accepted it for the substance.

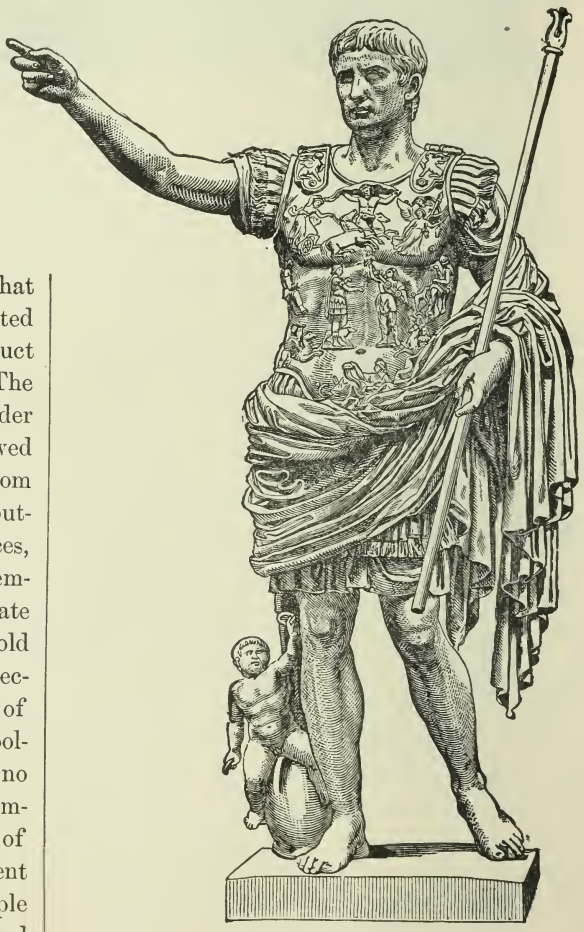
In his administration Octavianus followed as far as practicable the outlines of the old constitution. Republican methods and precedents were set forth and honored in the observance. Contrary to the course pursued by Julius Cæsar, Octavianus rather fostered and upheld the Senate as one of the means of governing; and this body, in turn, conferred upon him what powers and dignity soever seemed necessary to the head of the state. A revised list of senators was made out; unworthy material was eliminated, and new members appointed to the vacancies. Nor could it be truthfully said, in the age of Augustus, that the character of the Roman Senate was in dignity and ability below the standard which should measure the chief advisory body of an empire so vast and powerful. On the Kalends, the Nones, and the Ides of each month regular meetings of the Senate were held, and the

measures thereat debated which were of highest importance to the progress of the state.

In B. C. 29 Octavianus was again chosen to the consulship; and to preserve the old constitutional form, Agrippa was associated with him as a colleague. Octavianus was honored with the title Princeps Senatus—an old distinction which had not been observed since the death of Catulus. He, however, adopted the *rôle* of the diffident magistrate, and was in the habit of resigning many of the honors voted to him by the Senate. Thus in B. C. 28 he renounced those powers which he had assumed on the formation of the triumvirate; and in the following year he went so far as to express a wish—which he was very far from entertaining—to give up his prerogatives altogether. The obsequious Senate, however, insisted that he should remain in power, and he consented to retain the military command in the conduct of foreign wars for a period of ten years. The home districts, however, of the Empire, under the name of Senatorial Provinces, were allowed to remain under the control of that body from which they derived their name; while the outlying regions, known as Imperial Provinces, fell to the exclusive government of the emperor. Into the former divisions of the state proconsuls were sent as governors, after the old Republican method; while to the latter executive offices were assigned by appointment of the Cæsar. It was a part of this shrewd policy—since the Senatorial Provinces were in no need of military defense—to throw the command of the entire army into the hands of Augustus. In consideration of these apparent concessions and magnanimity, the people heaped upon him still additional honors and titles.

In the year B. C. 23, his artful procedures were still further heightened in effect by an attack of fever, which gave him an opportunity, after his recovery, to acquaint the Senate with the provisions of his will. He had taken care, in the event of his death, not to name a successor, but to resign all his prerogatives to the Senate. The bait of the imperial hook was now eagerly taken by the unsuspicious and servile senators, and it was voted to grant to Augustus a body-guard of twelve lictors, and a curule chair for life between the two occupied by the nominal consuls. This step so greatly strengthened and confirmed Octavianus in his offices that many historians have chosen this year as the true date of the founding of the Empire.

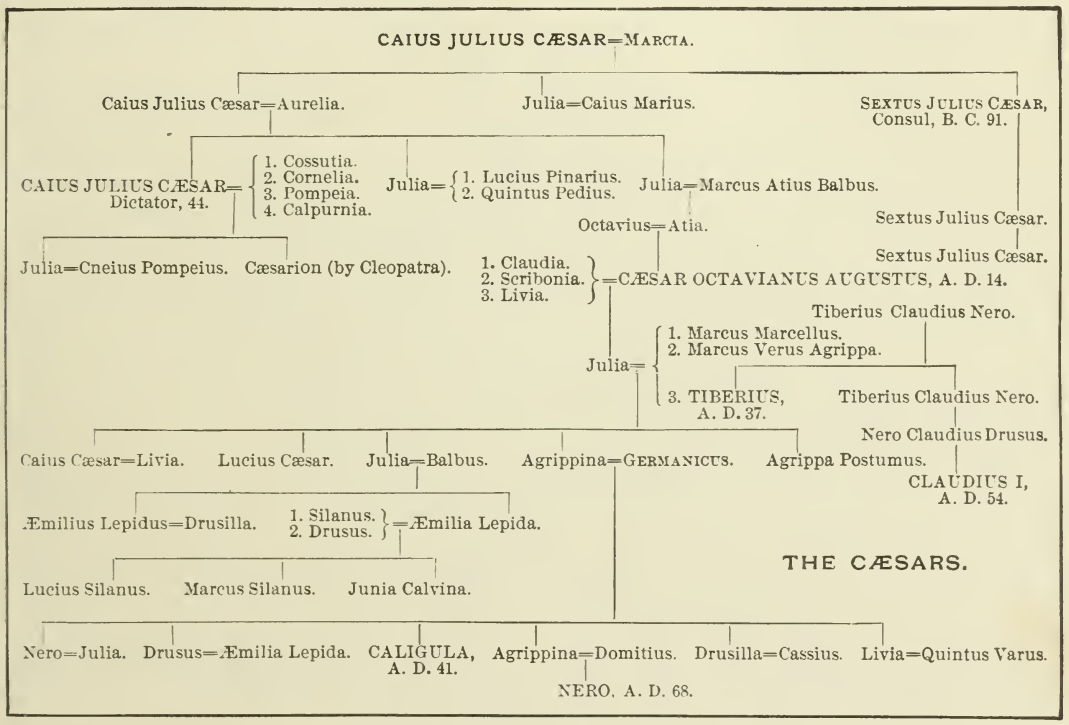
The position of the Cæsar was now such as to give him an almost exclusive monopoly of the powers of the state. He might take the initiative in proposing laws, though as yet the completion of legislative acts rested with the Senate. In B. C. 19, however, the full right of issuing an edict having the force of law was granted by the shadowy body which still continued to exercise the phantom functions of government. There thus remained only the power of pontifex maximus to complete in Augustus the impersonation of the state; and



AUGUSTUS.—Vatican.

in the year 12, when the deposed triumvir, Lepidus, died, his office of chief pontiff was transferred to the sovereign.

The great transformation thus accomplished in the structure of Roman society was effected without noticeable agitations. The old institutions of Rome still walked like well pleased shadows about the Forum and the Campus. The Senate assembled on the stated days, freely debated the questions which were presented, passed resolutions and bills, and flattered itself that it was the same body of which to assume an air of haughtiness and grandeur. His house was not of the most splendid and his apparel was the garb of Roman citizenship, undistinguished by badges or insignia. He went freely among the people, walked the streets of the city and saluted his friends as would be expected of any other person of distinction. His banquets were comparatively free from ostentation, and his tables were never the scene of boisterous revelry and drunkenness. He even insisted that the women of his household should practice industry and



Cato and Cicero had once been members, and Augustus was careful not to dispel the illusion. The looker-in on Rome beheld the priest and the virgin ascending the hill of the Capitol as of old. The municipal officers still bearing the ancient names went as usual to the discharge of their daily duties.

Meanwhile Augustus drew between himself and the other dignitaries of the state as little distinction in right and etiquette as possible. His life on the Palatine was that of a wealthy senator. On election days he went into the public assembly and voted as any other citizen. In the Senate House he was careful not to economy after the manner of the matrons and maidens of ancient Rome. This cold temperament and passionless character made self-control as easy to the man Octavianus as it was necessary to the man Augustus. The senses of all Rome were thus lulled into repose. The truculent specters of the old aristocracy ceased to menace the established order, and the Roman populace had its bread and its circus. It ate the one and went to the other and was satisfied.

The noiseless pressure of the new *régime* was particularly felt in the suppression of the hurtful distinctions hitherto existing in Roman

society. Augustus steadily pursued the policy of weakening the influence of the hereditary aristocracy and strengthening the provincials of the Empire. No opportunity was lost of extending the rights of citizenship and developing a national spirit among the out-dwellers of Italy. Taxation was equalized, municipal privileges freely bestowed, and justice fairly administered. The partiality which had hitherto been manifested towards the home state was no longer seen. Even the exemption which Italy had enjoyed at the expense of the provinces from the presence of a standing army was annulled, and she was obliged to bear her burden with the rest. To the end that peace might be maintained under sanction of the sword, nine cohorts were organized for the army of Italy. Of these regiments three were to occupy Rome, and the other six to be distributed at convenient points among the Italian towns. In addition to this army of prætorians, there was a kind of city guard in the capital, consisting of several additional cohorts besides the Imperial guard, composed mostly of German soldiers, and constituting a police which the Emperor might summon at any moment to his side.

While Augustus did not—could not—exhibit the amazing activities of the elder Cæsar, he nevertheless devoted himself with the greatest assiduity and energy to the vast business of the Roman state. The municipal government of the capital was organized on a new basis. The city was divided into fourteen districts, or "regions," and each of these into wards or *vici*. To each *vicus* a police magistrate was assigned with an adequate squad of patrolmen and guards. Over all the municipal magistrates was placed a prefect of the city, a position assigned at the first to the able and trustworthy Mæcenas. To him, also, was intrusted the command of the city cohorts; and he was held responsible, especially during the absence of the Emperor, for the order and quiet of the capital.

Augustus gave much attention to the reform of manners and customs. The habits of the Romans had become greatly depraved by the vices of civil war and the corrupting influences of luxury. Assiduous efforts were made by the new administration to restore, at least in some measure, the simpler method of life, the religious practices and domestic virtues of the olden time. The temples of the gods were built anew and beautified. New life was instilled into the priesthood. The Sibylline books were revised, and extravagant expenditures in religious rites and public celebrations interdicted by law. Severe penalties were enacted against bribery, and the political condition purified by wholesome legislation. The domestic tie was encouraged by making the celibate incapable of inheriting property, and the childless-married man was to lose a part of his estate.

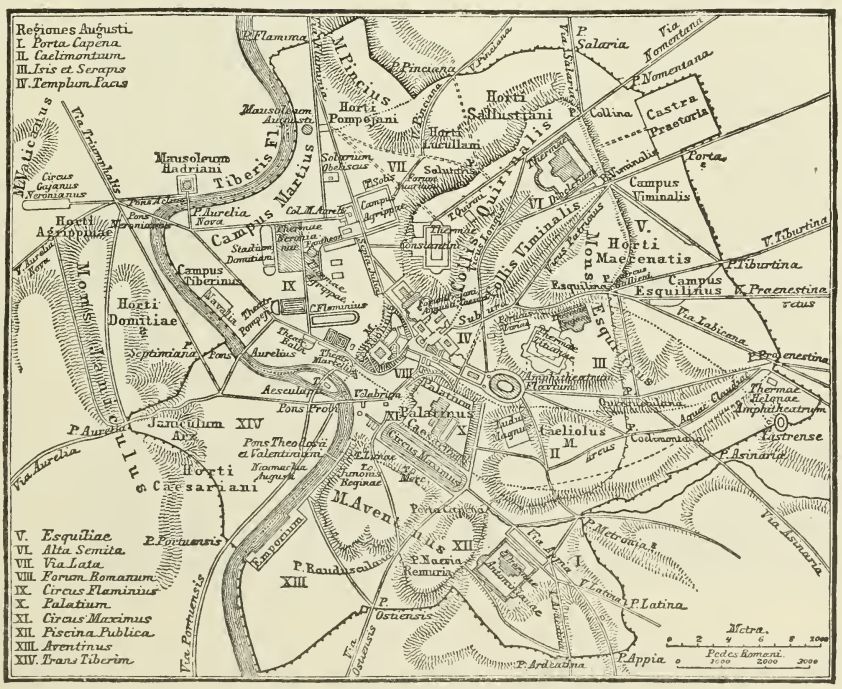
What may be called the physical development of the Empire was carefully considered. The means of communication from province to province, and between the provinces and the capital, were diligently improved. Statistical information was regularly compiled, and the geography of the kingdom was studied by scholars under the patronage of the Emperor. The dissemination of intelligence and edicts of authority from the capital to the remotest part, and the collection of news from the provinces, were facilitated by the establishment of an efficient post. Wagons and carriers sped from station to station along the paved and beautiful thoroughfares which stretched across the Empire, carrying the behests of the central will to the borders of the state, and bringing back a knowledge of the condition of outlying territories and distant peoples. Even common travel was so quickened by the ample means afforded that one might speed a distance of more than a hundred miles in a day.

In the general improvement of the Empire much encouragement was also given to commerce. Rome became the Babylon of the West. In her markets were displayed nearly all the products of the world. The commercial theory of the state was that the provinces should direct their industrial energies to the production of the great staples, and that Italy should be the center in which the lines of traffic should converge. Rome was to be the metropolis of the nations as well as of the Italian peninsula. Sicily, Sardinia, Egypt, Northern Africa, Spain, and Gaul were ex-

pected to furnish the grain with which the world was to be fed. The rare and costly things were contributed by the East. The riches of the provinces of Asia were drawn to the emporium of Alexandria, and were thence borne by merchantmen to the harbor of Rome. Such became the splendor of the Eternal City that strangers from all parts of the world, having once stood on the Capitol Hill and in the Forum, bore to distant lands the fame of the city of the Cæsar.

Meanwhile the process of obliterating the old lines of distinction between aristocrat and equestrian, knight and plebeian, Optimate and Proletarian, was carried steadily forward. It was the policy of the Empire, without an actual destruction of inequalities in rank, to constitute a single body politic—the People of Rome. If the industrial energies of the masses could have been quickened into proper activity a still more healthful condition might have been produced. Unfortunate it was, however, that the Roman commons had, by long indulgence, acquired the habits of unthrift, the vices of indolence. To continue the gratuitous distribution of provisions seemed a necessity of the situation. Against this practice Julius Cæsar had set himself and his administration. By vigorous measures he had succeeded in reducing the number of state beneficiaries to a hundred and seventy thousand; but the indulgent Augustus, willing to administer a temporary panacea, permitted the number of paupers to whom grain was regularly distributed to increase to three hundred and twenty thousand—a vast and hungry horde, easily agitated, and quickly kindled into violence.

The monarchy thus established in Italy and stretching out its arms to the remotest corners of civilization was essentially military in its structure. It rested upon the army. The imperial office was that of Imperator. The Emperor commanded and the world stood fast. When the civil wars were ended, the military force consisted of fifty legions, and the peace-footing only reduced the number to eighteen. Even this number was presently augmented to twenty-five, the legions being distributed to those parts of the Empire where the presence of an army was most desired. Eight legions were stationed to guard the frontier of the Rhine; three were assigned to Spain; seven, to Pannonia and Mœsia; two, to Egypt; one, to Northern Africa; two, to the extreme East.



PLAN OF ROME, TIME OF AUGUSTUS.

The protection of Rome and Italy was intrusted to the Prætorian Guards. The soldiers of the regular army were constituted a class, and under the direction of able officers they became by discipline and subordination the best representatives of the Roman character.

Not so, however, the prætorians. The latter absorbed all of the vicious influences of the capital, and to these added the vices of the camp. Their leaders were generally infected with the politics of the capital, and the guards soon became more of a menace than a protection to the state. As to the naval service, a large fleet was retained under the command of Agrippa. Naval stations were established at Ravenna, Misenum, and Fregus, in Gaul, and from these harbors squadrons were sent out to chase pirates, collect tribute, cruise around the shores of the Mediterranean, and convoy merchantmen to and from the East.

Only for a short season after the conquest of Egypt were the portals of Janus closed.



DRUSUS.

It soon became necessary for Augustus to make a vigorous use of the sword for the protection of the imperial borders. As early as B. C. 27, the Cæsar was called to Lugdunum to settle the affairs of Gaul. It was found necessary to revolutionize the Gallic towns, and to make war on the Iberi and Cantabri. The policy was adopted of founding military colonies, and encouraging the introduction of the Latin language and customs among the Gauls. Highways were established at least by two routes across the Alps, and communication thus made easy between Italy and Gallia Transalpina.

In B. C. 24, a trouble occurred on the borders of Upper Egypt, which made it necessary for the Roman legion stationed at Alexandria to make war on Candace, queen of Ethiopia. But this petty hostility was soon repressed. In the same year an expedition, led by Ælius Gallus, penetrated into Arabia Felix, but was attended with no success. Two years afterwards, Augustus himself made a tour of the East. Passing from Sicily into Greece, and thence into Phœnicia, he settled various complications in those distant parts, and then proceeded to recover from the Parthians the Roman standards which had been taken from Crassus. On his return to Rome, another extension of his authority for five years was voted by the Senate, and the Secular Games[1] were celebrated in honor of the event. Great care was taken that the festival should be observed after the manner of the fathers. To this end the Sibylline books were consulted, and the priests ordered to prepare a celebration which no living Roman had ever witnessed or would witness again.

The next foreign difficulties of the Empire were on the frontier of the Rhine. The Germanic nations never ceased to press upon that border. In order to check the incursion of the Teutonic tribes and make sure of the Rhine as the permanent boundary of the Empire, a chain of no fewer than seventy fortresses was established along that river. The defense of those regions against the constant menaces of barbarism was intrusted to DRUSUS and TIBERIUS, both surnamed Claudius Nero, and both stepsons of the emperor. The two generals were ambitious of military fame, and aimed at the conquest of Germany. Drusus constructed a canal from the Lower Rhine by way of the Zuyder Zee to the mouths of the river, thus extending the defenses of the Empire from Basle to the North Sea. In B. C. 12 he captured the island of Burchana at the mouth of the Rhine, and in the same year conquered the Bructeri, dwelling on the right bank of the river. Soon afterwards the Usipii were also subdued, and in B. C. 10 the other over-Rhine nations were conquered as far as the river Elbe. This was, however, an ill-omened

[1] The Secular Games were a national institution which the Romans established in the times of Valerius Publicola. They were celebrated in honor of Pluto and Proserpine, the divinities of Death and Life. The general purpose was to avert by divine interposition calamity and downfall from the state. They were called secular from *sæculum*, meaning an age, and were observed at long and irregular intervals. Three times before the reign of Augustus they had been celebrated, and were now, in B. C. 17, revived with great pomp and magnificence. It was for this celebrated occasion that Horace composed his Ode, called the *Carmen Sæculare*, or "Secular Hymn."

expedition. Doubtless the iron heart of the Roman soldier quailed before the solitudes of the German forests. Portents were seen and heard. On his way back to the Rhine Drusus fell from his horse and killed himself. Tiberius was at once summoned to the command, and the tribes on the Rhine yielded to Roman domination. They sent to a conference several of their leading chiefs, who were seized by Augustus and held as hostages.

Taken altogether, the last years of the Old Era corresponding with the first of the reign of Augustus were the happiest which had ever been witnessed in Rome. There was almost universal content. The people went to and fro in the callings of peace and the poets broke forth in song. At intervals a slight manifestation was discovered of that old stoical republicanism which had used the dagger against Julius. Several feeble conspiracies were made against the Emperor's life. As early as B. C. 30 the younger Lepidus, son of the triumvir, was detected in a project of assassination, and was justly put to death. Other similar attempts were discovered and punished by the execution of their authors; but in general the public life of Augustus was troubled with few alarms and fewer disasters.

In the emperor's household, however, there was much distress. Agrippa and Mæcenas, his most trusted friends and counselors, died, the one in B. C. 12, and the other in 8. Drusus, as already narrated, perished in the German campaign. Tiberius, married to the dissolute Julia, daughter of the emperor, unable longer to endure her conduct, exiled himself to the island of Rhodes; while she was banished by an imperial edict to Pandataria. Of the grandchildren of Augustus the two most promising were Caius and Lucius Cæsar, and to them the emperor looked with pride and expectation; but they presently both died of a pestilence, and the emperor was obliged to adopt Tiberius as his heir. The latter in his turn adopted Drusus, surnamed Germanicus, son of that Drusus who had perished in Germany.

It was now the epoch of the CHRIST. Jesus, the son of Mary and the carpenter, was born in Bethlehem of Judæa. He came in an age of peace and expectancy; but it did not appear that one born in the obscurity of a Syrian provincial village would be able to give a new date to history and change the religious beliefs of mankind. The story of his life is too well known to need repetition. His first twelve years were passed with his parents in Nazareth. Of the next eighteen, not a solitary fragment of an account has been preserved. There are, however, some inferential grounds for believing that the years of his later youth and early manhood were spent in travel and observation abroad; nor does it contradict conjecture that the countries with whose life and belief he made himself familiar were Egypt, Arabia, and the East. At the age of thirty he began his career as a public teacher, and



THE CHRIST.
After the celebrated painting by Correggio in Dresden Gallery.

three years afterwards was seized by his countrymen, dragged before the Sanhedrim and the procurator Pontius Pilate on the compound charge of blasphemy against heaven and treason against Cæsar, condemned, and crucified on Mount Calvary, just outside the wall of Jerusalem. The malevolent and vindictive Jews took the whole responsibility for his execution upon themselves, saying in defiance that his blood might rest upon them and their children.

The death of Christ was for the time a staggering blow to his followers. After a brief season, however, they rallied from the shock, and began to "preach his Gospel among all nations, beginning with Jerusalem." Not, however, until the appearance of Paul on the scene did any great organizing mind arise to give form and organic union to the various bands of Christians that sprang up in Palestine, Asia Minor, Greece, and finally in Rome. Under his masterful evangelism the doctrines of the new faith were disseminated, not only in the provincial towns of the East, but in the very capital of the world and the household of the Cæsar.

In the first years of our era the attention of the Empire was constantly directed to the Germanic frontier. In A. D. 6, the Marcomanni, a powerful tribe of Teutons, led by their king, Maroboduüs, went to war with Rome. Tiberius marched against them and traversed the Hercynian forest, and had almost reached the army of the hostile tribe, when he was suddenly recalled by a formidable revolt in Dalmatia and Pannonia. The insurrection was so extensive and defiant that great alarm was produced throughout Italy. A large army and an extensive campaign were required to reduce the insurgents to submission. The rebellion broke the charm which the administration of Augustus had diffused, and showed that empire and peace were not necessarily synonymous.

Hardly had the Pannonian revolt been suppressed before a still more serious outbreak occurred among the nations beyond the Rhine. The Emperor had committed the military governorship of Germany to a certain Publius Quintilius Varus, who had previously been prætor of Syria, and had acquired most of the vices incident to official life in the provinces. Totally misapprehending the character of the Germans, he undertook the discharge of his duties by the same method which he had employed in the East. He went about with no sufficient show of military authority, issued arbitrary edicts in the German towns, imposed tribute on the tribes, neither consulting with the chiefs nor giving to any a reason for his acts.

Presently the stubborn spirit of the German race began to show its dissatisfaction with the system of the governor. A leader was soon found in the person of a chief named Hermann, who invited all the nations between the Rhine and the Weser to form a confederation and renounce all allegiance to Rome. Thereupon Varus found it necessary to undertake the maintenance of his authority by force. In the year 9 of the new era he collected an army of three legions, and advanced against the tribes in insurrection. The Germans fell back from place to place, until they drew the Roman army into the Teutoburger forest. Here in the solitude of their native haunts they turned upon the Romans and routed them with great slaughter. Varus, having lost forty thousand of his men and the eagles of the legions, covered his disgrace with the mantle of suicide.

Thus was Rome again thrown into the utmost consternation. The emperor himself, in a fit of temporary despair, went wailing about the halls of the basilica, crying out in his anguish, "Varus, Varus, give me back my legions!" In order to repair the disaster, Tiberius, who now held command in Pannonia, was dispatched in the following year to make war on the rebellious tribes. But when he advanced into the enemy's country, the Germans refused to join battle unless they could entrap their foes as they had done with Varus and his army. But Tiberius was more wary than his predecessor, and took care not to expose himself to such a fate as had befallen the legions in the previous year. He accordingly withdrew after a brief campaign, and again established the Rhine as the north-eastern boundary of the Empire.

Augustus was already nearing his end.

He was now nearly seventy-six years of age, and for forty-four years had borne the cares and responsibilities of the state. In the summer of A. D. 14, Tiberius was sent on an expedition into Illyricum. In departing, he was accompanied as far as Beneventum by the emperor. In returning to Rome Augustus was taken sick, and, after a short illness, died at city herself, where this magnificence of thought and deed was exhibited, it has been said, without undue license of speech, that Augustus found Rome of brick, and left it of marble.

After the death of the emperor's grandsons, Caius and Lucius, public attention was naturally turned to Tiberius as the probable successor to the throne. Him, indeed, had



BATTLE WITH THE GERMANS IN THE TEUTOBURGER FOREST.

the town of Nola, on the 19th day of August. So signal had been his success as a general, an emperor, and a man that his name has been indissolubly associated with that colossal power over which he was the first recognized ruler, and with one of the most brilliant literary epochs in the world. With that age are blended the splendid achievements of Virgil and Horace, of Livy and Ovid; and of the Augustus associated with himself in the government, and to his claims, after the Emperor's death, there was no formidable opposition. Tiberius Claudius Nero, therefore, at the age of forty-six, found himself raised by common consent to the throne of the Cæsars. On his accession to power, acting in accordance with an alleged but manifestly fictitious wish of the late Emperor, he put to death Agrippa

Postumus, the only remaining son of Julia and Agrippa. Having thus cleared the field of his solitary rival, he assumed the peaceful policy of his predecessor, and began his reign with moderation and prudence. He took upon himself the same assumed humility of demeanor which had marked the methods of Augustus, and the old republican shadows were still allowed to stalk undisturbed about the Senate House and Forum.

Several features of the military service of the Empire were of a sort to create dissatis-



GERMANICUS.

faction and perhaps engender mutiny. The rate of pay established by the first Emperor had been ruinously low for a soldiery, which could not any longer be supplied by miscellaneous pillage. Towns once conquered and added to the imperial system could not henceforth be plundered at the will of every military commandant. War was less profitable than in the palmy days of the Republic, when the spoliation of the world was the one great vocation of the Romans. The term of service, moreover—having been fixed at twenty years for the legionaries and fourteen years for the prætorians—became exceedingly irksome to the army. Time and again during the reign of Augustus were heard the mutterings of discontent. Tiberius inherited this disaffection. The soldiers demanded an increase of pay and a reduction in the term of service. The legions in Pannonia mutinied, and Tiberius was obliged to send to the insurgents, by his son Drusus, surnamed GERMANICUS, an assurance of a speedy compliance with their demands. Having accomplished this mission, Drusus led the legions across the Rhine and distracted their attention from their late troubles by an invasion of Germany.

The general soon proved himself to be a brave and competent commander. The powerful tribe of the Cherusci were routed in battle, and then Drusus plunged, as Varus had done, into the Teutoberger forest. The old battle-field was reached, and the bleaching bones of Varus's legionaries were gathered up and honored with sepulture. One of the lost eagles of Rome was recovered from the enemy, but Herman formed an ambuscade, drew Germanicus and his army into the trap, and attempted to repeat his former work of annihilation. All the desperate courage of the legionaries and the skill of the commander were required to save the army from destruction.

Germanicus, however, soon recovered himself, and fresh levies were brought forward for another campaign. He conducted his army by way of the Zuyder Zee canal to the Weser, where the German nations were assembled to give him battle. A great victory was here gained by the Romans, but the Teutons were by no means conquered, and Drusus prepared to follow up his success when he was suddenly recalled by Tiberius, who had become jealous of his fame. The emperor was of a disposition naturally suspicious, and this trait had been whetted into unusual sensitiveness by his position. He began to look with an eye askance on any and all whom his fancy painted as possible rivals of his greatness. His own social and domestic life had been embittered to its depths by his relations with Julia and the Cæsarian household. So, as soon as Rome began to ring with the praises of Germanicus, he contrived to recall him from his uncom-

pleted campaign on the pretext of needing his services in suppressing a revolt in Cappadocia.

Drusus cheerfully answered the summons. Nor did his expedition into Asia Minor prove less successful than the one which he had conducted into Germany. The eastern insurrection was quickly quelled, and the military reputation of Germanicus still further enhanced. He returned to Rome by way of Egypt; but presently after reaching the city he fell sick and died. Nor is the suspicion wanting that his death was caused by poison administered by his adjutant, Cneius Piso, acting, as was believed, under the inspiration of Tiberius. Piso was arrested and held to answer the charge before the Senate; but when called to make his defense he virtually confessed the crime by committing suicide.

The suspicions and jealousies of Tiberius grew by what they fed on. His baleful eyes were turned with malevolence against the members of the noble houses of Rome. These, forsooth, *might* conspire to dethrone him. He therefore adopted schemes for their destruction. The law of *Majestas*, intended for the protection of the Emperor's life and dignity by the punishment of those who should take counsel against him, was revived and extended to all words and writings upon which a defamatory construction might be placed. A brood of miserable informers grew up about the Cæsar's court, whose falsehoods and innuendoes were sufficient to destroy the best men of Rome. There was no longer safety for any. Poison and the dagger did their work, not only against those who spoke lightly of the Emperor, but also against those who spoke not at all. Silence became constructive treason.

These were the first dark days of bloody-minded distrust in the Imperial administration, to be followed by many more as gloomy and dreadful. So keen became the suspicion of Tiberius that he called no more to his aid the Senate and Executive Council, so often appealed to by Augustus. Lest any should encroach upon his prerogatives, or act with treachery towards his government, he took upon himself the whole burden of the administration. Finding, however, that the assumption of such a load was as foolish as it was impossible, he sought to associate with himself only those whose low birth and meanness of character would exclude them from the list of his rivals.

Acting under this instinct of the gutter, Tiberius sought and found a certain ÆLIUS SEJANUS, whom he appointed master of the prætorian guards. The latter was a base-born and brutal character, who had, nevertheless, all the ambition and subtlety peculiar to his type. Not long had he been the right arm of Tiberius until he formed the design of obtaining the succession for himself. The hereditary principle had already become well recognized in the Cæsarian system. In order, therefore, to reach the throne, Sejanus perceived that it was necessary for the legitimate heirs to disappear. At this time the expectation of the state was centered in Drusus Cæsar, son of Tiberius by his first wife, Vipsania. The prince was soon disposed of by poison. The next step of the base intriguer was to kindle the Emperor's hatred against Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus. He soon afterward persuaded Tiberius, who was now greatly under his influence, to retire to a villa in the island of Capreæ, and leave the management of the state to himself. This left Sejanus free to proceed as he would. Agrippina and her two sons, Caius and Drusus, together with any others who might seem to stand in his way, were either assassinated or thrown into prison. Tiberius meanwhile, in his place of resort, gave himself up to gluttony and repose, and Rome was left to the mercy of a brute.

After a season, however, the story of Sejanus's high-handed proceedings penetrated even the stupefaction of Tiberius. His old jealousy flamed up, and he resolved to bring his haughty subordinate to a sudden accounting. By this time, however, Sejanus had concluded that his master could now be spared from further interference in the affairs of Rome. He accordingly formed a plan for his assassination; but Tiberius outwitted his treacherous subordinate, and in A. D. 31 Sejanus was seized and executed.

For the moment, there was joy in Rome over the destruction of the tyrant. It was

even hoped that Tiberius, after his round of excess and bloodshed, would return to the policy and manners of Augustus. But his nature was incapable of reform. As age drew on, his life became more gloomy, his character more despicable. His disposition and practices were relieved by only a single gleam of light, and that was the prospect of his death. His dissipations in Capreæ had ruined his health. He tottered briefly about the basilica



THE ELDER AGRIPPINA.

under the weight of a disreputable old age, and then died in his seventy-eighth year, A. D. 37.

The only benefits which flowed from the administration of Tiberius were traceable to the earlier years of his reign. His first acts were marked with wisdom and firmness. For a season, the order and progress of the state were maintained with a steady hand. A milder system of government was enforced in the provinces; nor did the Emperor at the first exhibit that cruelty of disposition which afterward converted him into a persecutor and a tyrant. It is narrated that in many of the state trials of the early years of his reign, he interposed on behalf of the accused, and saved them from sentence. Gradually, however, the exercise of arbitrary power, the dissipations of the court, the foreboding and gloom of old age seen in the distance, and the naturally unsympathetic nature of Tiberius, reduced him to the level and practices of an Oriental despot.

Tiberius died without nominating a successor. The choice of the Senate fell on CAIUS CÆSAR, the son of Germanicus. He was twenty-five years old at the date of his accession, and had passed nearly his whole life in the camp. He was a great favorite with the soldiers, who gave him the name of CALIGULA or "Little Boots," because of the half-boots of the soldiers in which the youth delighted to strut about his father's tent.

The introduction of the new Cæsar's reign was marked with clemency. Those who had been imprisoned for political offenses, real or imaginary, were liberated. The brood of informers and sycophants was driven from the basilica, and careful attention was paid to those old republican forms which, in their exercise, still seemed to imply that the people and the Senate were the sources of authority. For a brief season Caligula gave himself to the duties of government with a zeal and enthusiasm which promised the best results. But this legitimate activity was of short duration.

In the course of a few months the Emperor began to indulge in dissipations and extravagance. He even displayed symptoms of insanity in the reckless path of his descent. His slumbers were disquieted with strange dreams and hallucinations, indicating an abnormal condition of mind. He ceased to regard the interests of the state, and abandoned himself to the circus. The old extravagant style of celebrating the games and shows was revived. Gladiatorial combats became more fashionable than ever. Members of the Senate were induced to enter the arena, and presently the Emperor himself took his place on the sand and fought as a gladiator for the amusement of Rome. With the increase of his nervous excitement, Caligula became cruel and bloodthirsty. At times he ordered spectators in the amphitheater to be seized and thrown to the

wild beasts. Caprice became his master, and the destruction of life his chief delight. He married his sister, and when she died he had divine honors decreed to her by the Senate. As a divinity she received the name of *Panthea*, and her statue was set up in the temple of Venus.

Tired at length of dissipation, Caligula turned to butchery. Tiberius had killed through jealousy; the present Cæsar, for the love of murder. Senators, knights, generals, nobles, provincial magnates fell right and left like oxen in the royal shambles. Confiscation followed in order to keep bank-full the river of extravagant expenditure which flowed through Rome.

It had been the misfortune of Caligula's youth to pass a considerable time under the tutelage of Herod Agrippa, the chief of Jewry. By him the mind of the prince was abused with notions of Oriental despotism. He had been taught to believe that monarchs were gods to be worshiped. The time had now come when that pernicious planting was to bear its fruit. Caligula ordered a porch to be built across the Forum from his palace on the Palatine to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, whose equal and representative he claimed to be. He pretended to hold free converse with the immortals. He dressed himself by turns in the habits of Hercules, Bacchus, and Apollo, and when he wearied of impersonating the male deities he appeared in the costumes of Venus, Juno, and Diana! He ordered his statue to be set up in the temples of the Milesian Apollo and of Jehovah at Jerusalem. He had contrived an artificial thundering-machine in order that he might imitate the work of Jove. Finally, after an assumption of equality with the divinities, he advanced his claim to be the chief god of earth and heaven. And Rome, who had once given birth to such lion's whelps as Regulus, Scipio, and Cato, bathed her hands in the spittle of the impious profligate who daily defiled the basilica of the Palatine!

For four years this disgusting drama was enacted in the name of government. The peculiarity of Caligula's delirium was that he required every thing to be done in a magnificent, or rather grandiose, style. He married the woman Cæsonia on account of her size! He was jealous of the preceding reigns because of their calamities. He gloated over the destruction of the army of Varus, and sighed for a repetition of such a sensation as must have followed that prodigious slaughter. In the time of Tiberius the theater at Fidenæ had fallen and crushed fifty thousand people. Caligula longed for the occurrence of another such calamity. Finally he declared that he wished the Roman people had but a single neck that he might sever it with an axe! By

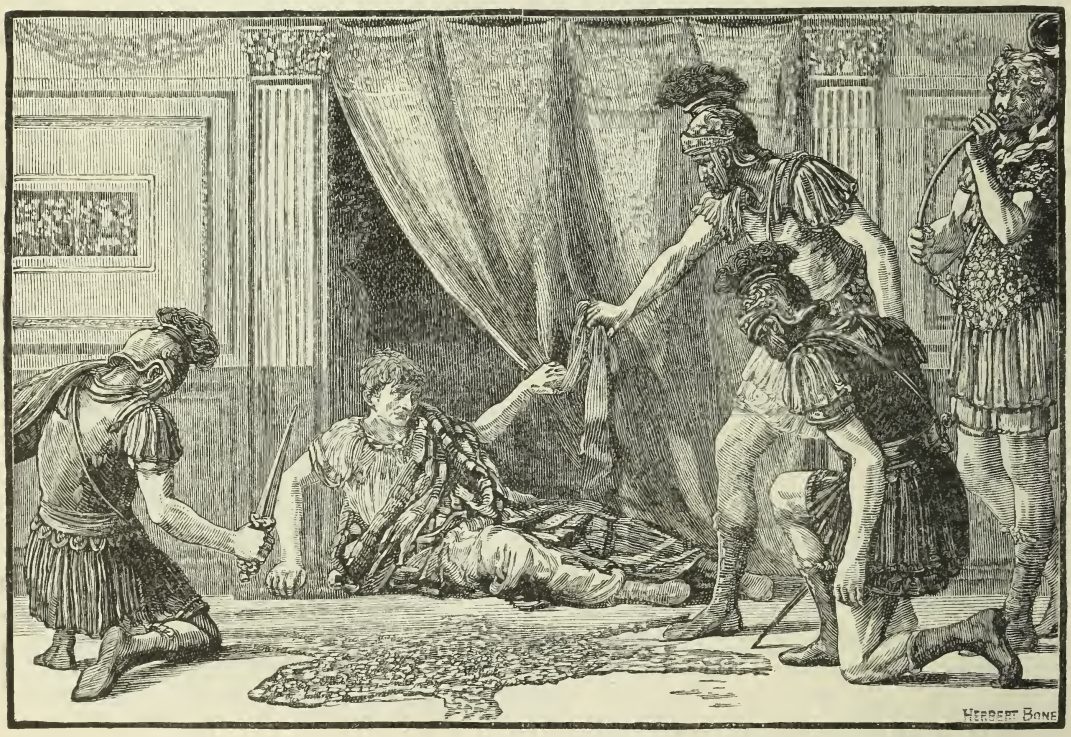


CLAUDIUS.—Rome, Vatican.

degrees his insolence rose to such a pitch that human nature could no more endure his conduct. At length he publicly insulted a tribune of the prætorians, who, with a few others, resolved on a summary revenge. They watched their opportunity, fell upon Caligula as he was going from the amphitheater, and left him dead in the passage with thirty stabs of their daggers in his body. The assassins escaped and the corpse of the Cæsar was taken away by some of his friends and buried in the Lamian gardens.

When the sudden exit of Caligula was known the spasmodic cry of the old Republic was heard in the Senate House. For the

nonce the senators were filled with zeal for the restoration of the impossible. Resolutions were adopted to honor the assassins of the late prince, and to put away his widow and child. The prætorians, however, had now come to know the hand that fed them, and they took upon themselves the easy task of showing the foolishness of the reactionary dream of the Senate. CLAUDIUS, the son of Drusus Claudius Nero, and uncle of Caligula, had assumed the *rôle* of an imbecile. During the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula idiocy was of prime value, especially in those of high birth. Claudius had discovered that to be a fool was to have a breastplate. Whether the prætorians believed him wiser than he seemed, or deemed it better for themselves that the Empire should have an imbecile for its head, does not appear. At any rate, they chose him for Emperor; and he was dragged from his hiding-place in the palace to assume the duties of government.



THE PRÆTORIANS HAILING CLAUDIUS AS EMPEROR.

Without great abilities, the new Cæsar showed much wisdom in the beginning of his reign. He imitated the policy of Augustus. The exiles were recalled, and the devastations wrought by the late ruler were effaced as rapidly as possible.

After the conquest of the island by Julius Cæsar, but little attention had been paid to Britain. The firm establishment and growth of Roman institutions in Gaul, however, and the extension of civilization to the British Channel, had naturally attracted the interest of the Empire to the important island beyond. Commercial relations had sprung up between Londinium and the towns of the continent, and ships passed constantly between the Thames and the Rhine. Thus far the Romans had had no more than a bare footing in the south-eastern part of the island. It remained for Claudius to signalize his reign by conquering the British tribes as far as the Avon and the Severn. In the course of a campaign into the country of the Silures, the general of Claudius met the famous British chieftain CARACTACUS, whom he overthrew in a great battle. The native king was captured and sent to Rome to grace the triumph of the victor. He was permitted as a prisoner to address the Emperor, and is said to have made

a profound impression by his patriotism and kingly bearing. A strong colony was established at Camulodunum, which became the center of Roman influence in South Britain. The usual policy was adopted of introducing the Latin language, by the founding of schools



CARACTACUS AND HIS WIFE BEFORE CLAUDIUS AND AGRIPPINA.
Drawn by L. P. Leyendecker.

and the education of the younger Celts in the literature, politics, and arts of the parent state.

The Germans beyond the Rhine were a constant menace to the peace of the Empire. Their swarming tribes were ever pressing to the west, and the cordon of Roman forts on the left bank of the river was an imperative necessity of the situation. During the reign of Claudius there was an unusual commotion among the restless Teutons. They were held in check by the Legions stationed on the frontier; and in one instance at least the Roman arms were again carried beyond the river in a successful campaign. The tribes of the Chatti and Chauci were punished for their arrogance and hostility, and were taught to accept the Rhine as the utmost limit of their excursions.

Personally Claudius had few elements of popularity. His figure was ungainly; his gait, shambling; his legs, crooked; his health, miserable; his countenance, expressive of trepidation and pain. His personal habits, moreover, were of a sort to be admired only by contrast with the despicable conduct of the two emperors who had preceded him. He was gluttonous in food and drink; many times married; devoid of taste; of impure manners.

So far, however, as the great work of governing was concerned, he had a broader view of the requirements of the state than any Roman ruler since Julius Cæsar. He applied himself diligently to business, and outworked most of his subordinates in the onerous duties of the administration. His intellect worked slowly and laboriously, and his government was one of ingenuity rather than of intuition.

In the conduct of foreign affairs, the attention of the Emperor was next directed to the East. He adopted the policy of conciliating the Asiatic provinces by restoring to them their native princes. The sovereignty of Commagene was bestowed on a certain Antiochus. Mithridates, a lineal descendant of Mithridates the Great, was given the kingdom of the Bosphorus. The deposed sovereign of that state was recompensed with a province in Cilicia; while the authority of Herod Agrippa, of Galilee, was extended over the whole of Palestine.

The impudence of Caligula, in ordering his own statue to be set up in the temple of Jehovah, had excited the wrath of the Jews to such an extent that they were on the eve of rebellion. The course pursued by Claudius, however, was highly approved, and the coming of Agrippa to Jerusalem was hailed with delight. The people of Jewry were at this time divided into two parties; the ancient Jewish faction, which upheld the old Israelitish theory of government, and the pagan or Greek party, which maintained the supremacy if not the divinity of the secular ruler. Herod found it impossible to reconcile these factions, or to secure a harmonious government. While in the Jewish capital he was obliged to agree with the Jewish faction; but in the provinces he followed his natural inclinations and affiliated with the Hellenizers. At Cæsarea he fell sick and died, and Palestine was thereupon annexed to the province of Syria.

Several public works were undertaken or completed in the reign of Claudius. A great sewer was constructed to drain the Fucine lake, and a harbor was excavated at the mouth of the Tiber. The aqueduct which had been begun by the engineers of Caligula, was brought to completion, and many other public works promoted. The Claudian census showed a population of nearly twenty-four millions.

The marital relations of Claudius were any thing other than happy. His first wife Plautia and the second Ælia, were both for good reasons divorced. Hereafter he married the notorious Valeria Messalina, who has the historical reputation of being the worst of her sex. Her mind was a vortex of pride, passion, subtlety, ambition, and every vice and crime which could flourish in such a maëlstrom. Deceit was her prevalent trait, and treachery her chief entertainment. She debauched her husband's administration, and turned the government into a bagnio. She finally in A. D. 48 capped the climax of her criminal caprices by marrying a young nobleman named Silius, with whom she proposed to share the throne when Claudius should be disposed of. The Emperor was absent from the capital when the marriage was performed, and on his return, the public scandal (for Messalina had her mar-

riage with Silius publicly celebrated), which had made even the sin-toughened ears of Rome burn with shame, was kept from him who was the chief victim of the intrigue; but when at last the intelligence was forced into his sluggish mind, he promptly ordered Messalina and her confederate to be put to death. It is narrated that a few days after the execution, Claudius had forgotten the event and made inquiry why his wife did not appear at the table![1]

The Emperor, not yet satisfied with his matrimonial experience, chose for his fourth consort his niece, Agrippina, widow of Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus and also of Crispus Passienus. By her first husband she was the mother of the boy Domitius, whom, on her marriage with Claudius, she induced the Emperor to adopt into the imperial family with the cognomen of Nero. To make the succession sure the youth was married to Octavia, the daughter of Claudius and sister of Britannicus, the rightful heir to the throne. To displace this heir, and, indeed, all other rivals who might stand between her son and the light became the purpose of Agrippina, and she pursued her schemes with a conscienceless audacity almost unequaled in the annals of crime. One of the first victims of her envy was Lollia, the divorced wife of Caligula, who sought a marriage with Claudius. Her jealousy was next directed against many Roman noblemen, whom she induced her husband to persecute and destroy. Claudius was already well advanced in years, and weakened by ill-health and the distractions of his office. Falling sick, but presently recovering a measure of strength, he resolved to leave Rome and seek rest on the coast of Campania; but Agrippina had resolved that his rest should be eternal.

Poisoning had now become one of the fine arts in Rome. The business had its connoisseurs and professors. One of the most famous of these criminal gentry was named Locusta, whose services were at the command of any who could pay an adequate price for his skill. Him Agrippina now took into her service and directed to prepare a suitable potion for her lord. He drank it and found that rest which his affectionate spouse had contrived as a remedy for his sorrows.

Nero was now in his sixteenth year. He had been carefully educated by the philosopher Seneca, and on his accession to power showed that the restraints of the salutary instruction which he had received were laid upon his administration. He was also under the influence of the virtuous Burrus, the master of the prætorians. The reign began in A. D. 54, and was characterized by much lenity and moderation. The young Cæsar, however, was soon ruined by the domestic vices with which the Roman court was reeking. After reducing the taxes and increasing the authority of the Senate, Nero suddenly turned profligate and butcher. All the ferocity of his nature was aroused by the conduct of his mother. Not satisfied that her son should be emperor of Rome, she became ambitious to reign herself, and to this end conspired for the overthrow of Nero. She circulated the report that Britannicus was the true Cæsar, and favored his assumption of Imperial power. All the jealousy and passion of Nero were turned against Britannicus, and that unfortunate prince was put to death. The Emperor next fell under the influence of Poppæa Sabina, the beautiful wife of Salvius Otho, and by



NERO.—Rome, Vatican.

[1] There are some reasons for believing that the accredited but incredible story of Messalina is apocryphal in its leading features. It appears that a soothsayer had told Claudius that the husband of Messalina was doomed to a speedy death. He thereupon privately divorced her, and himself contrived her marriage with Silius, to the end that the bolt of fate might fall on another than himself, and a reason be furnished *ex post facto* for the divorce.

her was persuaded to have Agrippina assassinated. This atrocity was immediately followed up by the divorce of Octavia and the murder of Burrus. The government was turned over to his ministers, Tergellinus and Petronius, and Nero abandoned himself to excesses and dissipations. Poppæa became his mistress and was publicly recognized by the Imperial household. Even her husband assented to the shame, and was rewarded with the governorship of the province. The mistress became the Empress, and Octavia, now in exile, was put to death.

Such high-handed profligacy as the Cæsar and his consort now exhibited had never before been witnessed even in Rome. Poppæa had for herself a bath *of milk*, which was supplied by five hundred she-asses kept on the Palatine. Her mules were ordered to be shod with gold, and the trappings of her couch to be trimmed with pearls. After becoming the mother of one child she died from the effects of a royal kick which her noble husband deigned to give her in a fit of passion.

The administration became an administration of blood. The nobles were proscribed, banished, murdered for the crime of being rich. Their estates were confiscated and consumed on the impossible luxuries and caprices of the royal banquet. All the restraints of education, custom, and common decency were flung away by the inflamed despot of Rome. He fancied himself a musician, a scholar, a connoisseur of art, a philosopher. To dispute his claim or criticise his performance was worth the life of him who did it. His pleasures became the scum of dissipation, the very dregs of license and vulgarity. He went into the arena and contended for the prize in music. It was not likely that the judges would withhold from him the palm of victory. In the race-courses of his own gardens, then in the hippodrome of Campania, and finally in the Circus Maximus, he engaged in contests with the most famous equestrians for the prize in horsemanship; and a multitude numbering two hundred thousand people screamed with delight on beholding the ruler of the nation in the character of a driver covered with dust and sweat.

In the year A. D. 64 the city was visited with a conflagration such as had never before been witnessed in Italy, perhaps in the world. For six days Rome was an ocean of flame. Six of the fourteen wards were utterly swept with the besom, and four of the remaining districts were partly devastated. Hundreds and thousands of the venerable structures of Rome—temples, museums, theaters, and basilicas—were wrapped in the vortex, and reduced to ashes. The great edifices of the Palatine, Capitoline, and perhaps of the other hills, were for the most part spared from the conflagration.

The people of the city were at first panic-stricken, then gloomy, and then suspicious. It was believed that the fire—which had broken out in several places—was the work of incendiaries acting under the orders of Nero. Ruffians had been seen setting fire to buildings; and it was presently noised abroad that, during the progress of the conflagration, the Emperor had taken his station on the turret of the villa of Mæcenas, and amused himself with enacting a drama entitled the *Sack of Troy*, composed by himself. The fire had been devised as a realistic aid to the royal imagination!

The spread of this well-founded rumor created a sullen rage among the sufferers, and the throne was shaken by the surging of the masses. But Nero now pretended the greatest sympathy. He traversed the devastated districts and distributed money freely to those who were in need. With a view to transferring the odium to others, he exhibited great zeal in discovering the perpetrators of the crime. In his hunt for malefactors he fell upon the hated Jews, and these were chosen as the factitious criminals. More particularly was the new sect of Christians selected as the objects of vengeance. These people had already gained the intense dislike of Rome. The austerity of their manners, the severe tenets of their faith so opposed to the license of paganism, their customs and laws so antagonistic to the usages of the state, all combined to render them odious to the commonwealth.

The situation was such as to furnish Nero an excellent opportunity to turn the anger of the people against the hated followers of the Christ.

He accordingly disseminated the report that it was they who had fired Rome. Numbers of them were seized and imprisoned. Some he sent to the amphitheater, where they were bound to pillars and given to the mercy of tremendous, half-starved, Numidian lions. The devilish invention of the Cæsar next devised a plan for a more conspicuous destruction of the Christians. He gave a great evening festival in his gardens; and to the end that the grounds might be brilliantly illuminated he ordered the Christians to be wrapped in flax, dipped in pitch, fastened to poles, set up about the promenades and summer-houses, and lighted for torches! Then, while the groaning and writhing human candelabra burned to the socket, the Emperor and his friends caroused and feasted until the blackened feet of the expiring torches dropped into darkness!



CHRISTIANS GIVEN TO THE LIONS IN THE ROMAN AMPHITHEATER.

The ever-multiplying excesses of Nero led to ever-increasing demands, and these in turn to ever-widening confiscation. The estates of noblemen were seized and themselves executed under every imaginable and unimaginable pretext. A plot was finally made by the survivors to destroy the cause of destruction. Calpurnius Piso headed a band of magnates who planned the overthrow of the tyrant. The scheme contemplated the restoration of the Republic, and the appointment of a dictator until public peace should be restored. Doubtless the conspirators purposed to make Piso himself the prince of the new order. But the plot was presently divulged, and the plotters put to death. Lucan and Seneca were obliged to commit suicide. Nor did the mass of the Romans any longer sympathize with these reactionary movements on the part of the senators and grandees of the commonwealth. The commons preferred even a profligate Emperor to a dictator of the type of Sulla.

Meanwhile Nero became more and more disgusting. He left Rome and traveled in Greece, exhibiting himself in the character of a royal mountebank. Ever and anon the news reached the capital that he had been applauded by his claqueurs for a victory achieved as a singer in some petty town of the provinces.



A REVOLT OF THE PRÆTORIAN GUARDS.
Drawn by H. Leutemann.

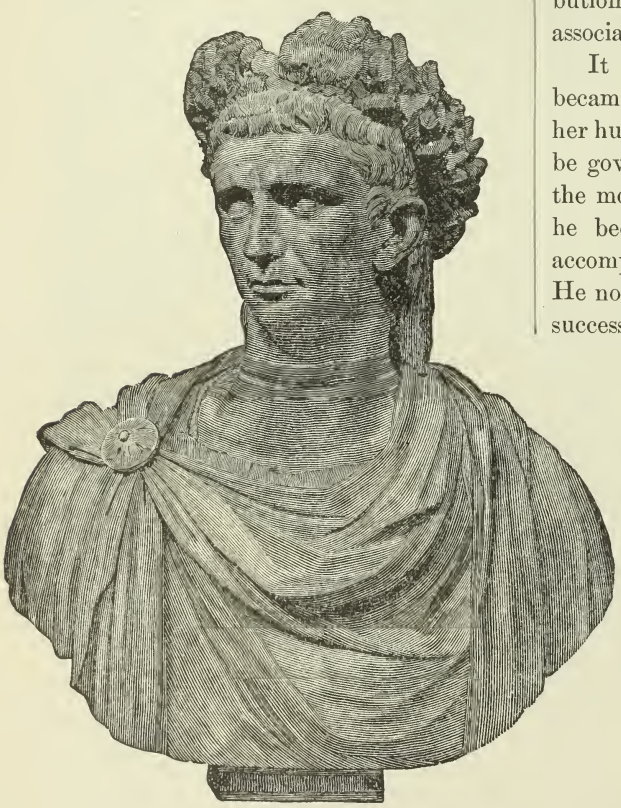
The drama was now, however, about at an end. In A. D. 66, Nero started on a journey to Egypt and the East. In the mean time a knowledge of his proceedings and character had been borne to the legions. The soldiers were disgusted, and the idea easily took root among them that they were the instruments whereby such an administration should be brought to a finality. Almost simultaneously in A. D. 68 a mutiny broke out in Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Germany. When the news of the revolt reached Rome the prætorians deserted Nero, and the very rabble began to hoot its defiance. The Emperor quaked like an aspen in the wind of terror that blew chill through the basilica. He escaped from the palace and the city. The Senate declared him a public enemy and condemned him to death. The sentence was to be executed "after the manner of the ancients," which required that the condemned should have his neck fastened in the cleft of a stick and be scourged until life was extinct. Hearing of this dreadful penalty, the terrified monster summoned one of his slaves—for he had not the courage to kill himself—and bade him thrust a dagger into his breast. The messengers of death arrived before he expired, but found their work already accomplished. "What a loss to art my death will be!" said he, and died. His body was partly consumed where it was found; but the remains were presently collected and buried on the Pincian. Nor is the tradition wanting that his grave was in the darkness of the night covered with violets by an unknown hand! For so the darkest and most shameless character, albeit redeemed by some unperceived trait of tenderness, is remembered by the heart of love even amid the gloom and bitterness of an ignominious death.

One of the chief memorials of Nero's reign was his magnificent palace, called the Golden House. The structure consisted of a series of mansions on the Palatine, Esquiline, and Cælian hills. The various edifices were connected by bridges and corridors, and embraced within their inclosures lakes, gardens, thermæ, and pleasure-grounds extending over the greater part of Ancient Rome.

In the provinces the principal episode of the reign was the revolt in A. D. 60, of the Britons under their queen BOADICEA. This celebrated Celtic princess was the wife of PRASUTAGUS, king of the Iceni. When about to die this monarch willed his treasures and his kingdom to his two daughters and to Nero, to whom he committed the protection of his family. But no sooner was Prasutagus dead than the Emperor's officers seized every thing in their master's name. This outrage Boadicea resisted, and for this she was publicly whipped and her royal daughters given over to the brutality of the Roman soldiers. The Britons rose in desperation at the call of their injured queen. She drove to town in her war-chariot with her ruined daughters at her knees, and besought her subjects to rise and execute vengeance on the despoilers of the land and the despisers of virtue. A vast army of two hundred and thirty thousand swarmed to her standard. The colony of Camalodunum was taken and the Romans massacred without mercy. The forces in the island were utterly unable to resist the avalanche of barbaric rage which swept down upon them. All Britain seemed on the point of being retaken by its original possessors; but Suetonius Paulinus, who had an army of ten thousand veterans in the Isle of Mona, came to the rescue in A. D. 62, and the Britons were decisively defeated in a great battle. Boadicea, however, preferred death to capture, and took her own life by poison.

The legionaries of the provincial armies had now made the discovery that the putting up and putting down of emperors was a work of their own. As early as April A. D. 68 (Nero was killed in June of that year), the army in Spain had proclaimed SERVIUS SULPICIUS GALBA as Imperator in place of the reigning Cæsar. In this movement the Gallic legions were active participants, and Galba was already on the march to Rome when the news of the downfall of Nero reached him. At Narbo he was met by envoys of the Senate who came to acquaint him with the acquiescence of that body in the decision of the army. There were other candidates for the vacant throne, but none could make headway against the claims of Galba, who assumed the government on January 1st, A. D. 69.

The new Emperor, though not of the Julian line, was a man of ancient family, and greatly distinguished as a general. He was an austere disciplinarian, who would fain bring the idea of military subordination into the management of the state. Nor was such a ruler foreign to the needs of Rome. The fact that almost from the first his manners and methods were distasteful to the people, debauched as they were by the examples of Caligula and Nero, was sufficient evidence of the wisdom of the choice



GALBA.—Naples.

made by the Spanish legions. The inherent weakness of the situation existed in the fact that the same arbitrary power which had raised him to the throne might in the first hour of its displeasure destroy him and prefer another. Of this fatal flaw in his armor Galba was himself well aware, and his first concern was to remedy as far as practicable the defect in the system.

The legions in Upper Germany had in the mean time proclaimed an imperator of their own. But learning of the successful assumption of the government by Galba, they in mock humility submitted their claims to the Senate for decision. The crisis was sufficiently serious to induce the Emperor to nominate a colleague, and the choice fell upon a nobleman named Piso Licinianus. The latter, however, was a man of the same severe temper as Galba, and the frugality, not to say parsimony, of the government, was as distasteful to the people and the soldiers as ever. The latter were especially aggrieved because of the non-distribution of a donative when Piso was proclaimed associate of the Emperor.

It will be remembered that when Nero became enamored of Poppæa he disposed of her husband, Salvius Otho, by sending him to be governor of Lusitania. When he heard of the movement to elevate Galba to the throne he became a partner in the enterprise and accompanied the successful candidate to Rome. He now formed the design of becoming Galba's successor in the Empire, and was greatly chagrined when Piso was chosen to the place to which he himself so anxiously aspired. Nevertheless he did not abandon, but rather nursed, his design. He ingratiated himself with both the people and the army. He even won over the Spanish legions, whose benefits from Galba's accession had not equaled their expectations. The prætorians were in favor of any thing for a change. How should they live in such an atmosphere as the court was diffusing over Rome?

A few days after the election of Piso the prætorians withdrew their support from Galba, and notified Otho of their purpose to make him Emperor. The soothsayers, meanwhile, had discovered the trend of affairs and began to drop prophecies of Otho's budding greatness. Finally the haruspex of the Palatine, while Galba was sacrificing before the temple of Apollo, gave forth an utterance which, to Otho, who was standing by, signified that the army was ready for the revolution. He immediately descended, made his way to the prætorian camp, and before Galba had ended his sacrifice was proclaimed Emperor. All efforts of Galba and Piso to stay the tide were worse than

wasted. The tumultuous prætorians poured into the Forum, killed the Emperor and his colleague, and sent their man to the basilica of the Cæsars. The whole business was accomplished within fifteen days after the accession of Galba to the throne.

Great was the disappointment which the death of Galba produced among the better class of the Romans. They had fondly believed that after the dissolute reigns of Caligula and Nero the firm rule of a military leader would bring peace not only to the city but to the Empire. The sudden collapse of the reformatory *régime* left them hopeless, and Rome was again exposed to all the winds of profligacy.

The Senate, out of the necessity of things, accepted the situation by the recognition of Otho. A certain degree of order was presently restored in the city. Those who had been banished for political offenses were permitted to return to their homes. The old republican ghost was placated by the appointment of consuls. Even the nobles of Rome were conciliated by respectful treatment. Affairs in the capital seemed to favor an auspicious reign. Not so, however, in the Spanish and Gallic armies. While the legions in the East declared for Otho, those in the West proclaimed their general, Aulus Vitellius, Imperator. A civil war immediately ensued between him and Otho. Two divisions of the army of the former, led by the generals Valens and Cæcina, made their way through the passes of Mount Genevre and the Great St. Bernard, and debouched into Italy. Meanwhile the forces of Otho had advanced to the north, and in Cisalpine Gaul awaited the approach of the enemy. Near the confluence of the Adda and the Po a great battle was fought, in which Vitellius was completely victorious. Otho, in despair, committed suicide, and his triumphant rival was proclaimed Emperor. The latter, in traversing the battle-field, remarked to his attendants: "The corpses of our enemies smell very sweet, especially those of citizens!"

Making his way to Rome, Vitellius was accepted by the Senate and the people, who had now been regaled by the sight of three Emperors in a single year. In the West no headway could be made against the claims of the new Cæsar; but in the East the case was very different. The Syrian army, so far removed from the seat of Roman politics, was not at all disposed to accept as final the results of these disgraceful revolutions. The soldiers of the East, fully occupied with the Parthian war, the insubordination of Egypt, and the great revolt in Palestine, were preserved from



OTHO.—Rome, Vatican.

that stagnation which had proved the death of all soldierly virtues among the prætorians of Italy. The Syrian legions were at this time under command of the two distinguished generals, Mucianus and Titus Flavius Vespasianus. Without concerning themselves with the relative merits of the western broils, both had acquiesced in the claims of Galba and Otho, and they now accepted Vitellius, with little interest in the legitimacy of his promotion.

At this time Vespasianus and his son Titus

Flavius Sabinus were busily engaged in the Jewish war. The father, however, though plebeian born, became ambitious, not only of military fame, but also of Imperial distinction. Even before the decision of the question between Vitellius and Otho, the aspirations of Vespasianus were known and approved among the Syrian legions; and they accordingly proceeded to proclaim him Imperator. While Vitellius after the battle of Bedriacum was making his entry into Rome the huzzas of the soldiers in Syria were ringing in the ears of Vespasianus.

As to Vitellius, he immediately revealed a character as swinish as it was bloody. He was chiefly noted as the most illustrious glutton of Rome. He ate and drank until his coarse mind and coarser body were totally unfitted for rational activities. Mucianus, the other general of the Syrian legions, had meanwhile heartily ratified the assumption of Imperial honors by his colleague. Vespasianus himself remained for a season in the East. The suppression of the revolt in Palestine was intrusted to Titus. In order to overthrow the government of Vitellius, Mucianus advanced on Rome by way of Illyricum. The legions in the West were tempted with letters to abandon the cause of Vitellius. Especially was the Fourteenth Legion, which had recently been sent into Britain as a punishment for having upheld the party of Otho, plied with motives for a revolt. As Mucianus came on and made his way into Cisalpine Gaul he was met at Bedriacum by the forces of Vitellius, but the loyalty of the latter—even of the generals—was shaken, or at least lukewarm. The battle, however, was severe, and was only won by the army of Mucianus after much slaughter on both sides. Cremona was taken and pillaged by the victors, who then continued their march on the capital.



VITELLIUS.

Vitellius was all the while living in riotous excesses. In the course of a few months he expended nine hundred millions of sesterces on revelings and vulgar brutality. He refused to credit the story of the disaster in the North. When the prisoners, liberated by the generals of Vespasianus and sent to Rome for the express purpose of confirming the intelligence, came into the city, they were put to death as liars. At last, however, the libidinous glutton was obliged to open his eyes to the peril. An army of prætorians and gladiators was collected from the precincts of Roman Capua and led into the valley of the Nar to confront the approaching enemy, but the mélange of half-soldiers could not endure even the sight of the veterans of Valens, general of the forces of Vespasianus; and Vitellius was obliged to yield without striking a blow. Oddly enough, considering the temper of the times and the established precedents, he was granted the privilege of retiring to private life. Soon, however, he made his escape, returned to Rome, and was again put at the head of the desperate faction which opposed the party of Vespasianus. The adherents of the latter were driven to the Capitol Hill, where they endeavored to defend themselves against the Vitellians; but these gathered in great numbers, surrounded the hill, and by discharging burning arrows and throwing fire-brands succeeded in firing the buildings. The flames got the upper hand of the besieged, and the splendid edifices, including the great Capitoline temple of the gods, were reduced to ashes. Sabinus, who held the hill, was dismayed by the conflagration and yielded to his assailants.

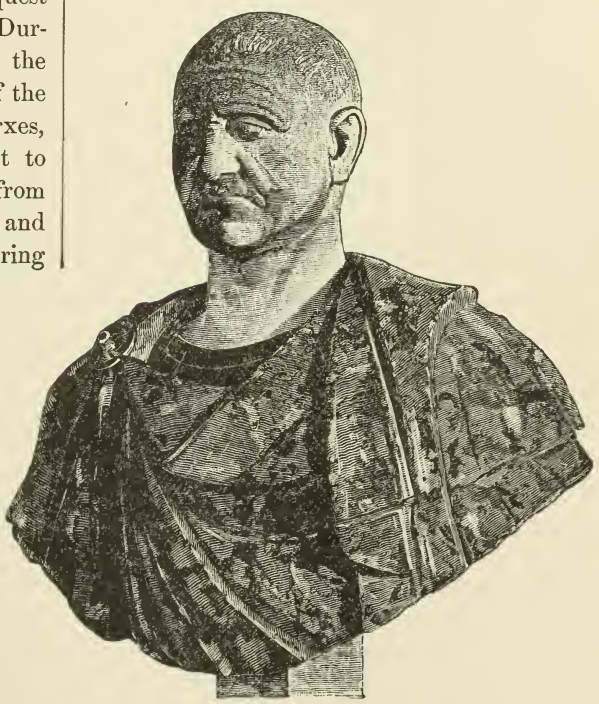
Meanwhile Primus, who led the advance of the army of Vespasianus, reached the city, and entered the gates with the flying rabble which had been sent out to oppose his progress. The city was given up to pillage, and such scenes of carnage and destruction ensued as had never before been witnessed in the circle of the Seven Hills. Vitellius again made his escape, but presently returned to the deserted basilica of the Palatine, and was there found hiding behind a curtain. He was dragged forth and hurried along with torn dress and bleeding wounds through the midst of the jeering multitude. He was compelled to witness the demolition of his own statues, and was then ignominiously butchered in the

street. Vespasianus was immediately recognized by the senators, who sent an embassy to the East to salute him as Imperator. Thus on the 21st of December, A. D. 70, after a bloody turmoil of eighteen months' duration, the government of Rome at last fell into the hands of one who was competent to rule the Empire with something of the old-time energy and firmness.

Before proceeding to narrate the events of the reign of VESPASIANUS, it will be desirable to note in a few paragraphs the downfall of the Israelitish nation. The story of this people was dropped at the time of the conquest of Palestine by Cambyses, the Persian. During the reigns of the succeeding kings the country remained subject to the empire of the Achæmenians. In the time of Artaxerxes, Ezra, the pious scribe of Israel, brought to Jerusalem a new colony of his people from beyond the Euphrates; and by an able and energetic administration succeeded in restoring the Mosaic economy. Afterwards, in B. C. 445, Nehemiah, who had been the cupbearer of Artaxerxes, restored the fortifications of the city and carried forward the reforms undertaken by Ezra. The Jewish temple on Mount Moriah, which was the center and core of Judaism, fell under the control of a long line of high-priests. The prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Nehemiah kept alive the national spirit by the collection and authentication of the sacred writings, among which were included the most valuable fragments of the literature of ancient Israel. The Pentateuch was taught in the schools, and publicly expounded as the fundamental law of the Jews.

After the epoch of Alexander, the influence of the Greeks began to be felt in Palestine. The science and philosophy of that cultured people made great progress among the doctors of Jewry. The doctrines of Epicurus were received with much favor by many learned scribes who formed a sect known as the SADDUCEES, rejecting the authority of tradition and denying the immortality of the soul. The principles of the Stoics were still more widely disseminated, and they who professed these doctrines were united in the more numerous sect called the PHARISEES. A smaller faction, more ascetic and mystical than either of the others, was founded on socialistic and philosophic professions, and was known as the ESSENES.

The paganism of Greece also infected Samaria. The cities of this apostate region became Hellenized, and in many places the worship of the Greek gods was introduced. The language of the Hellenes prevailed in Judea more and more. After the establishment of Jewish colonies in Alexandria, the Græco-Israelitish learning led to the translation of the sacred writings, resulting in the SEPTUAGINT. With the accession of Ptolemy Soter, Judea became an Egyptian dependency, but the relations of the little state were fluctuating and uncertain. In the times of Ptolemy V. the Jews went over to Antiochus the Great, and were worsted by the change. The rival parties in Jerusalem began to auction their nationality in order to secure the favor of the Græco-Syrian kings. In order to settle the disgraceful broils of the factions, and to punish the sedition which had spread abroad dur-



TITUS FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS.—Rome.

ing his invasion of Egypt, Antiochus, in B. C. 169, attacked Jerusalem, leveled the walls, garrisoned the city with his soldiers, proclaimed the worship of the Olympian Jupiter to be the religion of the state, set up shrines for the pagan deities, and sacrificed *a sow* on the altar of Jehovah! Thousands of the people were butchered and other thousands sold into slavery.

Soon afterwards, when Antiochus had gone on an expedition against the Parthians, leaving the completion of the work in Palestine to his general, Apollonius, a revolt broke out headed by the high-priest MATTATHIAS and his five sons, of the House of the Asmoneans.

The rebellion gathered head. The insurgents retired into the wilderness, whence they sallied forth and broke down the altars of paganism. The army of Mattathias waxed in strength until it became formidable. When the aged leader died, the command fell upon his son JUDAS, who greatly distinguished himself as a general. He obtained the surname of the Hammer, or in Hebrew *Makkab*. From this cognomen—though the derivation is somewhat disputed—came the name MACCABEES, which was given to the insurgent leaders and also to the apocryphal book in which their deeds are recorded. Time and again the forces of Appollonius and other Syrian generals were defeated by the obstinate Jews. At last, however, Bacchides brought a large army into Judea, and Judas being defeated slew himself rather than be taken. ELEAZER, his colleague, had already been crushed to death under an elephant in a previous battle. Thus, in B. C. 160, the organized rebellion was suppressed; but the remnant of the Maccabees' forces fled to the hills and for many years carried on a desultory warfare against their oppressors.

By and by, when Demetrius Soter was contending with rival claimants for the throne of Syria, JONATHAN, one of the surviving Maccabees found opportunity to restore the fortunes of the war, and made such headway that he was recognized as high-priest of Jerusalem; but he was presently assassinated by Tryphon, one of the Syrian pretenders. Afterwards SIMON made an alliance with Rome, and became, for a short time, an independent prince.

At the close of the second century B. C. JOHN HYRCANUS and his sons ARISTOBULUS and ALEXANDER, maintained the reputation of their house and the dignity of the priestly office. Nearly all of the Maccabees were brave and virtuous warriors, who fought and died for the freedom of a country whose internal dissensions and feuds rendered her unworthy of such heroic service. In the latter days of the house, however, the younger ARISTOBULUS engaged in a disgraceful contest with a second HYRCANUS for the priestly throne. The dispute resulted in calling in Scaurus, the lieutenant of Pompeius the Great, to settle the controversy. In B. C. 63, he decided in favor of Aristobulus, but the decision was afterwards reversed by Pompeius, who, in order to suppress the rival claimant, took Jerusalem by storm, amid the wildest scenes of carnage. Hyrcanus then became high-priest, and Palestine was made tributary to Rome as the price of his recognition.

As a province of the Roman Empire, Judea was assigned by Julius Cæsar to ANTIPATER, who had been the minister of Hyrcanus. His title was procurator. Aristobulus, who had been imprisoned at Rome, made his escape and endeavored to recover his kingdom, but he and his sons perished in the foolish revolt which they had incited. When in B. C. 53 Crassus was overthrown by the Parthians, Antigonus conquered and captured Hyrcanus; but his success had no abiding root. For in the mean time HEROD, son of Antipater, being in Rome, had obtained the favor of the First Triumvirate, and now returned to Palestine backed by the support of that powerful combination. He succeeded in establishing a new dynasty, known as the Idumæan, and obtained for himself—though for what reason has never sufficiently appeared—the title of *Great*. His inordinate vanity, his cruelty, his uncurbed passions, and his base servitude to Rome, constituted his entire claim to the epithet with which he has been honored. He proved to be an unscrupulous sycophant and bloody assassin of his betters.

After the death of Herod his dominions were divided among his three sons: ARCHELAUS, PHILIP, and HEROD ANTIPAS. An era of anarchy followed, the tetrarchies of Idumæa, Trachonitis, and Galilee being engaged in

constant turmoils. It was during this troublous epoch that the Christ was born, and was saved from the bloody edict of Herod the Great by the flight of his parents into Egypt.

After the introduction of the new era Judæa continued a Roman province. The procurator generally lived in the coast town of Cæsarea, and stood aloof as much as possible from the interminable broils of the Jews. At Jerusalem, the capital, every thing was as far as practicable left to the management of the nation, under the lead of the Sanhedrim, or Jewish Senate. Never was a people so turbulent, so excited with expectation of a deliverer who should restore the ancient kingdom, so fired with bigotry and fanaticism, as were the wretched Jews of this period. One Christ came after another. Revolt was succeeded by revolt, instigated by some pseudo prophet or pretended king.

Meanwhile Rome gave little heed to Jewish prejudices except to despise them. Caligula required the priests to set up his statue in the temple of Jehovah. The rage of the Jews at this proposition was so intense that nothing but the temporizing policy of the procurator prevented a desperate rebellion. Claudius was more inclined to humor the dispositions of his Judæan subjects, and there was a lull in the gathering tempest. Under Nero, however, the procurators, acting in accordance with the temper of their master, began to oppress the Jews and to trample on their customs. A general rebellion was the result. The priests, as usual, promised the interposition of heaven. The authority of the hierarchy over the minds of the people was absolute. Not the Druids themselves held such undisputed sway over the forest tribes of British Celts as did the Jewish priesthood over the rabble about the temple and city of Jerusalem. It now became necessary for Rome to apply her exterminating iron to the turbulent race, or else give up Judæa to its own anarchic independence.

The conflict which was waged for independence by the infatuated Jews was prosecuted with a desperation hardly equaled in the annals of warfare. Nero committed the work of suppressing the revolt to Vespasianus, then in joint command with Mucianus in the East. The tactics adopted by the Roman general were at once cautious and severe. He first captured Iotapata, in Galilee; then received the surrender of Tiberias; then took Tarichea by storm. The Jews quickly perceived that they had nothing to expect except annihilation as the penalty for their rash rebellion; but this knowledge merely inspired them with a profounder hatred of the Romans and a more sullen determination to resist to the last. The campaign of A. D. 69 was still directed against the outlying Judæan towns, rather than Jerusalem. It was manifestly the policy of Vespasianus to destroy the resources of the country, and when the whole population had taken refuge in the capital to invest the city and exterminate the race.

Meanwhile Rome tottered. Nero went down before Galba, and Galba before Otho. The latter gave place to Vitellius, and he hung for a moment on the edge of the precipice. The Syrian army declared for Vespasianus, and the general intrusted the completion of the Jewish war to his son Titus. The latter, in the year 70, moved with all his forces against Jerusalem. Within the city was a multitude of strangers, numbering hundreds of thousands; for it was the feast of the Passover. Behind the walls were twenty-four thousand regular soldiers, besides a large army of irregular troops, armed and equipped for the occasion. Titus had at his disposal a force of about eighty thousand men, mostly veterans of the legions.

If the people of the city had been united in their purposes, the Romans could hardly have succeeded. The defenses of Jerusalem, both natural and artificial, were almost impregnable to assault. It was only in the existence of warring factions among the fanatic multitudes of Jewry and in the steady approach of famine that Titus could hope for certain success. After advancing from the north, and planting his forces on the ridge of Scopus, he undertook negotiations, and, sending the historian Josephus to the city gates, offered honorable terms to the besieged. But all proposals were rejected with disdain and unquenchable hatred. The envoys which were sent by Titus were met with a shower of arrows.

Angered at this obstinacy, the Roman general at once began a siege. For this he was well prepared with all the enginery known to the invention of the time. The defense was conducted with all the spirit which insane fanaticism could engender. The outer wall was battered down, and the besiegers advanced against the second rampart and the tower of Antonia. Upon these strong bulwarks the engines were brought to bear, and it was but a question of time when they must fall.

Meanwhile famine began to gnaw at the vitals of the city. The factions hawked at and tore each other, and the distress became intolerable. The wolf of cannibalism began to screech in the streets. The bodies of the dead began to be eaten by the survivors, and then the living quailed at the horrid thought of being served up to the soldiers. In the wild rage of the hour, children were eaten by their parents. The insane illusions begotten of unappeasable hunger and fanaticism seized upon the feverish minds of the multitudes as they surged from one side of the city to the other looking for the Christ. Delirious prophets cried in the streets. Prodigies were seen in the heavens—spectral warriors striding the clouds as cherubim going to battle.

Finally the tower of Antonia was carried by assault, and the engines were brought to bear on the temple of Mount Moriah. This beautiful edifice soon yielded to the battering-rams, and was stormed by the assailants. The Roman soldiers rushing into the holy place over the bodies of the slain applied fire-brands, and the building was soon wrapped in flames. Meanwhile the people under their leaders, JOHN and SIMON, had withdrawn to Mount Zion, and here made their last defense. In vain did Titus, assisted by Josephus, attempt to secure a capitulation; but the envoys were met with curses and violence. Thereupon the Roman general resolved to accomplish the complete destruction of the race. Thousands upon thousands of the crowded host on Zion died of starvation, and other thousands, attempting to break through the lines of the besiegers, were impaled on Roman spears.

At last the work of destruction was completed. The remnant were captured and sold into slavery. John and Simon, having concealed themselves for a season, attempted to effect their escape through subterranean passages leading from the city, but were caught and dragged from the cavern. The former was condemned to imprisonment for life, and the latter was reserved to grace the general's triumph. The annihilation of Jewish nationality was complete. Jerusalem was reduced to a ruin, and the survivors of her people were to be found exposed in the slave markets of Rome or groaning out their lives in the rock-quarries of Egypt. As for Titus, he hurried to the capital of the Empire to express by tokens of affection his loyalty to his father; for he had himself been saluted as Imperator by the Syrian army. Nor were the ties of filial affection which bound together this father and son ever disturbed by the ambitions or jealousies of either.

The death of Vitellius marked the extinction of the Julian line in the government. With the accession of Vespasianus, the Flavian House was recognized as the head of the Empire. The recent change in administration denoted not only the transfer of the imperial diadem from one family to another, but also a striking modification in the theory of the government. The first Cæsars had reigned under a kind of divine autocracy, and the veneration, in which the emperors—disgusting as had been the character of many—had been held, was traceable to the fact that the throne was occupied by a sort of religious sanction. The emperors themselves diligently encouraged this illusive delusion; they would fain be gods. Albeit, at such an epoch and among such a people, it was safer to be god than man!

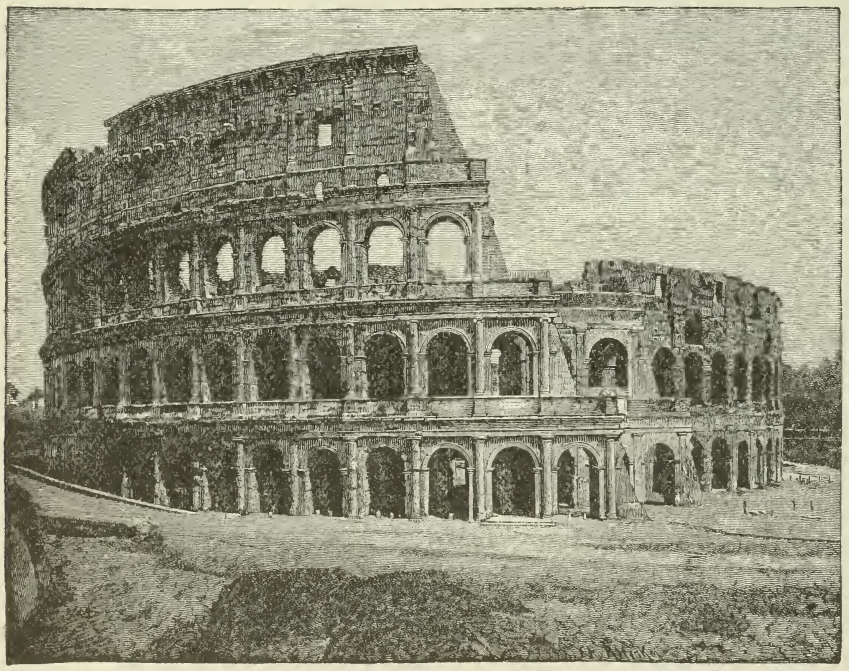
With Vespasianus all this was changed. The Flavian gens was of plebeian origin; nor had the family been materially improved with the lapse of time. Vespasianus himself was a man of low birth who had risen to distinction by military genius, and by that he had won the Imperial crown.

The new reign covered a period of ten years (B. C. 70–79) and was an epoch of greater tranquillity than Rome had enjoyed since the days of Augustus. It was the high



ROMAN SOLDIERS FIRING THE TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM.

noon and climax of the military greatness of the Roman Empire. The Emperor was already mature in years and had learned by military discipline the lesson of subordination in himself and others. His personal habits were simple and inexpensive. The time, moreover, had come in Rome, owing to the impoverishment of most of her noble houses, when a simple example, set by a frugal monarch, was more likely than hitherto to be emulated and followed by the magnates of the commonwealth. More important still was the substitution of the constitutional for the divine theory of government. Vespasianus, governed by law rather than by the arbitrary edicts of personal will.



THE COLISEUM.—Rome.

It was a part of the ambition of the new Emperor to make Rome splendid. The recent burning of the temple on the Capitol Hill gave opportunity for the pious work of reconstruction, and an edifice more magnificent than the former rose on the site of the ruin.[1] In another part of the district devastated by the fire he built the splendid baths called the *Thermæ of Titus*. Still more grand was the amphitheater called the Coliseum or Colosseum, the magnificent remains of which still loom in grandeur above the degenerate structures of modern Rome. To commemorate the victories of his son in Judæa, the Emperor erected that wonder of architectural beauty known as the Arch of Titus. A new Forum was also constructed and a Temple of Peace to testify of the character of his reign. Nor did the Emperor less distinguish himself by demolition than by construction. The Golden House of Nero, a thing hateful to the people by the memories which it recalled, was torn away to make room for new structures of more grateful associations.

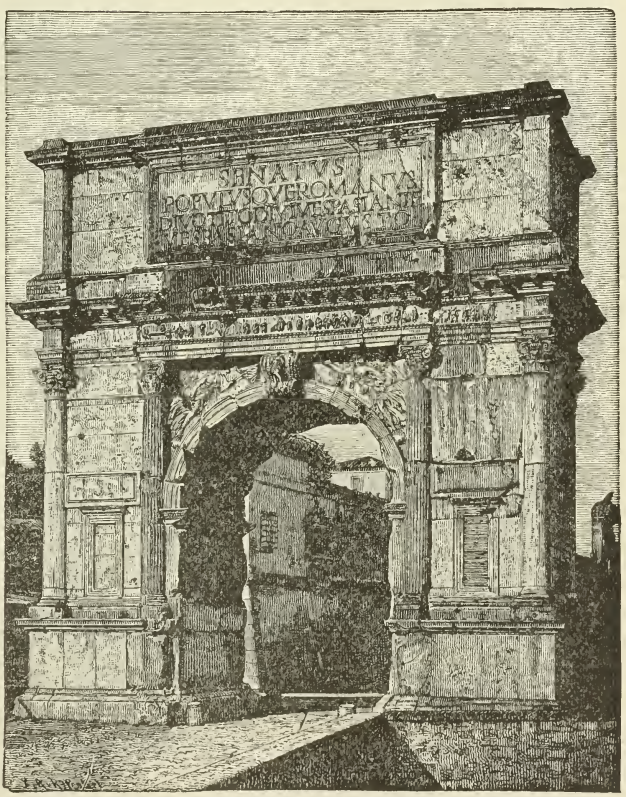
The administration of Vespasianus was upheld by a more hearty support than had been given to any previous reign. The Emperor was especially fortunate in the devotion of his son and the loyalty of his general Mucianus. Antonius Primus, the other leading commander of the legions, was less faithful in his adherence, but was easily reduced to a minor rank. The methods employed by Vespasianus were wise and popular. The finances of the state were restored to a prosperous condition; the exhausted treasury replenished; the discipline of the army improved; and the factious elements in the city suppressed. A series of new regulations for the provinces were adopted by which a greater uniformity of administration was attained than under any previous reign. Nor should failure be made to mention the wise and generous efforts of the prince to

[1] It is a matter of dispute among modern antiquarians whether the great temple burned by the Vitellians occupied the Capitoline or the Tarpeian Hill, but the evidence seems to point to the former.

encourage the cause of education. An extensive public library was established in the new Forum, and provisions made for the maintenance of salaried teachers, who presently constituted, as at Alexandria, a profession of learned men. Scholars were in favor at the capital. Some of them were raised to important offices in the state. The rhetorician Quintilian was elected to the consulship. The natural opposition of learned and moral men to the abusive vices of politics was encouraged by the government, to the great improvement of the public service. The patronage of the Emperor, however, was withheld from the more radical of the Stoics and from the Cynics as a sect; and some old statutes of the Republic were revived against those philosophers whose teachings were regarded as tending to immorality and the corruption of the state.

The reign of Vespasianus may be most favorably compared with those of the preceding Cæsars. He was a man of honest purposes, personally virtuous according to the definitions of the times, diligent in his application to business, a keeper of his word with friend and foe. At the age of seventy, after a successful and peaceful reign of ten years' duration, he died a natural death. In his last illness the resolution of his character was shown in his demand that his attendants should hold him in an upright position. "For," said he, "an Imperator of Rome ought to die standing."

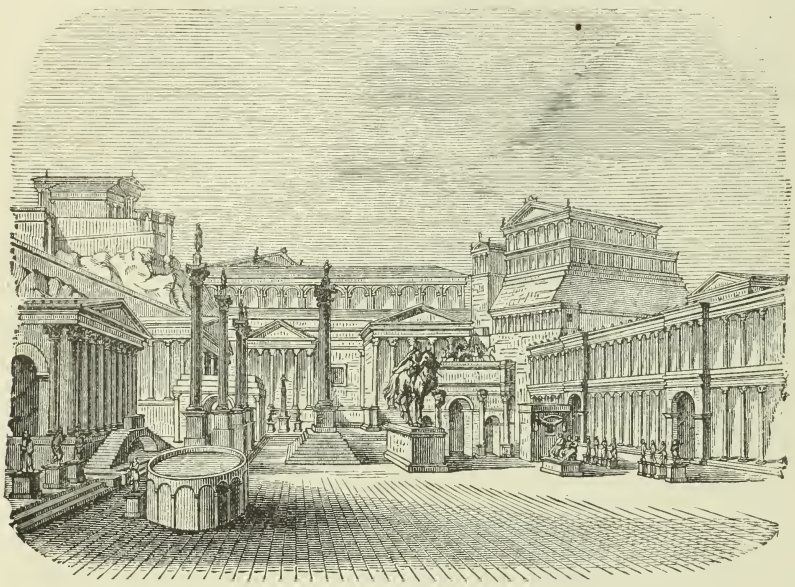
In the mean time Titus had been wisely associated with his father in the government. He had already held the office of censor, and had greatly alleviated the cares of the Emperor's declining years. Like his father, Titus came to the government with the reputation of a great military leader. His manners were, however, refined and scholarly. His sentiments were more elevated and less severe than those of Vespasianus, and he possessed, besides, many traits of popularity which were wanting in the elder prince. The life of Titus was dashed with a romance dating from his campaigns in the East. There he had become enamored of Berenice, a Jewess, sister of Agrippa, king of Chalcis. Her he wooed after the fashion of human nature, and induced to go with him to Rome. It was his purpose to make her his wife and queen; but the prejudices of his countrymen were so intense against the marriage of their rulers with foreign princesses that Titus was obliged to give over his honorable intentions, and Berenice returned to the East.



ARCH OF TITUS.—Rome.

The general policy of Vespasianus was carefully followed by Titus. The latter, however, for good reason refused to associate with himself his profligate brother Domitianus, preferring to bear the whole care of state rather than commit the public interest to the unworthy. The new Cæsar was destined to a brief career. A constitution naturally delicate had already been impaired by the hardships of the camp. His health failed, and after a reign of but two years he passed away. In mildness of manners and benevolence of

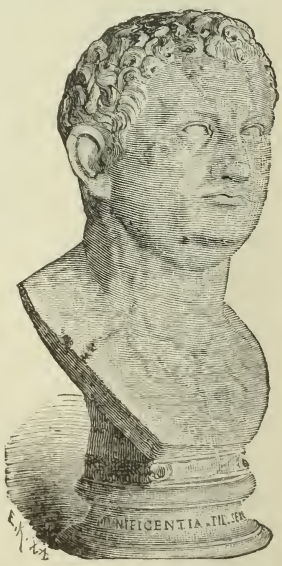
purpose he surpassed all his predecessors. Even towards the nobles he exhibited so much kindness and courtesy as to leave among them a great reputation. It was a maxim of his government that no suitor ought to go unrequited from the Imperial presence. He it was who was in the habit of saying that the day was lost which had witnessed the performance of no good deed. The only vice of which he could be justly accused, was a certain abandonment to ease and indulgence, even to the extent of cutting short his already mortgaged life. By his contemporaries he was called the "Delight of the Human Race," and the title, though fulsome, was better deserved than many that have been bestowed.



ROMAN FORUM, RESTORED.

The reign of Titus was noted for two calamities, shocking to the times and remembered by posterity. In the year A. D. 79 the volcano of Vesuvius began to groan and bellow with internal anguish, and then vomited forth clouds of cinders and torrents of lava such as no preceding or succeeding age has equaled. The fiery mass rolled down in a deluge over the mountain sides and into the surrounding plains.

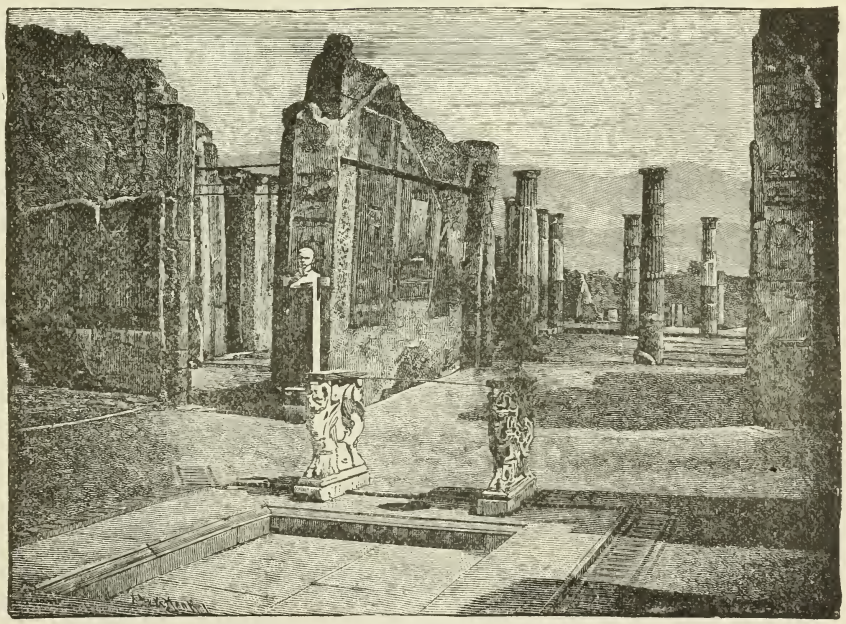
There lay the beautiful cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, the fashionable resorts and sea-side homes of the wealthy Romans. All that art and luxury could do to satisfy the tastes and senses was here profusely displayed. The calamity came in a single hour. The people had no timely warning of the impending doom. The sky grew black. The lava came rolling like a deluge. Pompeii perished in a shower of cinders and ashes, and Herculaneum in the molten ocean which rolled through her streets and over her highest buildings. The burial was complete. Multitudes of the inhabitants were caught without the possibility of escape. The bather in the *therma*, the cobbler in his shop, the baker at his ovens, the reveler at his banquet, the woman of fashion at the toilet, were entombed alive almost before the look of terror could supplant the usual expression of the countenance. The devastation was so complete, so overwhelming, as to preclude all notion of restoration. The sites of the buried cities were abandoned, and even forgotten, until in 1748 the digging of a well brought to light some statues from their bed in the ashes. Seven years later the workmen of Charles III. of Naples uncovered a whole amphitheater, and from that time until the present the antiquarians of the world have been at intervals busily engaged in exhuming the wonders of the old civilization from this tomb of ages.



TITUS.—Rome, Vatican.

According to Roman law Julia, the daugh-

ter of Titus, could not succeed him in the Empire. He left no son to inherit the state. The brother DOMITIANUS thus became heir to whatever Titus could transmit. He was by a kind of necessity recognized as Emperor, and was unopposed in the assumption of power. He represented in his life and character the worst elements of Roman society. He was indeed the abstract and brief chronicle of those vices which were undermining the whole structure of the existing civilization. The Flavian family had been from the healthy atmosphere of the Sabine hills. The first two Emperors of this gens had preserved the rustic virtues of their ancestry, but even in the case of Titus it was evident that the habit of indulgence was preparing the way for worse to follow. Domitianus, long before his accession to power, had become a moral bankrupt. He had no vigor of manly purpose, no persistency in the prosecution of enterprises. He had had no success as a soldier, being too effeminate for the profession of arms. His reputation in the army, and afterwards in the administration of law, was that of a tyrannical martinet, whose chief delight was in cruel exactions and wanton freaks.



STREET OF CORNELIUS RUFUS, POMPEII.

One of the most marked traits in the character of Domitianus was his jealousy. He was jealous even of his dead father and brother. It was public opinion rather than preference which gained his assent to the dedication of of the Arch of Titus. He envied his brother's reputation in letters, and indeed it should be set down to his credit that he himself made considerable attainments in literature. After his accession, whatever ambition he had, became inflamed with military ardor. He made two campaigns against the Germans, and, according to the testimony of his poetic flatterers, was successful. He decreed himself a triumph on his return, and took to himself the title of *Germanicus!*

In the work of his subordinates there was more substantial ground for boasting. CNEIUS JULIUS AGRICOLA, as governor of Britain, conquered Wales and the island of Anglesea, and carried his victorious arms to the Forth and the Tay. As a barrier against the Picts and the Scots, he built a wall from the Clyde to the frith of Forth, and then penetrated into Scotland, defeating the Pictish king Galgacus and inspiring the country with a wholesome dread of the Roman eagles. The fleet circumnavigated Britain, thus determining the hitherto unknown extent and outlines of the island.

The fame of these exploits was borne to Rome, and Rome praised her victorious general. To Domitianus the praise of another was gall for bitterness. Agricola was recalled. On his return to Rome he refused all marks of honor and promotion of his interests. He went into retirement, and lived for several

years in the highest esteem of his countrymen. His death occurred in his own home; but there were not wanting evidences (so says his son-in-law, the historian Tacitus) that his taking off was the work of Domitianus, whose eclipse the glory of his father, Domitianus erected in front of the temple built by Vespasianus a colossal statue of himself, and the dedication was celebrated with a banquet of incredible luxury and expense.



TRIUMPH OF GERMANICUS.
Drawn by Vierge.

The worst traits of the reigning Cæsar were now to be exhibited in a career of violence and bloodshed. A rebellion, headed by Lucius Antonius Saturninus, broke out among the legions of the Rhine; but the mutineers were soon overpowered by Norbanus, another of the Emperor's generals, though not until Domitianus himself had led out an army from Rome for the suppression of the revolt. As soon as the mutiny was at an end he adopted the policy of breaking up the armies of the frontier into small detachments to the end that none might be sufficiently strong to rise in rebellion against the reigning prince. He then began a career of proscription and bloodshed directed against whoever was sufficiently prominent in the Empire to excite his suspicion and distrust. In these proceedings was mixed an element of disgusting religious superstition. Having no regard for his own horrible vices, he undertook to reform the morals of the state. He established an inquisition for the purpose of investigating alleged irregularities on the part of the Vestal Virgins. Several

ferocious jealousy could in no other way be quenched.

The feelings of Domitianus, respecting the fame of his brother Titus, were exhibited in the erection of a rival arch commemorative of his alleged triumph in the German war. To

members of the sacred college were arrested and examined. Two of the Vestals were convicted and condemned, but the merciful Emperor, driven by the stress of public opinion, consented that the execution should take place by suicide instead of burying alive. A third Virgin, however, named Cornelia, was not similarly favored by executive clemency. The poor convict was lowered into a vault with a crust of bread and a flask of water; the walls were closed around her and she was left to her fate.

A series of edicts were next issued, reformatory of the married state, and directed to the social abuses, which were then rife in Rome. Not that Domitianus himself had the slightest regard for the virtues of the home and the family, but because of the insane bigotry and violence of his own disposition did he assume the championship of marital fidelity and the sanctity of the hearthstone. He instituted proceedings against the singers, dancers, and actors of the city, whom he persecuted rather because he hated the appearance of happiness than on account of any moral repugnance to the things he would destroy. Meanwhile, in his own basilica, some of the most dissolute characters known in Roman society roamed at will and added their breath to the already pestilential atmosphere. The empress Domitilla was corrupted by one of the king's favorites bearing the significant name of Paris. Whereupon the Emperor had him assassinated, rather from a sense of jealous spite than from any anger at his moral turpitude.

In his measures of supposititious reform Domitianus was greatly aided by the temper of his age. The outrageous profligacy and ruinous excesses which prevailed in the times of Claudius and Nero had brought about a natural reaction in favor of the rough and savage virtues of the olden time. The alleged puritanism of which Domitianus was anxious to be considered the champion was a mere revival of the superstitions and truculence which belonged to a bygone age. Society had taken on an aspect which rendered impossible the enforcement of the edicts, and his "Reforms" were of the sort which in the times of the Restoration were attributed to Sir Hugh de Bras.

The Emperor lived in constant dread of assassination. Against what he felt to be his impending fate he adopted every possible precaution. He hired informers. He confined his goings to the basilica. He surrounded himself with guards. He procured the assassination of the suspected. He attempted by means of shows and banquets and lavish expenditures to distract the minds of the people from the essential hatred of himself and his



STATUE OF THE EMPEROR DOMITIAN.—Rome, Vatican.

court. It was all in vain. A plot was at last concocted against his life, and the members of the conspiracy were they of his own household. It was given out that a child entering the Emperor's apartments found therein a tablet containing the names of the empress and other members of the family in a list of those to be assassinated. Thereupon they turned and destroyed the destroyer. The blow was struck by a certain freedman named Stephanus, who thus became the avenger of a thousand victims of Imperial cruelty.

Domitianus was the last of the Flavian emperors. He died without an heir. Fate limits the reproduction of a certain kind of monsters to a few. The late Emperor was the last of the so-called Twelve Cæsars. His death marks a break between the extinction of the old forces of government which, beginning with the great Julius, had continued until now to direct the methods of government and the revival of senatorial authority. The first twelve emperors are considered in a group by themselves. Their biographies were written by Suetonius, whose sketches end with the assassination of Domitianus. With the downfall of that tyrant, there seemed to be a lull among those turbulent elements which for many reigns together had flung one emperor after another into the foreground of Roman history. Now, however, the legionaries found no candidate.

It was an opportune moment for the Senate to reässert itself once more as an active force in the affairs of state; nor was that body slow to avail itself of the opportunity then presented. An aged and honorable senator, named Cocceius Nerva, distinguished by many services, was quickly nominated for the imperial office, and was accepted without dissent. The event marked a new epoch in the history of the Empire. Nerva and the four succeeding monarchs constituted a line of rulers, all of whom were promoted to civil authority, and under whose administration Roman civilization reached its zenith. So great was the prosperity presently to be attained under the new *régime* that so profound a student as Gibbon has not hesitated to pronounce the era to be on the whole the epoch of the greatest happiness of the human race.

Chapter LXIII.—From Nerva to Antoninus.

Emperor Nerva was a Roman by ancient descent, though himself a native of Crete, and the universal acquiescence in his elevation to power was no doubt attributable to the fact that he, being a provincial senator, and by nature a man of cool and magnanimous temper, was little embroiled with the factions and party of the capital. The same policy of choosing the emperors from the provinces, instead of from Italy, was afterwards continued with good results through several successive reigns.

The first work which the aged Nerva felt called upon to perform was the punishment of the agents by whom the cruelties of Domitianus had been perpetrated. That ruler had been the creature and servant of the Prætorian Guards, and the latter resisted with alarm and anger the meting out of justice to the base wretches who had been the instruments of the recent administration. They demanded that the assassins of Domitianus, as well as his adherents, should be brought into condemnation, and with this demand Nerva was obliged in a certain measure to comply. He determined, however, that henceforth this turbulent and lawless soldiery should no longer rule the state. He accordingly adopted such measures as seemed best adapted to secure their subordination to civil authority, and then proceeded to select as his successor in the Empire and present colleague a tried and true officer of the army, the brave and loyal Marcus Ulpius Trajanus. The nomination was heartily approved by the Senate and the people; the government was greatly strengthened, and a salutary precedent established for the future, by which the imperial and the senatorial authority were made concurrent in the choice of rulers.

The veteran Nerva, however, was destined to but a brief ascendency. After a short reign of only a few days over six months he died calmly in the palace, and the diadem was transferred to Trajanus. The latter, usually known by his English name of Trajan, ascended the throne without opposition. Senate, people, and army were all alike confident

of his great ability and honest purposes. He was a Spaniard by birth, a soldier by profession. With him the old military ambitions of the Romans were fully revived. Until now the policy of Augustus and Tiberius of restricting the Empire within the boundaries already attained had been strictly pursued. Under Trajan this theory was abandoned. The new Emperor looked into the distant regions beyond the Danube, and even beyond the Euphrates, and coveted the laurels won by Julius and Pompeius. He immediately laid extensive plans of foreign conquest, with a view to extending the already wide-spread dominion of Rome. To establish his popularity at home, he began his reign with a pledge to the senators that none of their body should henceforth suffer capital punishment. To secure an easy route into Germany he bridged the Rhine at Mayence, and advanced the military frontier to Höehst and Baden. Before leaving the capital, the Senate repaid his confidence by conferring on him the title of *Optimus*, never borne by any other of the Emperors.

The foreign conquests of Trajan began with A. D. 101. His army was first led into Dacia, a vast region corresponding with the modern Hungary, Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania. The people of the country were under the rule of a king called Decebalus, who had his capital in the valley of the Maros. Trajan advanced down the Danube to Severin, bridged the river, and entered the enemy's country. The Dacian king, after suffering several defeats, was shut up in his stronghold; but the place was soon carried by storm, and Decebalus and his nobles committed suicide. The conquest of Dacia was complete. The country was organized into a province, and colonized with Romans.

On his return to Rome, Trajan triumphed. In commemoration of his victories, he laid out a new forum of magnificent proportions, erected a triumphal arch and reared that splendid memorial pillar, called the Column of Trajan. On the outer surface, the principal events of his Dacian campaign were carved in relief, and the summit was crowned with a colossal statue of the victorious Emperor.

For several years Trajan continued to reside at the capital, spending his energies and resources in the improvement and decoration of the city. To meet the expenses of his public works he was not, like his predecessors, driven to the criminal expedient of confiscations. His foreign conquest furnished him ample means. Not only in Rome, but in many of the provincial cities, the same liberal hand was seen in the erection of public buildings and commemorative trophies.

In A. D. 114, Trajan set out for the East.



STATUE OF THE EMPEROR TRAJAN.—Naples.

It was his purpose to wrest Armenia from the Parthians, and perhaps to reduce that warlike race, now long victorious in the eastern parts of what had constituted the Persian Empire, to submission and dependence on Rome. Chosroës, the Parthian king, fearing his antagonist, attempted conciliation. Trajan advanced into Asia. Reaching Armenia, he compelled Prince Parthamasiris, nephew of Chosroës, to make an absolute submission. He was obliged to cede his country to Rome; and the belief prevails that, after he had granted all the demands of

the conqueror, he was waylaid and slain by the orders of Trajan. The latter retired to Antioch; but at that place his plans were frustrated by the occurrence of the great earthquake, which ruined the city and came near destroying himself.

After the reduction of Armenia the Roman army was led against the Parthians. Pursuing the same route which had been taken by the ill-starred Crassus, the Emperor drove all before him, established his head-quarters in Adiabene, and before the end of the year organized a vast Roman province beyond the Tigris. The winter of A. D. 114–115 was spent by Trajan at Edessa. In the following spring he descended the Euphrates and reached Ctesiphon. The king of Parthia fled into Media. His empire collapsed. Trajan advanced to the Persian Gulf, and might, but for his age and the revolt of Seleucia in his rear, have extended the Roman borders to the limits of the dominion of Alexander.

Returning to Ctesiphon, the Emperor appointed a governor over Parthia, and settled the affairs of the kingdom. The eastern limit of the Empire was established, for a brief time, beyond the Tigris; but almost as soon as Trajan returned to Antioch, the region was again in revolt, and renounced the authority of Rome. In the year A. D. 117 Trajan attempted to return to Italy, but was taken sick *en route*, and died at Selinus, in Cilicia. His reign had covered a period of nineteen years, being the longest since the days of Tiberius. Without the literary culture of his predecessors, Trajan had surpassed them all in wisdom,



ARCH OF TRAJAN, ROME.

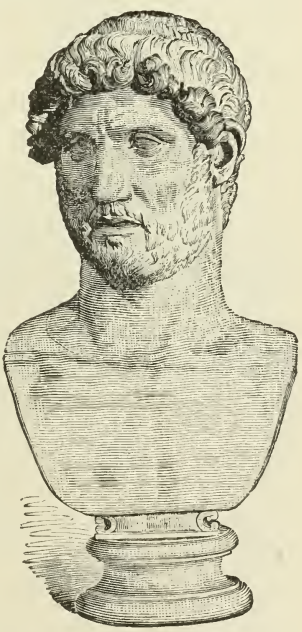
prudence, and devotion to the interests of the state. His liberality and generous conduct well deserved the fame which was accorded to him by his own and after times, and his title of *the Best* was a not undeserved recognition of his great merits as a ruler.

The Empire passed peaceably to PUBLIUS ÆLIUS HADRIANUS, commonly called Hadrian. He was a son of the late Emperor's cousin, and the favorite of the Empress Plotina, through whose influence he was preferred as the heir and successor of her husband. People and Senate readily accepted the choice, though there had been much expectancy that the lot would fall on Lusius Quietus, the ablest of Trajan's generals. In the mean time the body of the dead Emperor was brought home from the East and deposited under the beautiful column bearing his name.

At the time of his election to the throne Hadrian was with the army in Asia. Less ambitious and perhaps more wise than his predecessor, he determined to withdraw his forces from the fields of recent conquest and revive the policy of Augustus. For some time he was occupied in the settlement of affairs according to his notions of what was demanded by the interests of the state, and then in 117 repaired to Rome, where he was received with great enthusiasm.

The beginning of the new reign was auspicious. The popularity of the monarch was enhanced by a remission of tribute, and by the modesty of the pretensions of the prince. He had on the whole greater abilities and acquirements than any of his predecessors since Julius Cæsar. His activity was tireless and wisely directed. He traversed all parts of the Empire, and left behind him the tokens of his good will in the shape of public buildings and improvements. Meanwhile the conquests of the late Emperor began to bear their legitimate fruits in the hostility of the barbarians. On the frontiers of the Dacian province, so lately wrested from savagery, the nomads of Sarmatia made daring incursions, which were stayed rather by gifts and subsidies than by the terror of the Roman arms. In order to repress these dangerous movements Hadrian began an expedition into the disturbed region, but hardly had he left the capital when a conspiracy was formed against him by some disaffected senators and he was obliged to suppress the plot by force. The legions were soon afterwards recalled, and the wave of barbarism rolled hitherward again to the banks of the Danube. Even the bridge of Severin was broken down lest the hordes beyond should precipitate themselves into the Empire.

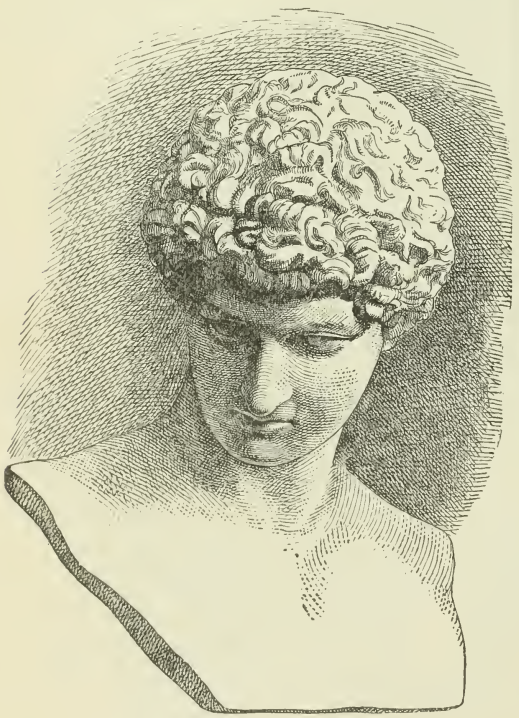
As soon as tranquillity was restored at the capitol the Emperor set out for Britain. In the north of that island the Caledonians were making havoc along the frontier established by Agricola. To plant a barrier against the encroachments of this warlike people Hadrian built a wall across the country from the Tyne to the Solway frith. The seat of government was transferred to Eburacum, the modern York, and additional fortresses were built for the protection of the border. Having accomplished these works in Britain the Emperor next proceeded into Gaul and Spain. He then visited Africa, and finally repaired to Asia. There he compelled Chosroës in a personal interview to pledge himself that his acts of hostility and intriguing schemes should end forever. Hadrian then returned to Athens, which even yet was in some sense the mistress of the human mind. Afterwards we find him, at the capital, enjoying for a season the applause of the Senate and people. Again he made a tour of the East, going by way of Athens to Antioch and Alexandria, where he arrived in A. D. 131.



HADRIAN.—Rome, Vatican.

At this epoch a revolt of the Jews broke out with great violence. One might well think

that the country which sixty years previously had been depopulated by the sanguinary vengeance of Vespasianus and Titus would not again engage in a foolhardy rebellion. But the Jews had increased in numbers and strength, and far more than by this fact were they encouraged by a new Christ who came this time in the person of Barchochebas, surnamed the "Son of the Star." He it was who was now to deliver his country from bondage and restore the house of David. Going forth from the school of Tiberias, he incited the fa-



ANTINOUS.—Rome, Vatican.

natical people to rise against the Romans. The hatred of the Jews was already inflamed with the belief that Hadrian, who had himself been regarded as a proselyte to Judaism, had become an apostate and persecutor. They rose on every side and flocked to the standard of Barchochebas, only to be beaten down and destroyed by the legions of Hadrian. The leader was finally pent up in Bethar, which place was taken by storm, and the revolt extinguished in blood. Palestine was again depopulated, and the miserable remnant of the people sold into slavery. Jerusalem was colonized by the Romans, and received the name of Ælia Capitolina. A shrine of Jupiter was set up among the ruins of the temple of Jehovah, and another was dedicated to Venus on Mount Calvary.

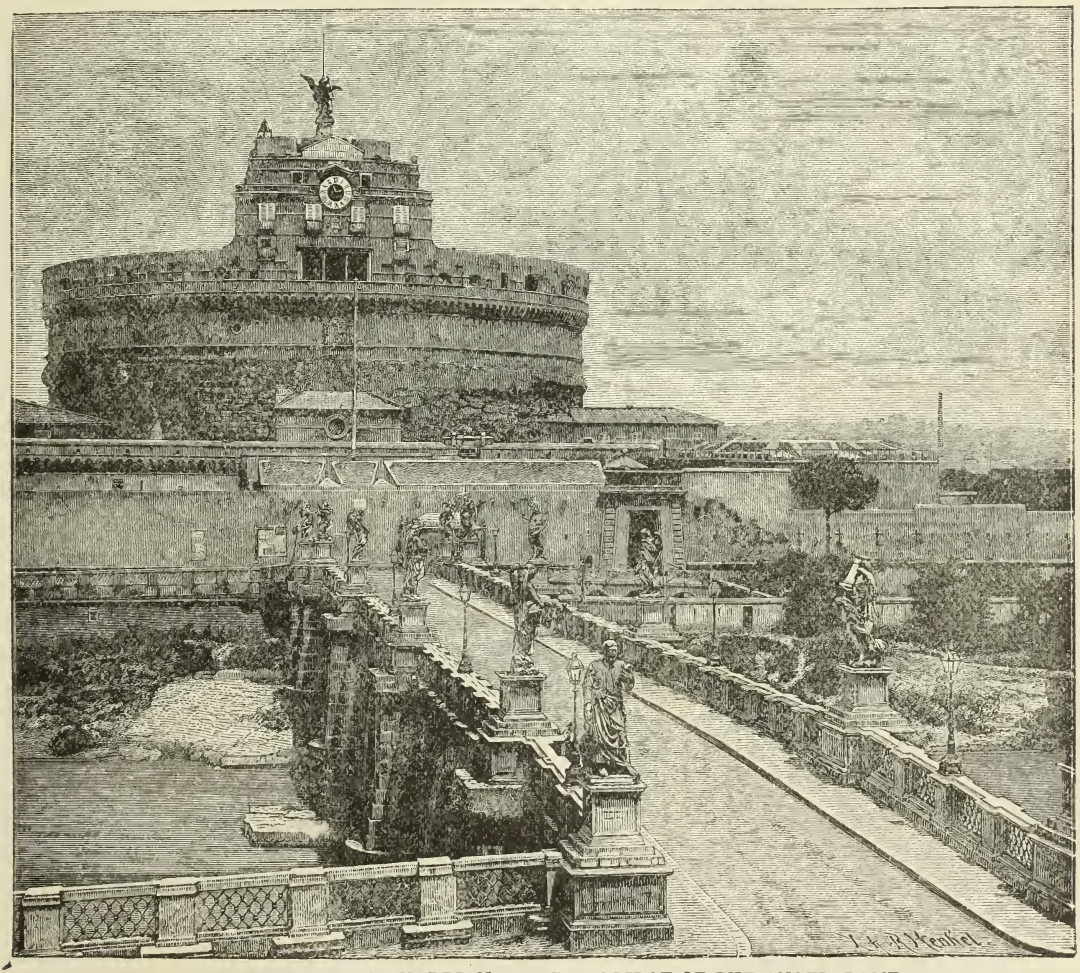
The genius of the Emperor Hadrian was curious in matters of learning and philosophy. At Athens and Alexandria he gave way freely to his inquiring disposition, and became himself learned in the things about which men, since they know nothing, dispute the most. In Egypt, however, it was the antiquities, rather than the speculations of the scholastics, that more particularly elicited the Emperor's interest. The country, moreover, bore an important relation to Rome, in that it was the principal granary of the Empire; and this fact was not less interesting to the rulers of the world than were the cats, bulls, and crocodiles, so sacred to the faith of Egypt.

It was during Hadrian's sojourn in this country that his favorite, the beautiful Bithynian named Antinous, cast himself for his master's sake into the Nile, and was drowned. It appears that the oracle at Besa had informed the Emperor that impending calamity could be averted only by the self-sacrifice of the one whom he most loved. Antinous believed himself to be designated as the offering, and accordingly gave his life to the river. The Emperor was in great grief for the loss of his friend, and in order to perpetuate his memory established in his honor the memorial city of Antinoöpolis, near Besa. A new star which had recently appeared was named for the heroic youth, and at Mantinea mysteries were established in his honor.

In Syria, Hadrian was unpopular. At Antioch, which he again visited on leaving Egypt, he was received with much disfavor, and the scandal was freely circulated that he owed the Imperial diadem to the unlawful love of Plotina, the late Empress. His only resentment for this insult was a negative expression of contempt for the city, to which he contributed no public building or other mark of his favor. He next visited Athens, and returned to Rome in A. D. 134.

Having now established his residence in the capital, he undertook a series of public

improvements. To this epoch of building belongs what was perhaps the most magnificent religious edifice that ever adorned the city—the Temple of Roma. The genius of the mistress of the world was personified, deified, and worshiped somewhat after the manner of Pallas Athene at Athens. For the deposition of his own ashes the Emperor reared the immense sepulcher known as the Mausoleum of Hadrian, still standing as a memorial of its builder. With more generosity and less jealousy than had marked the characters of many of his predecessors, he carefully restored the memorial buildings of other reigns, such as the Pantheon, the temple of Augustus, and the Thermæ of Agrippa.



THE MAUSOLEUM OF HADRIAN AND THE BRIDGE OF THE ANGEL, ROME.

In the choice of a successor Hadrian displayed his personal preference rather than a prudent insight into the fitness of the nominee. A certain youth of noble rank, but small capacity, named Ceionius Commodus Verus, was presented to the Senate as the Imperial choice. Any expectancy which may have been entertained of his fitness was doomed to a speedy disappointment. Verus was unable to assume any of the more serious burdens of the state. He was assigned to the command of the military forces in Pannonia, but presently fell sick and died. The public was little grieved at the calamity.

The second choice of the Emperor was more fortunate. The lot fell on Titus Aurelius Antoninus, and as a precaution against the possible contingency of having to nominate a third colleague Aurelius was required by the Emperor to adopt two heirs. Marcus Annius

VERUS and LUCIUS VERUS—the former the nephew of Aurelius and the latter a son of that Verus who had recently died in Pannonia—were accordingly adopted as a kind of grandsons of the Empire.

In A. D. 138 Hadrian died. His last years were passed in bodily affliction, which finally soured his temper and led to several acts of cruelty. It is said that he abandoned himself to the quacks and star-doctors, in the vain hope of finding relief; but, disappointed of all succor, he gave way to despair and besought his friends to take his life. Nor is it certain whether his decease was to be immediately attributed to natural or to artificial causes. In his dying hour he addressed to his departing spirit those celebrated verses which even the genius of Byron but half grasped in translation:

"Ah! gentle, fleeting, wavering sprite,
Friend and associate of this clay,
To what unknown region borne
Wilt thou now wing thy distant flight,
No more with wonted humor gay,
But pallid, cheerless, and forlorn?"

CHAPTER LXIV.—AGE OF THE ANTONINES.

HERE we enter upon the full noon of what is known in Roman history as the "Age of the Antonines"—the brightest of all the epochs from the founding to the downfall of the city. TITUS AURELIUS acceded to the throne in his fifty-second year, and entered upon a long and virtuous reign. He was a scholar, a philosopher; as a man, refined in his tastes; as a ruler, inclined to peace. It was from his library on the Palatine rather than from the military council chamber that he ruled the vast Empire. His accession was cordially received by the general public of Rome, though a meager senatorial conspiracy against him was presently discovered and suppressed. He was honored with the title of Pius, and perhaps deserved the epithet. His administration was preëminently mild and benign. He refused the stipend, which was customary on the coronation of a new monarch, and limited the expenses of his household to things necessary rather than luxurious. When the treasury of the state ran low, he replenished it by the sale of articles collected in the basilica by the extravagance of preceding rulers. He kept faith even with the dead, being careful to complete according to promises made to Hadrian many of the unfinished buildings of Rome.

With the exception of slight tribal agitations on the borders of the Empire the foreign relations of the government were undisturbed. On the line of the Danube the public peace was constantly menaced by the Dacians and the Alani, but the frontier was easily maintained. In Britain a revolt of the Brigantes was suppressed by LOLLIUS URBICUS, who completed the unfinished wall of Agricola from the Forth to the Clyde, and many additional Roman colonies were established in the country. Meanwhile the civil authority of the Empire was stretched to the uttermost limits of the provinces, and the voice of the Imperator was heard with respect even beyond the borders of civilization. It was no unusual thing for the tribute sent in by barbarian tribes, anxious to secure their own interests by establishing relations with the Empire, to be returned by Antoninus rather than entangle himself in unpleasant ways abroad. By the judgment of his own and after times the Emperor ruled the state with an eye single to the maintenance of public order, and to secure the happiness of the people. In literature the energies of the human mind were not so much directed as in the Augustan Age to great imaginative productions, but rather to certain useful essays intended for the diffusion of knowledge among men. To this epoch belong the valuable works of the geographer Ptolemy; of Antoninus himself, to whom is attributed the celebrated *Itinerary;* and of Ar-

6. Reign of **Chosroes I.**
17. Reign of **Parthenaspates.**
34. Reign of **Vologeses II.**

PARTHIA.

89. Reign of **Vologeses III.**

12. **Artabanus V.**
23. **Artaxerxes,** a Persian who had revolted, dethrones Artabanus V., and founds a new dynasty.

PERSIA.

Sassanidæ.

26. **Sapor I.** flays, alive, the emperor Valeria

94. N

72. **Hormisdas I.**
72. **Varanes I.**
76. **Varanes II.**

17. Reign of **Adrian.**
18. **Persecution** of the Christians.
Age of **Tacitus** and **Plutarch.**
35. Suppression of the Jewish insurrection.
37. Adrian rebuilds Jerusalem.
38. Accession of **Antoninus Pius.**
Epoch of peace.
61. Accession of **Marcus Aureli** **us.**
He makes war with the German nations.
80. **Commodus** s ucceeds to the throne.
93. Reign of **Pertinax.**
Epoc h of Galen.
Acces sion of **Septimius Severus.**
He o verthrows **Niger** and **Albinus.**
Sever us builds a wall across Britain.

44. **Philip.** 54. **Valerian,** put to death by t Persian king.
49. **Decius.** 61. **Gallienus,** noted for de- bauchery.
51. **Gallus.** 68. **Claudius, II,** wise a valorous defeats, Goths and Heruli
54. **Æmilianus.**
70. **Aurelian,** a great Goths and Ger
73. Defeats and ta Palmyra, pri

11. **Caracalla** and **Geta,** sons of Severus, reign.
12. Caracalla murders Geta in his mother's arms.
17. Himself assassinated.

75. **Tacitus.**
76. **Florianus.**
77. **Probus.**

17. **Macrinus,** murdered.
18. **Heliogabalus,** a monster of cruelty and vice, murdered.
22. **Alexander Severus,** a mild, beneficent, and enlightened prince, murdered.
35. **Maximinus,** a giant, slain.
38. **Maximus** and **Balbinus** reign.
38. **Gordian** takes the throne.

82. **Carus.**
83. **Carinus**
84. **Diocletia**
86. Assu
92. T C e C

ROMAN EMPIR

Longinus, Greek ph.

Pestilence begins, and rages until 270.

2. **Severus** issues his edict for the **Fifth Persecution** of the Christians.

Between the years 250 and 300 nc than thirty tyrants usurped throne, and were proclaimed i ferent parts of the empire; were all defeated, and, with two or three exceptions, slain.

Tertullian at Carthage; originally a pagan, but afterwards embraced Christianity, and became one of its ablest defenders.

Porphyry, ph., wri against the Script

Authority of the bishops by this time considerably increased; various new officers in the Church.

26. **Sixth Persecution.**

77. Heresy o Manich

Origen, after having been pres of Alexandria, suffered marty in 254.

50. **Seventh Persecution.** To avoi Paul the Hermit retires to th erts of Egypt, which is the of the monastic life.

53. Celebrated dispute betwee St. Stephen, and those o

St. Cyprian, bishop of baptism conferred by he

57. **Eighth Persecution.**

62. **Paul,** bishop of Sam denies the divin Christ.

73. **Ninth Persec**

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART
No. III.
DECLINE AND FALL
—OF THE—
ROMAN EMPIRE,
—FROM—
THE AGE OF THE ANTONINES TO THE BARBARIAN CONQUESTS.

PREPARED BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.

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The SCOTTISH MONARCHY is supposed to have been founded 330 B. C. by **Fergus I.**; the history of his successors is very insignificant till **Eugene I.**

SCOTLAN

9. **Sapor II.** reigns 70 years; a proud, ferocious prince.
e resumes war against the Romans; is for some time successful, but is at length surprised by Galerius, and his army cut to pieces.
40. Horrid persecution of the Christians; co
48. *Sirigate*—**Sapor** defeats the Romans.
59. He renews the war and takes
63. **Julian** pursues Sapor II.
84. **Sapor III.**;
89. **Varan**

Indigertes.
He concludes a peace of 100 years with the Romans. **Cabades.**
18. Persecution of the Christians begins, and continues 50 years.
ntinues 40 years, until the death of Sapor.
20. **Varanes V.**
several cities. 41. **Indigertes II.** or **Varanes VI.**
into the very heart of his kingdom, but is mortally wounded.
he governs with wisdom. 82. **Obalus.**
es IV.

6. **Constantine I., Licinius Severus II.,** and **Maximinus II.**
7. Severus is killed.
12. Maximinus defeated by Licinius, who had formerly submitted 95. **Ar**

50. **Marcian,** a Thracian of abilities.
cadius. Governed by favorites. 57. **Leo the Thracian.**
to Constantine. War with the Goths.
8. **Theodosius II.,** 76. **Zeno.**
aided by his sister, Pulcheria. Makes Theodoric the Ostrogoth his general.

12. **Constantine the Great** alone. He is said to have seen the luminous cross with the inscription "Conquer by this;" soon after he became the friend of Christianity, and is called the first Christian Emperor.

EASTERN EMPIRE.

91. **Anastasius.**

or, defeats the
nobia, queen of
30. **Seat of the empire removed** from Rome to Byzantium, afterwards called Constantinople.
31. Sapor renews the war with the Romans, and is vanquished by Constantine.
36. **Constantine II., Constans, Constantius II.,** and
except Constantius, who has a weak and
two nephews; they are all slain in a few years,
unfortunate reign.

61. **Julian** the Apostate; he de
rebuild Jerusalem, but
cides in favor of Paganism; attempts to
fails.

63. **Jovian.** 79. **Theodosius the Great** emperor of the East; a zealous supporter of Christianity;
defeats th
64. **Valens,** emperor of the
e Goths.
East.
92. Emp
eror of the East and West.

imerian.

64. **EMPIRE DIVIDED.** 92. United.
95. Per

aximan as his associate.
ke Galerius and
itius as colleagues,
earing the title of

manently divided.

27. The Vandals under Genseric pass into Africa, and erect a kingdom that lasts near a century.
9. **VANDALS,** from Scandinavia, invade Spain, and settle in Vandalusia.

18. The Goths nearly exterminate them.
9. **ALANI,** from the northern part of Asiatic Sarmatia invade Spain, and settle in Lusitania. 77. **VISIGOTHS.**

9. **SUEVI,** from Germany, invade Spain in company with the Alani and Vandals, and settle in Galicia.

WESTERN EMPIRE.

76. Fall of the Western Empire.

2. **Tenth Persecution,** the last and greatest.
13. The Edict of Constantine and
E. Licinius, which puts an end to the tenth persecution and gives peace to the Church.
64. **Valentinian,** emperor of the West gives his brother Valens the eastern prov
75. **Gratian.** 83. **Valentinia**
84. The com
and Pa
Senate
pion fo
machu
sult is a
decree of the Senate for the

inces. 10. **Alaric,** king of the GOTHS,
n II. plunders Rome.
parative merits of Christianity
ganism discussed in the
—**St. Ambrose,** the cham-
r Christianity, and Sym-
s, for Paganism; the re-
47. **Attila** the HUN, "the scourge of God," ravages Europe.
55. **Genseric** the VANDAL plunders Rome.

he Donatian Controversy.

Abol
ition of Paganism; here its downfall is dated.
95. Honori
us.

16. **Arius** propagates his doctrine denying the unity of the Godhead.
98. St.

55. **Maximus.** 67. **Athenius.** 93. **Theodoric,** king of the Ostrogoths.
55. **Avitus.** 72. **Olybrius.**
57. **Majorian.** 73. **Glucerius.**
61. **Severius.** **J. Nepos.**
75. **Augustulus Romulus.**
76. **Odoacer,** king of the

HERULI, takes Rome, and assumes the title of king of Italy.

Chrysostom, so called on account of his extraordinary eloquence, consecrated bishop of Constantinople, d. 7, a. 53.
23. Semi-Pelagians.
The bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Alexander, Antioch, and Jerusalem each strive for the supremacy.

25. **First General Council,** held at Nice; Osius, bishop of Cordova, presides; the Nicene Creed composed, and the doctrine of Arius solemnly condemned.
30. The emperor and court favor the doctrine of Arius, and multitudes embrace it.

Pelagius denies the doctrine of original sin.
29. Origin of the Stylites or Pillar saints.
31. **Third General Council** (at Ephesus); Pelagianism and Nestorianism condemned.
St. Augustine, d. 30, a. 76. 51. **Fourth General Council** (at Chalcedon).

35. **Athanasius,** bishop of Alexandria, exiled by the Arians.
Eusebius, hist., d. 38. 42. Returns. 55. Is again exiled.
41. Public churches begin to be built.
Lactantius, "the Christian Cicero." 55. **Liberius,** bishop of Rome, banished by the emperor.
58. Having signed an Arian creed, he is permitted to return to his see; he soon after acknowledged his fault.
60. Macedonian heresy.
62. **Persecution** of Christians; martyrdom.
66. The orthodox experience tion from the emperor, entirely devoted to the
Basil, surnamed THE GREAT, of Cæsarea.

20. **FRANKS,** led by **Pharamond,** settle in North Gaul; his successors are
28. **Clodion.** 48. **Merovæus.** 58. **Childeric I.,** and in **86. Clovis,** grandson of Merovæus, defeats the Roman governor of Gaul, and establishes the French monarchy.

Churches of Rome, headed by
ca, and Asia, headed by
many suffer
great opposi-
who is
Arians.
bishop

66. **Euaric.** 76. Extends his kingdom into Spain.
12. **VISIGOTHS,** led by **Ataulphus,** the successor of Alaric, settle in Aquitania.

age, concerning the validity of
Eusebius, bishop of Samosata.

13. **BURGUNDIANS,** from the country now called Prussia, form a kingdom, called from them Burgundy.
13. **Gundicar.** 36. **Gunderic.** 73. **Chilperic.** 91. **Gondebaud.**

81. **Second General Council,** held at Constantinople, against the Macedonians and other heretics.
Gregory Nazianzen, patriarch of Constantinople.
84. **Siricius,** bishop of Rome.
He is the first of whom an act exists wherein he calls himself Papa or Pope—a name given prior to this out of respect to all bishops indiscriminately, but which those of Rome afterwards appropriated to themselves.

55. Kingdom of KENT, founded by **Hengist.**
91. SUSSEX founded.
26. Romans leave Britain.
29. Scots and Picts commence invasions.
47. Angles and Saxons invited over to assist in repelling them, and come under the command of **Hengist** and **Horsa.**

The time from this to 700 in Church history may be called the period of
ECCLESIASTICAL CATHOLICISM.

45. **Vortigern,** k. 54. **Vortimer.** 65 **Ambrosius.**
45. ***Saxon*** period of **BRITAIN.**

4. **Fergus II.** restores the Caledonian kingdom.
19. Slain in battle with the Romans.
19. **Eugene II.** 29. Invades Britain. 57. **Constantine.**
52. **Dongard.** 79. **Congal I.**

rian, who composed the *Periplus* of the Euxine and Erythrean seas.

During the twenty-three years of his reign, Antoninus never left Italy. He gave much attention to the work of education, not neglecting the girls and the poor children of Rome, for whom he founded schools. The internal improvement of the Empire was promoted in a spirit of commendable liberality. At the city of Nimes, in Gaul, were constructed a splendid amphitheater and an aqueduct, which still survive in ruins. The harbors and roads, not only of Italy, but of the provinces, were improved and multiplied. The arts of peace and humanity were substituted for the arts of destruction and war.

At the age of seventy-five, Antoninus Pius died at Lorium, A. D. 161. He had lived the life of a philosopher. The long exercise of almost unlimited authority had wrought no change in his moral character. In him were concentrated the best elements of paganism—a mixture of rational indifference derived from the Stoics, and the idea of the supremacy of human happiness gathered from the doctrines of Epicurus. He died, as he had lived, in peace, and left to his guard as a watchword and motto the word "Equanimity."

It will be remembered that, in accordance with the will of Hadrian, Antoninus had adopted two heirs—Marcus Annius Verus and Lucius Verus. Pius, however, had greatly discriminated in his treatment of the two princes. On Marcus Annius he conferred his own name of Aurelius and his daughter in marriage. On Verus, who was regarded not without good reason as a weakling sprung from an incompetent ancestor, no public trusts or responsibilities were imposed. But when Antoninus the Elder died, Marcus Aurelius, inspired with sincere regard for his brother, made him his colleague and insisted that the honors bestowed on himself by the Senate should be equally divided with Verus. To the latter accordingly were given the high titles of Augustus and Cæsar; so that for the first time the throne of the Empire was occupied by two Augusti of coëqual authority; that is, so far as law and edict could make unequals equal.

Meanwhile destiny had provided for the new reign insurrections and rebellions. The British præfect, STATIUS PRISCUS, was proclaimed Imperator by the people in that island. The Germanic Chatti made a furious incursion into Gaul. The Moors made an expedition into Spain, and the Lusitanians revolted. Affairs on the eastern frontier again assumed a threatening aspect from the hostility of the Parthians. Verus was sent thither, but was disastrously defeated. Afterwards, however, the fortune of war was restored, and the contested territory recovered by the Romans. Ctesiphon and Seleucia were taken by AVIDIUS CASSIUS, and peace was concluded with honor to the Empire.

The army of Verus then returned in triumph to Rome, but brought with it the germs of some eastern malady, which broke out in the form of a pestilence and desolated the city. Presently afterwards there came a scarcity of food and Rome was menaced with famine. Then followed fires in divers places, and then an earthquake shook the peninsula. Intelligence next came that an insurrection had broken out on the Danube. What should be the cause of these multiplied disasters prevalent and impending? Perhaps the gods of ancient Rome were offended. Doubtless the progress which was making by the new sect of Christians in undermining the old-time faith of the city had provoked the displeasure of heaven. So thought Marcus Aurelius, who,

THE FAMILY OF ANTONINUS PIUS.

TITUS AURELIUS FULVUS, CONSUL, A. D. 85, 89.

TITUS ARRIUS ANTONINUS, Consul, 69.

Aurelius Fulvus ═══ Arria Fadilla.

Annia Galeria Faustina ═ TITUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS PIUS, 161. Annius Verus ═ Domitia Calvilla.

Marcus Galerius Antoninus. Marcus Aurelius Fulvus. Aurelia Fadilla. Annia Faustina ═ MARCUS AURELIUS, 180.

though a philosopher, gave his assent to a cruel persecution of the new religion and its adherents. Having purified the city with a solemn lustration, the Emperor then set out to the northern frontier to try the fortunes of war with the barbarian nations. The name of Rome was still a terror to the tribes of the Danubian border. The Marcomanni and the Quadi, recently so brave in their expeditions, quailed before the advance of the Emperor; the former fell back into their own territory, and the latter sought peace by accepting a Roman governor.



STATUE OF LUCIUS VERUS.
Rome, Vatican.

Soon after the return of the army to Italy, in A. D. 168, Verus, the associate Augustus, died—an event for which, though the Romans decently mourned, few felt any profound sorrow. The Empire was left to the sole direction of Aurelius, whose reign was thenceforth almost constantly troubled with foreign wars. The nations of the North could not be restrained except by the repeated blows of the legionaries. The Germans, the Scythian, and the Sarmatians combined in their efforts to break in the borders of the Empire. Aurelius established his head-quarters at Carnutum, and devoted himself with as much energy as a scholarly philosopher could be expected to exhibit to the destruction of the barbarians. He chose, however, to rely principally upon able subordinates for the success of his arms. It was in his war with the Quadi—when the latter had surrounded his camp and cut off the supply of water—that a great and supposedly miraculous storm of rain, thunder, and lightning burst over the camp, pouring upon the Romans an abundant deluge of water and terrifying the enemy with the roar of the blazing clouds. Some said that the miracle was the work of an Egyptian magician who was in the camp; others that the Almighty Jove had sent the tempest; and still others that the salvation of the army had been accomplished by a regiment of praying Christians. Aurelius himself piously ascribed the phenomenon to Jove, the guardian of the Roman race.

No sooner were affairs on the northern frontier brought to a settlement than Aurelius was alarmed by the report that his general, Avidius Cassius, a descendant of that Cassius who had led in the murder of Julius Cæsar, now commanding the army in the East, had raised the standard of revolt and was claiming the Empire. To this course, it was said he had been instigated by FAUSTINA, the wife of Aurelius, a dissolute and abandoned creature, the extent of whose faithfulness consisted in her being a truthful reproduction of a worse mother. Nevertheless the Emperor retained her in his confidence, and in A. D. 175 she accompanied him on his expedition against Cassius. The latter, however, was put to death by his own soldiers, and Faustina suddenly died at a village near the foot of Mount Taurus. Her memory was fondly cherished by her blinded husband; she was enrolled among the goddesses, and a medal was struck in her honor, bearing for its inscription the mocking word, *Pudicitia.*

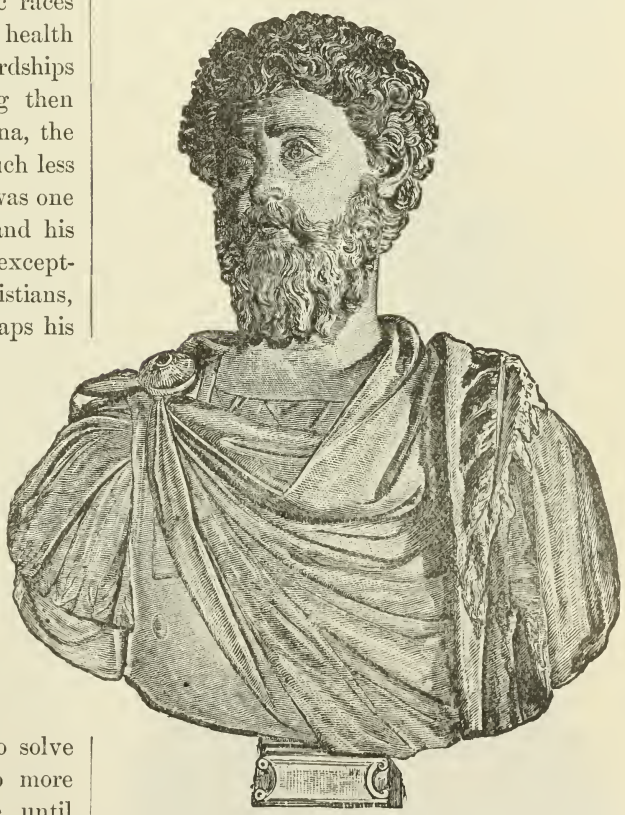
Before returning from the East, Aurelius became an initiate in the Eleusinian mysteries. On arriving at Rome he celebrated his triumph over the Sarmatians—an honor which his magnanimity ascribed to his son Commodus rather than to himself. Not long, however, was he permitted to enjoy the respite which he so much coveted. The Sarmatians, as if to satirize their alleged subjugation, again rose in revolt. The three German races of the Marcomanni, the Quadi and the Hermunduri also took up arms; and Aurelius, now growing old, was again confronted with the uncongenial duties and perils of foreign war-

fare. The resources of the Empire, moreover, were less abundant than when his first campaigns against the Northern nations were undertaken. The plague, too, had greatly reduced the population of Italy, and those who survived were discouraged with the prospect of endless warfare with the barbarians. Nevertheless, for three years, Aurelius resolutely prosecuted the war, and his arms made considerable progress in reëstablishing the northern frontier. But before the Germanic races could be driven again to submission, the health of the Emperor gave way under the hardships of soldier life, and in A. D. 180, being then in his sixtieth year, he died at Vindobona, the modern Vienna. His reign, though much less peaceful than that of his predecessor, was one of the most noted in Roman history, and his personal reputation was unblemished, excepting always the persecutions of the Christians, to which he gave his consent, and perhaps his encouragement.

In philosophy he was a Stoic, being the last of the Roman Emperors who accepted the doctrines of that remarkable sect. His principles of conduct and his views of life are well set forth in his work entitled *Meditations*, wherein with the skill of a casuist he analyzes his own moods, motives, and hopes. The book, as well as the life of him who penned it, were the products of the expiring agonies of that old pagan rationalism which, unable to solve the riddle of existence, had given up more and more to the despair of indifference, until at the close of the second century it had reached in the Occident the level of that Nihilism which in the Orient had ended in the Nirvana of the Buddhist. Meanwhile the belief in Christianity, nurtured by its own blood, pruned with the knife of persecution, and bursting into leaves from the gory jaws of the lions in the arena, prevailed more and more in the capital of the world, until it was now ready to enter the contest for dominion over the human mind.

At the death of Marcus Aurelius the Roman Empire hung for a moment, as it were, in suspense before beginning its long descent towards the abyss of barbarism. The incidental circumstance which now tipped the scales and inclined the colossal fabric towards its doom was the character of the reckless and dissolute prince COMMODUS, the chief element of whose historical reputation consists in the fact of his succeeding Marcus Aurelius.

The father seems to have been unaware of the peril to which the Empire of the Cæsars was exposed through the folly and



MARCUS AURELIUS.

wickedness of the youth whom he had nurtured. Commodus, however, was peaceably accepted alike by army, people, and Senate. He at once made haste to purchase a peace which his father had already half conquered on the Danubian frontier, and then sped to Rome. Outwardly for three years he preserved the constitutional forms which had become so thoroughly fixed during the wise administrations of his immediate predecessors. But in the retreats of the basilica his own life and the manners of the court were, from the first, given up to the wildest excesses. It is

not possible to determine how long this state of affairs might have continued but for the sudden development by the provocation of a conspiracy of the criminal instincts of the Emperor. The ambitious Lucilla, widow of that Verus who but for his premature death would have come to the imperial purple, fretting under her disappointments, concocted a plan of revenge to be obtained by the assassination of Commodus. The murderer who



COMMODUS.

struck the blow at the Emperor exclaimed as he did so: "This from the Senate!" But the assassin was frustrated in the attempt. His expression, however, was accepted as the truth by Commodus, who conceived the most malignant hatred of the senatorial order. He revived the old band of informers and began the extermination, one by one, of those whom he regarded as his enemies. Presently the government was practically devolved upon a favorite named Perennis, an unprincipled parvenu who had attached himself to the royal court. This worthy was soon detected in a plot against his new master, and was overthrown to make room for the freedman, Cleander, as minister of state. A second insurrection, headed by a certain Maternus, was also detected and suppressed. About the same time the Asiatic pestilence again broke out, and the feverish, half-starved multitude attributed the recurrence of the plague to Cleander, whose head they demanded. The Emperor granted the request, and the blind Dagon of superstition was appeased.

For sixteen years Rome continued to groan under the vices and tyranny of Commodus. The Senate was terrorized in its individual membership and silently endured what it had not the spirit or power to cure. The Emperor became the chief *roué* of his times. The vices of the city ran as usual to the circus for gratification. The shows of the arena were multiplied and made more bloody. The fame of Nero disturbed the slumbers of Commodus. To be applauded by the multitude for the slaughter of wild beasts was greater praise than to receive titles and honors at the hands of the effete Senate! So the Emperor entered the arena. A hundred African lions fell before an equal number of arrows from his quiver. Then the people shouted and Rome was great. Seven hundred and fifty times he fought as a gladiator, and as many victims lay bleeding before his victorious sword. "Habet" cried the delighted multitude. But it was not long until *habet* resounded from another quarter. This time it was Commodus himself who *had it*. Marcia, one of his concubines, plotted with Electus, the chamberlain, and Lætus the prefect of the prætorians, to destroy him before whose jealous caprices they all stood trembling. Marcia herself administered a poison to her noble lord, but the drug worked slowly, and the gladiator, Narcissus, was called in to finish him by strangling.

The conspirators had carefully considered the succession. They immediately named PERTINAX, a man of senatorial rank, then prefect of the city. It was a good choice by bad electors. The nominee was cordially accepted,

although the caucus was not such as to commend him to public favor. The Senate was surprised to find one of its own members again named for the throne, and the prætorians were well satisfied to have their old commander assigned to the Imperial station. The new Emperor was experienced in the camp and the campaign, and was also well versed in the affairs of the state. His civil life, however, was more recent than his military. He had been a municipal officer under the recent government, so that the loyalty of the prætorians was remote rather than immediate. Pertinax had, therefore, deemed it desirable to stimulate the loyalty of the prætorians by a large donative or bounty on his accession. As a matter of fact the Prætorian Guard had now become the *bête noire* of Rome. Every element in Roman society trembled before the apparition of this passionate, licentious, half-disciplined soldiery.

The first administrative act of Pertinax was the recall of the exiled noblemen who had been driven out of the state by Commodus. To them their estates were returned and such reparation made of their fortune as was possible under the circumstances. Measures were next silently but firmly adopted with a view to improving the discipline and subordination of the prætorians. Under these wise procedures the prosperity of the city immediately began to revive. Public credit was restored and every thing promised a quiet and beneficent reign. A specter lurked, however, in the shadow of the prætorian camp. Lætus, the præfect of the guard, was offended by want of recognition on the part of him whom he had helped to raise to power. A. D. 193, in less than three months from the death of Commodus, the prætorians rose in arms, attacked the basilica, listened for a moment to the courageous rebuke which Pertinax attempted to deliver, then fell upon and slew him with fury and indignity. His head was cut off and carried to the camp. In the audacity of their triumph over law and order, the prætorians then offered the Empire to him who would pay the largest donative. Thereupon an aged senator named Sulpicianus, himself the father-in-law of Pertinax, offered a tempting sum. The bargain was about to be closed when it occurred to the leaders of the guards that a still greater sum might be extorted from some one who was burning with the lust of power. Accordingly they went upon the rampart of the camp and openly offered the crown of the Roman Empire at public auction to the highest bidder! Thereupon another Senator named DIDIUS JULIANUS went boldly to the camp, outbid his rival by offering a thousand dollars to each of the twelve thousand prætorians, and was declared the purchaser by the hilarious guards! Julianus was accordingly proclaimed and accepted even by the helpless Senate.

As soon, however, as the news of these events was carried to the provincial armies there was hot indignation among the legionaries. Those on the Euphrates proclaimed their own commander, Pescennius Niger, as Emperor. The legions of the Rhine conferred the diadem on their general, Clodius Albinus; while the army of the Danube made proclamation of Septimius Severus. The latter was the ablest of the nominees. He at once anticipated the movements of his rivals by a hurried march towards Rome. Drawing near the city, the Senate spoke out in his behalf by proclaiming Julianus a public enemy. The prætorians, knowing themselves to be no match for the veteran legions, abandoned Julianus, who was put to death after a reign of two months.



PERTINAX.

Thus came SEVERUS to the throne of the Empire. It was a dangerous eminence. From the far East he was menaced by Niger, and from the Rhine, by Albinus; while in the city the treacherous and venal prætorians made every thing insecure. Severus, however, was a man of large abilities and no scruples. He at once adopted the most vigorous measures for the overthrow of his enemies. To this end he suddenly turned upon the prætorians,

degraded and disarmed them, and sent them a hundred miles from the city. A new national guard of fifty thousand men was organized in place of the prætorian body. Having thus made solid his support in Italy, Severus advanced against Niger in the East. The latter was beaten partly by stratagem and partly by force of arms, and pursued from the Hellespont into Cilicia, where he was captured and slain. The year 194 was occupied with the siege of Byzantium, which yielded at last to famine rather than the Roman battering-ram; and the triumph of Severus in the East was



SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

thus completed. In the West he overthrew Albinus at Lugdunum, and crowned his triumph by putting him to death. Returning to Rome, he set up his savage winnowing-fan in the Senate House, and forty members of the ancient body wont to assemble there were executed on suspicion or proof of disloyalty. The rest were glad to escape from the rough and conscienceless soldier who had thus broken like a wild boar into the halls of the depraved city and carried off the Imperial diadem on his bloody tusks.

At the first Severus chose Plautianus as his minister of state, but he was soon distrusted and deposed to make room for the celebrated lawyer, Papinian. To the latter was intrusted the civil management of the state; while the Emperor, not to be weaned from his old habits of warfare, sought opportunity for the exercise of his faculties, first in Asia Minor, and afterwards in Britain. In the latter country he penetrated the wilds of Caledonia, and determined to conquer the entire island. He afterwards decided, however, to make the northern limit of the Empire the line which had been previously established by Hadrian. A second chain of defenses, parallel with the earthworks already constructed, was drawn across the country from the Tyne to the Solway frith. Having thus strengthened the northern border of the Roman dominion, the Emperor began to look for another field of operations, when he was taken sick and died in the camp at Eburacum. When about to expire he gave to his attendants—acting after the manner of his predecessors—the word *Laboremus* as a motto, an expression not out of keeping with the activity and energy of his own character.

In determining the Imperial succession, a woman was again the most important agent. The late Emperor had taken for his queen a certain Julia Domna, who being Syrian by birth possessed the gift, or at least the reputation, of magic. One might well suppose, judging from the character of the two princes whom she bore to Severus, that her claims to be regarded as one of the mistresses of the Black Art were not unfounded. The name of the elder son, to which he himself added that of Antoninus, was Bassianus; but the title by which he is almost universally known was the pseudonym of Caracalla, or Spotted Jacket, being so named from the style of Gallic tunic which he introduced into Rome. The younger brother was called Geta. Both of them were taken by the father on his military campaigns, but neither had any taste for the soldier life. They were vicious youth, even under the savage surveillance of Severus. After the Emperor's death, they sped to Rome, quarreling *en route*, camping apart and entering the city in undis-

guised hostility to each other. The mother, Julia, undertook to effect a reconciliation between her darling scions, whereupon the elder in vindication of his filial love, stabbed the younger in his mother's arms and killed him. The same delightful quietus was extended to the friends of Geta, several thousand of whom are said to have been murdered by Caracalla's orders. Thus perished Fadilla, the daughter of the Emperor Aurelius; the remaining son of Pertinax, and the jurist Papinian, whose crime consisted in refusing to defend the assassination of Geta.

Caracalla soon established his reputation as the greatest monster ever clad in the Imperial purple. The compressed beastliness of Caligula, Nero, and Commodus together was equaled in the horrid kennel of Caracalla's animality. He soon left the capital to practice his debauches in the provinces of the Empire. Nor is it likely that his reign could have been protracted for six years, had it not been for its removal from place to place. In Egypt, being gibed at for his beastly visage, he ordered a frightful massacre of the people. Without pretending to assume the command of the army, he wandered from one city to another, until at last, in A. D. 217, he was struck down by a private soldier on the borders of Syria.

The assassination was procured by MACRINUS, one of the præfects of the city, who was now proclaimed Emperor, and at once assumed the purple. He did not return to Rome, but remained with the army in the East. His first work was an attempt to improve the discipline of the legions, and thus to control the force by which he had been raised to the throne. The soldiers—though the Emperor did not at first direct his efforts to the veterans of the service—quickly perceived and resented the interference of the Imperator. Meanwhile a second train of causes had been prepared for one of the strangest revolutions ever witnessed in the Empire. A certain Julia Mæsa, sister of the empress Julia, dwelt now at Antioch, where Macrinus had established his headquarters. This princess, now aged, had by her two daughters, who, like herself, were widows, two grandsons named Bassianus and Alexander. The former, guided by his mother, had become a priest of the Sun at Emesa. Here was stationed a strong division of the Roman army. Bassianus had become well known to the soldiers, and by his personal beauty and accomplishments had won their favor and applause. When they learned that Macrinus was pursuing a course which tended manifestly to the destruction of their power in the state, they proclaimed the Sun-priest Emperor. The soldiers at Antioch abandoned Macrinus and joined their brethren at Emesa. The prætorians—for by that name the new guards organized by Severus were still known—remained



CARACALLA.

loyal to the reigning Emperor; and in a battle which followed between them and the legionaries, victory at first inclined to the side of Macrinus; but he himself presently fled and the prætorians were routed. The fugitive Emperor and his son were pursued and put to death. Opposition to BASSIANUS ceased and he ascended the throne with the Imperial titles of Antoninus and Severus. These names, however, as well as that given him by his parents, were quickly supplanted by the title of ELAGABALUS, the same being the name of the Syrian Sun-god whom he served.

So the black stone symbolizing the Sun in the tradition of Syria was introduced among

the statues and emblems of the gods of Rome. Elagabalus came to the capital wearing the costume of the Oriental priesthood. He appeared in the streets, where for seven hundred years the Roman toga had been worn as the proudest garb by the proudest men, wearing the loose and high-colored garments in which the hierarchs of the East were wont to clothe themselves. All this might have been borne—for Rome was now effeminated and debauched—had Elagabalus possessed the virtues requisite in manhood or even the abilities to command.



ELAGABALUS.

But his disposition was debased by superstition, and his mind was a stranger to the moral forces. So like, however, in these respects were the people to the ruler whom the army had imposed upon them that they accepted him as a necessary evil to be tolerated rather than destroyed. So great, indeed, had been the influx of foreign elements into Rome, and so high had risen the vices of corruption and dissipation, that the people were no longer capable of any heroic indignation on account of the vices of their sovereigns. Elagabalus confined himself for the most part to the basilica, and his disgraceful excesses were thus in a measure hidden from public gaze.

At length popular dissatisfaction began to express itself in the mutterings of approaching insurrection. Julia Mæsa again became a servant of the state. She secured the appointment of her other grandson, Alexander Severus, to be the colleague of the Emperor, and so amiable was the character of this young prince, that public opinion was at once directed to him as the promise and good omen of the state. Elagabalus was filled with distrust and jealousy at beholding the affections which were lavished on his cousin; but the latter waxed more and more, and the former was despised for his vices and worthlessness. At length the prætorians rose in mutiny and went over to the side of Severus. It appeared that in this instance their preference was for the deposition rather than the death of Elagabalus; but the latter, having by his conduct still further excited the anger and contempt of the guards, was soon overthrown and assassinated. The youthful ALEXANDER SEVERUS then reigned alone, being directed for a season in the affairs of the government by his mother, the princess Mamæa.

Among the long list of Imperial names, that of Severus shines with peculiar luster. During his reign the prosperity of the Empire was recovered. The foreign wars of the epoch were few and unimportant. The great interests of peace were again promoted, as in the time of Antoninus. The work of Papinian, under whose auspices a digest of the Roman law had been undertaken, was carried forward by Ulpian, the minister of Alexander, one of the most distinguished jurists of the age. The

youthful Emperor was for a while directed by his mother, a woman not devoid of craft and ambition. Under her influence some injudicious acts soiled the reputation of the earlier years of his authority. The first serious difficulty of the reign arose from the camp of the prætorians. Offended at the restraints imposed upon them by Alexander, and charging the same to the minister Ulpian, the mutinous guards burst into the palace, and the aged lawyer was assassinated. For a short time the Emperor himself was in peril of his life; but he presently brought the prætorians to submission, and had Epagathus, the leader in the recent mutiny, executed for his crime. Alexander also succeeded in quelling the legionaries who had rebelled against their officers, bringing them to submission by Cæsar's expedient of addressing them as citizens.

The amiable Emperor was by no means a stranger to literary culture. Without the great abilities of the elder Antonines, he possessed talents sufficiently great to appreciate and admire the works of the poets, orators, and philosophers of Rome. Without becoming actively identified with any of the philosophic schools, he chose a moderate eclecticism, as furnishing the best refuge for thought and speculation. He is represented as having possessed a profound admiration for the great religious teachers of the world, and to have expressed his respect for the sages by setting up in the palace the statues of Orpheus, Abraham, and the Christ. His reign was free from persecutions, and a healthful and temperate spirit was diffused from the throne throughout the Empire.

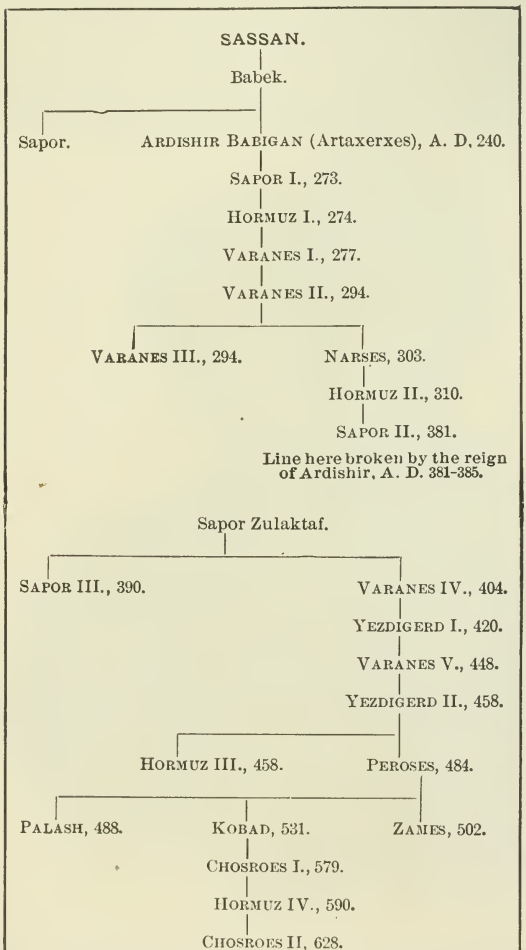
The later years of Alexander's reign were disturbed by a war in the East. The star of Persia had again emerged from the clouds by which it had been so long obscured. In A. D. 220 a certain Artaxerxes, claiming to be a descendant of Darius Hystaspes, rose against the Parthians, called the followers of Zoroaster to arms, and after a six years' conflict overthrew their empire in the great battle of Hormuz. Thus on the ruins of the Parthian power was established the great monarchy of the Sassanians. It was with this new monarchy that the Romans were now brought into conflict. Alexander made a campaign into Mesopotamia, and was reported by his eulogists to have gained a great victory over the Persians; but the subsequent narrowing of the borders of the Empire in the East indicates that his alleged triumph must be accepted with many grains of allowance.

Returning to the West, the Emperor was called to the Danubian frontier to resist the encroachments of the Germans and Sarmatians. But before he had achieved any signal success in this quarter his life was, in A. D. 235, taken in a mutiny of the soldiers. A certain Thracian peasant, named MAXIMINUS, a huge giant more than eight feet in stature, who wore his wife's bracelet for a finger-ring, whose modest appetite was satisfied with forty pounds of meat a day, and who by great personal prowess and distinguished bearing had risen to be an officer of the legion, and had won the favor of the Emperor by his daring and activity, was proclaimed by the admiring soldiers as successor to Alexander. The distinguished barbarian accepted the trust and donned the Imperial purple.



SEVERUS.

From this epoch forward the barbarian nations, hovering in ominous clouds along the north-eastern frontiers of Rome, exhibited unwonted commotion. Anon, the scattered tribes beyond the Rhine and the Danube were gathered into three principal confederations. Beyond the Lower Rhine the tribes of the



Chatti, the Chanci and the Cherusci were united in a league for purposes of offense and defense against Rome. These nations, afterwards known by the general name of *Franks*, will reäppear as turbulent and powerful factors in the history of the Barbarian Age. On the Upper Rhine a similar aggregation of tribes occurred, embracing the powerful Suevi, the Boii, the Marcomanni, and the Quadi, all known in subsequent history by the common name of *Alemanni*. These were the peoples who in the times past and present of the Empire made frequent and daring incursions into Rhætia and Pannonia, and kept Cisalpine Gaul evermore in alarm. In the year A. D. 272 the Alemanni burst through the passes of the Eastern Alps, and advanced into Italy as far as Ravenna. Here they were absorbed rather than conquered, but not until thoughtful men of Rome had been led to see that another barbarian expedition somewhat more audacious than the last might penetrate to the capital itself, and there repeat the work of Brennus.

The third division of the tribes beyond the border included the Goths and the Getæ on the Lower Danube. These people were justly noted for their courage and persistency. After the trans-Danubian province of Dacia had been resurrendered to its original populations, the Goths made almost yearly excursions across the river, or, passing down that stream and crossing the Euxine, laid waste the coasts of Asia Minor. In the East, Persian power was now fully revived under Sapor, the second of the Sassanidæ and successor of Artaxerxes. Such was the strength of the new kingdom that the whole Roman dominion in Asia was threatened with extinction. In the direction of Palestine and Egypt the borders of the Empire were now for the first time harassed by those wandering tribes of Arabs known as Saracens or Men of the Desert. In the mountain lairs of Isauria bands of brigands and pirates were again gathered as in the later days of the Republic. The outlook was any thing other than auspicious for the further development and glory of Rome. It remains to sketch as briefly as possible the careers of the Emperors who pass in rapid and inglorious succession, beginning with Maximin and ending with Carinus.

The assumption of the Thracian giant was received with indignation by the Senate. The time called for a leader, and he was found in the aged senator, Gordianus, præfect of the province of Africa, now commanding the legions in that country. No sooner was the

news of Maximin's usurpation carried across the Mediterranean than Gordian was proclaimed by his soldiers. This movement was heartily seconded in Italy, where measures were immediately adopted for the overthrow of Maximin. Gordian had in the mean time associated with himself his son, also a commander in Africa, and it appeared that the two able and popular rulers might on their return to Italy restore some degree of order to the distracted Empire.

Meanwhile, however, before they could set out from Africa, the governor of Mauritania rose in revolt and slew the younger Gordian in battle. So great was the despair of the father on hearing of the death of his son that he committed suicide. Great was the consternation when the intelligence of these calamitous events was carried to Rome. The Senate, unable to recede from its declared hostility to Maximin, immediately proclaimed as Emperors two of its own number, named Maximus and Albinus. A popular insurrection ensued in favor of the grandson of the veteran Gordian, and the Senate was obliged to appease the tumult by associating the youth with the two Augusti already proclaimed. To Maximus was intrusted the command of the senatorial army, which, in A. D. 238, marched to the north to encounter Maximin. The latter had, meanwhile, advanced to the head of the Adriatic and laid siege to Aquileia. Here, however, his troops broke into mutiny and put him to death. Maximus and Albinus took up their residence in Rome, but a few months afterwards a band of malcontent soldiers attacked and slew them in the basilica. The youthful Gordian was thereupon taken to the camp of the prætorians, and the Senate was obliged to acknowledge him as sole Emperor.

The new ruler had the good fortune to choose for his minister of state the able and virtuous Misitheus. For five years (A. D. 238–244) constant improvements were shown in the manners of the palace and the reviving decency of the city. Then Misitheus died and was succeeded in his office of prætect by Philip, the Arabian. The latter soon proved treacherous, incited the army of the Euphrates to mutiny, and Gordian was slain by the soldiers. Philip was at once proclaimed in his stead. The chief event of his reign belongs to the year A. D. 248, which was fixed upon by the Emperor as the thousandth anniversary of the city. It was determined to celebrate the event by an elaborate performance of the Secular Games. But the glory of the occasion was marred not a little by a mutiny of the soldiers on the Mæsian frontier, who set up a certain Marinus as Emperor. Against him was sent an army under the command of Decius, who, having put down the revolt, was



ALBINUS.

himself proclaimed by the legionaries as ruler of the Empire. Philip went forth to meet him, but was defeated and killed in a battle at Verona.

The accession of the new Augustus was in the nature of a reäction towards the old paganism which had once made Rome glorious. Decius went back in his religion and philosophy to the gods of the ancient city. He exacted of the Christians a strict compliance with the rites and ceremonies prescribed by the old-time formulæ; and when they refused

to worship the pagan deities a storm of persecution broke out, more severe and general than any that had preceded it. When the bloody business had about run its course the Emperor appointed Publius Licinius Valerianus censor of the city, and himself departed on a campaign in Mæsia. After three successful expeditions into the enemy's country Decius fell in battle, being the first of the Roman Emperors to perish in the field.

The Senate at once appointed the experienced general Gallus as his successor in the Empire. The nomination was accepted by the army; but when the new Emperor proceeded to purchase peace of the barbarians dissatisfaction took the place of content. Æmilianus, commander of the army on the Danube, led his forces against Gallus, and in A. D. 253 the Emperor was slain. Thereupon Valerian, who had been left behind as censor of Rome, marched against Æmilianus; but the latter was assassinated by his own troops, and VALERIAN assumed the purple. With him was associated in the government his son Gallienus as the next successor to the Empire.



DECIUS.

At this epoch the north-eastern frontier was many times assailed by the Franks and the Goths. In the East the Sassanian Sapor, having overrun Mesopotamia and Armenia, stood in a threatening attitude on the Euphrates. Valerian, leaving the defense of the West to Gallienus, led a large army through Asia Minor, and encountered the Persians at Edessa. The Romans were disastrously routed. Valerian was taken prisoner, and was subjected by his captor to every conceivable indignity. Sapor compelled him to prostrate himself as a foot-stool from which to mount his horse. When the Emperor died he was carefully flayed; the Imperial skin was tanned, dyed purple, stuffed to its natural proportions, and hung up in a temple. The victory and its results left the whole of Asia Minor at the mercy of the Persian; but the half-barbarian king was satisfied with the spoils of Antioch and a horde of slaves.

Nothing was to be expected of GALLIENUS in the way of restoring the honor of the Roman arms. The only recovery was made by Odenatus of Syria, who conducted a successful defense of Palmyra against the Persians. The Emperor himself had small reputation for any thing but vice. He indulged his appetites, wrote trivial verses, conversed with the insignificant philosophers of the epoch. Meanwhile no fewer than nineteen different aspirants were proclaimed in various parts of the Empire, only to be hewn down by each other or by the generals who remained loyal to Gallienus. The whole brood was exterminated except Odenatus, whom the Emperor had the good sense to summon to Rome and associate with himself in the government. In A. D. 268 Gallienus went forth to meet a certain Aureolus, who was in the north of Italy, but was slain *en route* in his own camp. In his dying moments he nominated as his successor MARCUS AURELIUS CLAUDIUS, a man of remarkable abilities, especially in the field, who might but for the degeneracy of his times have revived the waning energies of the Empire. As it was, he could only maintain some of the pristine glories of Rome by successful war. In the great battle of Naïssus, fought in A. D. 269, he overthrew the Goths, whose three hundred thousand soldiers were scattered to the winds, leaving fifty thousand of their number dead on the field. For this memorable victory he was rewarded with the surname GOTHICUS. Soon afterwards he prepared for a great campaign against the Persians; but

while collecting his forces on the Danube he fell sick and died, leaving the diadem to his general Lucius Domitius Aurelianus, son of an Illyrian peasant. The latter had won the pseudonym of *Manu ad Ferrum*, or Sword-in-Hand. His nomination was ratified by the Senate, and the Emperor soon justified the wisdom of the choice by notable successes over the Goths.

Having secured quiet on the Danubian frontier, he turned attention to the Orient. There in Palmyra, the beautiful Zenobia, not improperly called the Queen of the East—for her husband Odenatus was now dead—was attempting to uphold the freedom of her capital and country alike against the Persian and the Roman. During the last two reigns she had successfully defended herself against the armies of Gallienus and Claudius, but in 272 she was defeated by Aurelian and driven into Palmyra. Here she made a vigorous defense. When the city was driven to the point of surrender, she made her escape and fled as far as the Euphrates. Being captured and brought back to Aurelian, she was asked why she had taken up arms. Her reply was worthy of her Arab blood: "Because," said she, "I disdain to consider as Roman emperors an Aureolus or a Gallienus; you alone I acknowledge as my conqueror and my sovereign." She was taken by Aurelian to Rome to grace his triumph, but such was the native dignity of her character that she won the respect even of a Roman Emperor. She was given an elegant villa on the Tiber, and here her daughters, when grown to womanhood were sought in marriage by the most honorable noblemen of the city. As late as the fifth century, her descendants were still held in esteem as an element in the best society of the ancient capital.

In the last year of his life, A. D. 275, Aurelian disgraced his reign by organizing a savage persecution of the Christians; but before the butchery began, he was himself, while starting on a campaign against the Persians, murdered by a secretary whom he had offended. His soldiers speedily and signally avenged his death, and then by a singular freak of subordination waited for six months on the Senate to declare a successor. That body chose for the imperial office the venerable Marcus Claudius Tacitus already more than seventy years of age. Although unfitted for the duties of the camp he courageously undertook an expedition against the Alani, but before he could bring the campaign to a close he yielded to old age and exposure, and died A. D. 276, after a reign of but a few months' duration.



GALLIENUS.

The next Emperor was Aurelius Probus, officer of the army of Germany. He was chosen by the legions, and recognized by the Senate. A certain Florianus, brother of Tacitus, had in the mean time assumed the purple without recognition by either the civil or the military power; but presently finding himself abandoned, he made an end by suicide. Probus, who was a soldier and man of worth, was thus left in undisputed possession of the throne. His reign of six years was almost wholly occupied in war. In his first campaign

he defeated the Goths, whom no reverses could long restrain from incursions across the Danube. The Emperor next proceeded to the East, where he gained such signal successes over the Persians that he was enabled to dictate an honorable peace. He then gave some attention to civil affairs, using his army for the commendable work of draining marshes and planting orchards. He issued a rescript abrogating the monopoly hitherto possessed by



PROBUS.

the wine-growers of Italy, and making free the cultivation of the vine in the countries beyond the Alps. These useful measures, however, soon aroused the enmity of the soldiers, and the Emperor was slain in a mutiny.

Next came CARUS, chosen by the legions of Gaul. The Senate, as usual, accepted the nomination, and the nation had little cause to regret the choice. The new Emperor had many of the tastes and virtues of his predecessor. The son, Carinus, whom he associated with himself in the government, was of far less admirable temper, and the people of Italy had cause to regret that to him was assigned the government of the West. The Emperor himself assumed command of the legions and began a great campaign against the Persians. He crossed Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, left behind the frontier post of Ctesiphon on the Tigris and penetrated the enemy's country to a greater distance than had ever before been reached by the Cæsars. Fate, however, laid an early limit to his progress. He met a doubtful death in the camp; for it was said by some that he was struck by lightning; by others that he died of disease; and still by others that he was assassinated by his lieutenant, Aper.

Numerian, the son of Carus, a youth of promise, who by his oratorical gifts and culture had won the esteem of the Romans, was present at his father's death, and on him, by proclamation of the soldiers, was devolved the command of the army. Marching hastily towards Rome to place himself in authority, he, too, was killed, and the command passed to a certain Diocles or Diocletianus, a Dalmatian by birth, already an officer of the legions.

To him a Druidess had already promised the Imperial dignity, but before reaching the purple he must slaughter a boar. He now chose to regard Aper, the murderer of Carus, as the prophetic beast which he must slay. The vicarious sacrifice was accordingly performed, and it remained for Diocletian and Carinus to decide by arms the possession of the Empire. In several engagements the latter was successful, but the assassin's dagger was again to determine the conflict. Carinus had led astray the wife of one of his subordinates, who now sought revenge by the murder of his imperial rival. The dominion of the world was thus, in 284, left to DIOCLETIAN, whose reign was so distinguished as to constitute an epoch in the history of the Empire.

CHAPTER LXV.—EPOCH OF DIOCLETIAN.

NOW it was that the spectral shadows of the old Republic, which, out of deference to the past, had still been allowed to haunt the Capitol, disappeared forever. The names of consul, tribune, Senate ceased to be heard in the nomenclature of the administration. The government became a monarchy without republican accessories. The offices were filled henceforth by appointment. It was the purpose of Diocletian to reëstablish in Rome a central authority whose edicts should be again felt not only in Italy, but throughout the provinces of the Empire. Instead of being merely a military commander, directing the movements of the legions in some quarter of the horizon, the Emperor was again to become a civil ruler, whose Imperial edicts were to command obedience in every part.

In the choice of a colleague Diocletian named Maximianus, an Illyrian peasant by birth, a soldier by profession. On him, in 236, was conferred the title of Augustus. The two sovereigns also assumed the respective names of Jovius and Herculius. Meanwhile a certain Carausius had raised a revolt in Britain, and was advancing his claims to the throne. Against him Maximian directed the army in Gaul, and the pretender was overthrown. About the same time the insurrectionary spirit manifested itself in the eastern provinces of the Empire, and Diocletian undertook in person the pacification of the rebellious countries.

But before setting out for the East the Emperor inaugurated a new system of government, which consisted of a subdivision of the administrative prerogatives among two Augusti and two Cæsars, the latter being respectively subordinate to the former. Thus in A. D. 292 Constantius Chlorus was appointed Cæsar under Maximian in the West, while Galerius was put in like relation with Diocletian in the East. To give solidarity to the system, the daughters of the Augusti were married to the respective Cæsars. The supreme sovereignty of the state was still nominally lodged in Diocletian, who established his court in Nicomedia, and retained for his personal government the provinces of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. The Cæsar Galerius was stationed at Sirmium, and to him was committed the duty of maintaining peace on the Danubian frontier. The court of Maximian was fixed at Milan, and to his immediate supervision were intrusted the home provinces of Italy, the islands of the Mediterranean, and Africa. The Cæsar Constantius was established at Treves, and the defense of the Rhenish frontier and of Transalpine Gaul, Spain, and Britain was committed to his valor.

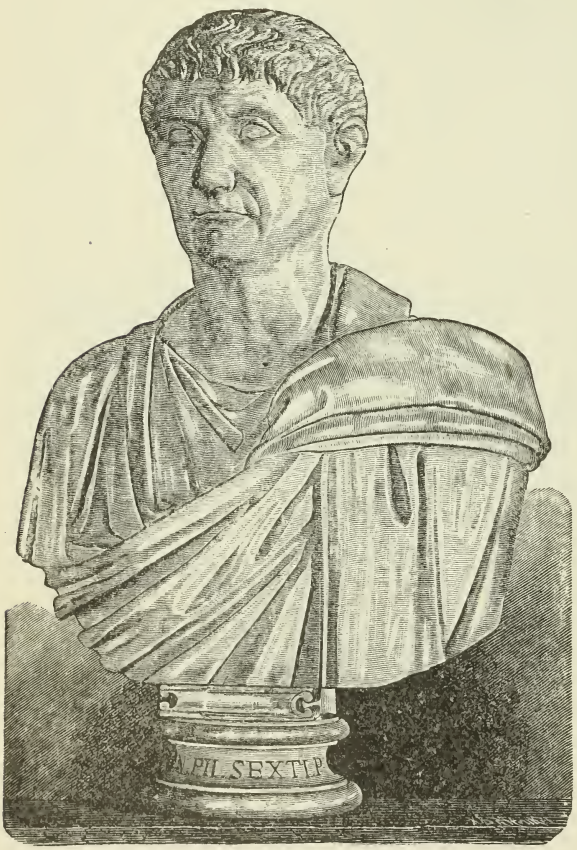
For a season the system thus instituted brought favorable results. The Egyptian rebellion was suppressed by Diocletian. Maximian reduced Mauritania to submission. Constantius overthrew the Alemanni, and then defeated the pretenders, Carausius and Allectus, in Britain. Galerius routed the Persians from the borders of Syria. After twenty years of victorious warfare Diocletian returned to the ancient capital of the Empire, and there celebrated a triumph in honor of his own successes and those of his colleagues.

A novel episode occurred soon afterwards. In A. D. 305 the Emperor, being then in his sixtieth year, journeyed to Morgus, in Mæsia, and there on the first day of May, on the spot where he had been proclaimed, resigned the crown. On the same day Maximian—acting either in emulation of his colleague or by his direction—also resigned his authority. The Imperial power was thus left in the hands of the two Cæsars, who now became Augusti by succession. Such was the plan of Diocletian.

After his abdication the late Emperor retired to private life, and, tempting fate no further, sought in the cultivation of his garden

a complete forgetfulness of the cares of state. When he was urged by an embassy to reässume the duties of sovereignty he invited the envoys to admire the size and symmetry of some of the vegetables which he had lately produced. The god Hortus smiled in the face of Mars, and the latter retired in astonishment to think that a mind should find more pleasure in radishes than bloodshed.

During the reign of Diocletian the Empire



DIOCLETIAN.

was disturbed not a little by labor-insurrections. The old system of slavery in Italy still existed without legal modification; but the importance of the slave population had relatively declined. A new class of society, known as *coloni*, had in great measure taken the place of the chattel slaves. The coloni were free peasants, but were so attached to the estates on which they lived as to become serfs. Upon this class of population the exactions of the Empire rested most heavily. Every colonus was registered, and any escape from the horrors of the tax-gathering system adopted by the Roman governors was next to impossible. In vain did the mayors and councilmen of cities, the curiales and duümvirs, struggle to save their people from perennial robbery.

The first insurrection of the coloni occurred in Gaul. Short crops and merciless exactions had left the country in a state of semi-famine. The peasants rose and took by force the means of subsistence. Politically the movement had little significance. For several years the larger part of Gaul was ravaged by her own peasant banditti. The chief objects of attack were the towns; for in these were accumulated whatever stores the tax-gatherers and sycophants had not taken away. After the insurrection had exhausted itself it ceased rather from the natural subsidence of the mobs than from the repression of force. The principal damage done by the insurgents was inflicted in the sack of Autun, then the principal seat of the culture and art of the Gallic nations.

The Christian Fathers assume in their writings that the coloni had accepted the new faith, and that the severity with which they were treated both before and after the revolt was attributable to the fact of their renunciation of paganism. It is, however, the opinion of Merivale and others that the position is untenable, and that the colonic revolt originated in social rather than religious conditions.

But it is undeniable that the time had now come when the question was to be decided whether Christianity should rule the Empire, or the Empire Christianity. The followers of Christ had greatly multiplied in Italy, and indeed throughout the Roman dominions. They had been winnowed by many preceding persecutions. Those who adhered became more and more defiant, more and more intolerant of the doctrines of paganism. To Rome, paganism was essential. There was thus an irrepressible conflict. The two Augusti and the two Cæsars of the era which we are here considering, took up the question of extirpating the new belief by exterminating its upholders.

Diocletian was long reluctant to undertake the bloody work, nor is it certain that the persuasions of Maximian and Galerius would have prevailed with him but for the firing of his palace in Nicomedia, by incendiaries who were represented to him as Christians. Hereupon he gave his assent to the persecution, and soon outdid his colleagues in the fury and bloody spirit with which he hunted to their last retreats the panting fugitives. Constantius, however, refused to join in the proscription, and the Christians of Gaul were saved from the fate of their brethren in other parts of the Empire. At the date of Diocletian's abdication, the persecution still raged; but eight years after his retirement, the struggle was given over, and an edict, issued by the court of Milan, granted a legal existence and freedom of worship to the new religionists. It was an act which sealed the fate of paganism.

In retiring from power, Diocletian made a serious mistake in violating the principles of the Cæsarian system which he had himself established. Instead of permitting the two existing Cæsars, now recognized as Augusti, to nominate each his own associate, the ex-Emperor insisted that his son-in-law Galerius should choose both the new Cæsars. The favored Augustus accordingly named an Illyrian peasant called Daza, who now took the appellation of Maximinus, to be colleague in the East, and then instead of nominating Constantine, the son of Constantius, as Cæsar of the West, he passed by that popular prince and chose a favorite named Flavius Severus.

At this time CONSTANTIUS, the Western Augustus, was in Britain, nor is it doubtful that Galerius, by ignoring his associate Emperor, intended to open the way for his own assumption of undivided sovereignty. But the popularity of Constantius was so great that the scheme could not be carried out. The people of Britain and Gaul, both pagan and Christian, rallied to his support; and when he died at York, in the former country, the soldiers at once proclaimed his son CONSTANTINE as Emperor. Galerius durst not oppose the movement, but gave a seemingly cordial assent to the proclamation, insisting, however, that the prince should be a Cæsar only, and be regarded as the junior member of the Imperial college.

CHAPTER LXVI.—CONSTANTINE AND HIS SUCCESSORS.



E here come to another evolution in the destinies of Rome. It is the age of the decadence of paganism, and the institution of Christianity. At the first it was prudent for the new Emperor to assume a satisfaction which he did not feel. Concealing his ambition, he contented himself for six years (306–312), with the government of the Cæsarian provinces of the North. In his administration in Britain he exhibited great energy. The island was more completely reduced and better defended than ever before. As soon as this work was accomplished he hastened to the Rhenish frontier, where the barbarians, hearing of the death of Constantius, had risen in rebellion. Great were the military abilities now displayed by Constantine. In a terrible battle with the Germans on the Moselle he gained a decisive victory. Here, too, began to be revealed those cold and indifferent elements of character for which he was ever noted. He ordered a massacre of his German captives for no better reason—as it would appear—than that the death of the prisoners was the easiest method of disposing of a troublesome burden.

Of religious convictions Constantine had none. But he possessed an intellect capable of penetrating the condition of the world. He perceived the conclusion of the great syllogism in the logic of events. He saw that Destiny was about to write *Finis* at the bottom of the last page of paganism. He had the

ambition to avail himself of the forces new and old which, playing on the minds and consciences of men, were about to transform the world. As yet the Christians were in the minority, but they had zeal and enthusiasm. The enthusiasm of paganism, on the contrary, had yielded to a cold and formal assent quite unlike the pristine fervor which had fired to human action in the time

"When the world was new and the gods were young."

So, for policy, the Emperor began to favor the Christians. There was now an *ecclesia*, a Church, compact, well organized, having definite purposes, ready for universal persuasion and almost ready for universal battle. Against this were opposed the warring philosophic sects of paganism. While biding his time, watching the turns of the Imperial wheel, and awaiting the opportunity which should make him supreme, he was careful to lay hold of the sentiments and sympathies of budding Christendom by favoring and protecting the sect in Gaul.

The fragment of the old Senate had in the mean time convened, and with the enthusiasm of second childishness had conferred the title of Augustus on Maxentius, son of the late joint-emperor Maximian. The latter, who, like Diocletian, was living in retirement, now issued forth and attempted to uphold the cause of his son. He also invoked the aid of Constantine, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage. But Maxentius proved to be an ingrate; for no sooner did he feel the afflatus of power than he proceeded to expel his father from Italy. The ex-emperor fled to Constantine, in Gaul, and that superb son-in-law received him on condition of a second abdication in his own favor! In A. D. 310 the Imperial Ishmaelite engaged in a conspiracy against Constantine, and the latter, when the plot was broken up and Maximian captured, mercifully consented that his father-in-law might save himself from a worse fate by committing suicide!

In the following year Galerius, who, in 305, had returned from the East, died from a loathsome infection; nor did the Christians fail to perceive in the fact and manner of his death the hand of offended heaven. Severus, the Western Cæsar whom he had nominated, was already dead, and his successor, Licinius, held command in Illyria. The Empire was thus again left to the sway of four men—Maximin, Constantine, Maxentius, and Licinius; but such had been the nature of their elevation to power that none would acknowledge another as superior. All claimed the title of Augustus—none would accept the modest name of Cæsar.

Licinius soon made a league with Constantine against Galerius, but held aloof from the conflict which now ensued between the Augusti of Italy and Gaul. Crossing the Alps, Constantine bore down on his enemy, defeated him in three battles, and in 312 entered the capital. The intense dislike of the people for Galerius turned into praise of Constantine. Already two parts of the divided Empire were reunited.

In the same year of his triumph the Emperor issued from Milan his famous decree in favor of the Christian religion. The proclamation was in the nature of a license to those professing the new faith to worship as they would under the Imperial sanction and favor. Soon afterwards he announced to the world that the reason for his recognition of Christianity was a vision which he had seen while marching from Gaul against Galerius. Gazing into heaven he had seen a tremendous and shining cross with this inscription: In hoc Signo Vinces—"Under this Sign Conquer." The fiction subserved the purpose for which it was invented. As a matter of fact, the double-dealing moral nature of Constantine was incapable of any high devotion to a faith either old or new. His insincerity was at once developed in his course respecting the Roman Senate. That body was the stronghold of paganism. Any strong purpose to extinguish heathenism would have led Constantine into irreconcilable antagonism with whatever of senatorial power still survived. Instead of hostility, however, he began to restore the ancient body to as much influence in the state as was consistent with the unrestricted exercise of his own authority. In order further to placate the perturbed spirits of paganism he himself assumed the office of Pontifex Max-

imus; and when the triumphal arch was reared commemorative of his victory, he was careful to place thereon the statues of the old gods as well as the emblems of the new faith.

After the alliance of Constantine and Licinius had been strengthened by a second marriage, which made each of the two Augusti both the father-in-law and son-in-law of the other, they attempted in vain to gain the countenance of the aged Diocletian, still living at Salona. Soon afterwards, in A. D. 313, Licinius conducted a campaign against Maximian, whom he defeated in three battles, and drove to suicide. The edict in favor of Christianity was posted on the walls of Nicomedia, and the anti-pagan party throughout all Asia Minor went over to the support of the Emperors of the West.

The wary and watchful Constantine was touched with jealousy at the successes of Licinius. Affecting to believe that the latter was fomenting a treasonable conspiracy against himself, he came down out of Gaul with a select division of troops, and attempted to capture Licinius by a *coup de main*. When this failed the two friends again pledged their faith, which, strange to say, remained unbroken for the space of nine years.

To this epoch belong the great activities of Constantine. He was indefatigable in promoting what he deemed to be the reforms demanded by the times. The bottom questions which he had to confront were essentially religious. His great principle of action looked to the union in one body of the Christian and the pagan populations of the Empire. In this work he was soon confronted by what seemed to be insuperable obstacles. Not only did the Christians refuse to tolerate the doctrines of paganism, but they themselves divided into sects and refused to be reconciled. The bishops who headed the various parties in the new religion appealed to Constantine to settle their disputes. The latter, in A. D. 314, convened a council at Rome, and afterwards at Arles, to which bodies were referred the conflicting doctrines and disputed discipline of the church. A decision was rendered against the sect of the Donatists, and they, having refused to accept the judgment which had been rendered, were visited with the arm of secular power. A persecution broke out, in which one body of the Christians became the persecutors of the other. The bloody bitterness of paganism was paralleled by the intolerance born of fanaticism among the believers.

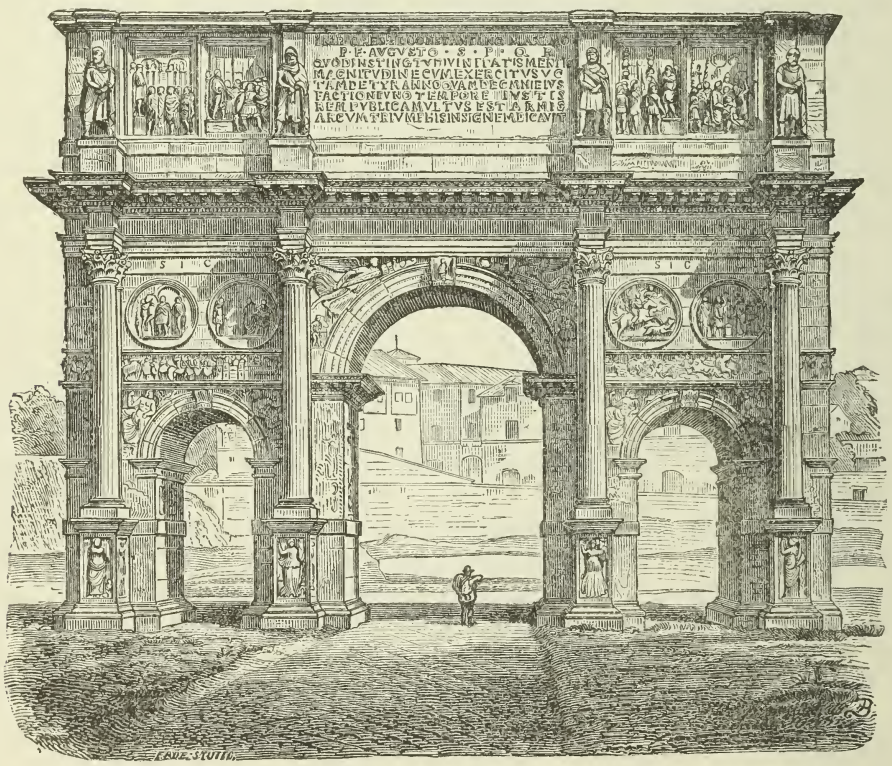
In matters of legislation, the reign of Constantine appears to a better advantage. So many constitutional reforms were enacted as to constitute an epoch in the history of Roman jurisprudence. At the same time the reformatory movement was carried out in the army. This dangerous and hitherto all-powerful body was once more brought into subordination to civil authority. The military forces of the Empire were broken up into small divisions. The legion was reduced to fifteen hundred men. Slaves were accepted as recruits; and the policy was adopted of officering the regiments as far as practicable with barbarian commanders—this for the double purpose of securing valor and discouraging political ambition in the army.

As yet there was little appearance of any definite religious convictions on the part of Constantine. The legislation of the Emperor shows in some of its parts the impress of the Christian doctrine. In the year 321 a statute was enacted forbidding all secular employment and civil procedures on Sunday, and to this law was appended the notable exception that the manumission of a slave should be held valid though performed on the first day of the week. On that day, moreover, soldiers were permitted to leave their ranks to join the body of worshipers. All these concessions, however, to the principles and practices of Christianity were granted by the Emperor rather with a view to securing the religious solidarity of the Empire than from any positive preference on his part for the doctrines of the new faith.

Meanwhile Licinius in the East looked with alarm and jealousy on the proceedings of his colleague. Himself more of a pagan than a Christian, and disliking the whole tendency of consolidation which Constantine had so diligently fostered, he sought to undo the political and religious fabric which his colleague was rearing around himself in the West. War broke out between the rival Emperors in A. D.

323; and it was soon apparent that the conflict was essentially a battle between paganism and Christianity. Constantine, with a hundred and thirty thousand men, set out for the East. He inscribed on the banners carried at the head of the legions the monogram of Christ and gave to the soldiers the battle-cry of "God our Savior!" The forces of Licinius numbered a hundred and sixty-five thousand. The two armies met at Adrianople, where Licinius was completely routed. The remnant of his forces was driven into Byzantium, but the fortress was soon taken by the fleet of Constantine. For a brief season the cause of the pagans was upheld in Asia Minor by a certain Martinianus, but he was pursued, taken, and put to death. Soon afterwards Licinius shared his fate, and the undisputed sovereignty of the world was left to Constantine.

From this time forth the Emperor, who was now honored with the title of *the Great*, began to show still greater favor to the Christians and more pronounced symptoms of hostility towards his pagan subjects. Having completed his campaigns in the East, he returned to Italy and undertook the reconstruction of the government on an Oriental basis. The Empire was divided into prætectures after the manner of the satrapies of Persia. The basilica became the scene of intrigues and crimes, such as rivaled in number and character the deeds of Caligula and Nero. The queen mother Helèna and the wife Fausta were deadly rivals. The brothers of the Emperor were excluded from the palace and forbidden to appear in public. His son Chrispus, by whose energies as commander of the fleet the siege of Byzantium had been brought to a successful conclusion, became the victim of his father's jealousy, and was suddenly ordered to execution. Then Fausta, the queen, was for no better reason sent to a similar fate, Crime followed crime until the bloody mind of Constantine became haunted with specters. Not even the absolution which was freely given to their champion by the Christian priests could allay the remorse or quiet the distemper in his nature. He became a devotee to the



ARCH OF CONSTANTINE.

new faith, and again undertook a reconciliation of the conflicting parties. In A. D. 325, he convened a great council at Nicæa, the modern Nice, in Bithynia; and here was undertaken the work of unifying the dogmas of the faith. Constantine himself, supported by a body of soldiers, presided over the deliberations. He heard the testimony of the various priests and bishops as to the traditional beliefs which they had received and taught. Judgment was rendered on the questions at issue between the conflicting parties, and a standard of orthodoxy established for the future government of the Christian world!

To the reign of Constantine must be referred the origin of those movements which resulted in the establishment of an Eastern and a Western Empire. The Emperor had never been favorably disposed towards the city of Rome. He had fixed his capital in Gaul, first at Treves, and afterwards at Lyons; and though out of courtesy to the past, he chose to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of his accession in the Imperial City, yet he never consented to a permanent residence in the home of the earlier Cæsars. After securing for himself the undivided sovereignty, he began to look for a suitable capital for the Empire, and Byzantium soon suggested itself as the one place recommended by geography and the position of the provinces east and west as the chosen seat of government. The court was accordingly transferred to this city from Nicomedia. The engineers of the Emperor were ordered to lay out the capital anew and to establish a line of ramparts for the defense of the Imperial residence. The space included within the walls was as great as the area of Rome. A new Senate was established and many of the nobles of the Empire were required to take up their residence in the new capital. Within less than a decade after its foundation, CONSTANTINOPLE had become the principal city of the Empire. Rome—though her senate and nominal rank as a capital city remained as before—immediately declined in importance and took her position as a provincial metropolis along with Alexandria, Antioch, and Treves.

Constantine continued on the throne till the year 337. During his reign there was a revival of the industrial and financial interests of the Empire. Literature began again to be cultivated, and a quiet was diffused throughout the dominions of Rome. The ambiguous and somber character of Constantine remained dominant to the last. Not until he was laid upon his bed of death did he finally consent to be baptized into the Christian society. So feeble was his identification with the believers in the new doctrine that his successors hesitated not to enroll him among the divinities of paganism.

With the establishment of the capital of the Empire at Constantinople, a great tide of population set in thitherward from the West. The Imperial court drew to itself the wealth, the rank, the luxury which had previously centered at Rome. Great was the gain from an administrative point of view of the transfer of the seat of government. Rome was far displaced from the geographical center of the Imperial dominions. Constantinople was a natural focus. Around her lay the provinces of the Empire. Within her walls was gathered the remaining culture of the Greeks. Three continents lay at her feet.

The reign of Constantine covered a period of thirty-one years. He died at Nicomedia, in A. D. 337, leaving the Empire to his three sons, Constantine, Constans, and Constantius. The army promptly ratified the will of the Emperor, and made it sure by destroying all competitors except only Gallus and Julianus, the sons of the late sovereign's younger brother.

In the division of the provinces CONSTANTINE II. chose the West, and established his capital at Treves. CONSTANTIUS, the second son, succeeded his father at Constantinople; while CONSTANS, the youngest, received for his portion Italy, Illyricum, and Africa. In a short time Constantine from his capital in Gaul demanded of Constans the cession of Italy, and when this was refused went to war to obtain it by force. A bloody battle was fought, A. D. 340, between the two brothers at Aquileia, in which the elder was slain, and Constans became the undisputed master of the West. He fixed his capital in Gaul, where for ten years he gave way to an indolent and half-

vicious disposition, until he was slain in a mutiny headed by Magnentius. The latter was proclaimed Emperor by the soldiers in Gaul; but the Illyrian legions declared for their own commander, Vetranio. These disturbances gave a fine opportunity to Constantius, who was now engaged in a war with the Persians, to assert his supremacy over the whole Empire ruled by his father. Having recently achieved some marked successes over his enemy in the East, he turned his attention to the pretender Vetranio, who on his approach broke down and threw himself at the Emperor's feet, begging for pardon. A reconciliation was at once effected, and Constantius advanced against Magnentius, whom he encountered at Mursa, in Pannonia. Here was fought one of the bloodiest battles recorded in Roman history. The army of Magnentius was routed and driven into Aquileia. Expelled from this city, the usurper fled into Gaul, but was followed by the victor, again defeated, and slain. Thus, in A. D. 353, Constantius found himself sole ruler of the dominions held by his father.

This great success of the Emperor in the West was but an episode in his conflict with the Persians. This warlike people, thoroughly revived by the energy of the Sassanian kings, held out stoutly against the veteran legions of the Empire. Nearly the whole reign of Constantius, covering a period of more than forty years, was occupied in an unintermitting struggle with Sapor II., who for seventy-one years upheld the honor of his country.

In A. D. 354 Gallus, cousin of the Emperor, who had been honored with a high command in the East, rebelled against the government, but was soon defeated and put to death. Only Julianus, his brother, remained as a possible rival of Constantius. The latter now determined to pay a visit to Rome. It was an occasion of far greater pomp than had been witnessed in the ancient capital since the days of Diocletian.

It is opportune at the present point to explain the rapid growth during the fourth century of the power and influence of the bishops of Rome. The withdrawal of the Emperors to Constantinople, and even before this movement their residence in Gaul and at other distant points in the Empire, had left Roman society more and more to the dominion of local influences. They who had been members of the Imperial government—consuls, censors, prætors, *et id omne genus*—became merely the officers of a municipality. The wealthier classes of citizens generally professed the ancient paganism. The aggressive and popular elements of society had for the most part turned to Christianity. The pagan priesthood receded and fell away, together with the decline of the secular powers with which it was associated. The new priesthood rose in influence and was borne along with those tendencies which, stimulated by the ambiguous support of Constantine the Great, grew rapidly and luxuriantly when Rome was finally left to herself. In the absence or decline of secular influence in the Imperial power in the Eternal City there was the most favorable opportunity for the assumption of power by the young and vigorous hierarchy; and at the head of this hierarchy as representing its unity of nature and purpose stood the bishop. The disputes between the pagans and Christians of Rome concerning the person of God and the destiny of man had become more interesting, more vital to the Romans than any other questions of the day, and the bishop became at once the arbiter of debate and the father of society.

Such was already the high rank which this functionary had attained that even Constantius, himself unorthodox (for he had become a follower of Arius), took counsel with Liberius, the bishop of Rome, respecting the deposition of Athanasius from the see of Alexandria. The pope—for this name may now be properly used of the Roman pontiff—at first assented to the excommunication of Athanasius, but afterwards received him and was himself won over to orthodoxy. In the disputes which followed between the Emperor and the Holy See the tone assumed by Liberius indicated in an unmistakable way that *an* Empire had risen within *the* Empire which would no longer down at the Imperial bidding. Constantius was obliged to content himself with calling a council (A. D. 359) at Ariminum, in which the doctrines of Arius were reäffirmed and those of Athanasius condemned. Two years

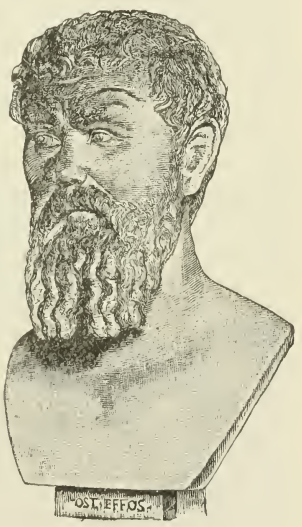
afterwards the Emperor died, and the crown descended to his cousin, Julianus, brother of Gallus. He was accepted without opposition in the year 361.

JULIAN, surnamed the Apostate, had been bred in the Christian faith. On his accession to power he made his head-quarters in Antioch, and from that place began to prepare for a renewal of the war with Persia. Here, however, he became acquainted with the pagan philosophers, who at this time prevailed in Antioch, and was soon enamored of their teachings to the extent of renouncing Christianity. By nature the Emperor was a man of severe and simple habits; and the somewhat lax, even luxurious, proceedings of the Church at Antioch attracted him less than did the austerity of the old faith, especially as viewed through the lenses of stoicism. He deliberately turned from Jehovah to Jupiter, and from Christ to Plato. The Christian fathers bitterly resented this apostasy, and gave Julian an unenviable reputation with posterity. They devised an epigram which began with, "Long live Cæsar!" and ended thus: "But if he lives long all we must perish!"

As a military leader Julian led a brief but brilliant career. Collecting a large army, he set out on an expedition against Persia. He besieged Ctesiphon, and afterwards, in A. D. 363, advanced into the country of the enemy whom he could not bring to battle. When his supplies failed and his troops were discouraged the Persians gave battle, but were severely repulsed. Julian, leading the pursuit, was killed,[1] after a reign of but two years' duration, and one of his generals, named JOVIAN, was proclaimed Emperor.

The religious policy of the Apostate was at once reversed by his successor. Christian rites were immediately substituted in the army for those which had recently prevailed under sanction of Julian. As a general Jovian belied his name. He retreated from the enemy's country, and left a large part of the eastern provinces exposed to the assaults of the Persians. Professing orthodox Christianity he reïnstated Athanasius in the see of Alexandria, but was at the same time careful not to persecute the followers of Arius. While still on his way to Constantinople the monarch fell sick and died, having worn the purple for the brief space of seven months.

The legions next chose a Pannonian captain named VALENTINIAN as Emperor. His reputation was wholly military, and his merit as a ruler consisted altogether in the application of military methods to the management of the affairs of State. On arriving at Constantinople his first civil act was one of the vastest importance, being no less than the final division of the Roman Empire. The eastern provinces, with the city of Constantine for their capital, were assigned to VALENS, brother of Valentinian; while the West was retained by the latter as his part of the dominions. He fixed his capital at Milan, and was from the first occupied with the defense of his northern frontiers against the Alemanni and other nations of Germany. The whole force and energy of his character, as well as his military talents, were brought into requisition in beating back the barbarian invaders. In A. D. 375 he associated his son Gratian with himself in the government and soon afterwards died while conducting an expedition against the tribes on the Danube.



JULIAN.

Several years before this event the Pope Liberius passed away, and his death was followed by an unseemly and bloody contest among the aspirants for his place. The pontificate had now become the principal office in Rome. Every element in the lust of power whetted the appetite of him who sought the place of chief bishop of Christendom. Wealth,

[1] A tradition of the Church Fathers has it that Julian was struck by lightning on the battle-field—the bolt being hurled from heaven in punishment of his apostasy.



DEATH OF JULIAN THE APOSTATE.

honor, luxury, the devotion of man, the adoration of woman, every thing which could contribute to inflame the ambition and dazzle the vision of a vain-glorious devotee, appealed to the imagination of the ecclesiatic contending for the prize. Two candidates, Ursinicus and Damasus, presented themselves for the suffrages of the church. Both claimed to be elected. Violent tumult ensued. The parties armed themselves and rushed to the conflict. The prætect of the city exerted himself in vain to maintain the peace. For several days the riot continued unabated until what time the ladies of Rome, with whom Damasus was a favorite, interfered in his behalf and brought him off victorious.

The death of Valentinian left the Empire subject to a disputed succession. The two sons of the Emperor might both claim the Imperial diadem. GRATIAN, the elder, had already been associated with his father in the government, but his mother had been repudiated, and VALENTINIAN II., son of a later and more favored wife, might well dispute his half-brother's claim to the throne. The soldiers, however, gave their allegiance to Gratian, and he was recognized as the legitimate ruler of the West. He, however, declared himself the friend and protector of his younger brother, whom he introduced into the Flavian family. On the occasion of his accession to power Gratian, who had been educated in the Christian faith by Ambrose, bishop of Milan, set at defiance the precedents of four centuries by refusing to don the pontifical robe, presented to him by the envoys of the Senate. To the Emperor the distinguishing garment of the pontifex maximus appeared to be only the vestment of expiring paganism, which it was sacrilegious for a Christian Emperor to wear.

The act was so significant as to alarm and anger the party of the pagan. A certain Maximus appeared as a champion of the old cause against the new, and the declaration was put forth that if Gratian would not accept the office of pontifex maximus he should not reign as Emperor. But this movement proved to be no more than the vaporing of a faction whose vitality had run to the lowest sands.

Soon after these events another Imperial act still further excited the adherents of the ancient religion. From the time of Julius Cæsar the Roman Senate had been accustomed to hold its sessions in the forum, in a place called the Curia Julia. Here was placed an altar of victory, and before the altar a statue of the goddess who had come to be regarded as the tutelary divinity of Rome. In the time of Constantius this image had been removed, but had been replaced by the apostate Julian. It was the custom of the senators before beginning a session to burn—each in his turn—some grains of incense upon the altar. Regarding this ceremony and even the presence of the altar and the statue as a relic of heathenism, Gratian issued an edict for their removal. The famous emblems of the old belief were accordingly taken from the forum, but not until a deputation representing a large majority of the Senate had pleaded in vain with Gratian for the abrogation of the edict. The contest was afterwards renewed, but the petitioners were confronted and again defeated at the Imperial court by Saint Ambrose of Milan.

In A. D. 383 a rebellion broke out in Britain, led by MAXIMUS, who was proclaimed Emperor by his soldiers. The insurgents crossed the Channel into Gaul, where they were joined by the legions of Gratian. The unpopular Emperor, thus left naked to his enemies, fled towards Italy, but on reaching Lyons was seized by his pursuers and assassinated. Meanwhile Valens, in the East, had been killed at Adrianople, A. D. 378, and had been succeeded by THEODOSIUS the Great. The latter, from his head-quarters at Thessalonica, had waged four successful campaigns against the Goths, the last being in the year 382. To him Maximus, the usurper of the West, now made proposals for a settlement of the affairs of the Empire. It was agreed that the sovereignty of the country beyond the Alps should be confirmed to Maximus, that Valentinian should retain Italy, together with Illyricum and Africa, and that Theodosius should reign in the East.

Of the three rulers among whom the Roman world was thus again divided the weakest and

most amiable was Valentinian. He fixed his capital at Milan, at this time the most orthodox city in Italy. The young Cæsar, however, was an Arian in belief, having been so trained by his mother Justina. This diversity in faith brought on a conflict between him and Saint Ambrose, who, in the endeavor to correct the Emperor's views, went so far as to set at nought his authority. In order to sustain himself in his attitude of defiance he produced a series of alleged miracles which, appealing to the superstition of Valentinian, kept him par-



GOLD MEDAL OF THEODOSIUS.

alyzed. The pagans appealed to him to restore to the forum the statue and altar of Victory; but an army led by Valentinian came down upon Italy, and he and his mother flying to the East put themselves under the protection of Theodosius. They were kindly received, but on condition that their faith should be conformed to the orthodox standard. Theodosius then espoused their cause. Advancing against Maximus he defeated him at Siscia, on the Save, and drove him into Aquileia, where he was taken and put to death. The victory left Theodosius master of the Roman world; but instead of assuming the sole sovereignty of the Empire he restored Italy and the West to Valentinian. Meanwhile Abrogastes, an officer in the army of the latter, had broken with his master and declared himself independent. When Valentinian, after the departure of Theodosius, undertook to reduce his refractory subject to obedience, he was himself captured and executed. The rebellious chief, however, instead of seizing the throne for himself, conferred it upon a certain grammarian named Eugenius, recently secretary of the Imperial household.

With the last revolution came a fitful revival of ancient heathenism. Eugenius, as well as Abrogastes, was a pagan, and he made haste to revolutionize the existing order by restoring the ancient temples and reinstituting the temple of the gods. Once more the Vestal Virgins were seen ascending the hill of the Capitol to perform the sacred rites according to the usage of antiquity. So complete was this temporary triumph of the pagan party that the statue of Victory was replaced before the Curia Julia and news was sent to Saint Ambrose that the principal Christian church in Rome was about to be converted into a *stable!* Theodosius, hearing of these high-handed proceedings, again marched to the west, gained a passage through the Julian Alps, and in A. D. 394 won a complete victory over Eugenius. The latter was captured and put to death. Abrogastes killed himself. The images of the gods were knocked from their pedestals. The Victory was again removed from the Forum. The temples were shut up, and sacrifices interdicted. Pagan worship was prohibited throughout the Empire; nor is the tradition wanting that the Senate by a formal resolution declared Christianity to be the religion of Rome.

In the year following these events Theodosius died. In the mean time the Goths, who during the larger part of the century had been beating against the borders of the Empire, had at last obtained a foothold south of the Danube. It appears to have been the policy of the Emperors from Diocletian to Theodosius to encourage the establishment of

a Gothic kingdom on the right bank of the river. It was believed that by such a measure a barrier could be built up against the barbarians who roamed at large through the forests of Dacia, beyond the Danube. A division of the Gothic nation into Ostrogoths and Visigoths was effected; the latter name, signifying West Goths, being applied to the civilized and Christianized inhabitants who by permission of the Emperors had become fixed in Hither Dacia; and the former designating the native tribes that spread out from the left bank of the Danube to the steppes of Scythia.

Such was the condition of affairs when the Asiatic HUNS, a vast and barbarous horde, crossed the Volga and the Don, and about the year 374—driving the Alani before them—fell upon the dominions of the Goths, now ruled by their great king HERMANARIC. The latter was defeated and slain. His subjects were driven pell-mell before the hungry savages of the North-east. Thus, by the sheer force of barbarian pressure in the rear, vast masses of Ostrogoths were flung across the Danube and precipitated, *nolens volens*, upon their former countrymen, the Visigoths of Dacia. The latter were thus agitated, displaced, forced from their settlements upon other districts of the Empire. By these great movements the passes of the Danube fell into the hands of the barbarian nations; and Valens, then Emperor, attempting to regain what was lost, was himself, in A. D. 378, disastrously defeated by the Goths. The flood of barbarism then spread over Thrace and Macedonia, and even Constantinople was threatened with capture.

On the accession of Theodosius the Great, he at once attempted to recover the lost territories and to restore the line of the Danube. Nor were his efforts unattended with success. As much as military force could do to repress the barbarian hordes was accomplished during the reign of this distinguished prince. But no power short of a counter deluge could effectually overwhelm the swarming tribes that kept beating upon the Danubian frontier.

Before his death Theodosius had designated his two sons, ARCADIUS and HONORIUS, as his successors in the Empire. The line dividing the Imperial dominions into an East and a West was drawn through Illyria. The Western division was assigned to Honorius, while the Eastern was retained by Arcadius. The latter at his accession, A. D. 395, was but eighteen years of age; the younger brother, eleven. It was the bad fortune of the former to select as his minister a certain Rufinus, who presently proved disloyal; but Honorius selected as his main reliance in the state a man of different character. A certain Stilicho, son of a Vandal officer who had served with distinction in the army of Valens, had been appointed by Theodosius as guardian of his younger son, and the latter on his accession to the throne of the West had the good sense to retain the veteran general as his minister.

The first care of the latter was to strengthen the northern boundaries of the Empire intrusted to his ward. To this end he added fresh garrisons to the fortresses on the Rhine, and reëstablished the Wall of Severus in Britain. Soon afterwards he suppressed a revolt in Africa, headed by a rebellious governor named Gildo. This being done he turned his attention to the East, where his rival, Rufinus, was in the ascendant. The latter had been suspected, not without good grounds, of having procured by intrigue the invasion of the Eastern Empire by the Goths. Nor could his suppression and death by Stilicho have been justly condemned, but for the fact that his taking off was by the hand of an assassin.

The year 396 was marked by the great Gothic invasion conducted by the celebrated king ALARIC. The inter-Danubian Goths had been so badly treated by the government of Arcadius that they beckoned to their kinsmen across the river to come to their aid, and then with united forces swept down upon Macedonia and Greece. It was, so far as the remaining monuments of Greek art were concerned, a bitter business; for the Gothic Christians regarded every statue as a relic of that paganism which they had been led to abhor. The devastating flood had already rolled into Peloponnesus before Stilicho, taking up without authority the cause of the East, succeeded, in 398, in checking and turning back the tide. Alaric withdrew into Epirus, where he established himself, and was soon employed by the

jealous Arcadius to hold the frontier against his brother.

After a few years spent in consolidating the Gothic kingdom, Alaric, in 402, undertook the conquest of Italy. The defense of the country was intrusted to Stilicho, who mustered his army in Gaul. The Goth advanced into Lombardy and came upon Milan. Honorius sought refuge in Ravenna. Stilicho, having withdrawn his legions from other parts, concentrated his forces in Milan, and Alaric was obliged to retreat. Following up his foe, the Roman fell upon him at Pollentia and again at Verona, inflicting on the barbarian army a terrible overthrow and rout. Alaric, the "All-King," barely escaped to the mountains.

The victory over the barbarians was celebrated by the last triumph ever witnessed in Rome. The walls of the ancient capital had been repaired, and the city was now regaled with the sight of one of those old time spectacles of victory, such as the consuls of the great Republic had been wont to present to the shouting multitudes. The whole ceremony, in which the Emperor himself was a conspicuous figure, was conducted after the pagan fashion; nor might the observer for the time suspect that the old gods were not again triumphant in their ancient abodes.

In the year 404 an event occurred in Rome worthy of note as illustrative of the changes which had now become possible in the sentiments of Roman society. It must be understood that at the first the outer life of the people of the city had been but little influenced by the acceptance of Christianity. After a season, however, the priests began to insist on a more rigid application of the doctrines of the new faith. They declared that cruelty was no part of the Christian system—except, of course, when practiced against the enemies of Christ. The humanitarian spirit grew, especially in times of peace. The Christians became offended at many of the bloody practices which the still abiding paganism of Rome not only tolerated but delighted in. Among these practices the gladiatorial shows held a prominent place. These shows were patronized by the mass of Christians who had no conscience on the subject. After many expressions of opposition to the spectacles, affairs were at last brought to a crisis by the act of the monk Telemachus, who, when a combat was just beginning in the arena, rushed between the swordsmen and commanded them in the name of Christ to desist. He was instantly cut to pieces, but the spectators were so shocked by the occurrence that the games were closed and presently forbidden by an edict of the Emperor.

The great victory of Stilicho over Alaric was one of those events the results of which disappoint all superficial expectation. In order to repel the invasion, the Roman general had had to withdraw almost all the legions stationed on the frontier. Britain was stripped of defenders, and so were the provinces of the Rhine. This denudation of the border occurred, moreover, at the very time when the barbarians across the exposed frontier were unusually active. All the Germanic nations were in commotion. They shook—comparing great things to small—like bees ready to swarm. No sooner did the tribes discover that the frontier was no longer well covered by the Roman legions than they rose as if from the earth, and under the lead of the terrible chieftain RADAGÆSUS burst upon Italy. The invasion of Alaric was thrown into the shade by the new irruption out of the North. Rome fell into a panic. The pagans began to sacrifice; the Christians went to prayers, and Stilicho mustered his army. With indefatigable industry he gathered and equipped a force sufficient to cope with his enemy. Radagæsus advanced as far as the hill-country of Fæsulæ, where with his more than two hundred thousand barbarians he was brought to battle, A. D. 406. Once more the discipline and invincible courage of the Romans prevailed over the naked intrepidity of the men of the North. The German horde was utterly routed. Radagæsus was killed and his Teutonic warriors taken in such numbers that their value as slaves was less than that of cattle.

What, however, did it signify that Stilicho beat down army after army? The flood-gates of barbarism were opened wide, and no power

could avail against the resistless streams that poured in ever-increasing volume upon the South. Gaul was devastated, and Italy awaited her fate. The passages of the Vosges and the Cevennes were seized and held by the barbarians. The feeble Honorius shut himself up at Ravenna, and appealed alternately to the church and to Stilicho to save him and the Empire. At this juncture the great general, as it would appear not without good reason, fell under suspicion of disloyalty. He was detected (so it is alleged) in a plot to seize the royal power and confirm the succession to his son. He was deposed by Honorius, who in A. D. 408 conferred the place of minister on Olympius. The latter gained an ascendency not only in the court but over the army. Stilicho sought to save himself by flight. Finding himself abandoned by the soldiers, he took refuge in a church at Ravenna; but his enemies succeeded in enticing him from the altar, and put him to death. His son also was slain, and the estates of the family confiscated. Thus in darkness and ignominy was put out the light of the greatest general of his age.



STILICHO PARLEYING WITH THE GOTHS.
Drawn by H. Leutemann.

In the mean time Alaric had again gathered an army, and was preparing for a second descent on Italy. While the cloud hovered ominously in the horizon of the Alps the Emperor, growing smaller with age, was busy with questions

of theology. He issued an edict, in a fit of zeal, for the discharge of all pagan officers from the army. Generides, the best general of the legions, was thus deposed at the very time when his services were most needed. When, however, the resolute Alaric, descending from Cisalpine Gaul, marched directly on Rome, leaving the puny Emperor shut up in the marshes of Ravenna, the edict was hastily revoked and Generides restored to his command.

The condition and moods of the intellectual life of Rome in the fifth century are well illustrated in the events that followed. The people knew not whither to turn for help in the great emergency now upon them. Alaric was rapidly advancing from the North. The city had no adequate force of defenders. As the invader swept down through Etruria many fugitives fleeing before him sought safety where it was least likely to be afforded—in the capital. Several of these perturbed spirits of the old Etruscan stock rushed to Pompeianus, prefect of the city, and told him how the gods of Etruria when properly worshiped had rescued a town from the foe. Lightning, blazing out of the skies, had flashed into the faces of the sacrilegious enemy. The prefect gulped down the morsel, and Innocent, the bishop of Rome, gave his assent that the same pagan formula might be tried for the salvation of the imperiled city, but that Christendom must not be scandalized by a *public* celebration of the heathen rites! The Etruscan magi, however, would not yield the point. The rites, to be of any avail, must be public. The Senate must ascend the Capitol in solemn procession, and every thing be done just as the sphinx of antiquity should dictate. The bishop said nothing. And so the ceremonies were performed. The living emergency was postponed while the ghost of Etruscan superstition led the Roman Senate to perform its mummeries on the Capitoline Hill. Meanwhile Alaric sat down with his hosts before the city and waited for famine to open the gates.

When starvation began to gnaw at her vitals the humiliated metropolis sent out an embassy to purchase peace. When Alaric stated his demands and the ambassadors in despair asked him what he would leave them he coolly answered, "Your lives!" The stern barbarian fixed the price which he would accept in lieu of the surrender of the city at five thousand pounds of gold, thirty thousand pounds of silver, four thousand silken robes, three thousand pieces of scarlet cloth, and three thousand pounds of *pepper!* In order to raise the required ransom the idols of the city were despoiled of their gold and silver trappings to the everlasting mortification of the pagans.

No sooner had Alaric withdrawn than Honorius began to act in bad faith, insomuch that in the following year (A. D. 409) the Goth returned to Rome and again invested the city. This time he refused a ransom, but insisted on the renunciation of Honorius and the substitution of Attalus in his stead. The latter assumed the offices of pontiff and consul, and Alaric again withdrew in the direction of Ravenna. Later in the same year the anti-pagan party gained the ascendency and Attalus was obliged to fly for his life. Hearing of the contempt thus shown to his officer, Alaric speedily returned and for the third time fell upon the city. The hour of doom had struck. It was August of A. D. 410, just eight hundred years from the date of the capture of Rome by the Gauls. An attempted defense by the people proved to be worse than futile. The city was taken. For six days the soldiers of the North were loosed among the remaining palaces and temples of the once imperial capitol. Still the city was not destroyed as in the days of Brennus. There was no burning except of separate buildings and for particular reasons. Many persons were killed—men in defense of their homes, women in defense of their honor.

After twelve days of pillage Alaric and his army left Rome and continued their course into Southern Italy. Town after town was sacked until little remained to appease the vengeance or satisfy the greed of the invaders. The social system of Italy was completely broken up. The estates and villas of noblemen were reduced to a ruin; their slaves liberated; themselves reduced to beggary. As to Alaric, he had little skill in statecraft. His

energies were aroused under the stimulus of war, but subsided with the fact of conquest. While meditating to what country he would next turn his arms he fell sick and died at Consentia. In order that his body might be saved from the gaze of the vulgar and the rage of his foes, he gave direction that it should be buried in the bed of the river Busentinus.



ALARIC BEFORE ROME.—Drawn by A. de Neuville.

The barbarians soon afterwards withdrew from the peninsula. For the present no leader arose capable of wearing Alaric's mantle. The sack of Rome was made the occasion of the promotion of the Christian cause. The pious pagans had tried their sacrifices and incantations as a means of defending the city; but the gods were either sick or on a journey. The Etruscan performance on the Capitol seemed to have no visible effect on the Goths outside of the walls. All these failures did the Christians turn to good account. Not only did the event furnish them an opportunity to point to the impotency of pagan ceremonies and to assert that if *they* had been intrusted with the defense of the capital the barbarians would have perished as did the army of Sennacherib, but the zealous believers proceeded to demonstrate that Rome was the apocalyptic Babylon, on which for her crimes the wrath of heaven was now poured out from the buckets of barbarism. Under these multiplied assaults paganism went to the wall; for nothing fails like failure.

Alaric, being himself an Arian Christian, had interposed to save Rome from destruction. The city, though pillaged, still survived. With the recession of barbarism the old population in great measure returned and began the work of restoration. ATAULPHUS, the Gothic chieftain who succeeded to the command, refused to continue the destructive assaults which had prostrated civil authority in Italy. This somewhat refined barbarian had taken to wife Placidia, the daughter of Theodosius, and by her his resolution to end the war was encouraged. He accordingly left Southern Italy, retired into Spain, and established a



THE BURIAL OF ALARIC IN THE BED OF THE BUSENTINUS.
Drawn by H. Leutemann.

capital at Barcino. He also fixed a head-quarters at Narbo, in the south of Gaul. He took to himself the title of King of the Visigoths, but at the same time was careful to observe his conscientious scruples by remanding Italy to Honorius. That monarch was still maintaining the show of a government in his hiding-places at Milan and Ravenna.

While the Visigoths were thus disposed to settle into quiet and enter the pale of civilization the great regions beyond the Rhine and the Danube were still in a state of violent eruption. Hordes of Suevi, Alani, Vandals, and Burgundians came pouring from a seemingly exhaustless source upon whatever remained of the wealth and culture of the South. They spread themselves into the regions already occupied by the Visigoths. The years 406–412 were occupied with a series of revolts against Honorius. Gratianus and his son Julianus, in Britain, Maximus, in Spain, Heraclianus, in Africa, and Jovinus on the Rhenish frontier, each in his turn organized an insurrection only to be beaten down and destroyed by the captains of Honorius. In Spain the Visigoths succeeded in building a kingdom in the northern provinces, but in the south the Vandals found a footing and gave their name to the modern Andalusia. By the middle of the fifth century the authority of Rome in the Spanish peninsula was utterly extinguished.

When the Gothic king, Ataulphus, died, his widow, Placidia, was sent to the Roman court at Ravenna. One of the generals of the Empire named Constantius received her in marriage, and of this union was born a son who, in A. D. 423, succeeded Honorius, under the title of Valentinian III. The late reign—if reign that might be called which was more a governed than a governing force—had covered a period of thirty-seven years. As a ruler Honorius had become celebrated for his defeats and distinguished for his littleness. After a kindly death had released him from cares and duties which he was never qualified to bear his power—whatever it was—passed without a contest to Valentinian, who was recognized by Theodosius II. The latter had succeeded his father, Arcadius, on the throne of the Eastern Empire. The Empire of the West had contracted to a narrow compass. Spain and Gaul were hopelessly lost. Pannonia and Illyria were under the heel of the Goth. The Roman supremacy in Britain was tottering to its downfall, and Africa was threatened by the Vandals. The army of the Empire was composed of barbarians.

At this time the leaders of Valentinian's adherents were Aetius and Boniface. The latter was governor of Africa, and was a man of loyalty as well as ability. Aetius, however, poisoned the mind of the court against him, and Boniface, finding that he was on the verge of a downfall, appealed to Genseric, the Vandal king of Spain. The latter at once led his host into Africa, but Boniface, learning that the slanders of his rival at Ravenna had come to naught, reasserted his loyalty and undertook the defense of the African province against the Vandals. For nearly five years the governor, aided by the court of Ravenna, maintained the contest; but Genseric triumphed more and more, and in A. D. 435 Valentinian was obliged to make to him a cession of the whole province from the Atlas to the Great Syrtis. Continuing his conquests the Vandal king subdued the islands of the Mediterranean. He attacked the exposed districts of both the Eastern and the Western Empire. He entered into alliances with the Ostrogoths, the Visigoths, and finally with the Huns; so that what remained of the Roman dominions began to be pressed between two weights of barbarism, the one bearing from the north and the other from the south.

The time had now come for the ferocious Huns, who had accumulated in the trans-Danubian provinces, to lay their terrible hands on the remnants of civilization. Quite unlike the half-civilized Goths and mild-mannered Vandals were these wild Asiatics, who by the impact of their hordes had projected the Gothic tribes into the Empire. This first movement had been accomplished under their king Rugilas, who was contemporary with Honorius. After the death of the king of the Huns his power descended to his two sons, Attila and Bleda. The first was destined soon to achieve the reputation of being the most terrible bar-



GENSERIC'S WARRIORS PLUNDERING A CAMP.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

barian warrior of all time. He established his court in a stockade on the river Theiss, in Pannonia, which now became Hungary. Here the savage monarch delighted in cultivating the arts of ferocity. He announced his purpose to be the destroyer of the nations, and gladly accepted the title of the "Scourge of God." He first fell upon the outlying provinces of Theodosius. He overthrew the armies of that monarch, and compelled him to pay the Rhine, carried every thing before him. At Orleans, however, his progress was arrested. Unable to capture the city, he began a retreat; but was followed by the Imperial army, swollen by great accessions of auxiliaries, and was routed in a great battle at CHALONS. He then continued his retreat out of Gaul.

The king of the Huns now became ambitious of an Imperial marriage. In A. D. 452 he demanded the hand of Honoria, sister of



ATTILA IN BATTLE WITH THE VISIGOTHS.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

tribute. He then made war upon the tribes of the Elbe and the Baltic; then turned to the Tartars beyond the Don and the Volga; then wheeled again, and fell upon Thrace and Illyria, destroying seventy cities.

Theodosius and Valentinian now made a league for the purpose of staying the ravages of the infuriated Hun. The latter was induced to turn upon the Visigoths in Gaul. All the nations now united against Attila, who, crossing the Emperor of the West. Being refused, he undertook an invasion of Italy. The cities of Aquileia, Padua, and Verona were destroyed, and their inhabitants driven into the islands of the Veneti. Here the Huns were unable to pursue them. Perceiving the advantage of the situation, the fugitives began to build, and thus were laid the foundations of Venice. The Huns, continuing their ravages, overran Cisalpine Gaul, but forebore to make an imme-

diate descent into the peninsula. Taking advantage of the lull, Pope Leo the Great went in person to the camp of Attila and interceded for the salvation of Rome. The mind of the barbarian, unawed by mortal terrors, stood respectfully in the presence of the Holy Father,



THE HUNS IN THE BATTLE OF CHALONS.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

and was influenced not a little by his warnings. Valentinian also, quaking with dread, now promised his sister to the king of the Huns as the price of his forbearance. The latter consented to withhold his hand from Italy, and to retire beyond the Alps. In A. D. 453 he returned to his stockade on the Theiss, and came to a mysterious end. He was found on the morning after his marriage with a certain captive named Ildico, stretched on his bed, bathed in blood.

The remaining energy of the Empire of the West had, during these events, been chiefly centered in the minister Aetius. Valentinian himself had little ambition and less ability. He had been obliged to rely upon his counselor and Pope Leo for protection. Scarcely, however, had Attila gone beyond the mountains when the utter meanness of the Emperor's character was shown in the assassination of Aetius, whose only offense consisted in having provoked the jealousy of his narrow-minded master. The latter did not long survive the crime. A senator named Maximus repaid him with the same fate which he had sent to Aetius. The murderer of the Emperor then, after the manner of Richard III., sought the hand of Eudoxia, the widow of his victim; but she, of a different mettle from the Lady Anne, would not be so wooed by the fresh assassin of her lord. Instead of so yielding, she sent a hasty message to Genseric, king of the Vandals, to come over to Italy and avenge her wrongs. To this he readily assented. An enormous host, borne in transports, was landed on the Tiber's banks and directed against Rome. The Pope Leo again undertook, as in the case of Attila, to use the terrors of religion to stay the terrors of barbarism. But Genseric had himself advanced beyond the green stages of barbaric life, and was not to be frightened from his purpose. He merely agreed with the great prelate that the lives of the people should be spared. The latter had in the mean time—hoping by such a course to appease the Vandal king and satisfy Eudoxia—stoned Maximus to death; but nothing would avail. The city was taken, and for twelve days given up to pillage. Fires were kindled in various parts; nor was the pledge to spare the blood of the citizens observed—as indeed it could not be under the mutual provocations incident to the sacking of the city.

Never before, since the days of old Brennus, had Rome been so terribly despoiled. The gilded tiles were stripped from the Capitol. The Forum was robbed of its ornaments. Barbaric vessels were heaped with gold and silver treasures. The trophies which the ages of victory had hung up in the temple of Peace and the Capitol were snatched down and thrown into the heap of spoils. The Jewish treasures, including the golden candlestick of Solomon's temple, were added to the accumulated plunder with which the Vandals loaded themselves before their departure. Eudoxia and her daughters were taken to Africa, and Genseric insisted that one of the princesses should be given to his son in marriage.

The family of Theodosius the Great was now extinct. As for Rome—

> The Niobe of nations! there she stands
> Childless and crownless in her voiceless woe,
> An empty urn within her withered hands,
> Whose holy dust was scattered long ago!

After the retirement of Genseric from Italy the nobles, finding no further legitimacy in the line of the Cæsars, and having little use for a legitimacy which if found, could protect them no longer, called upon AVITUS, a Gaulish patrician of Auvergne, to accept the crown of the Empire. The invitation was accepted, and this foreign nobleman became for the nonce Cæsar of the West. It was not long, however, until the Romans tired of their choice and sent for RICIMER, king of the Suevi, to come and expel the alleged Emperor from the alleged throne. Avitus promptly retired to his own city, but the prominence which had thus been thrust upon him was too great to be borne, and he was presently assassinated.

It appears that Ricimer was more anxious to bestow the crown than to wear it. After an interval of nearly a year, he nominated for the vacant throne another Sueve named MAJORIAN, who, to the astonishment of all, began to diffuse a new life into the more than half-dead body of Rome. The army was reörganized and directed successfully against the as-



PILLAGE OF ROME BY THE VANDALS.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

sailants of Italy. A great expedition was undertaken against Genseric, and an immense land and naval force was sent into Spain. Genseric, however, succeeded in destroying the fleet in the harbor of Carthagena, and Majorian was driven back. Ricimer became jealous of the influence which the Emperor had acquired, and contrived his overthrow. In A. D. 461, Majorian was driven from the throne, and in a few days afterwards died, with the suspicion of poison as the cause.

Another creature of Ricimer, named SEVERUS, was now advanced to the so-called throne. About the same time some young pagans at Rome, amusing themselves with the speculation that the reïnstitution of heathendom was the thing demanded by the times, set up a certain MARCELLINUS as Emperor. This amusing specter, playing among the shadows, managed, in default of opposition, to gain possession of Dalmatia and hold it for a brief season as his "Empire." He was Cæsar!

Presently the other shadow—Severus—died. For two years Ricimer, who still forebore to become Emperor himself, ruled as chief patrician of Italy. The actual limits of the Western Empire were now contracted to the peninsula, which was the native seat of Roman glory. After an interregnum the Suevian leader nominated a certain ATHEMIUS to the throne of the West. This movement was favored by the party of Marcellinus, and the belief is prevalent among historians that the new Emperor was the representative of the pagans, who, in the general demolition of institutions, had gained a brief ascendency over the Christians.

Athemius, like Majorian, began to show signs of strength and independence. He obtained the daughter of Ricimer in marriage. He sought the favor of the Emperor of the East, by whom he was recognized. He promoted the reorganization of civil government in Italy. But these abilities and their exercises aroused the jealousy of his father-in-law, who, unable to control the movements of his *protegé* by legitimate means, called from the never-failing source beyond the Alps a new army of barbarians. The horde bore down on the city, and in 472 appeared before the gates. Athemius, in the mean time, had called to his assistance a certain GILIMER, the Vandal governor of Gaul, who readily accepted the summons and came to the relief of Rome. Between him and the Suevians a battle was fought before the city, and Gilimer was routed. Rome was taken, and for the third time pillaged by the barbarians. Athemius was captured and executed.

Ricimer, having thus reässerted his authority, next called to the throne a nobleman named OLYBRIUS, to whom, by the command of Genseric, Eudoxia had given her second daughter in marriage. The shadow of legitimacy was thus again seen in the court of Ravenna. In a short time, however, both Genseric and Olybrius died. GLYCERIUS was proclaimed by the army of Ricimer, but he resigned almost immediately in favor of JULIUS NEPOS. In the following year (A. D. 475) the latter was also to lay down his authority.

Meanwhile death had cut short Ricimer's career as a king-maker, and his power was transferred to a Pannonian, named ORESTES, who had passed a part of his life in the stockade of Attila. It was this Orestes who, with his title of patrician, compelled Nepos to retire from the throne of Ravenna. Following the example of Ricimer, he forebore to take the throne for himself in order to confer it upon his son, who now at the ripe age of six flourished under the tremendous name of ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS. With him the farce, so long protracted, was destined to come to an end.

Now out of the North came ODOACER, king of the Heruli, a nation of Germans—joined as he was by many other tribes—and demanded that his soldiers (for he had recently been in the service of the Empire) should receive as their reward one-third of the lands of Italy. Orestes refused compliance with this demand, and appealed to the Emperor of the East.

The latter could give no aid. The crisis was at hand. The great clock in the tower of fate sounded solemnly from the direction of the Alps and was heard to the coast-lines of Bruttium. The ghosts of Cæsar's victims rose from the earth, and hovered in dense clouds along the north. Then the apparition became real. Orestes fled behind the walls of Pavia. The

barbarians were already at the gates. In August of A. D. 476 the place was taken by storm. Orestes was seized and put to death. Paulus, his brother, was also executed. The boy Augustulus, too feeble a thing to excite even the anger of contempt, was spared; and he was led away to find a quiet retreat in the villa of Lucullus, on the shore of Surrentum. He was followed by a gigantic specter, the skeleton of a shadow tall and gaunt, whose low-fallen jaw had once given out the word of command to the nations from the banks of the Tigris to the chalky cliffs of Britain, whose eye-sockets had once shot lightning into the fierce visage of barbarism, and whose hanging right hand had once been laid for centuries with imperious pride upon the wealth and culture of the world. It was the ghost of THE WESTERN EMPIRE OF THE ROMANS! The colossal fabric planted of old time by the patrician fathers, strengthened and made great amid the bloody struggles of the Republic, transformed by the genius of Julius Cæsar, and disgraced and degraded by the licentiousness of the later Emperors, fell prostrate in the dust and expired. On the broken statue of Victory in the Forum a Gothic soldier sat whetting his sword, and a Gaulish mercenary for the sport of his companions thrust a barbarous spear-head into the nostril of the statue of Jupiter Capitolinus. The god did not resent it.



ODOACER COMPELS AUGUSTULUS TO YIELD THE CROWN.
Drawn by B. Moerlins.

It has been the custom of most historians to cite the downfall of the Western Empire, in the year 476,[1] as marking the division between Ancient and Modern History. The question is embarrassed with peculiar difficulties. There is such a thing as a line of demarkation between the ancient and the modern world, but it is not easy to be drawn. Like a natural sunset in a region of valleys and mountains, so the orb of antiquity declined on the world. The light still lingered on peaks here and there long after the lowlands were immersed in the shadows. The last peak was not Rome, but Constantinople.

The circumstances of the division of the Empire by Theodosius the Great, in the year 395, will be readily recalled. After that event the forces of the old civilization flowed in two channels. There appears to be no good reason for saying that ancient civilization is at an end until *both* of these currents have sunk into the sand. The Greek Empire having its capital in the City of Constantine, was just as certainly the product of the old forces as was the Roman Empire with its capital in Italy. Why, therefore, should Ancient History be limited by the downfall of the West more than by the downfall of the East? Why should the reigns of the line of sovereigns, beginning with Honorius, be traced to a conclusion in the overthrow of Romulus Augustulus, and not the reigns of the sovereigns of the East, from Arcadius to the final collapse under Constantine XIII.? It would seem necessary, indeed, to the unity and completeness of Ancient History that the course of the Greek Empire should be followed to its close, and included with its natural antecedents in antiquity. To stop with the end of the shorter tine of the bifurcated dominion of Rome and leave the longer projected into Modern History would be to mar the unity of both volumes by substituting an artificial for a natural division.

It is therefore decided to resume the narrative from the reign of Theodosius II., in the East, and to trace the history of the Greek Empire down to the capture of Constantinople by the Mohammedans as the natural limit of the First Volume of the present work. The decision has been reached after full consideration of the fact that the Second Volume must be begun by returning to the establishment of the barbarian kingdom of the Heruli in Italy, and with proper regard to the other fact that in subsequent parts of the work frequent references must be made to the progress of the Eastern Empire, lying, as it does, like a huge anachronism across the earlier ages of Modern History.

In the year 450 the younger THEODOSIUS, who had succeeded his father, Arcadius, on the throne of Constantinople, fell from his horse into the river Lycus and died from his injury. He was succeeded by his sister PULCHERIA, who was the first woman ever raised to the rank of Empress among the successors of Augustus. She owed this distinction, in no small measure, to the influence of the clergy, with whom she was a favorite. Foreseeing, however, the perils to which she was exposed on account of her sex, and distrusting the ability of her friends to support her in the sole sovereignty of the Empire, she determined to take a husband for a colleague. The choice fell upon MARCIAN, a senator sixty years of age, who was at once invested with the purple and associated with his wife in the government.

After a brief joint-reign of three years' duration, Pulcheria died, and Marcian became sole Emperor. He occupied the throne until 457, when he died, after an uneventful reign, and was succeeded by LEO of Thrace.[1] He it was who accepted Anthemius as Emperor of the West, and joined with him in the attempt to overthrow the dominion of Genseric in Spain and Africa. In 466, Dacia was invaded by the Huns, but they were defeated in a great battle by Leo's generals. Two years later a fleet of a thousand ships, under command of Basiliscus, was sent against the African Vandals. The armament reached the bay of Carthage; but was there attacked by night with fire ships, and the whole fleet was either de-

[1] Hereafter the letters "A. D." will be omitted in the citation of dates as being unnecessary.

[1] Leo was crowned by Anatolius, patriarch of Constantinople. The event is noteworthy as being the first instance in which a bishop figured as the chief personage in the coronation of an Emperor.

stroyed or dispersed. The Emperor was seriously embarrassed in his government by the schemes of an Arian leader named Aspar, who intrigued with the Count Ricimer in Italy, and was thought to have instigated an invasion of Thrace by the Goths.

The reign of Leo the Thracian was made memorable by a series of natural disturbances of a sort to alarm the people, and in some measure to chill the prosperity of the country. In the year 458, the city of Antioch was destroyed by an earthquake. In 465, a great part of Constantinople was wrapped in a conflagration. Two years afterwards, rains fell in such a deluge that the river valleys were overwhelmed with floods. Finally, in 472, occurred a great eruption of Vesuvius, which made the earth tremble *as far as Constantinople!*

In 474, the Emperor died, and the crown fell to his grandson, whose barbarous name of Trascalisseus was exchanged for the more musical one of ZENO. He had already held the office of consul, and had been the agent by whom the assassination of Aspar and his sons was procured. Soon after his accession to the throne he was driven out of the kingdom in a revolt headed by Basiliscus, who, notwithstanding the bad fame acquired in his African expedition, was proclaimed Emperor. Zeno, however, succeeded in buying over Harmatius, the nephew of Basiliscus, and by his support came back to power. He then appointed Illus as consul and minister of state, and gave himself up to an ignominious career of ease and pleasure.

The year 478 was marked by an invasion of the Goths, but the Emperor secured their retirement with the payment of money. In the following year a serious insurrection in the city was suppressed by the bribery of the troops. A second Gothic incursion was warded off by the same means as the first, and in the third the leader of the Gothic nation was induced to take service in the Empire. In 484 he was appointed consul, whereupon Illus revolted, and was put to death. This leader of the Gothic tribes, now raised to such high influence in the state, was Theodoric the Great, soon to become the Ostrogothic king of Italy.

To Zeno is attributed the beginning of the movement by which the chieftain of the barbarians was raised to power in the West. The Eastern Emperor quarreled with his consul, and then in order to save himself from the anger of Theodoric, persuaded him to lead the Ostrogoths into Italy. The result was the overthrow of the kingdom of the Heruli planted by Odoacer in that country, and the establishment of the Ostrogothic kingdom in its stead.

It is narrated that Zeno met a horrible fate. His wife, Ariadne, who had been faithful to him in his exile, proved unfaithful in his prosperity. Having conceived for her lord an intense dislike, she had him buried alive while drunk. It appears that the Empress was already engaged in an intrigue with ANASTASIUS DICORUS, a captain of the guard, who, on the decease of her husband, in 491, was proclaimed Emperor of the East. A certain Longinus, brother of Zeno, immediately organized a revolt, and a struggle ensued, in which Anastasius finally came off victorious. Other rebellions followed, and these were aggravated by earthquakes, plagues, and famines. At times the Empire seemed to totter, and the people were reduced to the greatest extremity. The closing years of the fifth century were still further disturbed by the aggressions of the Persians, who, under their king Cabades, invaded the Empire, and for a while threatened its extinction. In 505, however, Anastasius procured the withdrawal of the Persians by the payment of enormous tribute.

Scarcely had the eastern invaders returned to their own country when the Empire was distracted by religious heresy, the work of the priests named Eutyches and Nestorius. The former became the founder of the sect known as the Monophysites, who maintained the singleness of the nature of Christ. His doctrines had been condemned as early as the year 448, in a council at Constantinople; but the party survived, and the heresy was espoused by Anastasius. For this he fell under the ban of the church, and was anathematized by Pope Symmachus.

Meanwhile a war broke out on the Dacian frontier. This province, though within the boundary of the Eastern Empire, had been

taken under the protection of Theodoric, by whom the Dacians were supported in their rebellion. In the great battle of Margus, fought in 505, the Goths and Huns were completely triumphant, and the army of the Emperor was almost annihilated. In order to be revenged on Theodoric, Anastasius sent out a squadron of two hundred ships to assail the coasts of Calabria and Apulia. The ancient city of Tarentum was taken, and the trade of the southern provinces broken up—all this while Anastasius and Theodoric were nominally at peace. The Ostrogothic king soon organized a fleet, and was able to dictate an honorable peace.

The discovery had now been made that the Empire in its eastern parts was exposed to the inroads of the Persians. The cupidity of that hardy people was inflamed by the wealth and luxury which, having their center at Constantinople, were diffused in the adjacent parts of Europe and Asia. Appreciating their own weakness, the Emperors devised many means of protecting the capital against the incursions of a foe whom they dreaded. Anastasius adopted the expedient of a rampart. A great wall, sixty miles in length, was built from the Propontis to the Euxine, and behind this the Emperor felt secure. He died in 518, after a reign of twenty-seven years, and was succeeded by JUSTIN THE ELDER, at that time commander of the Imperial guards.

The accession of this military veteran was accomplished by means of an intrigue. On the death of Anastasius, the chief eunuch of the court, having control of the treasury, undertook to elevate to the throne a certain favorite, named Theodatus. To this end he intrusted a large sum of money to Justin for the purpose of securing the support of the Imperial guards; but Justin employed the donative in his own behalf, and was duly proclaimed. He was already sixty-eight years of age, ignorant alike of politics and letters. The management of public affairs was committed to the quæstor Proclus; but the Emperor knew enough of the ways of men and the spirit of his times to adopt the usual methods of disposing of political rivals. Charges of conspiracy were brought against the chief eunuch, Anantius, and he was executed. Theodatus was first imprisoned, and then murdered. Vitalian, a Gothic chieftain, who had taken part in the civil war against Anastasius, and was held in too great esteem for his own welfare, was enticed to a banquet, and there assassinated. In looking for a successor the Emperor chose and adopted as his heir his nephew, FLAVIUS JUSTINIAN, surnamed the Great. The latter, unlike the reigning monarch—though the two were natives of the same village—was a man of literary culture, who combined in himself many of the qualities requisite in a successful sovereign.

CHAPTER LXVII.—AGE OF JUSTINIAN.

IN the year 527 JUSTINIAN succeeded his uncle on the throne. He was already married to the celebrated Theodora, a woman beautiful as she was unscrupulous, who had been a comédienne of low repute beyond the pale of decent society. In spite of public opinion and the opposition of his friends, Justinian persisted in legalizing his relations with this brilliant adventuress, and then in seating her on the throne with himself. She was made his colleague in the government, and for twenty-two years her demoralizing influence appeared ever and anon in the affairs of the state.

Mention has already been made in the history of the institutions of Rome of the existence of factions in the theaters and circuses. The spectators at the games were divided into two parties, distinguished by badges and insignia. The contestants in a race or gladiatorial combat were applauded by their respective supporters. The same usages prevailed at Con-

stantinople. The partisans were known as the "Blue" and the "Green" faction, from the color of their badges. Nearly all the people of the city were adherents of the one or the other of these parties, and violent tumults were the not infrequent result of contentions engendered at the circus. The reigning sovereign and the members of the Imperial household condescended to participate in these unseemly broils. Justinian and Theodora were zealous partisans of the Blue faction, and that party was the upholder of orthodoxy in religion as against the schismatics and heretics.

Five years after the beginning of the new reign, the Green party gained a temporary ascendency in Constantinople, and in the struggles which ensued for the mastery, a great part of the city was reduced to ashes. The insurgents proceeded to revolution, and a certain HYPATIUS, nephew of Anastasius, was proclaimed Emperor. The government, however, was saved from overthrow by the energies of BELISARIUS, who now appears on the scene as the greatest general of the age. The Blue party was restored to authority; the insurrection was suppressed, and Hypatius put to death.

In the foreign relations of the government, Justinian used both money and force. The Persians, under Chosroes I., had again begun the war, which had slumbered for a season. From them a truce was purchased, and then Belisarius was sent with a large army to suppress Gelimer, who had usurped the throne of the Vandals in Africa. The expedition was crowned with success. Carthage was taken and Gelimer was sent a prisoner to Constantinople. The Vandal kingdom was overthrown and the Arian heresy, of which Gelimer had been the defender, was suppressed.

These movements tended powerfully to restore the influence of the Empire in the West. Belisarius established stations in Spain and then carried his victorious arms through Sicily into Italy. In that country, Athalaric, the grandson of Theodoric the Great, was now dead; and after the regency of his mother, Amalasontha, the Ostrogothic throne had passed to THEODATUS. Belisarius conquered Naples and advanced on Rome, where the people rose in revolt, deposed and killed Theodatus, and in 536 opened the gates to the army of Belisarius. Three years afterwards he reduced Ravenna, overthrew Vitiges, king of the Ostrogoths, and was on the eve of restoring the whole of Italy to Justinian, when the latter, filled with envy at the fame acquired by his great general, recalled him to Constantinople.

In 541 Chosroes was driven beyond the confines of Syria. A little later, when Totila, the successor of Vitiges, having restored the kingdom at Ravenna, was marching on Rome, Belisarius was summoned by his master and again sent into Italy; but the jealous fit soon returned, and the command of the army was transferred to Narses. In 552 the ancient capital, which had been already *four times* taken during Justinian's reign, again fell into his power. Totila was slain in battle, and his successor Teias, the last of the Ostrogothic kings of Italy, perished in the following year.

The Franks and Alemanni now poured down from the North, but Narses defeated them and established himself as "Exarch of Ravenna"—holding his fief subject to the Emperor of the East.

Chosroes I., king of Persia, had meanwhile renewed the conflict, and the war continued with varying successes until 561, when Justinian purchased a peace by the payment of an enormous annual tribute. The barbarians beyond the Danube were also bought off from their incursions, and the line of fortresses along the river was extended and strengthened.

In the administration of civil affairs there was little to be commended in the reign of Justinian. His methods were tyrannical; his habits luxurious. Corruption and bribery were the favorite means of attaining the ordinary ends of government. The public buildings of the time were ostentatious rather than grand. The church of St. Sophia, founded by Constantine in 325, was rebuilt and ornamented with extravagant expenditures. The disposition of the Emperor was fully illustrated in his treatment of Belisarius. This able veteran, after he was superseded by Narses, was driven into disgrace and privacy until the year 559, when an invasion of the Empire by the Bulgarians again made him necessary to Jus-

tinian. After gaining a great victory over the invaders, the old general was a third time disgraced and thrown into prison. It is narrated that his eyes were put out, and that he was turned a beggar into the streets of Constantinople, though this atrocious tradition has been denied by several historians, notably by the careful Gibbon.

The AGE OF JUSTINIAN, however, is and will always remain celebrated for another class of activities more honorable to the sovereign, more valuable to the world. It was the era in which the body of the Civil Law of the Empire was sifted from the rubbish of centuries and reduced to a code. It was now almost thirteen centuries from the founding of the city of Rome. The statutes, precedents and practices of the Republic and the Empire lay strewn along the course of Roman history all the way from the days of the Twelve Tables to the days of Justin. The practice and administration of law had become almost hopelessly confused. A collection of the constitutions of the Empire had been undertaken by Theodosius, but the work was not satisfactorily accomplished. The task was now resumed under the patronage of Justinian. During his whole reign, indeed, much attention had been bestowed upon the study and practice of law in Constantinople, and an able body of jurists had grown up about the Imperial residence.



BLIND BELISARIUS.
After the painting by F. Gerard.

Ten of the most distinguished of these, with the quæstor, Johannes, and the great lawyer, Tribonian, at the head, were appointed as a commission to undertake a complete revision and digest of the laws and constitutions of the Empire. The Emperor himself gave instructions as to the nature and extent of the contemplated work. The commissioners were to select and arrange all that was still vital in the preceding codes and to give to what was retained the briefest possible expression. Every thing which had been abrogated or had become obsolete with the lapse of time was to be omitted. Such alterations were to be introduced as were manifestly demanded by the altered conditions of political and civil society. The whole, when completed and arranged, was to be divided under appropriate titles.

After fourteen months of assiduous application the commissioners completed their task. The work was approved by Justinian and published in twelve Books. This great production, known as the *Codex Vetus*, or Old Code, is now entirely lost. Another work, however, known as the *Pandects*, prepared by a second commission from the writings, decisions, and

commentaries of the old jurists of the Empire, has been preserved and constitutes the basis of the civil law in most civilized countries. The compilation, consisting of fifty Books, was completed after three years of work on the part of the commission, again headed by Tribonian, and was published under the title of the *Digest and Pandects of the Eliminated Law collected from all the Ancient Law.* The work was intended as a practical compend so arranged and entitled as to make the practice of law in the Imperial courts easy and expeditious.

The record of Justinian's reign should not be closed without a brief reference to the introduction of the silk-worm into Europe. By the time of Justinian the Christian missionaries had penetrated to the corners of the known world. They had planted churches on the pepper-coast of Malabar and in the island of Ceylon. Others had penetrated China, and two Persian monks had taken up their residence in the city of Nankin. Here they saw with wonder and delight the work of the silk-worm. They easily learned by observation the whole process, from the hatching of the egg to the weaving of the web. Nor was the climate and vegetation of the region dissimilar to that of many parts of Europe. The monks perceived that the transfer of living worms to so great a distance would be impossible; but the eggs could be carried to any country, however remote. The Persian fathers accordingly hollowed out their canes, filled them with the precious eggs, and bore away in triumph a richer spoil than had been gathered by battle and conquest. The brood was easily hatched under direction of the monks; the young worms, nourished on mulberry-leaves, soon took to wing, and Europe had gained a butterfly which contained in her delicate body the treasures of the East.

In 565 Justinian died, and was succeeded on the throne of the Eastern Empire by his nephew, JUSTIN II. The latter owed his elevation to craft. While his cousins, the coheirs of the Imperial crown, were absent fighting Justinian's battles, he remained in the capital courting the favor of the monarch, who as he grew old also grew susceptible of blandishments. Justin also knew how to assume the possession of virtues which he had not; and by a parade of generosity he succeeded in winning the applause of the circus. Thus fortified, he easily maintained his claim to the throne, and was recognized as the legitimate successor of Justinian.

For a season the new Emperor ran well. He adopted a liberal policy. Offenders, political and other, were freely pardoned. The debts contracted by the preceding sovereign, who had been lavish in expenditure, were liquidated; and an edict was issued granting religious toleration throughout the Empire.

It was not long, however, until the claws of another beast appeared under the lamb-skin. The drama of blood began with the murder of Justin, cousin of the Emperor—his offense consisting in his kinship. Others met a similar fate. Then began a corruption of the administration. The public offices were sold to procure money for the further degradation of the service. Oppression and rapacity were resorted to as a means of quieting creditors, old and new. The government became odious. Private piques and personal hatred poisoned the capital, and then spat venom on the army. The Empress Sophia, disliking Narses, now the exarch of Ravenna, procured an edict for his deposition. But the old general was not to be so easily disposed of. He invited the Longobards, or Lombards, to descend from their native seats in the North and ravage Italy. In 568 they poured through the Julian Alps, under the lead of their great king Alboin, and devastated the country as far south as the Tiber. They chose Pavia as their capital, and gave the name of Lombardy to the valley of the Po. Narses was amply revenged; but the hope which he had cherished of being restored to the exarchy by the Lombards was blown away, and he is said to have died of despair.

While these events were fulfilled in the West, the Persians once more rose against the Empire in the East. They fell upon Syria, ravaged the country, and took the city of Dara. When the news of these disasters was borne to Justin his jealous and cruel brain was thrown into a fever of excitement, which presently ended in insanity. The government

devolved upon the Empress Sophia, who had already, in 574, procured the adoption of Tiberius, captain of the guards, as heir-apparent to the throne. In 578, a few days before the Emperor's death, TIBERIUS was proclaimed Augustus.

Bitter was the disappointment of the intriguing Sophia. She had confidently expected to become the wife of a second Cæsar; and indeed Tiberius had promised to make her his queen. After the manner of the world, however, he forgot his promise when the prize had been gained. When the factions of the hippodrome began to clamor for the proclamation of an Empress, Tiberius astonished the city by announcing the name of Anastasia, a wife to whom he had been secretly married. Sophia was retained at the court and loaded with honors. Albeit, Tiberius may have supposed that *these* could suffice for the baffled hope!

Soon he had cause to learn that the woman slighted is ever the same. Sophia accepted her honors, smiled and smiled—and made a conspiracy. She took into her confidence the general Justinian, son of Germanus, and him persuaded to disloyalty. He had recently achieved great fame in the ever-recurring wars with Persia, and the applause of the eastern army had filled his ears with the hum of ambition. The Emperor was at the time enjoying a respite in the country, when the ex-empress and her confederate attempted to consummate their plot. But Tiberius came to the windward of the scheme, returned to the city, and the conspiracy was easily overthrown.

Somewhat better—perhaps wiser—than his generation, the Emperor employed no harsh measures against those who had plotted his downfall. On the contrary, he contented himself with reducing Sophia to a humbler position in the state, and permitted Justinian to escape with a reprimand. The Emperor gave himself the name of Constantine, and would fain be regarded as the Marcus Aurelius of the Later Empire. Nor was his claim to be so considered without a valid foundation in fact. Humanity, justice, and self-restraint were the qualities exhibited in his life and character. The government at once reäcted from its downward tendency, and began to show signs of vigor and virtue. The war with Persia was prosecuted with more success than at any time since the days of Constantine. Great was the misfortune to the Empire when so prosperous a reign was so suddenly cut short by the death of the sovereign. In 582 the Emperor died, and was succeeded by the soldier MAURICE, whom he designated as heir to the throne.

Again the choice was a blessing to the state. The new Emperor had been disciplined in the army, and had greatly distinguished himself for valor and probity during the Persian war. After his accession his military renown was heightened by successful campaigns against the Avars of the Danube. In the East he dignified the name of the Empire, even at the court of Persia, where he restored to the throne Chosroes II., who had been deposed in a revolution. An alliance was effected between the king and his protector, and the eastern army could now be withdrawn to operate in the West.

It was an attempt of Maurice to carry the reforms already instituted in the civil administration into the army that led to his deposition and death. The legions of the Danube, impatient of salutary restraint, revolted under PHOCAS, one of the centurions, whom they proclaimed Emperor, and under whom they marched on Constantinople. When they neared the capital, a tumult arose in the city; for the mobocratic party there turned also against the virtuous Maurice, and joined with his enemies. The Emperor and his household fled to Chalcedon. Phocas entered the city in triumph, and the Green faction of the hippodrome was again in the ascendant. The Blues still adhered to the fortunes of Maurice, whose life soon paid the forfeit of their support. In 602 executioners were sent by Phocas to Chalcedon, and Maurice and his five sons were dragged from the sanctuary of Saint Antonomus and put to death with an aggravation of cruelty.

Great was the contrast between the virtues of the late and the present Emperor. Phocas was brutal and ignorant, regardless of law and the despiser of virtue. His conduct in the administration of affairs was despotic and degrading. If he spared the female members of

the family of his predecessor, the act was capricious rather than merciful. But Constantia, the loyal widow of Maurice, could not forget the virtues of her lord. With a purpose worthy of success she conspired against Phocas, but was taken and executed with her three daughters on the same spot where her husband and sons had perished.

These events brought about a reäction, which ended in a rebellion. The African legions, led by HERACLIUS, exarch of that province, marched on Constantinople. The patrician Crispus, son-in-law of the Emperor, was in the conspiracy. Between him and Heraclius messages were passed back and forth. Phocas was presently seized in his palace, stripped of his robes, clad like a peasant, thrust in a galley, and carried to Heraclius, by whom he was beheaded. The African exarch was then, in the year 610, invited by the Senate and people to assume the duties of government. With him the throne was shared by his wife Eudoxia, and a new dynasty was thus established over the Eastern Empire.

Meanwhile the Persian monarch Chosroes, offended by the murder of his patron, the Emperor Maurice, took up arms to avenge his death. The Persian banners were carried victoriously from city. After the accession of Heraclius the conquest was continued to Antioch, Cæsarea, Damascus, and Jerusalem. The latter city was stormed by the Persians. The tomb of Christ and the churches of Helena and Constantine fell into their hands, and were pillaged and destroyed. Ninety thousand Christians were killed in the course of the campaign. A second Persian army advanced against Chalcedon, and lay for more than ten years almost in sight of Constantinople. For the time being, the boundaries of the Persian Empire in the West were extended well-nigh to the limits reached by Cyrus and Cambyses. Suppliant embassies, sent by Heraclius to the Persian court, were dismissed with disdain. The Avars of the Danube, still unsubdued, now renewed the war; and, so far as the administration of legitimate authority was concerned the limits of the Empire were suddenly almost contracted to the walls of Constantinople.

In the midst of the great emergencies by which he was pressed, Heraclius suddenly developed the qualities of a soldier. In six successive campaigns he retrieved the honor of the Roman name. North, east, and west the enemies of the Empire were thrust back to the borders. In order to meet the expenses of the expeditions, the already accumulated wealth of the church was borrowed with a promise of restoration at some future day. New levies were made, and the army enlarged proportionally to the dangers of the Empire.

In the year 622 a great expedition was led against the Persians. Heraclius entered Cilicia, and succeeded in drawing the enemy into a general engagement. A fierce battle ensued, in which the old-time valor of the Romans shone forth in its pristine glory. The Persians were disastrously routed, and the Emperor made his camp on the Halys. In the following year he penetrated the heart of the Persian Empire, where city after city was taken and province after province subdued. For nearly a year he disappeared from sight; but early in 624 his safety and continued successes were announced to the Senate. Soon afterwards a bloody battle was fought on the banks of the Sarus, in Cilicia, in which the Imperial army was again victorious. The Emperor then continued his triumphant course through Cappadocia to the Euxine, whence he returned, after three years' absence, to Constantinople.

In 627 the Persians, not yet satisfied with the results of the contest, again entered the field with an army computed at five hundred thousand men. Heraclius immediately advanced to the frontier, crossed the Araxes and the Tigris, and met the enemy on the plains of Nineveh. Here was fought one of the greatest battles which had occurred since the days of Julius Cæsar. From the morning dawn to the eleventh hour the contest raged fiercely; but at the last victory rested on the standards of the Empire. Heraclius followed up his triumph by the capture of Dastagerd, then the royal seat of Persia, filled with the treasures of the kingdom. The coffers of the Oriental monarch were emptied into the bags of Heraclius, and the latter then made his way to Ctesiphon.

Great was the humiliation of Chosroes at

the destruction of his capital; but the stubborn king was little disposed to accept the overtures of peace made by his victorious antagonist. Already falling into the sere and yellow leaf, the aged monarch would confer the crown upon his son Merdaza. But a malcontent element now gained the ascendant in the government, and in 628 Chosroes was seized and thrown into a dungeon. His eighteen sons were put to death before his eyes, and he himself left to perish in prison. Hereupon a certain SIROES, son of a favorite wife of the late king, was raised to the throne, and with him a treaty of peace was presently concluded. The new monarch survived the murder of his father only eight months, and with his death the Sassanian dynasty, which had ruled Persia since the year 226, became extinct.

As the reign of Heraclius drew to a close he designated his two sons, Constantine and Heracleonas, as his successors; but they were directed to await the death of the Empress Martina. When Heraclius expired in 641 Martina attempted to assume the government alone, but she was soon obliged to descend from the throne and hide herself in the palace. Constantine III. was then proclaimed Emperor, but after a reign of only a hundred and three days was dismissed by poison. Martina reäppeared to claim the throne, taking care, however, to exercise authority in the name of the surviving Augustus. The jealousy of the Senate, as well as the suspicions of the people, was now directed against the ambitious regent, and she was condemned to have her tongue cut out and to go into exile.

The young CONSTANS II., eldest son of Constantine III., was now recognized as Emperor. Jealous of his younger brother, Theodosius, he had him raised to the office of deacon in the church, thereby disqualifying him for the succession. Not satisfied, however, against the possibilities of ambition, he afterwards had his brother assassinated. The crime was so monstrous, so unprovoked, that in 662 the criminal was driven from the throne. He wandered into foreign lands, visiting Tarentum and Rome in Italy, and finally fixing his residence in Syracuse. Like Charles IX., he was haunted with specters that menaced him with vengeance. His murdered brother's ghost stood before him holding in a shadowy hand a cup of blood, saying, "Drink, brother, drink!" At last Constans was killed in a civil tumult in Syracuse, in 668, after a nominal reign of seventeen years.

As soon as the news of this event reached Constantinople, CONSTANTINE IV., eldest son of the late sovereign, was proclaimed as his successor. The young monarch received the name of Pogonatus or the "Bearded." Going to Syracuse he overthrew a pretender who had arisen there after the death of his father. Notwithstanding the fact that the new sovereign was received with favor and was enthusiastically contrasted with his father, he soon became embroiled in difficulties, which continued during his whole reign of ten years. His two brothers, Heraclius and Tiberius, organized a dangerous conspiracy, but they were finally suppressed and captured. In the presence of the Catholic bishops then assembled in the sixth general council at Constantinople, the culprits were at once disgraced and punished by the cutting off of their noses.

In 685 Constantine IV. died and was succeeded by his son JUSTINIAN II. The young man, however, had few qualities requisite in a sovereign. His understanding was no more than commonplace. His intelligence rose to the level of being proud of his patrimony. He was of a cruel and passionate disposition, vindictive and revengeful, inflicting punishment rather from the love of it than from the ignominious motive of fear. For nearly ten years, despite the criminality of his reign and the consequent hostility of the people, he continued to disgrace the throne and persecute his subjects. At last, however, in 695, forbearance ceased to be a virtue, and LEONTIUS, the popular general of the guards, headed an insurrection for the overthrow of the tyrant. Justinian was seized and dragged into the hippodrome, where the people clamored for his life, but Leontius interfered in his behalf and the sentence was modified. The miserable Emperor was condemned to be cut off as to his nose and tongue, and to be banished to Tartary.

Notwithstanding his mutilation and disgrace, the exile still dreamed of a return to power. Nor were his hopes without a shadow of foundation. In the capital a certain Abismarus headed a revolt against Leontius, who had been proclaimed after the downfall of Justinian, and Leontius in his turn was subjected to the same punishment which he had inflicted on his predecessor. The successful rebel took to himself the name of Tiberius, and he was reluctantly accepted by the people.

The sympathies of the citizens were still with the House of Heraclius, notwithstanding the crimes which had been committed in its name. There were some even who could look to the exile Justinian as a possible relief from the ills inflicted by the usurper. That dethroned monarch had now escaped from the khan of Tartary, and was hunting through the East in the hope of some profitable alliance. He finally came back to Europe, where he made a league with the Bulgarians, to whose king, Terbelis, he gave his daughter in marriage. The confederates then marched on Constantinople. The city was besieged. Tiberius was overthrown, and Justinian again took the throne. For seven years he continued in power, where his character manifested some improvement. In vindictive fury against his old enemies, however, his passions burned as fiercely as ever. While returning home across the Euxine, though the ship at that moment was tossed in a fearful storm, he had sworn an oath that not one of his enemies should escape with his head. He now renewed his declaration. Leontius and Tiberius were dragged out into public view and put to death with torture. Their adherents were hunted down and executed. Every weapon which malice and revenge could invent were freely used against those who had contributed to his banishment. To Stephen, captain of the guards, appropriately surnamed the savage, was committed the duty of exterminating those who had participated in the revolution of 695. His anger was especially directed against the inhabitants of the Chersonesus, who had insulted him during his banishment.

But it was not long until these proceedings bore the legitimate fruit of an insurrection. The provincials, many of whom were the descendants of exiled families, found a leader in a certain BARDANES, surnamed Philippicus, who was proclaimed Emperor. The Imperial guards turned from Justinian and joined the insurgents. The Emperor soon found himself abandoned of all. In the year 711 his enemies closed in upon his palace, and he was struck down by an assassin. He had lived without mercy to others, and now died without their regret. His young son, to whom he had looked as a successor in the Empire, fled for refuge to a church, but was pursued and killed. With his death the dynasty of Heraclius was extinguished, after having occupied the throne for a century.

After the death of Justinian, the insurgent Philippicus reigned for two years, but in 713 was assassinated in his chamber. Thereupon a certain Artemius, under the title of ANASTASIUS II., was elevated to the throne. Though having few antecedent claims to the Imperial authority, he began immediately to win by his virtues that recognition which he could never hope to attain according to the rules of legitimacy. But the spirit of insubordination and rebellion was now rife in the Empire, and a mutiny in the fleet soon robbed the state of a wise and prudent ruler. Anastasius finding himself pressed to the wall by the mutineers, resigned the scepter to his antagonist, who was proclaimed as THEODOSIUS III. The latter, however, had in his temporary ascendency no abiding root of strength, and after a brief reign of a few months' duration, he was, in 717, compelled to submit to the superior claims of LEO, the Isaurian, general of the eastern army.

CHAPTER LXVIII.—THE ICONOCLASTS.



ITH the ruler who now ascended the throne with the title of Leo III. began a new dynasty. The Emperor's preceding reputation was wholly military, and his elevation to the Imperial office must be referred to the partiality of the soldiers. Nevertheless his accession to power was hailed with the general acclaim of the people. Such were his abilities that friends and foes alike were compelled to acknowledge the fortuitous wisdom of the army.

Now it was that the Saracens, frenzied with religious zeal, blown up like a cloud of locusts from the south, settled before Constantinople. For two years the city was besieged by Omar II., and it was falsely noised through the world that the Eastern Empire had been subjugated by a caliph; but this premature alarm was soon quieted by the destruction of the Arab fleet, which was defeated in two engagements, and consumed by the Greek fire discharged from the armament of Leo.

A great dispute now arose among the Christian sects relative to the use of images in the churches and religious services. The spirit of paganism had to a certain extent pervaded the thought of the Christian world. As the old statues of the gods were borne about by the processions of their worshipers, so the effigies of the Christ and his mother, of the saints and the martyrs, were given a conspicuous place by the ecclesiasts of the early centuries, and were received with devout adoration by the worshipers. This questionable tendency had been criticised and opposed not a little by the more zealous fathers of the church, and in some parts of the Empire the use of images had been interdicted. Christendom became divided into two parties: the image-worshipers and the purists, who would maintain the simplicity of a spiritual faith without the intervention of symbols. In many places the disputes waxed hot and violent.

The anti-image party became known as the Iconoclasts, or Image-breakers. The Emperor Leo himself was the head of the latter faction. In 726 he published an edict for the removal of the images from all the churches of the Empire. It was the beginning of the great struggle known as the War of the Iconoclasts, with which Christendom was distracted for a hundred and twenty years. The great leaders of the image-worshiping party were Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, John of Damascus, and John Chrysorrhoas, in the East; and Popes Gregory II. and III., in the West.

In the year 732 a great council at Rome condemned the Iconoclasts. The Emperor sent an army into Italy to enforce his edict; but the resistance of the Italian cities was so stubborn that the expedition resulted in nothing except the transfer of the exarchate of Ravenna to the kingdom of the Lombards. Even in the East, where the edict was more favorably received, there were many places where the opposite doctrine prevailed. The Peloponnesus and the Cyclades refused to honor the proclamation of Leo; and even in Constantinople a serious rebellion was organized by the image-worshiping party. The professors in the Imperial schools and the scholastic classes generally opposed the Iconoclasts, and for this reason the probably slanderous report was spread abroad that the burning of the Constantinopolitan library was the work of the Emperor. It was at this period, and owing to the unfavorable reception of his edict in Italy, that Leo now transferred Greece and Illyria from the spiritual dominion of the popes, and attached those countries to the ecclesiastical estates of the patriarchs of Constantinople.

In the latter years of the reign of Leo the Empire was again greatly disturbed by the aggressions of the Saracens. A certain adventurer named TIBERIUS, claiming to be the son of Justinian II., appeared on the scene and received the support of the Mohammedans as

the rival of Leo III. The pretender put on the purple and made a magnificent entry into the city of Jerusalem; but Leo seems not to have been greatly disturbed by the apparition of this shadowy Emperor on the eastern horizon. More serious by far was the invasion by the Arab general, Solyman, who, in 739, led an army of ninety thousand men into the territories of the Empire. Having penetrated into Asia Minor he was met by the army of Leo and defeated in a great battle in Phrygia. Solyman then retreated into his own dominions. In the next year after this event the Empire was afflicted with another earthquake, which cast down many cities and shattered the walls of Constantinople. After a successful, though troubled reign of twenty-four years, Leo died calmly in his palace in the year 741.

The next to wear the Imperial purple was CONSTANTINE V., son of Leo, and surnamed *Copronynus*. He began his reign by renewing the war on the images; nor were his proceedings marked by that kind of zeal which is tempered with knowledge. Such was the violence of his policy in the destruction of the effigies and his bitterness towards that half-Oriental and half-artistic taste which had combined to fill the churches of Christendom with the images of saints and virgins that the historians of the opposing party have blackened his name with all the unspeakable vocabulary of contumely and hatred. Nor does it appear that the charges which are heaped upon him of cruelty and dissoluteness were wholly unjust. He was, however, a sovereign of considerable abilities, whose success both in peace and in war was such as to merit for him a better fame. He was a patron of public works, and among other enterprises added to the prosperity of the city by the restoration of an aqueduct. He appears, too, to have had some care for the unfortunate. To him two thousand five hundred captives owed their return to liberty. Several cities in Thrace were repeopled by colonization. In the field he commanded in person, and though his success as a conqueror was but moderate, yet in the East he maintained the frontier of the Empire against the Persians, and on the Danube vindicated the Roman arms in conflicts with the barbarians.

In the year 775 Constantine died and left an undisputed succession to his son LEO IV. The latter took to himself the surname of *Khazar*, a title assumed in honor of his mother, who was the daughter of the Khan of the Khazars. While thus offering respect to his barbarian mother he chose for himself an Athenian wife named Irené, who, by her beauty and accomplishments, added greatly to the reputation of her husband's court. The reign, however, was brief and inglorious, but not uneventful. In her marriage vows Irené was obliged to abjure the worship of images, but she still at heart retained her zeal for the religious party with which she had been affiliated. In 780 Leo IV. died, having provided in his testament that his wife should hold the regency during the minority of his son CONSTANTINE VI., whom he named as his successor.

As soon as Irené was freed from the Imperial restraint of her husband she undertook the restoration of the images. In 786 she called a council of the church to consider the question of restoring the effigies of Christendom. This assembly, however, was interrupted in its sessions, but was reconvened at the same place in the following year. This time a decision was reached declaring that the veneration of images was conformable alike to the doctrines of Scripture and the teachings of the fathers.

The Iconoclasts, deeply humiliated at this defeat, undertook the recovery of their influence by making the prince Constantine, then sixteen years of age, the champion of their cause. He was induced to renounce the regency of his mother, and to enter into a plot for her banishment. But the Empress was vigilant, and the scheme was defeated. In a short time a mutiny occurred among the Armenian guards, and Irené was driven into the solitude of the palace. Constantine VI. was then proclaimed Emperor; but the dethroned mother, unwilling that the fires of personal ambition should be put out, plotted against the life of her sovereign son. In 797 a band of assassins rose upon him in the hippodrome, but he escaped alive, and fled into Phrygia.

Pretending ignorance of the conspiracy against him, Irené joined the Emperor abroad, and persuaded him to return: but on approaching the city they were, according to preconcerted arrangement, met by emissaries, who seized him and shut him up in the palace.

A council of state was now convened, and it was decreed that Constantine should be forever incapacitated for the throne by the loss of his sight. His eyes were accordingly put out, and Irené held undisputed sway for a period of five years. The court became splendid under her patronage. The Empress was driven in state through the city in her golden chariot, drawn by four white horses, and attended by a band of patrician eunuchs. One of these, the treasurer NICEPHORUS, treacherously conspired against his benefactress, and was himself secretly invested with the insignia of Empire. His co-conspirators gained possession of the palace, and Nicephorus was crowned in the church of Saint Sophia. Irené was seized and sent into banishment in the island of Lesbos, where, reduced to penury and compelled to maintain herself by spinning, she died within a year. The usurpation of Nicephorus was recognized by the Senate, and the Isaurian dynasty was at an end.

The character of the new monarch was such as to make him abhorred by the people. He is represented as a hypocrite, ingrate, and miser; nor were these odious vices in any wise redeemed by great talents or manly exploits. His reign of nine years was marked with disasters and humiliations. In a war with the Saracens the army of the Empire was vanquished; and in a conflict which presently ensued with the Bulgarians a still more ruinous defeat was inflicted. Nicephorus himself was killed, and his son STAURACIUS received a wound, of which he died after a reign of six months. In the mean time his sister Procopia had been married to MICHAEL I., who now ascended the throne, and reigned for the brief space of two years.

The abilities of this prince as a ruler were of a low order, and his reign was barely redeemed from contempt by the masculine valor and ambition of Procopia. These qualities in woman, however, were poorly appreciated by the age, and especially by the Greeks. The soldiers were little disposed to obey or even respect a female commander. So great was the displeasure on the Thracian frontier that the army mutinied and marched on the capital with the purpose of dethroning both the Emperor and the queen. The spirit of Michael, however, was not of a temper to maintain supremacy by force and bloodshed. When the insurgents approached the city the patient sovereign, though backed by the clergy and the Senate, went forth and delivered to the mutineers the keys of the city and the palace. An act so unusual and magnanimous half re-won the loyalty of the soldiers, and the Emperor who could abdicate in order to avoid the destruction of human life was permitted to retain his own and his sight.

The crown of the Emperor now fell to LEO V., surnamed the Armenian, who at that time was general of the Asiatic army. He it was who had lately commanded in the Bulgarian campaign which resulted so disastrously to the arms of Nicephorus. Nor was the suspicion wanting that the disaster inflicted by the barbarians was partly attributable to the connivance of Leo, who was willing that the Emperor should be destroyed to make way for himself. An Asiatic prophetess had already foretold that Leo should wear the purple, and the prediction was now fulfilled. The new Emperor was a soldier by profession, and the methods which he employed in his government were military and exacting. In religious matters he espoused the cause of the Iconoclasts, but his opinions were so inconstant and changeful as to gain for him, at the hand of the church father, the epithet of the *Chameleon.*

It appears that the soothsayers of the East had included with Leo in the prophecy of greatness a certain other general named MICHAEL, and surnamed the Phrygian. On coming to power Leo remembered his companion in arms, and heaped upon him the favors of the court. But the ambitious Phrygian, in whose ear the call of destiny had already sounded, was dissatisfied with favors shown him by one greater than himself. He accordingly conspired to overthrow his benefactor and usurp the throne of empire. Leo was

warned of the intended treachery, but at first refused to credit the charges made against his friend. Afterwards, however, affection turned to resentment, and Michael was condemned to be burned alive. The execution was set for Christmas day, but the Empress Theophano prevailed on her husband not to profane the sacred anniversary by the execution of a criminal. The sentence was accordingly suspended, and the respite cost the Emperor his life. On Christmas day the adherents of Michael, clad in the garments of priests, were admitted with the procession which went to sing matins in the chapel of the palace. They had swords hidden under their cloaks; and when the Emperor joined the services, the assassins fell upon him with their weapons. Leo bravely defended himself with a wooden cross until he was overpowered and slain. The successful prisoner was thereupon proclaimed Emperor, with the title of Michael II. He received the surname of the *Stammerer*, on account of a defect in his speech. So sudden was his transfer from the convict's dungeon to the throne of the Empire, that for several hours he reigned as Cæsar before a smith could be found to break the fetters from his legs. The reign, which lasted for nine years, added no glory to the state, and the vices of the reigning sovereign disgraced the annals of the court.

Soon after the accession of Michael II. a certain Thomas, also one of the old veterans of the army of Nicephorus, undertook to snatch the crown from the head of the wearer. He brought an army of eighty thousand mercenaries and barbarians from the banks of the Tigris, and laid siege to Constantinople. The Emperor, however, successfully defended himself and an army of Bulgarians, now in friendly alliance with the Empire, came to the rescue of the city. An attack was made upon the camp of Thomas, and his forces were utterly routed. He himself was taken prisoner and delivered over to Michael, who ordered the hands and feet of the rebel captive to be chopped off. The mutilated body, dropping blood at every extremity, was mounted on an ass and borne through the city amid the jeering multitude. Meanwhile a fate had been prepared by which the crown descended to another. Before his death, Constantine VI. had given to Michael II. his daughter Euphrosyne in marriage. No children, however, were born of the union, and the mother was obliged to be content with an adopted son, THEOPHILUS. The latter in the year 829 succeeded Michael on the throne.

From the first, the new sovereign was in favor with the zealots of the church. But his success in war was by no means such as to warrant a military reputation. By his own contemporaries he was very properly surnamed the *Unfortunate*. In five campaigns against the Saracens, he gained no more than dubious triumphs, and at the last was disastrously defeated. In his civil administration, also, he was neither fortunate nor wise. The cruelty of the age was intensified in the breast of the Emperor. His methods of punishment were such as might be well pleasing to the vindictive rage of an Oriental despot. Happy was the offender who escaped with the simple infliction of death. Many of the principal officers of the government, fallen under some suspicion of disloyalty, were dipped in boiling pitch or burned as a public spectacle in the hippodrome. The base and ignoble rabble applauded the *justice* of the sovereign from whose unspeakable cruelties they were themselves exempted only by their obscurity.

On the death of this tyrant in the year 842, the government was intrusted to the regency of the Empress Theodora during the minority of her son, MICHAEL III., then less than five years of age. As had happened in the case of every preceding reign when the influence of woman was predominant in the Imperial court, the cause of the Image-worshipers was now revived and made triumphant. The Iconoclasts were suppressed or exterminated. During her reign of thirteen years the images were restored to their places in the churches of Christendom. More wise than Irené, the Empress Theodora sought not to perpetuate her own power by the destruction of her son. When he arrived at age, his mother quietly retired from the responsibilities of government, and sought refuge in the solitudes of private life.

The new sovereign ascended the throne un-

der auspicious circumstances, but his character was such as to forbid the prosecution of those great enterprises on which the prosperity of a state depends. His theory of life was that of indulgence and pleasure. Like Nero, he would distinguish himself as the champion of amusement. Constantinople had now become as debased in its tastes as was the ancient capital of the West. The people were chiefly interested in the sports of the hippodrome. The two factions of the circus were multiplied to four. Michael himself aspired to be the greatest chariot-racer of the Empire. He assumed the insignia of the Blues; while the other habitués of the hippodrome were divided among the rival badges.

Tired at length of this Imperial folly, the degraded Emperor devised for his own and the amusement of the capital a profane mockery directed against the religious faith of his countrymen. A mountebank impersonated the patriarch of Constantinople. Twelve other characters were assumed with equal disregard to dignity or decency. The ceremonials of the church were performed in caricature. The sacred vessels of the altar were used for drinking cups, and a disgusting mixture of vinegar and mustard was passed around among the drunken communicants as the holy sacrament of the church. The consequences of this disgusting profanity were soon apparent in the alienation of the people from the sovereign. A conspiracy was organized, headed by Basil I., surnamed the Macedonian, and in 867 Michael III. was assassinated in his own chamber.

The chief conspirator at once assumed the purple. He was a native of Adrianople, and in his childhood had been sold into slavery by the Bulgarians. Afterwards being liberated, he took service in the army, and was subsequently adopted as a son by a wealthy matron named Danielis. His ambition rose with the occasion. He was introduced at court, and obtained the favor of Michael III., whose deposition and murder he afterwards contrived as above narrated. In order to placate the *manes* of his victim, he erected churches in his honor, and ordered them to be dedicated to *Saint* Michael!

CHAPTER LXIX.—MACEDONIAN DYNASTY.

GREAT was the energy diffused into the government by the usurper Basil. Under the Macedonian dynasty, there was a revival of prosperity. The strong hand and liberal patronage of the monarchs gave encouragement and success to those enterprises by which the glory of both the Roman and the Greek name was restored to some degree of its former luster. True, the Emperor might not claim the reputation which springs from warlike deeds. Still the army was augmented in numbers and improved in discipine. The success of the Imperial arms over the Saracens in the East was so marked as to make the Empire a thing to be dreaded again by the Mohammedan zealots.

It was, however, in the conduct of civil affairs that Basil I. displayed his abilities most strikingly. By this epoch in the history of the Eastern Empire, the Greek language had gained a complete ascendency over the Latin as the speech of the court and the city. It became necessary that the legislation and laws of the Empire should be translated into the prevailing tongue. The great body of legal lore produced in the era of Justinian—the *Institutes*, *Pandects*, *Code*, *Novels*—was now intrusted to a commission of scholars, digested in forty Books, and translated into the language of the Greeks. Great and well-merited, also, was the reputation of Basil as a builder. The *Basilica* of Constantinople, so grandly completed during the subsequent reigns, must witness to the energy and architectural taste of the reigning Emperor.

On the death of Basil I. in the year 886,

the crown was conferred in jointure upon his two sons, Leo VI. and Alexander. The former, who was the eldest of four brothers, was practically the sovereign. He was honored with the title of the Philosopher, though neither his talents nor his learning were such as to have entitled other than a king to a name so honorable. The name of *Polygynæcus* might have been better deserved; for in despite of the doctrines of the church which interdicted a third marriage and anathematized a fourth, Basil celebrated successive marriages, to the scandal of his times. The first three unions were fruitless of children, but the concubine Zoë presented her lord with a son.

With more decency than orthodoxy the Emperor then desired to legitimize his offspring by a marriage *ex post facto*. This, however, was strenuously forbidden by the patriarch Nicholas; and when the Emperor, over-anxious for a lawful heir, persisted in his purpose, he was excommunicated. The authorization of the marriage, however, was obtained from the church of Rome, and Nicholas was driven into exile. But such was the influence of the latter that after the death of the Emperor he was recalled from banishment, proudly reässerting the doctrine of the church against successive marriages. The very son, in whose interest Basil had so stoutly contended, was obliged, after his accession to power, to yield an implied acknowledgment of his own illegitimacy by agreeing to an edict condemnatory of fourth marriages.

In the year 911 the son of Basil and Zoë was acknowledged as Emperor, under the title of Constantine VII. He received the name of *Porphyrogenitus*, or "Born-in-the-Purple," the name being given from the porphyry room in the Byzantine palace in which the children of the Emperors were born. At the death of his father the boy was but six years of age, and it was deemed necessary that the royal scion should be supported by one stronger than himself. His uncle Alexander was accordingly given the title of Augustus and associated with the young prince in the government. The mother also was made regent during the minority of her son; and even this seeming not to be a sufficient stay for the Imperial sprig, a council of seven, likewise bearing the name of regents, was appointed for the ostensible purpose of watching over the interests of the state, but in reality to use and abuse the prince according to their interest or ambition.

The condition of the government under this system of management soon became so deplorable as to call for a heroic remedy. A deliverer was found in Romanus Lecapenus, then commander of the army and fleet on the Danubian frontier. Learning of the condition of affairs at the capital, this brave and popular officer sailed into the harbor of Constantinople, and was hailed as the liberator of the people. By an edict of the Senate he was honored with the title of Father of the Emperor, and was authorized to restore order in the state. He was also raised to the rank of Cæsar and Augustus; and in the year 919, having grown weary of playing sovereign in the name of another, he assumed the purple under the title of Romanus I. For twenty-five years he continued in the exercise of sovereign authority, and succeeded in raising his family to the dignity of a dynasty. His three sons, Christopher, Stephen, and Constantine VIII., were promoted to the same honor with their father. Porphyrogenitus was, at the same time, degraded to the fifth rank among the princes of the Empire. He lived in studious retirement and amused himself as a scholar and artist.

During the continuance of this multiplex sovereignty Christopher, the eldest son of Romanus, died; and his two brothers presently made a conspiracy against their father. Taking advantage of the noonday hour, when all strangers were excluded from the palace, they entered the apartments of Romanus with a hired band, seized the Emperor, put on him the garments of a monk, carried him away to an island in the Propontis, and left him in the hands of a community of religious zealots.

The conspirators, however, gained little by their exploit. The public mind turned suddenly to Porphyrogenitus. The two disloyal princes were seized and borne away to the same island where they had deposited their father. The old Cæsar met them at the beach, and with a sarcasm not to be mistaken offered

to share with them his royal food, consisting of radishes and water. Constantine VII., now in the fortieth year of his nominal reign, was called from his retirement to be, in reality, Emperor of the East. His reign continued for fifteen years; but his temper was little suited to the stormy arena of public affairs, and, leaving the management of the government to the Empress Helena, he sought the more congenial task of educating his son. In the year 959 he died, not without the suspicion of poison, and left the crown to his heir, Romanus II.

This prince, now in his twenty-first year, was suspected of having contributed to his father's death; but that criminal event must be referred rather to the wickedness of Theophano, the wife of Romanus, who was willing to go up to the Imperial seat over the dead body of her husband's father. The Emperor himself, however, was a ruler insensible to the opportunities of greatness. His ignoble ambitions ran to waste on hunting and the circus, while the government was left to his ministers. The chief distinction of his brief reign was due to the deeds of his two generals, Nicephorus and Leo, who waged successful warfare with the Saracens. At last Theophano wearied of her commonplace lord, and gave him a cup of poison. She then procured the proclamation of herself as regent during the minority of her two sons, afterwards Basil II. and Constantine IX.

The wicked Empress, however, had no hold upon public confidence. Soon discovering the uncertain tenure of a throne obtained by the darkest crimes, she sought to make her present rank secure by a popular marriage. To this end she chose for her second husband the brave general Nicephorus Phocas. The latter was one of the most remarkable characters of his age. He combined in himself the dispositions of a soldier and a monk. Though greatly distinguished as a warrior, he chose to wear a gown of hair-cloth. He fasted. He adopted the priestly idiom and declared with doubtful truthfulness his wish to retire from the management of the state for the solitary pleasures of the cloister. He had been commander of the Oriental armies, but having gained the ascendency over the other leaders his piety did not prevent him from marching on Constantinople and declaring his collusion with the schemes of the Empress. He was declared Augustus in the year 963, but the popularity which had been evoked by his religious zeal soon disappeared when the discovery was made that he was at bottom a miser and hypocrite. Nevertheless, Nicephorus conducted well the business of the state. His old-time skill and bravery as a general were exhibited yearly in contests with the Saracens. The revenues were carefully husbanded and applied to appropriate uses. The existing boundaries of the Empire were well maintained, and the martial spirit of the people considerably revived by the warlike deeds and recurring triumphs of the Emperor.

Meanwhile the event was contrived by which Nicephorus was to lose both crown and life. Next to himself the ablest general of the eastern army was an Armenian named John Zimisces, a man of stunted bodily stature but heroic purposes. After aiding in the elevation of Nicephorus to the throne Zimisces was deprived of his command, and but for the intercession of the Empress, with whom he was a favorite, he would have been driven into exile. By her influence, however, he was retained in a subordinate office near the court. It was not long until an intrigue was concocted between Theophano and himself to dispose of Nicephorus and take the throne for themselves. In 969 the Emperor was murdered in his palace, and as soon as his gory head was exhibited outside John Zimisces donned the purple and had himself proclaimed as ruler of the East.

The coronation of the new Emperor was the occasion of a strange scene on the steps of the church of Saint Sophia. There the patriarch of Constantinople met the sovereign as he was entering and demanded that the wicked and ignoble Empress should be forever degraded and dismissed from the palace. Nor was the Emperor loath to comply with the demand, perceiving that he himself might soon be added to the list of her victims. Neither was he unwilling to add to his own popularity by the degradation of the despised Empress.

Theophano was accordingly driven into exile, and the public demand for vengeance was appeased.

It was well that Zimisces was possessed of military experience and ability as a commander. The enemies of the Empire were busy on all the borders. The barbarians were active on the Danubian frontier, and the ever hostile Saracens renewed their aggressions from the south-east. The Emperor took the field in person and in two great campaigns overcame the Russians and the Mohammedans. While on his expedition into Syria, the Emperor observed that the better part of the lands in those provinces was occupied by favorite eunuchs, who, from time to time, had been rewarded by the court. Deeply was he offended to see the worthless and indolent creatures thus promoted above the brave captains of the army. He openly expressed his contempt for the possessors of the Syrian estates. "Is it for these," said he, "that we have fought and conquered? Is it for these that we shed our blood and exhaust the treasures of our people?" On returning to Constantinople the Emperor continued to question the righteousness of heaping honors on the most worthless parasites of the court. But the agitation cost him his life. He died under the suspicion of poison.

In the mean time the two lawful Emperors, Basil II. and Constantine IX., sons of Romanus II. and Theophano, had grown to manhood. For some time, however, they were held from the rightful assumption of authority by the minister to whose hands their education had been intrusted. He would fain persuade them that the proper life for youth was the life of pleasure, and that the burdens of state rested properly in the rugged hands of the middle-aged and the veteran. The elder prince, however, was less susceptible to these blandishments, and resolved to assert his authority. The officious minister was disposed of and Basil II. proclaimed. The new sovereign at once entered upon an ambitious career. In several expeditions against the Saracens—though he had little experience in the science or practice of war—he gained repeated victories and maintained the boundaries of the Empire. Still more decided were his successes on the north-eastern frontier. There the Bulgarians, once again in arms, were decisively overthrown and their kingdom subverted—an event which Gibbon reckons the most important triumph of the Roman arms since the days of Belisarius.

The conquests of Basil, however, were, according to the judgment of his countrymen, robbed of their glory by the rapacity and avarice of the victor. The faults of his early education appeared in his conduct, and his reputation was clouded by the imputation of meanness. It had been the folly of his teachers to leave him uninstructed in those great arts and sciences which humanize mankind. He was ignorant of the laws and usages of the Empire to the extent that law-makers and law-breakers were about equally respected.

Like Nicephorus Phocas, Basil made up in religious zeal what he lacked in culture. The chief aim of the minister who had had him in training in boyhood was to give his pupil an abnormal charge of piety at the expense of intelligence. So when Basil grew to maturity and became Emperor, he put the monastic habit of hair-cloth under his robes and armor, and did penance like a hermit. He imposed on himself the vow of continence, and for the sake of his irritable conscience denied himself of meat and wine. In his old age his religious fervor led him to undertake a crusade against the Saracens of Sicily, but present decrepitude and imminent death prevented the execution of the purpose. He died in the year 1025, and left the imperial diadem to his brother, Constantine IX. The latter had already held the title of Augustus for sixty-six years, and now the dignity of Emperor was added for three years longer. The two brothers together occupied the throne for three-score and six years, but the epoch is obscure, and the records of their reign present fewer points of interest than do those of any other equally extensive period in the history of the Empire.

CHAPTER LXX.—AGE OF THE COMNENI.



ITH the death of Constantine IX., in the year 1028, the Macedonian dynasty ended. Neither of the last two rulers left a son. Of the three daughters of Constantine the eldest, named Eudocia, took the veil. Theodora, the youngest, refused the joys of marriage; and Zoë, the second, became, at the age of forty-eight, the wife of ROMANUS III., surnamed *Argyrus*, who ascended the throne in 1028, and reigned for six years. Like the mother of Hamlet, Zoë had not become discreet with age. She became infatuated of a certain Paphlagonian named Michael, with whom she presently plotted to destroy her husband. Romanus was poisoned to make room for a scandalous marriage between his murderers. Nevertheless the people submitted to the outrage, and the husband took the throne under the title of MICHAEL IV.

The new sovereign was haunted by the recollection of his crime. He was a victim of epilepsy, and his conscience and his disease soon combined to destroy his mind. Not so, however, with his brother JOHN. This insensate criminal had been a participant in the assassination of Romanus III., and after that event had become the power behind the throne, in which relation he enjoyed with secret satisfaction the fruits of his deeds. When his brother's intelligence expired, he himself came in to direct the affairs of state. He induced the Empress Zoë to adopt his son, and the latter was presently, through the same influence, raised to the rank of Emperor, with the title of MICHAEL V. The Empress was driven into exile—a thing, at the first, not ungrateful to the people; but very soon a reäction set in against the usurper of the throne, and not only Zoë but also Theodora—the latter from her monastery—was recalled. Michael was dethroned, and the two aged sisters were given the seat and dignity of Imperial dominion.

After two months, however, Theodora again retired from the world and Zoë, now at the age of sixty, was married to CONSTANTINE X., surnamed *Monomachus*, a dissolute personage afflicted with the gout. However, he tottered on in the Imperial masquerade until the Empress died and left him to settle the succession. The friends of the old Macedonian family again put forward the claims of Theodora, and after the death of Monomachus that venerable maiden princess was a second time promoted to the throne. After a peaceable reign of nineteen months she was persuaded by her ministers to name as her successor a certain decrepit general, who in 1056 succeeded her, with the title of MICHAEL VI. and the surname of *Stratioticus*. He reigned but a single year and ended without an achievement. In the course of the preceding twenty-eight years no fewer than twelve sovereigns had occupied the Imperial seat, and the disgraces of the Empire had far outnumbered its rulers.

The choice of the half-crazy old man, Michael VI., to the Imperial office was bitterly resented by the army. To see an ancient saintly spinster, assisted by a company of imbecile eunuchs, bestowing the Imperial crown on an epileptic grasshopper in whom desire had failed, was more than actual soldiers could be expected to bear. They mutinied. They gathered secretly in the Church of St. Sophia and chose ISAAC COMNENUS as their chief. They then retired to the army in Phrygia to maintain his cause in honorable battle. By a single defeat the forces of Michael were annihilated and himself reconverted into a monk. In the year 1057 Comnenus was raised to the throne with universal applause and the title of Isaac I.

The accession of this Emperor marks an epoch of revival in the Eastern Empire. The new sovereign, however, was a man of feeble health, and after attempting for two years to bear the burden of the government he resigned the crown to his brother John, but the refusal

of the latter to accept the supreme authority frustrated the Emperor's plans, and the choice of a successor fell upon CONSTANTINE DUCAS, an adherent of the Comnenian dynasty. In 1059 Isaac retired to a monastery, and there passed the few remaining months of his life.

Constantine XI. began his reign by having his three sons, Michael VII., Adronicus I., and Constantine XII. all equally honored with the title of Augustus. After a few years the father died and the Empress Eudocia assumed the government in the interest of her sons. But she also, within the year, chose a second husband, who was raised to the throne with the name of ROMANUS DIOGENES. His reign occupied a period of four years (1067–1071) and was not uneventful.

Now it was that the Turcoman iron-forgers of the Altais began to press against the Empire which they were destined ultimately to subvert. To beat back these terrible warriors Diogenes undertook three great campaigns in the East. The Turks were forced to retire beyond the Euphrates. The Emperor's next work was the deliverance of Armenia from Turcoman domination. Here, however, fortune turned against him. ALP ARSLAN, the Turkish sultan, bore down on the Greek army with forty thousand of his fierce horsemen. Romanus was taken prisoner, but was given his liberty on condition of paying an enormous ransom. The Emperor then returned to his own borders, where he learned that his authority had been renounced and the terms of his capitulation disclaimed by the government at Constantinople. With great difficulty he collected a small part of the indemnity which had been promised to Alp Arslan, and this sum was faithfully transmitted. The Turcoman, however, disdained the tribute, and determined to punish, not Diogenes, indeed, but those who had refused to ratify the terms granted to and by an Emperor of Rome.

Vainly did Diogenes now seek a restoration to power. His wife had been sent to a monastery. John Comnenus, who had once refused the crown for himself, reäppeared on the scene, and induced the Senate to proclaim his three nephews joint sovereigns. Romanus undertook to support his claims by force, but was defeated, taken, robbed of his eyes, left to die. Then MICHAEL VII. reigned for a brief season, but his character and conduct were such as to induce a mutiny in the army, headed by two generals, both named Nicephorus. Michael was obliged to resign, and the scepter passed into the family of John Comnenus.

This able and ambitious prince had a household of eight children. The sons most distinguished were Isaac and Alexius. They were valiant soldiers, as well as princes among the Comneni. As long as Michael retained the throne they were his supporters. When the Nicephori came into power the young princes were intrusted with the army; but learning that they were under ban of suspicion, they raised the standard of revolt. The elder brother invested the younger with the purple, and marched against the capital. The guards were won over. Michael found refuge in a monastery, and ALEXIUS ascended the throne.

The time had now come when the history of the Western Empire was about to be repeated, or at least paralleled, in the East. On every side the borders of the Byzantine dominion began to be broken in by extraneous assault. From Persia to the Hellespont, all around the eastern horizon, the victorious Turcomans hung in a dense cloud, which blazed with the continuous lightning of religious frenzy. The outline of the Crescent already lay like a huge and ominous shadow across Asia Minor and the Ægean.

Out of the ominous West another glare of light shot up angrily from the camp-fires of the Normans, and the low mutterings of disquieted barbarism rolled along the frontier of the Danube. Then of a sudden the very sea-beds of Western Europe were shaken, and the Crusaders rose from the earth! The fiery host rolled away to the east, and Constantinople lay in its pathway. Such was the condition of the estate which Alexis inherited.

In the midst of great perplexities and dangers the Emperor showed himself a sovereign. The administration was purified; the discipline of the army improved; new leaders thrown to the front; new statesmen called to the council. Notwithstanding the first shocks and agitations to which the Empire was subjected,

the fabric stood fast, and was improved. Art and science flourished more than since the days of Justinian. Even while the restless, half-barbarous Crusaders were pouring through the capital, devouring like locusts whatever they could reach, the Emperor outwitted the leaders, playing the part of Reynard in the Kingdom of the Beasts.

Rarely, indeed, has a ruler had a more difficult task to perform than that imposed on Alexius by the Crusaders. The great horde of savage fanatics, wrought to the highest pitch of frenzy, must be conducted through the city, entertained, and dismissed without offense or manifest resentment. Alexius carried the turbulent host through his elegant capital as one might bear a populous hornet's-nest through an assembly of guests, and deposited his charge safely in Asia Minor. There his *friends* and the Turcomans might fight it out!

For thirty-seven years Alexius held the throne of the Eastern Empire. He warded off his foreign foes, and quelled or pacified domestic enemies. Not for generations had the palace yielded so healthful a moral odor. In the Emperor's household art and science flourished. His daughter Anna became the brilliant biographer of her father, and was recognized as an equal by the philosophers of the city. The reputation of the Comnenian House was established in favor, insomuch that the hereditary principle was again cheerfully recognized as the law of the succession.

In the year 1118 Alexius died, in the honorable esteem of his countrymen. It was the purpose of the Empress Irené to confer the sovereignty on her daughter Anna, above mentioned, to the exclusion of her brother JOHN. Notwithstanding the favor in which the princess was held, the public sentiment against the rule of woman was so strong as to demand the elevation of the male heir. Nor was the candidate for Imperial honors—albeit diminutive in stature and of ungainly person—unworthy in ability and ambition to sit in the seat of the Cæsars. The gentle satire of the people was appeased when they had conferred on the Emperor the name of Calo-Joannes, or the *Handsome* John. In mental qualities, at least, the epithet was as appropriate as it was ironical when referring to his person.

To the shame of the Princess Anna she yielded herself to be the tool of a conspiracy which aimed as high as her brother's life. Detected in her treason, and disgraced by it, she was spared by the injured sovereign, who by this act of clemency still more endeared himself to his subjects. Nor was his amiability more conspicuous than his courage. In several campaigns he drove back the aggressive Turcomans from the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, and gave to Asia Minor a period of repose from the violence of the Mohammedans. He also interested himself in promoting the crusades, and thereby gained a great name among the Latins and other Western races generally. A strange accident was that which, after a reign of a quarter of a century brought to a close the career of John II. Engaging in a boar-hunt in the valley of Anazarbus, he was accidentally and fatally wounded with a poisoned arrow from his own quiver. He died in the year 1143, and was succeeded by his son, MANUEL I.

The new Emperor, the younger of the two sons of John the Handsome, added to his father's virtues and talents a pleasing address, a magnificent person, and popular manner. He occupied the Imperial throne for thirty-seven years, and did as much as an able sovereign might to stay the ravages of those blind forces which were consuming the remnants of ancient civilization. Around nearly the whole frontier of the Empire—in the region of the Taurus in Hungary, in Italy, Egypt, and Greece, as well as on the Mediterranean—Manuel stood up like a hero against the elements which gathered and broke upon his borders. Though bred in the luxury of the court, the Emperor became inured to the hardships of the camp and the field. Such were his bodily strength, his iron nerve, and invulnerable constitution, that like the great Crusaders he became a personal terror to the foe. He was the Cœur de Lion of the East, wielding a lance and wearing a buckler that the degenerate could not lift. Raymond of Toulouse, surnamed the Hercules, acknowledged the superior strength of Manuel.

The victories of the Imperial arms in the age of the Comneni partook of the nature of personal triumphs. They resulted more from individual prowess than from strategic skill. It was the peculiarity of the crusading times that man struggled with man. The fanatic, unable to generalize, makes a personal enemy of his foe. The Emperors of the Comnenian dynasty, and notably Manuel I., imbibed something of the adventurous and heroic spirit of the times, even to the extent perhaps of neglecting to gather the political fruits of victories won in the field. After gaining so many successes over the Turks as to entitle him to the name of conqueror, the Emperor finally lost all in a great disaster which befell his arms in the mountains of Pisidia. His army was ruined, and himself a prisoner was obliged to accept the gift of his life at the merciful hands of the Sultan of the Turks.

It has been remarked by the profound Gibbon that the character of Manuel I. presents in its military and civil aspects one of the strangest contrasts in history. While in the field he made war with all the vehement ferocity of Godfrey of Bouillon or the Lion-heart of England. He seemed unmindful alike of the cares of state and the beauties of peace. But when his campaigns were ended, and he had returned to Constantinople, one might discover in his bearing no further trace of the military hero. He then devoted himself with assiduity to the business of the government and the smaller cares of life in the palace. He even indulged in refined luxuries and pleasures, giving his winter hours to games, and his summer days to the delightful relaxations of his villa on one of the isles of the Propontis. In the year 1181, he died after a successful and glorious reign, and the crown descended to his son ALEXIUS II., then a youth but ten years of age.

In less than two years the government of this stripling was overthrown by Andronicus, son of Isaac Comnenus, whose previous life had been filled with romance and adventure. During the reign of Manuel he had been imprisoned for twelve years under suspicion of disloyalty. He had lived as an exile, both at the palace of the sultan and the court of the Duke of Russia. When Manuel died, the youth and inexperience of his successor, and the disorders which immediately ensued in the government, gave excellent opportunities to the ambitious Andronicus to lay hold on the scepter. An insurrection opened the gates of the city; the people were clamorous for a change from the foolish boy who occupied the throne, and ANDRONICUS was crowned in the midst of acclamations. Alexius was degraded and presently strangled with a bow-string, while his mother Maria was executed on a charge of treason.

The government of the new Emperor was a compound of vicious vigor and virtuous energy. The spites and animosities which had been nursed during his exile found free vent on his accession to power. The assassination of Alexius was followed by the murder of his adherents. Many of the nobles fled into distant parts, and scattered the seeds of insurrection. In the third year of the reign of Andronicus, his government was subverted by ISAAC ANGELUS, descended from the great Alexius through the female line. The people gladly espoused his claims, and in 1185 he was seated on the throne. The miserable Andronicus was abandoned by his friends, seized by his enemies, suspended by his feet between two pillars, and brutally beaten and stabbed to death by the infuriated multitude.

The change of sovereigns was hardly for the better. Isaac, *the Angel*, would have been more appropriately surnamed from one of the other worlds. His government proved to be as weak as his character was despicable. He was precisely the kind of a prince to accelerate the ruin of the Empire. On all sides the evidences of disintegration became alarmingly evident. The island of Cyprus was seized by a kinsman of the Emperor, and was recovered by Richard Cœur de Lion, only to be bestowed on the House of Lusignan. The Bulgarians and Wallachians rose in revolt and achieved their independence. A Bulgarian prince named Joannices obtained the throne of the new kingdom and was recognized by Pope Innocent III.

In the year 1195 Isaac Angelus was deposed by his brother, ALEXIUS, also surnamed Angelus. Fraternal affection put out the eyes



Drawn by Gustave Doré.

MOURZOUFLE SEIZING THE YOUNG ALEXIUS.

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of the dethroned monarch and sent him away to live on bread and water in the solitude of a tower. The youthful son of Isaac, however, was spared by Alexius, and was presently borne away in an Italian ship to the island of Sicily. The youthful exile was received with favor by Pope Innocent and Philip of Suabia, king of the Romans. Nor were hopes wanting in the breast of the young Alexius that the western chivalry, then gathering at Venice for another crusade, would espouse his cause and restore him to the throne of the usurper Angelus. To them he accordingly promised that in case of their replacing the scepter of the Eastern Empire in his hands he would heal the schism between the Greek and Latin churches, and that the former should acknowledge the primacy of the pope of Rome.

The proposals were cordially accepted by a majority of the crusaders, and a considerable army of French and Venetians was transported to Constantinople. The city was besieged by land and sea. In a fierce assault the banner of the republic of Venice was planted on the rampart of the capital of the East. During the night following the first assault the Emperor, having collected ten thousand pounds of gold, ignominiously fled from the capital and sought refuge in Thrace. On the morrow the nobles, learning of the sovereign's flight, went hastily to the tower where the blind Isaac was confined and humbly besought his favor. The persecuted old man was restored to his throne and the embraces of his son.

Under the auspices of the Latin warriors Alexius was crowned with his father in the church of Saint Sophia. The suburbs of Galata and Pera were assigned as the quarters of the French and Venetian armies. A large sum was paid to the soldiers for their services in restoring the rightful monarch. Alexius employed the Marquis of Montferrat to lead him in pursuit of the fugitive Angelus. The city was intrusted to Baldwin, Count of Flanders, who with his own army and a French contingent was to maintain the existing order during the absence of Alexius.

In a short time, however, the zeal of the French pilgrims led them to set fire to a synagogue, which they incidentally discovered. A great fire broke out, and more than fifteen thousand persons had to fly for their lives. A breach was thus opened between the Constantinopolitans and their allies, and when Alexius returned to the city he hardly knew whether the French crusaders or his enemies in the capital were to be more dreaded. The Latin leaders in the mean time became arrogant, and demanded that the Emperor should fulfill his promises. When he would gladly have done so he could not; for the religious prejudices of the Greeks were now thoroughly aroused, and they resented tumultuously every symptom of subordinating the Eastern to the Western church. As the head of the anti-Roman party in the city appeared a certain Ducas, nicknamed *Mourzoufle*, on account of his shaggy eyebrows. He, having gained the confidence of Alexius, seized his person, and put him to death.

Notwithstanding the fact that the deposition and murder of the Emperor had been accomplished in the interest of the crusaders, the latter, unused to such business as the elevation of assassins to the throne, hotly resented the bloody deed, and resolved to dethrone the murderer. They accordingly began a second siege of the city. Finding the land defenses to be impregnable, they made a final and successful assault from the side of the harbor. The rampart was taken. A disastrous fire broke out, reducing to ashes all the structures in a large part of the city. The rest was pillaged; for nothing could restrain the avarice of the fierce soldiers of the West, liberated among the treasures of the luxurious capital. A procession of the people bearing crosses and images came out to supplicate the forbearance of the conquerors, and to tender the submission of the Empire to the crusaders.

It now remained for the victors to dispose of the dominions which had fallen into their hands. To this end a commission of twelve members, six from the West and six from the East, was appointed, and with this body was lodged the choice of an Emperor. It was agreed that the Byzantine Empire should be divided into four parts, over one of which the Emperor should reign, while the other three should be assigned to the Venetian doge and

the barons of France. The feudal principle was introduced, and it was stipulated that the Venetians and the French lords should do homage as vassals to the sovereign of the East, who was still to be regarded as the head of Christendom. A further item in the settlement was that which required that the Emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople should not both be chosen from the same nation.

On the meeting of the electors the choice of Emperor fell on BALDWIN, count of Flanders. He was accordingly, in the year 1204, solemnly invested with the Imperial insignia and raised to the throne of Constantine. In pursuance of the plan of settlement, the election of patriarch went to the Venetians, and Thomas Morsini was raised to the highest dignity in the church of the East.

CHAPTER LXXI.—THE LATIN DYNASTY.

SUCH was the establishment of the Latin dynasty in Constantinople. The Empire was narrowed to one-fourth of the limits which it had at least nominally maintained for centuries. The better portion of the remainder fell to the Venetians, whose commercial enterprise was at once revealed along the whole coast from Ragusa to the Bosphorus. Macedonia was assigned to Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, who established his capital at Thessalonica. The leading crusaders were rewarded with various provinces, which were distributed to them by lot, and mutually exchanged until most were satisfied.

In the mean time Mourzoufle and Alexius, both fugitives from the revolution, made common cause in the futile scheme of recovering what they had lost. The latter was presently taken and sent into Italy, while Mourzoufle was caught by the Latins and hurled down headlong from the summit of the column of Theodosius. Fortunately for Alexius and for his posterity, his daughter had been married to a military hero named Theodore Lascaris, who after the capture of Constantinople had fled to Anatolia. He made his head-quarters at Nice, asserted his authority as a prince of the Empire, called around him an army of adventurous spirits, and overran a considerable portion of Asia Minor. On the Euxine a second principality was established by another Alexius, a lineal descendant of the house of Comnenus, who fixed his capital at Trebizond. A third provincial empire was organized out of Epirus, Ætolia, and Thessaly by a certain Michael, who reigned over their principality as a military chieftain.

The Greeks chafed not a little under the Latin dynasty. Erelong the opportunity came for a revolt. John, king of the Bulgarians, himself an ardent Romanist, sent an embassy to Constantinople to congratulate Baldwin I. on the success of the Latin cause and the consequent renovation of the Eastern world. The envoys were surprised to find the Flemish Emperor reigning after the manner of his predecessors. They were instructed to say to King John that he must himself touch with his forehead the footstool of the throne if he would be at peace.

The Bulgarian brooded over the insult. He conspired with the Greek malcontents to overthrow the government. When the Imperial army had been conducted into Asia Minor by Count Henry, the Emperor's brother, an insurrection broke out with sudden violence. A Bulgarian army marched rapidly to the aid of the insurgents. Baldwin went forth with his forces to besiege the rebels in Adrianople. On the way thither he was attacked by the Cuman nomads, who defeated the Latins and took the Emperor prisoner. He was carried away into Bulgaria.

After a year, Count HENRY, brother of the captive sovereign, was raised to the throne. Gradually the knights of the West, who had constituted the chief prop of the Empire since

the establishment of the Latin dynasty, dropped away, leaving the new Emperor to his own resources. He proved not unequal to the tasks imposed on the imperiled crown. In the mean time the conduct of King John, of Bulgaria, had led the Greeks again to prefer a refined despot to a zealous savage. They supplicated the Emperor's favor, and being forgiven, left their barbarous ally to retire in disgrace towards his own kingdom. He was presently stabbed in his tent, and the Empire was freed from the menace of his sword.

In the year 1216, Henry died, and was succeeded by his sister YOLANDE, wife of the Count of Auxerre. Her husband sailed to the East to join her at the coronation, but he was seized by the Epirotes, and died in prison. While the proclamation was suspended awaiting his arrival, a son was born to the Empress, who received the name of Baldwin. But to avoid a long minority, an elder son of Yolande, named ROBERT, was called to the throne, who from 1221 to 1228 supported as well as he might the tottering fabric of the Empire. It was during his reign that the remaining Asiatic provinces of the Imperial dominions were swept away by the conquests of John Vataces, the successor of Theodore Lascaris.

When the Emperor Robert died, Baldwin was as yet but seven years of age. The Latin barons considered it unsafe to intrust the scepter to hands so feeble, and called upon the distinguished crusader, JOHN OF BRIENNE, to assume the government. It was provided, however, that his second daughter should be married to Baldwin, and that the latter should, on reaching his majority, be raised to the throne.

Soon after the settlement of the government an alliance was made between Vataces and Azan, the king of Bulgaria, with a view to the capture of Constantinople. They attacked the city by land and sea, but the Emperor John went forth and scattered their forces. In 1236, the sovereign who had so ably supported the Latin dynasty died, and his son-in-law came to the throne with the title of BALDWIN II.

On all sides the limits of the Empire were narrowed and narrowing. Between Vataces on the east and Azan on the west it appeared that the Imperial dominions would be crushed out of existence. During the twenty-five years in which the throne was held by Baldwin II. the menaces of the neighboring states were constant and angry. In 1255 Vataces was succeeded by his son Theodore, who, after a busy reign of four years, left his boyish heir, the Prince John, to the care of MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS as regent. The latter was one of the most able and far-sighted statesman of his times, a Greek by birth, and in rank a nobleman. It was agreed by the council of the late king that both John and Michael should be proclaimed; but on the day of coronation the first place was given to the latter, while the former was reduced to a subordinate relation, with Palæologus as his guardian.

The new sovereign, as soon as he found himself in possession of ample power, began to mature his plans for the capture of Constantinople and the restoration of the Greeks to their lost dominion. In the spring of 1261 a division of troops under command of Alexius Strategopulus was sent across the Hellespont into Thrace to attack the Latins. The people of the country, sympathizing with the invader, joined his standard until the army was swelled to twenty-five thousand men. With a chosen body of troops Alexius pressed on to Constantinople, reached the capital in the night, gained possession of the Golden Gate, and before the Latins were aware of the danger, rose in the midst of the city. Baldwin fled to the sea-shore and boarded a Venetian galley. The Latin Empire perished more suddenly than it had arisen. Within twenty days Michael Palæologus entered the city. The Frankish barons followed in the flight of Baldwin, but the great mass of the Latins remained in the city and were undisturbed.

CHAPTER LXXII.—THE PALÆOLOGI.

BY this revolution the capital of the East again fell to the Greeks. The change was hailed by that people as an event most glorious; by the Eastern powers, as the greatest disaster. PALÆOLOGUS set diligently at work to reörganize the Empire and to establish his family in the succession. To this end he associated with himself his son ANDRONICUS, who for nine years bore the title of Augustus jointly with his father, and then for the long period of forty-six years reigned alone.

No sooner was the expulsion of Baldwin II. known in the West than the cause of the fallen monarch was espoused by Pope Urban IV., who advised a crusade against the Greeks, The same policy was pursued by his successor, Pope Gregory X., and so formidable a front was set against Palæologus that he determined to be reconciled with the church of Rome. He accordingly sent ambassadors to Italy to tender his compliance with the demands of the Holy Father in all matters at issue between the East and the West. Then did the pope grow tender towards the returning prodigal of Constantinople. To that city were soon despatched the pope's nuncios to further the work of union, but their presence there excited the animosity of the Greeks, who never consented to the primacy of the Western Church. The rebellious ecclesiastics were accordingly excommunicated by the irate pope, and the sword of Michael suspended over their heads. But neither could the Emperor coërce his subjects, nor would the papal power be satisfied with less. Finally, Martin IV., tired of what he considered the lukewarmness of Michael, added *him* to the list of the excluded, and when the Emperor died his son ANDRONICUS, in extraordinary zeal for the Eastern revival, denied him the rites of Christian burial.

The Turcomans now became once more aggressive and terrible. The armies of the Empire had, in the mean time, been recruited from the Western provinces of the ancient dominions of Rome, and were commanded by Roger de Flor. He with his Catalans and Portuguese confronted the Turks, and inflicted on them two decisive defeats. The rough soldiers, however, became as terrible to the Greeks for whom they battled as to the Turks against whom they fought. Roger was enticed to Adrianople, and assassinated in the presence of the Empress. His followers then rallied on the Hellespont, and Andronicus pleaded eagerly for peace. Time and again his forces were defeated; nor is it likely that he could have maintained himself much longer but for the quarrels which broke out among the Catalan chiefs and led to their abandonment of the country of the Propontis.

Following the example of his father, Andronicus associated with himself in the government a son destined to be his successor. This was the prince MICHAEL. The latter in like manner had *his* son, named ANDRONICUS, after the grandfather, recognized as Cæsar; so that for once there were three Augusti, representing as many generations, reigning as contemporaries. Of the three the father, Michael, was the first to die; and for once the Empire presented the scene of an aspiring stripling contending with a superfluous grandfather for the throne. The period from 1321 to 1328 was occupied with the civil wars between the elder and the younger Andronicus, in which at the last the youth triumphed, and by the capture of Constantinople became sole sovereign of the now contracted dominions of the East. The grandfather gave over the struggle and was converted into the good old monk Anthony.

Meanwhile on the ruins of the great Mongul dynasty of Asia, founded in the twelfth century by Genghis Khan, and by him extended until it surpassed in geographical area any other political dominion ever established

by man, had arisen, after the death of Kublai Khan, the empire of the Corasmin or Ottoman Turks. These brave and warlike Asiatics had made their way from the north-east into Western Asia, and the more adventurous chieftains pressed forward into Syria, where they fell upon the Moslems and captured the Holy Sepulcher. Some of the invaders then entered the service of Aladin, sultan of Iconium, and out of this branch of the race sprang the Ottoman line of sovereigns. The head-quarters of the Turks were established at Surgut, on the river Sangar. Here they were ruled for fifty-two years by Orthogrul, who left his dominions to his son OSMAN, or OTHMAN, founder of the Ottoman Empire. He added to the genius of a soldier the skill of a statesman. The circumstances of his situation favored the establishment of a great political power in Western Asia. The Seljukian dynasty of Turcomans had perished. The ruins of the Greek Empire lay scattered through Asia Minor. Othman had the zeal of a new convert to Mohammedanism, and the fire of conquest was kindled on the altar from the torch of the Koran.

In the year 1299, Othman began his career as a conqueror by an invasion of Nicomedia. His wars were continued almost incessantly for twenty-seven years, and it was only in the last year of his reign that his son Orchan succeeded in the capture of Prusa, the more modern Boursa, thereby establishing on a firm basis the Ottoman succession. Prusa became the capital of the rising empire. A mosque, a college, and a hospital were founded, and the head of Orchan appeared on the coins of the new kingdom.

It was during the struggles, already narrated, between the elder and the younger Andronicus that Orchan was enabled, almost without opposition, to possess himself of the province of Bithynia. The Turkish dominion was thus, between the years 1326 and 1339, spread out to the Bosphorus and the Hellespont. Owing to the political relations then existing between the Greeks and the Turks, the latter—being the extinguishers of opposition in Asia Minor — were regarded in a friendly light by the former. Soliman, the son of Orchan, was invited into Europe with a body of ten thousand horseman to assist the Emperor in the Bulgarian war. It was easier, however, to procure such aid than to dismiss it when the service was ended. The Turks were little disposed to retire. They established a colony in the Chersonesus, and continued to hold a fortress in Thrace. The friendly relations between the two races were broken off; but hostilities were for a while suspended. The warrior Soliman was killed by a fall from his horse, and his father, the sultan, is said to have died of grief on the tomb of his son.

In the year 1360, the Turkish throne was occupied by Soliman's brother, Amurath I., who reigned for twenty-nine years. He continued the aggressive policy of his father and grandfather. The Turkish banners were carried triumphantly through Thrace as far as Mount Hæmus. Adrianople became the European capital of the Ottomans, and the walls of Constantinople were already in sight. The great Empire of Constantine had narrowed almost to a span. The capital city stood like an island in an ocean of hostility. The Emperor, JOHN PALÆOLOGUS, trembled in the presence of the sultan, and frequently obeyed his summons.

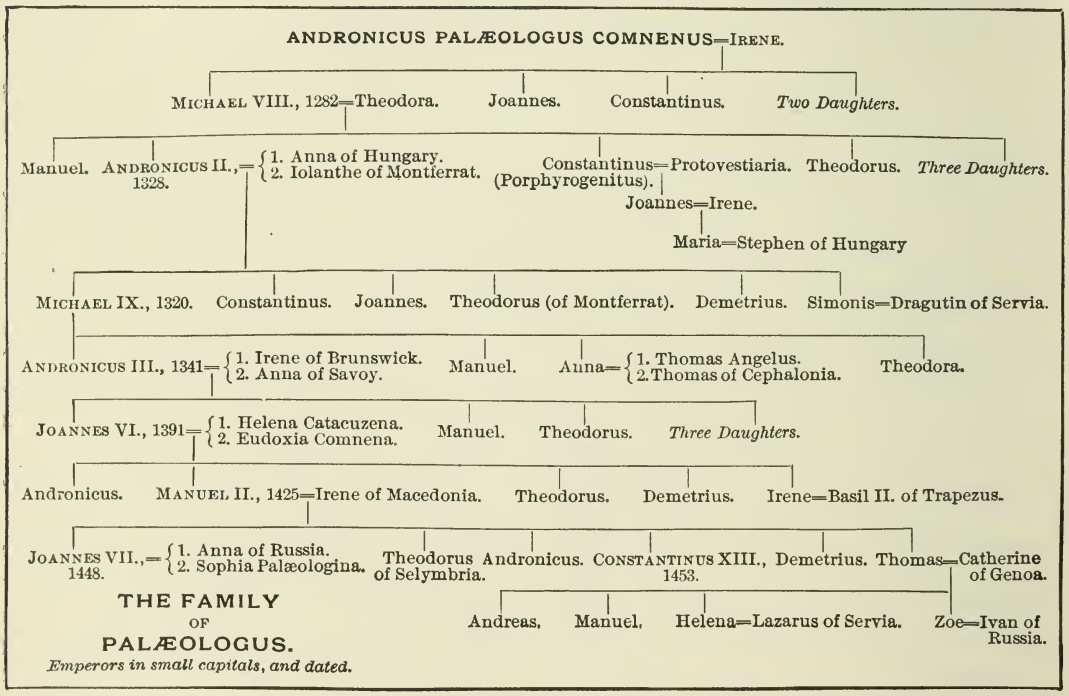
It was at this epoch that that famous body of soldiery, known as the JANIZARIES, was organized. Amurath demanded as a recompense for his services to the Emperor that the latter should contribute a division of troops for the defense of the straits between Europe and Asia. A band of Christian youth, educated in religion and disciplined in the camp, was selected for this purpose. They received the name of *Yengi Cheri*, or new soldiers, the appellative being easily corrupted into Janizaries. Such was the origin of that celebrated body of guards which, like the prætorians of Rome, was destined to become the terror of all Eastern Europe.

In the year 1389 Amurath I. died and was succeeded by his son BAJAZET, surnamed the Lightning. His reign of fourteen years was almost wholly occupied with military expeditions. Such were the successes of his arms that the Ottoman dominions were extended from Angora to Erzeroum. Anatolia was sub-

dued and added to the Empire. Having imposed tribute on the Servians and Bulgarians, he crossed the Danube and penetrated Moldavia. Nearly all the remaining territory of the Eastern Empire was stripped away. Carrying his banners into Hungary, the kingdom of Sigismund was shaken to its borders. The knights of France and Germany rallied for the defense of Europe. An army of a hundred thousand men, resembling a host of crusaders, was gathered at Nicopolis. Such was their fiery valor that they declared themselves able to uphold the falling sky on their lances.

John. The successor of Constantine did as he was bidden.

The reign of Palæologus terminated with his life in the year 1391. The crown of the alleged Greek Empire descended to his son MANUEL, who occupied the throne until 1425. The Ottoman now looked from every side over the walls of Constantinople. The dominions of the Emperors of the East were contracted to the walls of the city. In the vain hope of recovering a portion of his lost dignity, Manuel, hard pressed by the Turks, who now demanded that the blind JOHN should reign in-



Nevertheless they were beaten into the earth by Bajazet and his Turks.

All this while, for a period of thirty-six years, the Emperor, John Palæologus, looked on and saw the ruin of his dominion. As though conquest were not sufficiently calamitous, the Emperor's eldest son, Andronicus, became a traitor and conspired with Sauzes, the son of Amurath, to overthrow the governments of their fathers. The sultan, however, discovered the plot and punished Sauzes by putting out his eyes. He then demanded that Palæologus should inflict a like retribution on both Andronicus and his boy, the infant prince

stead of his brother, yielded the throne for the time to the sightless prince and repaired to the court of France. There he besought supplies of men and money wherewith to restore his fortunes. Such efforts, however, were fruitless. The sultan was little satisfied with his puppet, the Emperor John, and demanded that Constantinople should be surrendered to himself. Nor is it doubtful that the final catastrophe would then and there have been precipitated but for the apparition in Asia of another conqueror before whose mighty wind Bajazet himself was only as a shaken reed.

For now came the great Mongol warrior,

Timour, or Tamerlane. He was a descendant of Zenghis Khan, born near Samarcand, where his fathers had ruled a tribe of ten thousand nomads. Early in life he became a captain, and after successfully defending and extending the borders of his country he was made an Emperor of the Tartar race, and began his career of foreign conquest. In a series of thirty-five victorious campaigns he placed on his head no fewer than twenty-seven crowns. Far and wide through Persia, Tartary, India, and the West he carried his triumphant banners until he came in contact with the Ottoman Empire of Bajazet. At this time the forces of Timour are said to have numbered eight hundred thousand men, while the army of the sultan was four hundred thousand strong. The Tartar came on through Armenia and laid siege to Angora. Bajazet, who had gone forth to meet his foe on the border of his dominion, returned to the relief of the city, and in 1402 a terrible battle was fought before the walls. Timour triumphed. Bajazet fled, was captured, put into an iron cage—so runs the tradition—and borne about, a spectacle of the victory. The kingdom of Anatolia was subverted. The whole country from the Ganges to the Ægean was subjugated by the great Tartar Emperor.

Thus it was that by the impact of a greater force upon the Empire of the Ottomans the downfall of Constantinople was postponed for half a century. The overthrow of Bajazet was the signal for the return of Manuel to his capital and the deposition and banishment of the blind John. The Emperor adopted the policy of aiding in the restoration of the Ottoman power to a certain degree of influence. To this end he gave encouragement to Mohammed, the son of Bajazet, who, in his turn, forbore to disturb the dominions of his friend; but after the accession of Amurath II. the project of capturing Constantinople was vigorously renewed. In the year 1422 an enormous army of Turks was sent against the city. A siege of two months ensued, but the ramparts proved to be impregnable, and Amurath was presently recalled to Boursa to suppress a revolt that had broken out in his own capital, instigated by the Greeks. By his retirement another respite was gained for the lingering ghost of the Eastern Empire. The Emperor Manuel died in 1425 and was succeeded by John Palæologus II.

The influence of the Turk was now so predominant that he was able to exact of the new sovereign an annual tribute. It was only a question of time when the force of Greek sovereignty would be brought to an end. Meanwhile the papal power in the West still sought to reunite the divided members of the church. The pope Eugenius IV., dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Council of Basle, sought to distract that body from its purposes by sending an invitation to John Palæologus II. to visit Italy, to which country the council was to be removed. In 1438, the Emperor, accompanied by Joseph, patriarch of Constantinople, visited Ferrara, where the council was in session. For a season the project of a reunion between the Eastern and Western churches was retarded; but finally, in a new convention of the prelates at Florence, the work was consummated, and on the 6th of July, 1438, in the cathedral of Florence the Act of Union was promulgated. The joy of Western Christendom was great; but Constantinople was not thereby delivered from the tightening clutches of the Turk.

It was believed by the zealots that the influence of Rome would now be sufficient to secure a general rally for the salvation of the city of Constantine from the menace of the infidels. But any results that might have been reached by this influence were paralyzed by the conduct of the Greeks themselves. When John Palæologus and his attendants returned to the Eastern capital, they were received with aversion and disgust. Self-interest, which had dictated his visit to Italy, and had led him to accept the primacy of the Western church, now required an abatement of his zeal in the presence of his angered subjects. Amurath II., the Turkish sultan, was deeply offended at the religious union of the Greeks and Latins; for he could but see that the whole scheme was intended as a bulwark against himself and the holy book Al Koran.

Twice did this distinguished sultan resign the Ottoman scepter. In the first instance he

retired to his residence in Magnesia and left the government to his son Mohammed II. In 1444, a rebellious crusade broke out in Hungary, and the general voice demanded that Amurath should return to the throne and take command of the armies. Mohammed himself seconded the popular demand, and the aged sultan again wore the crown. As soon, however, as the Hungarians were reduced to submission, Amurath a second time abdicated, and in 1451 MOHAMMED resumed his seat and scepter.

The time has at last arrived when the



MOHAMMED II.

throne of the Eastern Cæsars is to be subverted. The Empire no longer has a territorial dominion. The vast area of the Theodosian estate is reduced to the ramparts of a single city. John Palæologus died in 1448, and was succeeded by his brother, CONSTANTINE XIII. This prince during the last three years of the reign of Amurath II. occupied himself with the ignoble cares of a municipal empire, and was then brought face to face with the rival by whom he was destined to destruction. In 1451 Mohammed II., as already narrated, succeeded to the Ottoman throne, and immediately began that bloody career for which a strange mixture of savagery and scholarship had so admirably fitted his character. He was capable of deeds great and small, honorable and perfidious. In the year of his accession he solemnly engaged to maintain the peace with the Emperor of Constantinople, but at the same time plotted for his destruction. While swearing to refrain from war, he ordered his engineers to cross to the European side of the Bosporus and construct a fortress within sight of the towers of the Eastern capital. Vain were the solemn protests of Constantine. Recriminations followed, and then preparations for the impending war.

In the early spring of 1453 a large Turkish army was conveyed across the strait, and the villages and towns in the neighborhood of Constantinople were destroyed. Every thing beyond the gates was swept away by the vengeful Ottomans. In the beginning of April the siege of the city began. The investing army numbered more than two hundred and fifty thousand men; the inhabitants of the city, about one hundred thousand. But most of the people thus pent within the walls were non-combatants—mechanics, priests, scholars, scions of an attenuated nobility, women.

The entire force of soldiers that the Emperor was able to muster against the host outside did not exceed eight thousand men; and of these two thousand were Genoese. With this scanty force a rampart of nearly sixteen miles in extent was to be defended against the assaults of a quarter of a million of the followers of the Prophet. The moving legions of Belisarius had dwindled to the masquerade of a handful of quarreling puppets. For the Greeks of Constantinople, in the day of her destruction, still found time to dispute over the *iota* in the word *homoiousios!*

Constantine in his despair made a last appeal to Rome for an army, promising in return the faithful obedience of his people to the mother church. Rome sent him a legate and a company of priests! This valuable acquisition, with a like company of valuables from

the city, went together to the church of St. Sophia, again ratified the Act of Union adopted by the Council of Florence, and communed at the same altar. But the great majority of the Greeks took nor part nor interest in this superficial amalgamation.

During the month of April the siege of the city was pressed with ever-increasing severity. Still the walls seemed impregnable; and the harbor could not be reached by the assailants. The Greeks had stretched a chain across the entrance, and the space beyond was well defended by a well-equipped squadron of nearly thirty sail.

Finally, however, Mohammed had these vessels drawn over a sort of tramway along the shore and thus delivered into the open waters beyond the chain. The Turks thus gained access to the weaker parts of the walls next the harbor. The sultan ordered the construction of what in modern warfare would be called floating batteries, which were sent with their cannon[1] to operate against the weaker parts of the ramparts.

The chief defender of the doomed city proved to be John Justiniani, the general of the Genoese. He became the right arm of the Emperor; and when at last he fell, pierced by a bullet, a wail went up from soldier and citizen. As he was borne away, the breaches made in the walls by the Turkish artillery were left undefended by the despairing garrison. The Ottomans swarmed on the walls and in the towers. It was the day, the hour of fate. The victorious Turks poured through the gaps in the ramparts, and the brief work of destruction began and ended in blood.

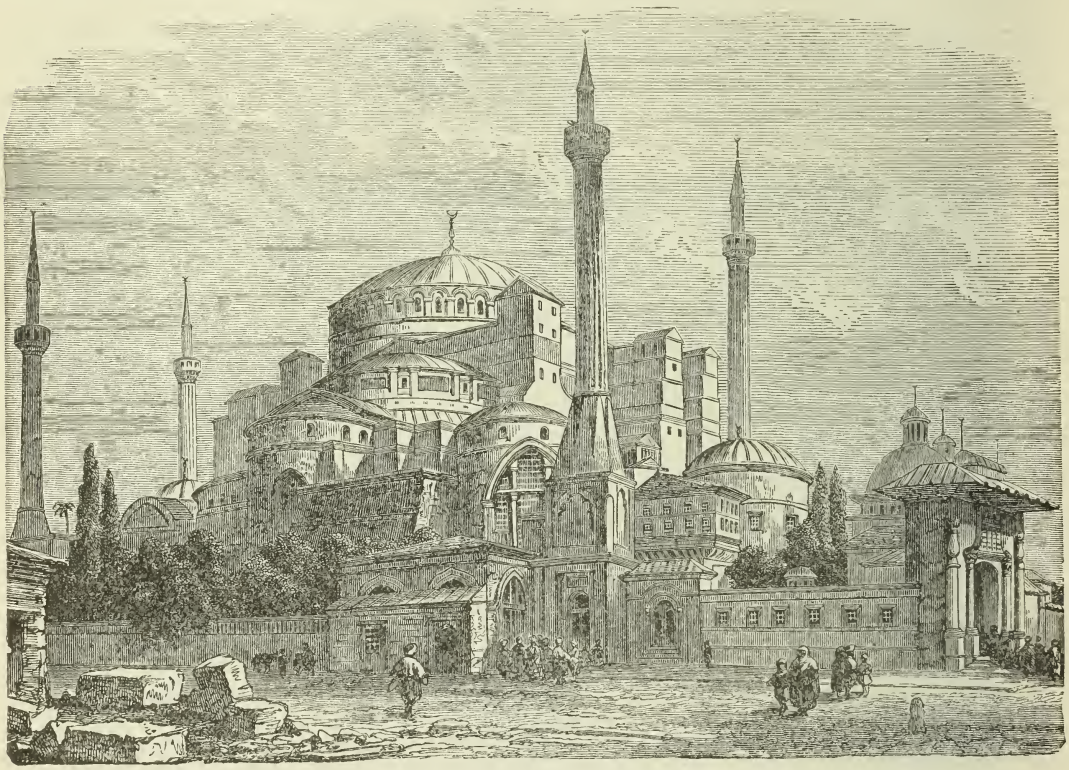
The city was in the hands of the infidel.



ENTRY OF MOHAMMED II. INTO CONSTANTINOPLE.
Drawn by Konrad Ermisch.

[1] It is curiously noted by Gibbon that the siege of Constantinople marks the epoch of the transformation of the old weaponry into the new. Against the walls of the city the cannon, the battering ram and the catapult were used side by side, and the smoke of gunpowder mingled with the fumes of Greek fire.

The thinned ranks of the Greeks were hewn down by the merciless cimeters of the victors. Constantine, surrounded by his guard, fought bravely to the last, and did all that dying valor could accomplish to redeem the forfeited fame of his race. He threw away his purple robe in order more surely to find a soldier's death. In his despair he cried out: "Can no Christian be found to cut off my head?" He fell at last by an unknown hand, and was trampled in the blood and dust of the streets. As his spirit went forth with a wail the poor ghost of Imperial Power disappeared through the smoke; the last pulse of the Old Civilization of mankind broke with a feeble flutter from the dying heart of the East, and the great drama of the Roman Empire was at an end. With the morning light the smoke cleared away from the ruined city, and the golden crescent of the Arabian Prophet was seen lifted on high above the gilded dome of St. Sophia.



ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE.



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J. Thomas, Sculpt.

Etched by Wm. St. J. Harper.

QUEEN BOADICEA.



Book Eleventh.

BARBARIAN ASCENDENCY.

CHAPTER LXXIII.—TRIBES OF THE NORTH.

THE opening paragraphs of Modern History relate to the BARBARIAN NATIONS. The warlike tribes that for several centuries had beaten against the north-eastern frontiers of the Roman Empire at last burst through the barriers which the Cæsars had set against them and swept the Old Civilization into ruins.

Peninsular Europe became the spoil of the invaders. The immense populations of barbarism, long heaped up on the further banks of the Rhine and the Danube, suddenly diffused themselves as a spreading flood over all the better parts of the West. It may prove of interest to take at least a cursory survey of the barbarians, as it respects their ethnology, institutions, and general history.

The warlike peoples by whom the Empire of the Romans was subverted belonged to three different races: the *Germanic*, the *Slavic*, and the *Scythic*. Whether the first two groups may be traced to a common Teutonic origin is a question belonging to the ethnologist rather than to the historian. It is sufficient to note the fact that in the fifth century the Germanic and Slavic tribes were already so clearly discriminated as to constitute different groups of population. As to the Scythic or Asiatic invaders they were manifestly of a distinct stock from the Teutonic nations, whom they drove before them into the confines of the Empire.

1. THE GERMANS. To this family belonged the Goths, with their two divisions of Visi- or Western, and Ostro- or Eastern Goths; the Allemannian confederation, consisting of several tribes, the Suevi being the chief; the Marcomanni, the Quadi, the Hermunduri, the Heruli, the Gepidæ, the Vandals, the Lombards, the Franks, the Angles, the Saxons, the Burgundians, and the Bavarians.

Of these many and populous tribes, among the most important were the GOTHS. Their origin has never been definitely ascertained. The first historical contact between them and the Romans was in the year A. D. 250, when the Emperor Decius was called to confront them on the Danube. They had, however, been previously mentioned both by Pliny and Ptolemy. By some authors they have been

confounded with the Getæ; but for this confusion there is no good reason.

Historically, the Goths are associated with the Vandals and the Gepidæ. Procopius, indeed, regards the three tribes as mere subdivisions of the same nation. Before their first impact with the Romans the Goths were located in the region north of the Euxine. A century later, about A. D. 250, they were established on the Lower Danube. Before that time they had made an incursion into Thrace and devasted a considerable district of country. In the year 262 they were defeated in battle by Æmilianus, and seven years later by Claudius. Near the close of the third century they obtained possession of the province of Dacia, and from this region their struggle with the Empire began. In the mean time they became divided into the two great families of Visi- or Western, and Ostro- or Eastern Goths. The latter occupied the territory lying between the Danube and the Carpathian mountains, and stretching from the borders of Hungary to Bessarabia. The former were located in Southern Russia between the Don and the Dniester. For a while the two races were ruled by a common king. When the Hunnish invasions began the Visigoths put themselves under the protection of the Empire and were first assigned a district in Thrace, but afterwards came into possession of Mœsia.



INCOMING OF THE BARBARIANS.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

From the times of Theodosius the Goths became constantly more aggressive, and it was evident that they contemplated no less than


MAP IX.
BARBARIAN EUROPE.
By A. von Steinwehr.
From Thalheimer's Mediæval and Modern History, by permission.
Scale of Miles.
0 50 100 200 300 400
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Black Sea
Bay of Biscay
Sea of Azov
Caucasus Mts.
Carpathian Mts.
Alps
Pyrenees
Apennines
Balkans
Ural Mts.
Volga R.
Don R.
Dnieper R.
Dniester R.
Vistula R.
Elbe R.
Rhine R.
Danube R.
Ebro R.
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Guadalquivir R.
Euphrates R.
Halys R.
Oka R.
Donetz R.
Pruth R.
Warthe R.
Niemen R.
Dwina R.
Tiber R.
Po R.
Rhone R.
Loire R.
Seine R.
Thames R.
Humber R.
Shannon
Ireland
Britain
Scotland
England
Wales
Cornwall
Sussex
Kent
Norfolk
Gloucester
Winchester
London
Canterbury
Norwich
Caledonians
Picts
Scots
Saxons
Angles
Jutes
Britons
Ulster
Connaught
Munster
Leinster
Scandinavia
Sweden
Uppland
Gothland
Gothland
Finland
Kymland
Herulians
Danes
Lapps
Finns
Lake Ladoga
Lake Peipus
Lake Onega
Lake Ilmen
Lake Wener
Lake Wetter
Lake Mälar
Narowes
Wotes
Ests
Livonians
Lithuanians
Prussians
Esthonians
Courlanders
Semgallians
Letts
Slavonians
Slavonian Tribes
Wends
Sclavi Antes
Sclavi Marciani
Sclavi Veneti
Sclavi Carantani
Sclavi Drevani
Sclavi Sorabi
Sclavi Nortabi
Sclavi Obotriti
Sclavi Wilti
Sclavi Rugi
Sclavi Heruli
Sclavi Turingi
Sclavi Lingones
Sclavi Sequani
Sclavi Helvetii
Sclavi Boii
Sclavi Carni
Sclavi Istri
Sclavi Liburni
Sclavi Dalmatæ
Sclavi Pannonii
Sclavi Dacæ Ripenses
Sclavi Dacæ Mediterranei
Sclavi Thraces
Sclavi Illyrii
Sclavi Macedones
Sclavi Epirotæ
Sclavi Achæi
Sclavi Peloponnesi
Sclavi Cretenses
Sclavi Cyprii
Sclavi Isauri
Sclavi Pamphyli
Sclavi Lycii
Sclavi Cilices
Sclavi Phrygii
Sclavi Bithyni
Sclavi Mysi
Sclavi Troades
Sclavi Lydi
Sclavi Carii
Sclavi Ionii
Sclavi Æolenses
Sclavi Dorienses
Sclavi Rhodii
Sclavi Cyrenaici
Sclavi Marmaridæ
Sclavi Libyes
Sclavi Numidæ
Sclavi Mauri
Sclavi Gætulia
Sclavi Vandalia
Sclavi Tripolitana
Sclavi Byzacena
Sclavi Numidia
Sclavi Mauritania
Sclavi Tingitana
Sclavi Baetica
Sclavi Lusitania
Sclavi Gallæcia
Sclavi Asturia
Sclavi Cantabria
Sclavi Vasconia
Sclavi Tarraconensis
Sclavi Narbonensis
Sclavi Aquitania
Sclavi Lugdunensis
Sclavi Belgica
Sclavi Germania Inferior
Sclavi Germania Superior
Sclavi Rhætia
Sclavi Noricum
Sclavi Pannonia
Sclavi Dalmatia
Sclavi Italia
Sclavi Sicilia
Sclavi Sardinia
Sclavi Corsica
Sclavi Baleares
Sclavi Britannia
Sclavi Hibernia
Sclavi Caledonia
Sclavi Thule
Sclavi Scandinavia
Sclavi Finnia
Sclavi Sarmatia
Sclavi Scythia
Sclavi Colchis
Sclavi Iberia
Sclavi Albania
Sclavi Armenia
Sclavi Mesopotamia
Sclavi Assyria
Sclavi Babylonia
Sclavi Arabia
Sclavi Palæstina
Sclavi Phœnicia
Sclavi Syria
Sclavi Ægyptus
Sclavi Æthiopia
Sclavi Nubia
Sclavi Meroe
Sclavi Indi
Sclavi Persia
Sclavi Parthia
Sclavi Hyrcania
Sclavi Media
Sclavi Bactriana
Sclavi Sogdiana
Sclavi Margiana
Sclavi Aria
Sclavi Arachosia
Sclavi Gedrosia
Sclavi Carmania
Sclavi Susiana
Sclavi Elymais
Sclavi Persis
Sclavi Caramania
Sclavi Pamphylia
Sclavi Lycia
Sclavi Cilicia
Sclavi Isauria
Sclavi Lycaonia
Sclavi Galatia
Sclavi Cappadocia
Sclavi Pontus
Sclavi Paphlagonia
Sclavi Bithynia
Sclavi Mysia
Sclavi Troas
Sclavi Lydia
Sclavi Caria
Sclavi Ionia
Sclavi Æolia
Sclavi Dorida
Sclavi Rhodes
Sclavi Cyprus
Sclavi Creta
Sclavi Peloponnesus
Sclavi Achaia
Sclavi Epirus
Sclavi Macedonia
Sclavi Thessalia
Sclavi Illyricum
Sclavi Pannonia
Sclavi Noricum
Sclavi Rhætia
Sclavi Germania
Sclavi Gallia
Sclavi Britannia
Sclavi Hibernia
Sclavi Caledonia
Sclavi Thule
Sclavi Scandinavia
Sclavi Finnia
Sclavi Sarmatia
Sclavi Scythia
Sclavi Colchis
Sclavi Iberia
Sclavi Albania
Sclavi Armenia
Sclavi Mesopotamia
Sclavi Assyria
Sclavi Babylonia
Sclavi Arabia
Sclavi Palæstina
Sclavi Phœnicia
Sclavi Syria
Sclavi Ægyptus
Sclavi Æthiopia
Sclavi Nubia
Sclavi Meroe
Sclavi Indi
Sclavi Persia
Sclavi Parthia
Sclavi Hyrcania
Sclavi Media
Sclavi Bactriana
Sclavi Sogdiana
Sclavi Margiana
Sclavi Aria
Sclavi Arachosia
Sclavi Gedrosia
Sclavi Carmania
Sclavi Susiana
Sclavi Elymais
Sclavi Persis
Sclavi Caramania
Sclavi Pamphylia
Sclavi Lycia
Sclavi Cilicia
Sclavi Isauria
Sclavi Lycaonia
Sclavi Galatia
Sclavi Cappadocia
Sclavi Pontus
Sclavi Paphlagonia
Sclavi Bithynia
Sclavi Mysia
Sclavi Troas
Sclavi Lydia
Sclavi Caria
Sclavi Ionia
Sclavi Æolia
Sclavi Dorida
Sclavi Rhodes
Sclavi Cyprus
Sclavi Creta
Sclavi Peloponnesus
Sclavi Achaia
Sclavi Epirus
Sclavi Macedonia
Sclavi Thessalia
Sclavi Illyricum
Kingdom of the Gepidæ
Kgm. of the Longobards
Kingdom of the Heruli
Kingdom of the Thuringians
Kingdom of the Burgundians
Kingdom of the Suevi
Kingdom of the Visigoths
Kingdom of the Vandals
Kingdom of the Ostrogoths
Kingdom of the Franks
Kingdom of the Alamanni
Kingdom of the Bavarians
Kingdom of the Saxons
Kingdom of the Angles
Kingdom of the Jutes
Kingdom of the Britons
Kingdom of the Picts
Kingdom of the Scots
Kingdom of the Caledonians
Kingdom of the Thule
Kingdom of the Scandinavians
Kingdom of the Finns
Kingdom of the Sarmatians
Kingdom of the Scythians
Kingdom of the Colchians
Kingdom of the Iberians
Kingdom of the Albanians
Kingdom of the Armenians
Kingdom of the Mesopotamians
Kingdom of the Assyrians
Kingdom of the Babylonians
Kingdom of the Arabians
Kingdom of the Palestinians
Kingdom of the Phœnicians
Kingdom of the Syrians
Kingdom of the Egyptians
Kingdom of the Ethiopians
Kingdom of the Nubians
Kingdom of the Meroites
Kingdom of the Indians
Kingdom of the Persians
Kingdom of the Parthians
Kingdom of the Hyrcanians
Kingdom of the Medians
Kingdom of the Bactrians
Kingdom of the Sogdians
Kingdom of the Margians
Kingdom of the Arians
Kingdom of the Arachosians
Kingdom of the Gedrosians
Kingdom of the Carmanians
Kingdom of the Susianians
Kingdom of the Elymaians
Kingdom of the Persians
Kingdom of the Caramanians
Kingdom of the Pamphylians
Kingdom of the Lycians
Kingdom of the Cilicians
Kingdom of the Isaurians
Kingdom of the Lycaonians
Kingdom of the Galatians
Kingdom of the Cappadocians
Kingdom of the Pontians
Kingdom of the Paphlagonians
Kingdom of the Bithynians
Kingdom of the Mysians
Kingdom of the Trojans
Kingdom of the Lydians
Kingdom of the Carians
Kingdom of the Ionians
Kingdom of the Æolians
Kingdom of the Dorians
Kingdom of the Rhodians
Kingdom of the Cyprians
Kingdom of the Cretans
Kingdom of the Peloponnesians
Kingdom of the Achæans
Kingdom of the Epirotes
Kingdom of the Macedonians
Kingdom of the Thessalians
Kingdom of the Illyrians
Kingdom of the Pannonians
Kingdom of the Noricans
Kingdom of the Rhætians
Kingdom of the Germans
Kingdom of the Gauls
Kingdom of the Britons
Kingdom of the Irish

the subversion of the Empire. Meanwhile, they were pressed forward by the Hunnish hordes that came pouring in from Asia. They were thus precipitated into Italy. Led on by Alaric, they were, first in the year 408, bought off with an enormous ransom. A second and a third time the Gothic king returned to the siege of the city, and in August of 410 Rome was taken and pillaged. Called, however, to other fields of conquest, the Goths left the crippled Empire for a season to the successors of Honorius. In the middle of the century they joined the Romans in a combined attack upon the half-million of Huns whom Attila had led into Gaul. In the years that followed the countries of Spain and Southern France were completely dominated by the Gothic race, and in A. D. 476 the nation of the Heruli, led by their king Odoacer, overthrew what remained of the Western Empire, and established the OSTROGOTHIC KINGDOM of Italy.

Of the two Gothic peoples, the Visigoths, if not the more powerful, were the more enlightened. Having first established themselves in South-western France, they gradually made their way through the Pyrenees and spread as far as the river Ebro. Under the leadership of their king, Wallia, they overthrew the kingdom of the Silingi, a tribe of Vandal origin, and thus secured a foothold in Spain. The Vandals, under the lead of Genseric, retired into Northern Africa, and the Visigoths soon overran the whole of the Spanish peninsula. Only a small district in the north-west remained under the dominion of the Suevi. Even this province, after maintaining its independence till the year 585, was reduced to submission and added to the VISIGOTHIC KINGDOM.

In A. D. 471 King Enric, the most distinguished sovereign of the Visigoths, put an end to Roman authority in Spain, and established a new constitution. By the close of the sixth century a fusion had been effected of the native Spanish, Latin, and Gothic elements of population, and the KINGDOM OF THE VISIGOTHS became the sole political power in the peninsula.

In a paragraph above mention was made of the persistent stand of the SUEVI in North-western Spain. This tribe of Germans had its native seat in Upper Saxony, beyond the Elbe. There in ancient times, in a sacred wood, were erected the altars of their superstition. This forest, called the Sonnenwald, was regarded as the spot of the nation's origin. The Suevi were among the most warlike and powerful of the Teutonic tribes. They spread from the banks of the Oder to the Danube. Such was their prowess that the Gaulish nations declared to Cæsar by their ambassadors that they regarded it as no disgrace to have fled before the Suevi, against whom not even the immortal gods might stand in battle. It was in the reign of the Emperor Caracalla that the Suevi were first felt on the borders of Rome. The legionaries of the Empire were stunned by the fierce blows of the Germanic warriors.

In the disturbed period following the reign of Decius the Suevi made their way into Gaul, and thence proceeded by way of Ravenna till their savage banners were seen almost as far south as Rome. The Senate, in the absence of the Emperors, spurred into activity by the imminent peril of the state, raised a large army of prætorians and conscripts, and the Suevi, not without an immense collection of spoils, fell back into Germany. Soon afterwards, however, an army of three hundred thousand Allemanni was again in Italy, but was defeated by Gallienus in a battle near Milan. In order to stay the inroads of the barbarians, the Emperor then espoused Pipa, the daughter of the king of the Suevi, and gave to her father as the price of peace the province of Pannonia. After many vicissitudes the Suevi became established on the banks of the Neckar, and, as already mentioned, in the province of Gallicia, in Spain. In the former position they laid the foundations of the KINGDOM OF SUEVIA, which is only a variation of the original name of the tribe; and from the latter they were expelled by the Visigoths in the year 585.

Our first notices of the MARCOMANNI are derived from Strabo and Tacitus. The native seats of this strong tribe were in Bohemia and Moravia. Here, under their great king Marobodnus, they established a powerful monarchy, and became a terror to the surrounding nations. The name Marcomanni signifies *Marchmen* or borderers, and was, no doubt, applied to several neighboring tribes in the confines of

Germany. In the times of Cæsar, the Marcomanni constituted a part of the army of Ariovistus. After the establishment of their kingdom on the Danube, they became involved in wars with the Cherusci, and soon afterwards confronted the Roman legions stationed on the Danubian border.

In the reign of the Emperor, Marcus Aurelius, the Marcomanni headed a confederation of German tribes against the Romans. Aurelius died while engaged in the attempt to break up the Marcomannic league, and his son Commodus was constrained to purchase a peace which he could not conquer from his German adversaries. During the third and fourth centuries the cis-Danubian provinces were several times overrun by the Marcomanni, but they did not succeed, either there or elsewhere, in laying the foundations of a permanent state. In the fifth and sixth centuries, the relative importance of the nation grew less and less, until it finally disappeared from history.

The QUADI were kinsmen of the Suevi, having their original homes in South-eastern Germany. One of their principal haunts was the celebrated Hercynian Forest, of which so graphic an account has been preserved in the Sixth Book of Cæsar's *Gallic War*. Their territories had joined those of the Pannonians and the Marcomanni, with whom they were generally in alliance. At the time of the establishment of the Roman Empire the Quadi were among the most powerful of the German nations. In the time of the Emperor Tiberius their government was a monarchy, a certain Vannius occupying the throne. During the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the Quadi became a member of the Germanic confederation, which was organized against the Romans, and it was they who, in the great battle of A. D. 174, were about to destroy the imperial legions, when the fortunate occurrence of a storm turned the tide and gave the victory to Rome.

During the years A. D. 357–359, the exposed provinces of the Empire were dreadfully harrassed by this warlike people, who, in alliance with the Sarmatians, captured the frontier posts, and made it necessary for Constantius to exert himself to the utmost to stay their ravages. They were, however, speedily subdued, and the chiefs of the nation, even from beyond the Carpathian mountains, were glad to save themselves by making their submission and giving hostages to the Emperor. The nation maintained its independence until near the close of the following century when they were absorbed by the more powerful Goths, and ceased to be a separate people.

The nation of the HERULI were destined to establish the first barbarian kingdom in Italy. These were the most migratory of all the German tribes, insomuch that their original seats have remained a matter of conjecture. At different times they appeared on the Dniester and the Rhine; in Greece and Italy; in Spain and Scandinavia. In the third century of our era, during the reigns of Claudius and Gallienus, the Heruli joined the Goths on their expedition against the countries of the Euxine. In war they were among the bravest of the brave, disdaining the use of defensive armor and condemning the widows and infirm of the tribe to perish because they were of no further service to the nation. After uniting their forces with those of the Goths in various invasions of the Danubian provinces of the Empire, they were conquered by their allies, and reduced to an inferior position. In the year 451, they joined Attila on his march into Gaul, and after the death of that savage chieftain were united with the other German nations in the final expedition against Rome. With the capture of the city, in the year 476, Odoacer assumed the title of king of Italy, and, though by no means the greatest of the barbarian leaders, became the founder of the first kingdom established by the invaders on the ruins of Rome. About the same time the Heruli succeeded in establishing a second kingdom in the central part of Hungary, where they maintained themselves until they were overpowered by the Lombards.

The native haunts of the GEPIDÆ appear to have been on the Vistula, near the Baltic. It is from this position that their first movements were directed against the civilized states of the South. At the first they were associated with the Vandals, and were afterwards leagued with the Goths of the Middle Danube. At the time of the invasion of Attila they were obliged to follow the standard of that imperial savage, but after his death they re-



CUSTOMS OF THE GERMANS.—VICTORY-FEAST AFTER BATTLE.

Drawn by H. Vogel.

gained their independence. Under their king Adaric, they beat back the Huns from their territories on the Lower Danube, and became one of the most prosperous states. Twelve years after the downfall of the Western Empire, Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, defeated the Gepidæ in a great battle near Sirmium. Afterwards, in 566, the nation suffered a second overthrow at the hands of Alboin, king of the Lombards, and from that time the remnants of the people were gradually absorbed by the dominant populations around them.

Next to the Goths in importance was the great race of the VANDALS. It appears that they, like the Allemanni, consisted at the first of a confederation of tribes bound together by a community of interests and institutions. Their native seats were in the northern parts of Germany, whence at an early period they migrated into the country of the Riesengebirge and subsequently into Pannonia and Dacia. Some eminent authors have classified the Heruli, Burgundians, and Lombards as different branches of the Vandal race. In the beginning of the fifth century this great people began its movement westward through Germany into Gaul and Spain. Having crossed the Pyrenees they established themselves about the year 410 in the country east and south of the kingdom of the Spanish Suevi. A short time subsequently they pressed their way southward into the ancient province of Bætica, where they founded the still more celebrated kingdom of VANDALUSIA, still known as Andalusia. At the close of the first quarter of the fifth century the great Genseric became king of the Vandals, and during his long reign contributed by his genius and bravery to establish and extend the dominion of his people. In the year 429, while the imbecile and profligate Valentinian III. occupied the alleged throne of the Western Empire, Genseric, as already related in the preceding Volume,[1] was invited by Boniface, governor of Africa, to cross over and support his cause. Easily was the Vandal king persuaded to undertake a measure which promised such large and inexpensive results. With an army of fifty thousand men he subdued the whole coast of Northern Africa as far south as Tunis. The islands of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Baleares were soon added to Genseric's dominions. In the year 455 an army of Vandals returned into Italy and captured the city of Rome. In matters of religious faith they were followers of Arius, and this brought them into conflict with the orthodox Christians of Italy, against whom they waged a fierce persecution.

Thus were laid the foundations of the KINGDOM OF THE VANDALS. For more than a century the state grew and flourished. The whole of Spain, the Western Mediterranean islands and Northern Africa were included within the limits of Vandal dominion. Not until Belisarius, the great general of Justinian, lifted again the banner of the Empire in the West did the kingdom of the Vandals receive a staggering blow. In the year 534 Gelimer, the last of their kings, was defeated and dethroned by the Roman arms. The Vandals never recovered from the shock, but at once ceased to be the ruling people in the vast domains which Genseric had conquered. It is believed that in the Berber islands their descendants are still to be recognized by the blue eyes and fair complexion peculiar to the German race.

Next in influence among the barbarian nations were the LOMBARDS or Long Beards, an ancient Teutonic tribe, kinsmen of the Suevi. Their first historical appearance was on the banks of the river Elbe. In this region they began to manifest their activities as early as the reign of Augustus. For a while they were leagued with Arminius, prince of the Cherusci, whom they assisted in destroying the legions of Varus. In the palmy times of the Empire the Lombards gave no further sign of hostility to civilization, but in the beginning of the fifth century they suddenly reäppeared in Hungary and on the northern banks of the Danube. It appears that in these districts they were for a while held in subjection by the Heruli; but in the sixth century they reversed their relations with this people and waged against them an exterminating warfare. They then crossed the Danube and made an expedition into the Pannonian kingdom of the Gepidæ. At a later period they traversed the Julian Alps, led by their great king Alboin, and debouched into the valley of the Po. Here, in the year 568, they

[1] See Volume II., p. 344.

laid the foundations of the KINGDOM OF LOMBARDY, which continued for more than two hundred years to be one of the leading barbarian states of the West.

The great race of the FRANKS, like the Allemanni and the Suevi, first appear as a confederation of tribes. The old names of the Sigambri, Chamavi, Amprivarii, Bructeri, and Catti are thought to have designated those early tribal divisions. The native seats of the race were on the Lower Rhine, where they remained until the third century, when large bodies of the Frankish warriors began to make incursions into Gaul. As early as the times of the Emperor Probus they became a menace to Roman authority in the North. When Carausius, who had been sent to defend the Gallic states against the barbarians, turned traitor to his master, he made an alliance with the Franks, to whom in recompense for their services he gave the country on the Scheldt.

This region they continued to hold till the reign of Constantine the Great, when they were repressed by that sovereign, and confined to their original settlements. In the times of Julian the Apostate, however, they regained the countries conferred by Carausius, and continued to hold them until the overthrow of the Empire. They became divided into two nations, known as the Salian and the Ripuarian Franks. It was the former division which during the fifth century continued to assail the tribes of Gaul, and presently afterwards, under the chieftain Clovis, laid the foundations of the KINGDOM OF THE FRANKS, or France. The Ripuarian Franks spread southward, occupying both banks of the Rhine, extending their borders westward to the Meuse and eastward to the Main. In the latter region they established the head-quarters of their dominion in the country named Franconia. Both divisions of the nation have contributed largely to the modern populations of France and the adjacent parts of Germany.

We now come to two barbarian peoples, who were properly the progenitors of the English-speaking race—the ANGLES and the SAXONS. The first were an ancient German tribe of the North. Though migratory in their habits, they seem to have found a permanent footing in the Danish islands, where they multiplied and became a powerful body of warriors and pirates. From Denmark westward they infested the seas, braving the open ocean in two-oared boats, and fighting a constant battle with the ferocity of nature. They made their way to Britain, invaded the island under the lead of their chieftains, and changed the name of the conquered country to Angle-Land, or England. The name of the race is also preserved in the district of Angeln in Schleswig, but their fame is insular rather than continental.

The more powerful and noted nations were the Saxons, whose original seats were in the north-western lowlands of Germany, along the Lower Elbe. The name of the race has been variously derived from *sahx*, meaning a knife or short sword, and from *Sakaisuna*, or sons of the Sakai, or Scythians. In the earliest times the Saxons were the head of a lowland league, embracing the tribes between the Skager Rack and the country of the Franks. The beginning of the fifth century found them in alliance with the Romans. A little later they were the leaders of the barbarians by whom Britain was wrested from the Celts. In this great movement they were so closely united with the Angles that the two peoples—having no particular discrimination from each other in race, institutions, or language—became known as ANGLO-SAXONS. These hardy warriors were, if the tradition of the times may be accredited, at the first invited by Vortigern, king of the British Celts, to come over to the island and aid him in repelling the Picts and Scots, who, after the withdrawal of the Roman legions, had broken over the northern border, and were threatening the Celtic tribes with destruction. No sooner, however, had the Saxons landed in the island than their cupidity was aroused, and sending for reënforcements of their countrymen they swept the Celts before them, and seized the better part of Britain for themselves. The whole south-eastern part of the island passed under the dominion of the invaders, and the foundations were presently laid of the petty Saxon kingdoms of KENT, SUSSEX, WESSEX, EAST ANGLIA, MERCIA, ESSEX, BERNICIA, and DEIRA, which by their mergement in the eighth century were destined to constitute the basis of the greatness of England.

Next in order may be mentioned the BUR-



CUSTOMS OF THE GERMANS.—WOMEN DEFENDING THEIR WAGON-CASTLES.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

GUNDIANS, who in their origin are thought to have been of the same stock with the Goths. Their primitive seats lay between the Oder and the Vistula, from which position they were expelled at an early period by the Gepidæ. They then settled in the region between the Main and the Neckar, and in the beginning of the fifth century joined the Suevi and the Vandals in their initial incursions into Gaul. In the country bounded by the Alps, the Saone and the Rhone, the Burgundians established themselves, fixing their capital first at Geneva, and afterwards at Lyons. Here they remained until the year 534, when their king, Gundemar, was conquered and killed in a battle with the Franks, who thereupon became masters of Burgundy. Having lost their political power by this catastrophe, the Burgundians were by degrees amalgamated with the conquering people, and ceased to be an independent race.

Among the Teutonic tribes swept westward by the invasion of Attila should be mentioned the BAVARIANS. The first references to this nation discover their presence in Pannonia and Noricum. A little later, however, when Theodosius had purchased an ignominious peace of the Huns, the Bavarians revolted from Attila, and, being supported by the Romans, succeeded in maintaining their independence. The nation became influential in Rhetia, Vindelicia, and Noricum, where the Bavarians were governed by their own kings both before and after the downfall of the West. From the middle of the sixth to the middle of the seventh century, the Franks by continued aggressions gradually curtailed the Bavarian dominions and finally incorporated the state with their own, leaving the government, however, to be administered by native dukes. These rulers frequently revolted against their masters, and were as many times suppressed, until finally, in 777, an insurrection, headed by Thassilo II., was put down by the strong hand of Charlemagne. The government of Bavaria then remained to the Carlovingian House until the same became extinct in A. D. 911.

Of these barbarian nations, and many other petty tribes of the same race, the most powerful were, as already said, the Goths, the Vandals, and the Franks. It was among the first of these, perhaps, that the barbarian character displayed itself in its best estate. Especially were the Visigoths conspicuous among the Teutonic peoples for the character and extent of their culture. The language of this people was more highly developed than those of the other Teutonic tribes. Their contact with the Romans, especially after their settlement in hither Dacia, was more regular and beneficial than that between the Empire and any other state. The Christianization of the Goths, also, falling as the new faith did upon the conscience of a people just awaking from the slumbers of barbarism, showed better results so far as the development of moral character was concerned than had ever been exhibited in Rome. To these elevating influences should be added the special fact of the early translation of the Bible into the Gothic language—a circumstance so remarkable in its nature and ultimate results as to merit a particular notice in this place.

In the year A. D. 267, in the course of a war with the Eastern Empire, an army of Goths was sent into Asia Minor, where the invaders laid waste the province of Cappadocia, and carried back to the Danube a large number of prisoners, among whom were many persons of culture and many Christians. In the year 311, there was born in a Gothic home in Dacia, of one of the Cappadocian mothers whom a Gothic chief had taken to wife, a child who received from his parents the name of ULFILAS. From his boyhood he was taught the doctrines of Christianity, and early became a zealous adherent of that faith. He studied Greek and Latin, going to Constantinople for that purpose, thus familiarizing himself with the New Testament in the original. About this time, the Christian Goths fell under the displeasure of their pagan neighbors, and were subjected by them to severe persecutions. In order to save his brethren from martyrdom, the young Ulfilas conceived the design of emigrating with his people to the hither side of the Danube. He accordingly went as ambassador to Constantine, and obtained from that sovereign the privilege of bringing a Christian colony into the province of hither Dacia.

While the youthful apostle was in Constantinople he became acquainted with the renowned Eusebius, then bishop of the Eastern Church, and by him was himself consecrated

as bishop of the Goths. He now formed the design of turning the Scriptures into the language of his people. The measure was as radical as it was broadly conceived. For seven years Ulfilas labored assiduously at the great task which he had undertaken. At the end of that time the whole Bible, with the exception perhaps of the Book of Kings, had been translated in the vernacular. The language, though still half barbarous, showed itself fully capable of developing a literary expression. Max Müller well says of the work accomplished by Ulfilas: "It required a prophetic insight and a faith in the destiny of these half-savage tribes and a conviction also of the utter effeteness of the Roman Byzantine empires before a bishop could have brought himself to translate the Bible into the vulgar dialect of his barbarous countrymen." The achievement of Ulfilas requires a more especial attention for the reason that the Gothic Bible thus produced was the first book ever written in a Teutonic language, and for the additional reason that the subsequent legislation and social status of the Visigoths in Spain were traceable in a good measure to the Scriptures as a sort of fundamental constitution in the State.

This episode leads naturally to the addition of a paragraph on the characteristics of the Gothic language. The characters in which this rough but vigorous speech was written, are said to have been invented by Ulfilas in conformity to the Greek alphabet. The Gothic verb has two voices, an active and a middle; two tenses, a present and a past; three moods, the indicative, the optative, and the imperative, besides an infinitive and a present and a past participle. The general characteristics of the language are the same as those of Anglo-Saxon, German, and English. Gothic nouns have three genders, two numbers and five cases. Adjectives are inflected in two forms. Prepositions precede the nouns, which they govern in the genitive, dative, or accusative case. The language has no indefinite article, the place of the definite article being supplied with the pronoun. The entire literature of the Gothic language consists of three or four fragmentary manuscripts, the first and most important of which is the parchment containing what has been preserved of Ulfilas's New Testament now deposited in the library of Upsala in Sweden. A second manuscript, known as the *Codex Turinensis*, was discovered by Pfeiffer, in 1866. This parchment also, consisting of but four sheets, contains fragments of the New Testament. A third manuscript, called the *Codex Carolinus*, discovered in 1756, contains forty-two verses of the eleventh to the fifteenth chapter of Paul's letter to the Romans. All the other fragments of Gothic are of the same character with those here described. The remains have been sufficient, however, for the reconstruction of the grammar and a considerable portion of the vocabulary employed by the Gothic people.

It will be appropriate in this connection to refer briefly to the manners and customs of the Goths, or more generally to those of the primitive Teutonic nations. The people of this race were of a common type, and strongly marked characteristics. To Cæsar and Tacitus we are indebted for our knowledge of the lives, habits, and personal bearing of the Germans in their native haunts. They were a people of the woods. Little did the hardy barbarians care for the comforts and discomforts of the civilized state. In person they were the most stalwart of all the ancient peoples. Their presence was a terror even to the veteran legionaries of Rome. They are described as having huge, white bodies; long, yellow hair; broad shoulders; brawny muscles; florid complexion, and fierce blue eyes that gleamed under excitement with the lightnings of animosity and passion. In mind they were daring to the last degree. War was their profession. They were hunters of men as well as of wild beasts. With the strongest attachment for home and domesticity, they were nevertheless capable of interminable expeditions and indefinite maraudings in the forest. Ariovistus, one of their kings, told Cæsar to his face that he would be able to find out what the invincible Germans, who for fourteen years had not slept beneath a roof, would be able to accomplish by their valor; and though the prophetic threat was unfulfilled for five centuries, at last the words of the barbaric chieftain were made good in the subversion of Rome.

The Germans were an assemblage of tribes. They had a common tradition and a common method of life. They dwelt in towns and

villages, and their days were spent in the vicissitudes of the chase and war. In their personal habits they were coarse, heavy, gluttonous. They filled their capacious stomachs with meat and cheese. They heated themselves with strong drinks. When excitement failed, they would lie for whole days in half-stupor in the ashes of their hearth-stones, unkempt, and indifferent to all surroundings. Very different, however, was their mood when aroused by the summons of war. In battle their onset was terrible. They fought both on foot and on horseback—the footman running by the side of the cavalryman and supporting himself by the horse's mane. If the horseman fell in the fight, the footman bore away his body and took his place in the next onset. The intrepidity of these barbarian warriors was such as to challenge the admiration as well as excite the terror of their enemies.

The government of the German tribes was a kind of military monarchy; but the chieftain was elected by the warriors of his nation, whose custom it was to raise their leader on their shields and thus proclaim him king. Between the various tribes there was a strong bond of sympathy, and frequent alliances were made, embracing many peoples and kindreds in different parts of Germany. Such leagues, however, were generally formed for a specific purpose, and when this end had once been attained the confederation ceased, and the tribes resumed their independent station.

The nations of the North had their own superstitions and system of religion. The great gods of the race were Odin and Thor—the former being the supreme deity of the Teutonic pantheon, and the latter having some of the attributes of Hercules and others of Jove. The goddess Freya, or Frigga was also worshiped as a favorite divinity, as the mistress of nature and the guardian of the dead. The superstitions of the race were peculiarly dark and doleful, but the Germanic mythology was far more rational than that of the Celts. In general, the Teutones rejected the notion of sacrifice. They refused to recognize as gods any beings *whom they could not see.* Only the obvious was worshiped. A deity by whose assistance they were not manifestly benefited they rejected as worse than useless. They adored the sun, the moon, and fire; but the unseen deities of the Greeks and Romans they regarded as inane abstractions, unworthy of adoration. With the infinitely inflected mythological systems of the South the Germans were unacquainted, even by common report. Their worship consisted mostly of prayers, supplications, and fervid hymns chanted in praise of the somber deities of the North.

Among the Teutonic nations the family tie was especially strong and abiding. That which the modern world defines as virtue appears to have been an inherent quality of the German



THE GOD THOR.

nature. A common sentiment or instinct, rather than positive enactments of law upheld the monogamic relation, and insured a chastity which, if not universal, was the prevailing rule of conduct. The German youth of both sexes were reared in the utmost freedom; but such was the force of public opinion among the tribes that lapses from the established standard of morality were almost unknown. No young man might marry until he had passed his twentieth year, and the preservation of continence to a still later period of life was regarded as highly honorable. "For," says Cæsar, "it is held among the Germans that by this reservation of the bodily powers

the stature is increased, the strength augmented, and the whole body nerved with additional strength." In the barbarian society little care was taken to conceal the person, and no shame was felt on account of the exposure. The men and women of the tribe bathed promiscuously, but preserved the utmost respect. For clothing, skins of deer were used, but nakedness, except in winter, was the rule.

Cæsar goes on to say that the Germans were little given to the cultivation of the soil. "Nor," says he, "has any one a fixed portion of land or definite boundaries to his possessions. In each year the magistrates and chiefs allot to each one, in what place it is considered best, a certain portion of ground, and in the following year they compel the occupants to remove to another tract." For this custom they ascribed the following reasons; namely, that the possessors of lands might lose their warlike disposition by the acquirement of estates, and that the more powerful would absorb the lands of the weak and humble. To this the additional reason is added that the common people, seeing the lands of the great held by the same tenure as their own, would be more likely to remain contented with their lot.

There was another fiction of the Teutonic barbarians that that state has the greatest praise whose borders are solitudes and whose frontiers are a waste. "They think it a peculiar evidence of their valor," adds the Roman historian, "that their neighbors, expelled from their lands, abandon them, and that no one dare settle near their boundaries." At the beginning of war an officer corresponding to the military dictator of the Romans was chosen who, during the continuance of hostility, wielded the power of life and death, but in peace there was no such supreme magistrate, the chiefs of each canton resuming control of their respective tribes. The Germans are said by Cæsar, perhaps not without a touch of slander, to have held robbery as no crime when committed beyond the limits of their own state. They even regarded depredation abroad as a healthful exercise for the youth of the nation—a free school for the training and development of those manly powers which were essential to the maintenance of a robust community.

The peculiar usage of self-election to leadership is cited by the Roman historian as another feature of German political life. It appears that any chief sitting in the council of the tribes might proclaim himself a leader and call upon those who desired to follow his fortunes to express their preference by announcing their names. When such a choice had once been made it might not be revoked, and those who had enlisted and then failed to follow the chieftain were reckoned as deserters and traitors.

In common with the other Aryan races the Germans recognized the rights of hospitality. They thought it not lawful to injure guests or to fail in courtesy to those whom will or accident had thrown into their communities. The stranger coming to the German village must be housed and fed. His person was inviolable, and, if necessary, the German sword must be drawn to protect him from injury.

Another feature of Teutonic life, to omit the mention of which would be resented by the descendants of the old barbarians of the North, is the chivalrous respect which they are said to have shown to woman. Upon a passage of Tacitus, Germanic pride has reared the temple of traditional honor and sentiment. The German wife and mother is said to have been regarded not only by those of her own household, but also by all the members of her nation, with a sentiment of veneration bordering on awe and worship. Although so great a thinker and historian as Guizot has declared the statement of Tacitus, regarding the superior honor of womanhood among the Germans, to be a pure chimera, it would nevertheless appear from the rank which woman attained under German auspices, in the age of chivalry, and from the strong domestic ties manifested to the present day in the households of Fatherland, that the claim of German patriotism may well be allowed to stand unchallenged.

It is, however, with the influences of the ancient Teutonic peoples upon modern civilization that the historian of to-day is mostly concerned. There appear to be at least two of the sentiments upon which the modern world is largely framed which owe their origin to the barbarians. The first of these is the notion of *personal independence*, which constituted, indeed, the very essence of all that is

pleasurable in the barbaric life. It is, perhaps, impossible for one of our day to appreciate the full force of this sentiment as it existed among the primitive tribes of Northern Europe. Personal self-assertion was the most potent element in the best character of the times. The life of enterprise and adventure, filled with every hazard and vicissitude, bounded by no restrictions of law or customs, gave full scope and stimulus to the individual development of man. Restraint became intolerable and liberty a necessity.

M. Thierry, in his history of the Norman Conquest, has contributed a masterly sketch of the character and dispositions of the people who laid the foundations of Modern Europe. The instincts, passions, prejudices, motives, and sentiments are drawn with a skill and fervor which leave little wanting to the completeness of the picture. Though there was much that was coarse and selfish in the unrestrained and violent life of the barbarian as he fought back and forth over the frontier of the Rhine or wandered at will through the labyrinths of the Black Forest; though the chivalrous sentiment for women did not always preserve him from brutality, or his profession of honor prevent the perpetration of gross crimes against morality and the better laws of human conduct, yet there were many ennobling traits and much moral grandeur in the strongly personal, even willful, character and life of the barbaric tribes; and these latter qualities have flowed down in invigorating streams into the veins of every modern state to whose population the Teutonic race has contributed a moiety of its strength.

It was of vast importance that such an idea as the personal worth and individual right of man should be asserted and transmitted to the modern world. In the ancient states, the importance of men was *derived*. In Rome, the honor and rights of the patrician were deduced from the order to which he belonged. The same was true of every other rank of citizenship. The individual was born into society, and took his status from the body of which he was a member. Even in Athens, the citizen democrat asserted his rights as common to the democracy, and in Sparta every grade of manhood, from the supreme oligarch to the degraded Helot, derived his relative importance from the social class to which he was attached.

It thus happened that the liberties of the ancients, such as they were, appeared to be deduced from the state—to be conceded by some of the organic forms of society. With the German warriors, however, all this was different. Each member of the tribe claimed and exercised his rights as *his own*. They were not derived, but inherent; not deduced from some body of which he was a member, but born with himself as an inheritance which none might alienate. The barbarian spoke of his *free doom*, not of his liberty. His individuality predominated in all the conduct of life. Whatever compacts he made in society, he did of his own free will; and any demand which society made of him was likely to be resented if the requisition seemed to trench upon his personal rights and freedom.

The second idea which modern times have inherited from the barbarian nations is that of *military patronage*, or the tie which, without destroying the freedom of the individual, attaches one man to another. At first, no doubt, this loyal bond which linked the individual to his fellow existed without respect to the relative importance of those who were so united. Soon, however, the tie became one of graduated subordination. The one was in the service of the other, and the latter protected the first. The sanction of the bond was personal loyalty and devotion—an idea which, in the course of a few centuries, became a passion throughout Europe, and constituted not only the essential principle, but also the redeeming trait, of feudalism. Indeed, but for the growing fidelity of man to man, it were hard to discover how human society could have continued to exist in such an age of decadence and gloom as that into which Europe plunged after the overthrow of the Roman Empire.

The second and third groups of barbarian nations, namely, the Slavic and Scythic families, require a less extended notice. The former division embraced the Bosnians, the Servians, the Croatians, the Wendi, the Poles, the Bohemians, the Moravians, the Pomeranians, the Wiltsians, the Lusatians, the Livonians, and the Lithuanians. Of these the more important were the Poles, the Bohemi-

ans, the Pomeranians, and the Lithuanians. As already said, it is held by some ethnologists that these Slavic, or Slavonic, tribes were originally an offshoot from the great Teutonic stock of mankind. Be that as it may, it is certain that the Slavic group of barbarians have exercised a less important influence upon the destinies of modern Europe and the world than have the Teutonic nations.

The Bosnians came into Europe in the seventh century. Their first impact was upon the people of Illyria, whom they dislodged from a portion of the country. They have their modern representatives in the people of Albania, where they constitute the ruling class, embracing the beys, nobility, and landowners. The Servians first made their appearance in Thrace, whence they came into the country which now bears their name. In the early days of the Empire they were conquered by the Romans, and were attached to the province of Illyricum, the Servian district being designated as Mœsia Superior. This country was overrun by the Ostrogoths and the Huns. It was afterward attached to the Byzantine Empire, until the middle of the seventh century, when it was devastated by the Avars, to whom a portion of the lands were permanently allotted. Servia then remained a dependency of the Eastern Empire until the time of the Crusades.

The Croatians, or Croats, belonged to the Illyrico-Servian branch of the Slavic race. Their primitive European settlement seems to have been in the south-western angle of Hungary. This country was originally a part of Pannonia, and became a part of the Empire in the times of Augustus. It was overrun first by the Goths and afterwards by the Avars. It then became subject to the Eastern Empire, and so remained until the tenth century, when the Croatian princes became independent.

The Wendi, or Wends, were one of the north-western tribes of the Slavic family. From the fourth to the ninth century they were found in the country stretching from the Saale and the Elbe northward to the Eider. In the times of Charlemagne they became aggressive, and were driven back by that warrior in the direction of the Vistula. Subsequently they were well-nigh exterminated by the German kings, and by the sixteenth century they existed only as a scattered population in the region now known as Brandenburg and Cilicia.

The Poles constitute one of the principal branches of the Slavic race. Their first European appearance seems to have been in the country which now bears their name. Somewhat later they spread into the region between the Oder and the Vistula. They were known as the *Polans*, meaning the People of the Plain, and soon became the most conspicuous of all the Slavic nations. The history of Poland and the Poles will hereafter demand our attention as a special study.

The Bohemians grew from the tribe of the Boii, classified by Cæsar among the Celtic peoples of Gaul. They were displaced from their original settlements by the Marcomanni. They migrated into Bavaria and Bohemia, and were subsequently incorporated with Slavic Czechs. German colonists also settled in the country, and the people became composite. Of their own accord the Bohemians sought annexation to the empire of Charlemagne, with which they were associated for several centuries.

The tribes known as Moravians made their appearance in the early times of the Empire, in the country which still bears their name. Here with difficulty they maintained themselves against the successive assaults of the Quadi, the Rugii, the Heruli, and the Lombards. The country was subsequently conquered by Charlemagne, who, after his usual manner, imposed tribute upon the Moravians and obliged them to accept the Christian religion. Of the ancient Pomeranians very little is known, except that they were of the Slavic race and constituted a part of the old monarchy of the Wends. The same may be said of the Lusatians, who seem to have been a mixture of the Wendic and Germanic stock, and who, after a period of independence, were reduced to the tributary relation by Henry I. of Germany, in the early part of the tenth century.

The Livonians first made their appearance in the country stretching eastward from the bay of Riga. The modern representatives of the race are found in the Finns and Letts; but neither the ancient country nor its inhabi-

tants were made known to Europe until about the middle of the twelfth century, when intercourse was opened up between Riga and the West by the merchants of Bremen. The existence of Lithuania and her people was made known a century and a half earlier, at which time the inhabitants were still in a state of half-savagery, subsisting for the most part on wild products of the woods. From this time forth their country became subject to the various Russian princes who were just then beginning to be felt in the affairs of Europe. In the twelfth century they achieved their independence, and in the thirteenth maintained it in a long and severe struggle with the Teutonic knights who had established themselves on the shores of the Baltic.

The third or Scythic division of the barbarian nations included, besides the great race of the Huns, the Alani or Alans, the Averi, the Bulgarians, the Hungarians, the Turks, and the Tartars. Of all the savage peoples who beat along the borders of the Roman Empire and finally broke through and destroyed the civilization of the ancient world, the most ferocious were the HUNS. Beyond their Asiatic origin, nothing has been ascertained of their primitive history. To the Greeks they were known, in a general way, by the name of *Chuni*, and by that title they are described by the historian Ptolemy as early as the second century of our era. They are believed to have come originally of a Tartar stock, and to have had their primitive seats in the country north of the great wall of China. After long and bloody wars with the Chinese, they were at last subdued by the emperor Vonti; but the unbroken spirit led to a migration of the race in preference to submission.

Accordingly, in the first century of our era, they left their original settlements to discover and conquer new homes in the West. One division of the tribes, known as the White Huns, took possession of the country east of the Caspian, but the great body continued their westward march to the banks of the Volga. In the course of the third century they crossed the river and overran the country of the Alani, many of whom they incorporated with their own nation. After another century, continuing their march to the west, they fell upon the Goths, and, in A. D. 375, defeated them in battle. Then it was that the Gothic people were pressed between the upper and the nether millstone. Behind them were the swords of the Huns, and before them the lances of the Romans. It was in this emergency that the Goths sought and obtained permission to settle within the borders of the Empire. The Huns then fixed their habitation on the banks of the Don and the Dnieper. They took possession of Pannonia. Rome fought for the defense of her provinces, but Attila, the "Scourge of God," led his tremendous armies of savages to glut themselves with the accumulated spoils of centuries. The story of his invasion of Italy has already been narrated in the preceding Volume.[1]

In A. D. 453 Attila died, and the vast dominion which he had established fell to pieces. His followers were broken up into bands, and gradually amalgamated with succeeding hordes of barbarians from the North. Of all the wide dominions, ruled by the sword rather than the scepter of Attila, only the modern kingdom of HUNGARY has preserved the name of his ferocious people; and of the various races included within the borders of that kingdom, only the Magyars are of genuine Hunnish descent.

The origin of the ALANI is shrouded in uncertainty. They appear to have migrated from the eastern part of the Caucasus to the river Don. During the reign of Aurelian they were associated with the Goths in an expedition into Asia Minor. Near the close of the fourth century they were defeated by the Huns, whom they presently afterwards joined in a war with the Goths. In the year 406 they were confederated with the Suevi and the Vandals, who were then engaged in devastating Gaul. Subsequently a colony of Alans occupied the country south of the Loire, while another established itself in Spain. A portion of Northern Italy was also occupied by the Alani until they were displaced by subsequent invasions.

The third of the Scythic tribes that contributed to the overthrow of ancient civilization was the AVARI or AVARS. They first appeared in the West about the middle of the sixth century, when they began to try the Roman outposts on the line of the Danube.

[1] See Volume II., p. 345.

Their original seats are thought to have been in the country between the Caspian and the Don. In the time of Justinian they were in alliance with the Greek Empire, and afterwards with the Lombards, whom they assisted in a war against the Gepidæ. At one time they possessed the larger part of Pannonia, and here they established a kingdom. The greatest of their sovereigns was Khan Baian, who flourished from A. D. 570 to 630. His dominions are said to have extended from the river Elbe to the Euxine. Such was his authority that even the Emperor of the East was obliged to pay him tribute. The Avars conquered Dalmatia and harassed both Italy and Germany. In the year 640, the Slavic subjects of the Khan revolted, and all of his kingdom, except Pannonia, fell away. In the struggle of the Bavarians against Charlemagne, the Avari aided the former; but both parties were overcome by the king of the Franks and were compelled to accept a tributary relation.

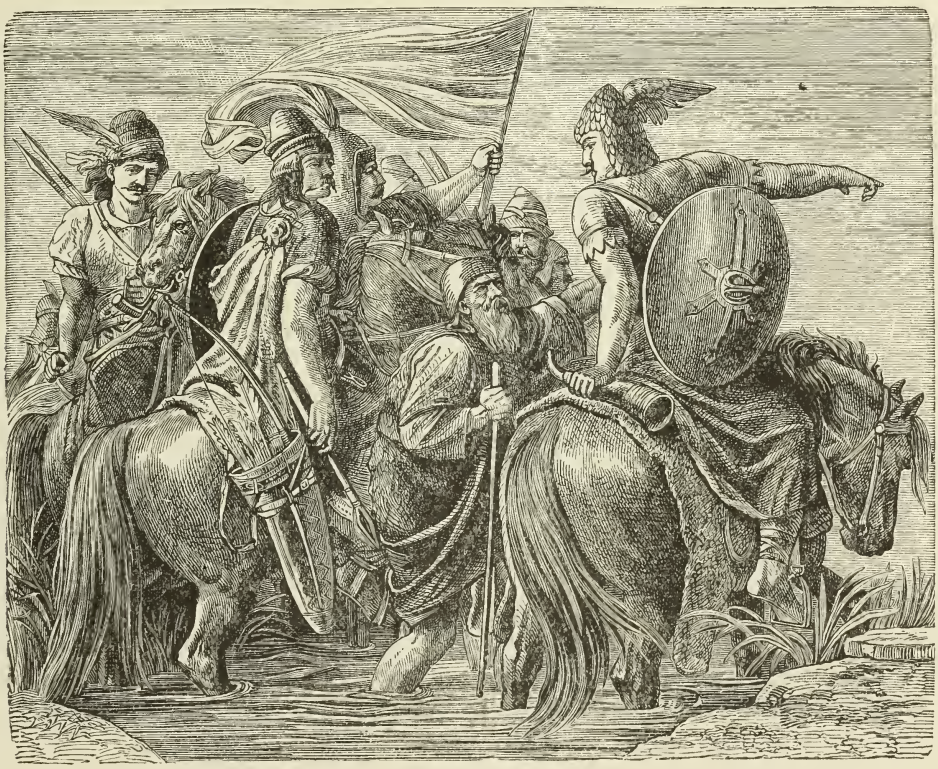


THE HUNS IN GERMANY.

The Bulgarians first appeared on the western banks of the Volga. From this locality they migrated to the Don, and in the latter part of the fifth century passed westward to the Danube. After establishing themselves in the region on the other side of the river from that which now bears their name, they began a series of aggressions against the Eastern Empire. The many incursions of this

warlike people, who sometimes made their way to the very gates of Constantinople, have already been recorded in the preceding volume.[1] During the reign of Anastasius, the Empire was obliged to purchase peace by the payment of an enormous bribe. The Bulgarians retired only to return in the reign of Justinian; but the veteran Belisarius drew his sword against them, and they were quickly driven to their own place. Bulgaria was overrun by the Avars; but the conquest was ube into Mœsia Inferior. Here, in the year 680, between that river and the Balkans were laid the foundations of the principality of modern Bulgaria.

The fifth branch of the Scythic family in Europe was the Hungarian. By this no reference is intended to the many other nations—Dacians, Illyrians, Pannonians, Bulgarians, Iazyges, Alans, Avars, Huns, Gepidæ, Lombards, Khajars—that have contributed to people the Hungarian Empire, but to the Magyars or Hungarians proper. These were a warlike people, whose original seats were in the vicinity of the Caucasus. Their first migration carried them into the region between the Don and the Dniester. Afterwards they crossed the Carpathian mountains, led by Almos, one of their seven chieftains. They were at this time a band of seven tribes, united in a compact which, under the sanction of oaths, gave a guaranty of justice and equality to all members of the federation. Arpad, the son and successor of Almos, overran all of Hungary and Transylvania, and early in the tenth



ARRIVAL OF THE HUNGARIANS IN THEIR NEW HOME.
After the Fresco of Lotze, in the National Museum of Pesth.

of short duration, and the people soon regained their independence. The greatest of the Bulgarian khans was Kuvrat, who made a league with the Emperor Heraclius, and received from him the title of patrician. After his death the old Bulgarian dominion was broken up, and his five sons became as many conquerors in distant parts. The first subdued a district on the banks of the Don; the second established himself in Pannonia; the third, in Moldavia; the fourth, in Italy; and the fifth, named Asparukh, crossed the Dan-

[1] See Vol. II., pp. 353–360.

century laid the foundations of the Magyar dominion in the country conquered by his arms.

Of the coming of the TURKS into Western Asia and Eastern Europe, some account has already been given in the preceding volume.[1] These people had the same original homes with the Hun and the Tartar. With them they engaged in those fierce wars with the Chinese which occupied the first centuries before and after the Christian era. As early as the establishment of the Roman Empire they had made their way westward to the river Don. In the third century a Turkish state was established in the country around Lake Balkash. Meanwhile the conflicts of the Turks and the Chinese continued in Tartary.

It will be remembered that in the sixth century the Emperor Justin II. made a Græco-Turcoman league against the Sassanidæ—an alliance which led to the permanent establishment of Turkish institutions in Western Asia. In the eighth century there were recognized no fewer than eight distinct Turkish nations, scattered in various parts of the vast region between Tartary and Asia Minor. During the sixth and seventh centuries they had already established themselves permanently in what is now Asiatic Turkey. The Seljukian dynasty, the most famous of all the Turkish mediæval powers, extended itself in the eleventh century almost to Constantinople, and after the collapse of this empire, the Ottoman dynasty arose on its ruins, grew powerful throughout the West, finally crossed into Europe, and in 1453 completed the subversion of the Empire of the East.

The name of TARTAR, like so many other tribal appellatives, appears at the first to have been used to designate an assemblage of nations. Vast hordes of half-savage tribes similar in race and habits spread out indefinitely from their original seats in the table-lands of Central and Northern Asia. It is thought by ethnologists that the great Tartar expansion took its origin from the locality of modern Turkistan. Many scholars regard the Turcomans themselves as a Tartar race. The physical type, even to the present day, appears to indicate some such race-identity. It is from this source that the great Mongol dynasty of the Middle Ages arose and extended itself around so large a part of the world. From the fourth to the tenth century, the slopes of the Altai Mountains, which seem to have been a center of the Mongolian movement, threw off wave after wave of barbarous population, which sank successively in the countries toward the West. Perhaps the largest European influence of the Tartar race in modern times is seen in Eastern and Southern Russia.—Such is a sketch in outline of the principal barbarian nations who, from the first to the fifteenth centuries of our era, contributed by invasion and war to destroy the Europe that was, and to fill the Europe that now is with peoples of different races. It now remains to take up in their order and consider briefly the principal barbarian kingdoms which were founded on the ruins of Rome.

CHAPTER LXXIV.—BARBARIAN KINGDOMS IN ITALY.

FIRST of kingdoms established by the barbarians in Italy was that of the HERULI. This nation was led into the peninsula by the bold chieftain ODOACER, who assured his followers that they could obtain by force the compliance with their demand for the cession of a third part of the lands. It will be remembered that this demand was resisted by Orestes, regent for his son, the helpless Augustulus, and that the father, for this patriotic but foolhardy conduct, was driven into Pavia and slain by the barbarians. This left the boy Augustulus like a shorn lamb, to the mercy of the winds. He could only implore the clemency of Odoacer, and when did a victorious barbarian forbear?

[1] See Vol. II., p. 370.

Augustus the Little, the boy-Cæsar of expiring Rome, was hurried away to the castle of Lucullus in Campania. Odoacer at once made himself king of Italy. Rome was down, and the residue was ground under the heel of a German chieftain out of the North, who, to the one-third of the lands of Italy which had been demanded by his followers as a recompense for their services, added the remaining two-thirds to fill up the measure.

King Odoacer soon showed himself master of the strange situation which had supervened in Italy. He wisely adapted his methods of government to the condition of the people. Having himself been previously in the service of the Empire, he was well acquainted with the character and disposition of the Roman race. He accepted the title of king, but refused the purple and the diadem, thus conciliating both the German princes and the phantom nobility of Italy. The Senate was allowed to remain and even to correspond in the usual way with the authorities of the Eastern Empire. The body went so far as to make out a programme, in accordance with which the seat of empire was to be transferred to Constantinople. Italy was to become a diocese, and the senators respectfully asked that this scheme be approved by the recognition of Odoacer as Patrician of the Italian province.

At this amusing by-play and nonsensical assumption of an authority which no longer existed, the king of Italy might well smile a smile of condescension. In a prudent way he deferred to the prejudices and political customs of his subjects. In the course of a few years he reïnstituted the consulship and continued to avoid the Imperial dignity. The old laws were still enforced, and the old executive officers, including the prætorian prefect and his subordinates, were retained in their places. In a politic way, Odoacer devolved the unpleasant duties of administration, such as the collection of the public revenue, upon native Roman magistrates; but the execution of those measures which were likely to produce a favorable impression upon the people he reserved for himself.

Meanwhile the honor of Italy, which had been so long dragged in the dust by the degenerate descendants of Theodosius, was revived by the sword of her barbarian monarch. On the north the old frontier of Italy was reëstablished, and was recognized by the chieftains of Gaul and Germany. Odoacer made a successful campaign in Dalmatia, and regained possession of that province. He crossed the Alps and made war upon the king of the Rugii, whom he defeated and made prisoner. So great was his success in arms that the Roman Senate might well decree an honor to their warlike king.

Miserable, however, was the social and economic condition of Italy. Agriculture and commerce had almost ceased. For their current supplies of provisions the Romans were at the mercy of the winds and the seas. The granaries of Egypt and Africa no longer sent their abundance into the marts of the Eternal City. War, famine, and pestilence had added their horrors through generations of decay. The tendency to depopulation was seen on every hand. Prosperous districts were left without inhabitants; for the breast of dishonored Nature yielded sustenance no longer to a race of idlers and brigands. As to the industrial and artistic aspect of life, that was seen no more. The value of property declined to a minimum; for the senators knew not in what day or hour a new company of barbarian chieftains must be supplied with homes by the confiscation of estates. The Roman nobility led a life of tremulous anxiety, humbly subservient to the master to whom they owed their lives and the remnant of their fortunes. Nor did the king fail in many instances to interpose between the rapacity of his barbarian and the helplessness of his Roman subjects. The demands of the German chiefs were frequently resisted by the king, and several of the more insolent were put to death for the attempted robbery of native noblemen.

In the pursuance of this difficult policy Odoacer consumed the fourteen years of his reign. With him rose and fell the Herulian kingdom in Italy. His people were neither strong enough nor sufficiently civilized to found a permanent dominion. Already the great nation of the Ostrogoths, under the leadership of the justly celebrated THEODORIC, whom the discriminating Gibbon has declared to have been "a hero alike excellent in the

arts of war and of government," was ready to sweep down from the North and destroy the brief ascendency of the Heruli in Italy.

Having established themselves in Pannonia and Gaul, the Ostrogoths had grown to be first in influence among the barbarian states. Friendly relations had been cultivated between them and the Empire of the East. The Emperor Zeno had conferred on the nation many marks of his favor, and upon Theodoric, their king, the titles of patrician and consul. The Goths, however, were still in a half-barbarous condition, and the various donatives, made to them by the Eastern Emperor, were quickly consumed in the license of appetite. It was in this condition of affairs that the far-seeing mind of Theodoric perceived in the state of Italy an inviting opportunity for the exercise of his own genius and a vent for the restless activities of his people.

He accordingly applied to the Eastern emperor. "Italy, the inheritance of your predecessor," said he in a letter to the court at Constantinople, "and Rome itself, the head and mistress of the world, now fluctuate under the violence and oppression of Odoacer, the mercenary. Direct me with my national troops to march against the tyrant. If I fall, you will be relieved from an expensive and troublesome friend; but, if with the Divine permission I succeed, I shall govern in your name and to your glory the Roman Senate and the part of the republic delivered from slavery by my victorious arms." This proposal of Theodoric was gladly entertained by the Emperor, who saw, no doubt, in the enterprise the prospective restoration of his own influence in the West.

Theodoric accordingly undertook the conquest of Italy. The invasion was in the nature of an emigration of the whole Gothic people. The aged, the infirm, the women and children, were all borne along with the immense procession of warriors, and the whole property was included with the baggage. During the progress of the march of seven hundred miles, undertaken in midwinter, the Gothic host was frequently threatened with famine. On the way Theodoric was actively opposed by the Bulgarians, the Gepidæ, and the Sarmatians, who had been prompted to such a course by Odoacer. Nevertheless, the Goth fought his way through every opposing obstacle, passed the Julian Alps, and made his way into Italy.

Odoacer went boldly forth to meet him. The two hosts met on the river Sontius, and a decisive battle was fought, in which the Ostrogoths were successful. The country of the Veneti as far south as Verona thus fell into the hands of Theodoric. At the river Adige a second battle was fought, in which the Heruli were again defeated. Odoacer took refuge in Ravenna, and Theodoric advanced to Milan. At this juncture, however, the treachery of a deserter, to whom the command of the vanguard had been intrusted, suddenly reversed the fortunes of war and brought Odoacer again into the field. Theodoric was reduced to the necessity of calling for assistance to the Visigoths of Gaul; but, after a brief continuance, all Italy, with the exception of Ravenna, was delivered to the Ostrogothic king. In that city Odoacer immured himself during a three years' siege. Finally, however, he was obliged to yield, and the Ostrogoths took possession of Ravenna. After a few days, Odoacer, to whom an honorable capitulation had been granted, was stabbed at a banquet; nor is it doubtful that the blow was struck with the knowledge and connivance of Theodoric himself. Several of the principal adherents of the Herulian king were also killed, and Theodoric, proclaimed by his Gothic subjects, was acknowledged throughout Italy and reluctantly accepted by the Emperor of the East. Thus, in the year A. D. 493, the Ostrogothic kingdom was established in Italy.

Theodoric at once entered upon a reign of thirty-three years' duration. In accordance with the rights of conquest, a third of the lands was apportioned to his followers. To the Goths, long accustomed to the cheerless rigors of the North, their new homes in Italy seemed a paradise. The new nation that was thus transported to the South was estimated at two hundred thousand men of war, besides the aged, the women, and the children.

In some respects the new population was assimilated to the old, and in some, the old to the new. The conquerors assumed the more elegant dress and many of the social customs of the Romans; but the Gothic lan-

guage held its own against the Latin. It became the policy of Theodoric to encourage the Italians in the industrial pursuits, and to reserve the Goths as the warrior caste of the state. The latter held their lands as a gift of military patronage, and were expected to be ever ready to march at the sound of the trumpet. It was a part of the king's theory that his realm must be maintained by the same power by which it had been created, wherefore supreme reliance was placed in the arm of military power.

It is hardly to be doubted that, had he so chosen, Theodoric, after the subjugation of Italy, might have entered upon a general career of conquest in the West; but such a purpose was no part of his plans or policy. He devoted himself assiduously to the reörganization of Italian society, and with that work his ambitions were satisfied. He established his capital at Ravenna, and his court soon attracted ambassadors from all parts of Europe. His two daughters, his sister, and his niece were sought in marriage by the kings of the Franks, the Burgundians, the Visigoths, and the Vandals. Offerings were brought, as if to one of the magnificent princes of the East, a distance of fifteen hundred miles, from the far-off shores of the Baltic.

It is rare that history has the pleasant duty of recording the career of a sovereign beginning in war and ending in peace, as did that of Theodoric the Great. When obliged to abolish his peaceful policy, it was rather to act on the defensive or to enforce the edicts of the administration than to gratify the lust of conquest. He established a government of the provinces of Rhætia, Noricum, Dalmatia, and Pannonia, thus extending his authority from the sources of the Danube to Illyricum.

It was natural that the successful career of Theodoric in the West should awaken the jealousy of the Eastern Emperor. A war broke out between the two powers, and in the year 505 came to a climax in battle on the field of Margus. Victory declared for Theodoric, who, more humane than his enemy, used his victory as not abusing it. Maddened by his defeat, the Emperor Anastasius sent a powerful fleet and army to the shores of Southern Italy. The ancient city of Tarentum was assaulted, the country along the coast laid waste, and the Italian trade temporarily broken up. But Theodoric made his way rapidly into the distressed region, equipped a fleet, and hastened the departure of the marauding squadron to the East.

About this time Clovis, king of the Franks, gained the ascendency over the tribes of Gaul—a movement which was resisted by Theodoric as unfavorable to his kinsman, the king of the Visigoths. When the victorious career of Clovis could be no longer impeded, the remnant of the royal Visigothic family sought and found a friendly refuge at the court of Ravenna. At the same time the Alemanni, who were now severely pressed by the surrounding nations, were taken under the protection of the king of Italy, and the hostile Burgundians were so severely handled as to desire no further aggression. The cities of Arles and Marseilles were taken, and a free communication thus established between the two kingdoms of the Goths. Indeed, at this time Theodoric was recognized as the head of the Gothic race. The Visigoths of Spain paid revenue into the treasury of Ravenna, and the abuses which had grown up in the southern kingdom were rectified by the sovereign of Italy. The Gothic supremacy was thus established from Sicily to the Danube and from Belgrade to the Atlantic Ocean. It was a virtual restoration, under barbarian auspices, of the Empire of the West.

It was deemed expedient by Theodoric not to assume the insignia of Imperial authority. He accepted the title of king—a name more congenial than that of emperor to the nations of the North. As a legislator, the monarch was less fortunate than in the work of administration. Instead of making laws according to the fitness of things, as determined by the needs of his subjects, he copied for a constitution the effete statutes of Constantine. He studiously maintained his relations of amity with the Eastern Empire, and in his correspondence with Anastasius assumed a tone at once deferential and diplomatic. The sovereigns of the East and the West regarded themselves as in alliance, and the union was annually confirmed by the choice of two consuls, the one from Constantinople and the other from Rome.

The palace of the Gothic monarch at Ravenna was after the style of the later emperors of the West. The ministers of state were the prætorian prefect, the prefect of Rome, the master of the offices, etc., with the names and duties of whom the Romans were long familiar. The government of the fifteen "Regions" of Italy was assigned to seven consulars, three correctors, and five presidents; and the forms of administration were derived from the existing statutes of the Romans. In the courts of the country the proceedings were determined by the nationality of the parties to the cause. When the action was between Roman and Roman, then the trial was conducted according to the practice of the Empire. If the parties were Gothic, then the Gothic statutes were employed; and in case of a suit of a Roman and a Goth, a mixed court heard and determined the cause.

In the management of the affairs of the state, Theodoric exhibited much wisdom and liberality. Instead of persecuting the friends of Odoacer, he appointed Liberius, one of the firmest supporters of the Herulian *régime*, to be prætorian prefect. He took into his council the two authors, Cassiodorus and Boëthius, and deferred to their prudent advice. While learning was thus patronized, Theodoric also took pains to encourage the revival of Roman institutions by at least a respectful use of the old republican forms. The descendants of the patricians were flattered by hearing the name of the Republic; and the Roman poor were pleased with the old-time distribution of provisions. The games were reïnstituted in feeble imitation of the splendor of Imperial times. The African lion again bounded into the arena, and the gladiator and gymnast exhibited their prowess and skill before a mixed multitude of Germans and Italians.

In the year A. D. 500, Theodoric visited Rome, where he was received with all the glory that the diminished sun of the old metropolis was able to shed on her sovereign. For six months the Gothic king remained at the ancient capital of the Cæsars, where his manners and morals were justly applauded by those who as children had witnessed the extinction of the Empire. The still remaining landmarks of power, such as the column and forum of Trajan and the theater of Pompey, made a profound impression upon the mind of Theodoric, who conceived from these remnants of Roman glory a shadowy notion of what the Eternal City had been in the days of her renown. He formed the design of preserving, as far as possible, from further decay the grand monuments of a civilization which no longer existed. He issued edicts to prevent further injury to the great works which the city still possessed, and appointed architects and set aside revenues to repair and restore those structures which were falling into ruin. This liberal patronage was likewise extended to the works of art which the city still possessed, and even the barbarians became emulous of their king in the work of rescuing from oblivion the trophies of the ancient world.

When his brief residence at the old capital expired, Theodoric returned to Ravenna. He set an example not only to those of the court, but even to the humble. With his own hand he pruned and cared for an orchard, and found an actual delight in all the pursuits of peace. When his borders were troubled by the barbarians, he removed his court to Verona. Not only that capital and Ravenna, but also the cities of Spoleto, Naples, and Pavia, exhibited in the multiplication of their churches and other buildings, which now for the first time showed the pointed architecture of the Goths, the manifest presence of a master spirit at the helm of state. Society became more settled and happy than at any time during the previous century. The peasant was again seen in the field, and the Roman nobleman in the porch of his villa. The agricultural interests of the state were rapidly revived, and the mines of Dalmatia and Bruttium were again worked with profit.

In religious faith Theodoric, like his people, was an Arian. This fact opened a chasm between the Goths and the Italians, the latter accepting the Nicene creed. The king, however, was little disposed to trouble or be troubled in matters of faith. He and his Gothic subjects pursued their own way, and the orthodox Catholics, theirs. Those of the Goths who preferred to apostatize to the Athanasian belief were permitted to do so without persecution. The whole career of Theodoric

was marked with a spirit of tolerance and moderation. The old theory of the Roman law that every citizen might choose his own religion was adopted as best suited to the condition of the people.

It would, however, be far from the truth to suppose that the government of Theodoric was above reproach or his times without their vices. In the beginning of his reign the Heruli were unjustly oppressed with taxation, and several of the economic projects of the king would, but for the opposition of Boëthius, have greatly injured the industrial interests of the kingdom. The nobles and friends of the monarch were in some instances permitted to wrest estates from others and to hold their unjust acquisitions. Nor was it possible that the two hundred thousand Gothic warriors, by whose barbaric valor Theodoric had conquered an empire, could be, even in the midst of peaceful surroundings, converted at once from savagery to civilization. The native fierceness of these warriors, who could hardly be restrained to the prosaic life of a settled residence, had many times to be conciliated by a temporizing policy on the part of the king.

It appears that the religious toleration introduced into the state by Theodoric, though outwardly accepted by the Catholics, was exceedingly distasteful to their orthodoxy. Without the power to reverse or resent the policy of the king, the Italian zealots turned their animosity upon the Jews and made that persecuted race the object of their scorn and persecution. Many rich but defenseless Israelites—traders and merchants living at Rome, Naples, Ravenna, Milan, and Genoa—were deprived of their property and turned adrift as so many paupers. Their synagogues were despoiled and then burned, their homes pillaged, and their persons outraged. To the credit of Theodoric, he set himself against these manifestations of rapacious bigotry, and some of the chief leaders of the tumult were obliged to make restitution to their victims, and were then condemned to be publicly whipped in the streets by the executioner.

Then it was that the Italian Catholics set up a cry against the persecution of the Church. The clemency and good deeds of the king were forgotten by those who were opposed to martyrdom when themselves were the martyrs. The later years of the king's life were clouded with these religious disturbances in his kingdom. Nor did the conduct of his Italian subjects fail to excite in the mind of the sovereign the small vices of jealousy and bitterness. It is alleged that he secured the services of informers against the malcontent but noble bigots of the kingdom, whom he suspected, not without cause, of a secret and treasonable correspondence with the Emperor of the East.

Certain it is that Justinian, who had now succeeded to power at Constantinople, resolved to purge the Church of heresy as well in the West as in his paternal dominions. An edict was issued from Constantinople against the Arian Christians in all the Mediterranean states. Those who refused to accept the established creed of the Church were to suffer the penalty of excommunication. This course was indignantly resented by Theodoric, who justly reasoned that the same toleration shown by himself to his Catholic subjects in the West should of right be extended to the Arian Christians in the Empire of the Greeks. Theodoric accordingly ordered the Roman pontiff and four distinguished senators to go on an embassy to Constantinople, and there demand of Justinian the rights of religious freedom. They were commanded in their instructions to urge upon that monarch that any pretense to a dominion over the conscience of man is a usurpation of the divine prerogative, that the power of the earthly sovereign is limited to earthly things, and that the most dangerous heresy in a state is that of a ruler who puts from himself and his protection a part of his subjects on account of their religious faith. The rejection by Justinian of this appeal furnished, so far as any act could furnish, to Theodoric good ground for issuing an edict that, after a certain day, the orthodox religion should be prohibited throughout Italy.

It was in the midst of the bitterness excited by this schismatic broil that the virtuous and philosophic Boëthius, who had so long been the greatest and best of the king's counselors, was accused of treason, imprisoned in the tower of Pavia, and then subjected to an ignominious execution. As Theodoric became more gloomy in his old age, Boëthius soared into a clearer atmosphere. In the practical

affairs of the administration he set himself against every cruel and tyrannical measure; and when the king, led by evil advisers to believe that the further existence of the Roman Senate was incompatible with his own safety, resolved upon the annihilation of that body, the philosopher boldly interposed between the bloody purpose of his sovereign and its object. At this juncture a senator named Albinus was arrested and brought to trial on a factitious charge of desiring the liberty of Rome. In defending him Boëthius made the declaration that, if Albinus were criminal, he himself and all the senators were equally guilty; and to this—if the informers of the court are to be believed—the philosopher added that, should he know of a conspiracy to liberate Rome from bondage, he would not divulge his information. A paper was discovered directed to the Emperor of the East, inviting him to the deliverance of Italy, and signed by Albinus and Boëthius. The latter was accordingly arrested and thrust into prison. The subservient Senate passed a sentence of confiscation and death, and Boëthius sat in his dungeon awaiting the blow which should deliver him from darkness.

To the imprisonment of this benign spirit the world is indebted for the composition of that sublime treatise, the *Consolation of Philosophy*—a work which the calm Gibbon declares to be "a golden volume, not unworthy of the leisure of Plato or Tully, but which claims incomparable merit from the barbarism of the times, and the situation of the author." In it Boëthius traverses the whole circuit of those themes in which the philosophic mind has found most interest since the human spirit first awoke to conscious being. The dungeon of the prisoner becomes more luminous than the chamber of the king. Reason teaches that the vicissitudes of good and evil fortune are alike as nothing to him whose mind has been disciplined in the school of self-restraint, and whose conscience is without offense. From the ethics of common life, the philosopher then goes forth to search out the mysteries of destiny. What is the supreme good? What of free-will, of chance, of foreknowledge, of time, of eternity? Why do good and evil struggle for the mastery of the world and of mankind? Such are the great themes which the sublime spirit of Boëthius grappled with in the dim light of his prison. Then came the executioners. A cord was drawn around the neck of the philosopher, and tightened until his eyes were bursting from their sockets. Then was he *mercifully* beaten to death with clubs. The life was out, but the work survived; and in a distant age, Alfred the Great of England found time to give to our Anglo-Saxon fathers a translation of the noble work of the Roman martyr.

Thus in his old age was the life of Theodoric clouded with suspicion and crime. It appears, however, that the severe German conscience within him laid upon him the merciless lash for his misdeeds and cruelty. As he fell into decrepitude and the shadows of death gathered near, the ghosts of his murdered victims glared at him out of the settling darkness. Especially did the specter of the venerable Symmachus, who had been executed soon after Boëthius, frown out of the shadows and menace the trembling king, who hobbled into his chamber, and after three days of remorse died, in August, A. D. 526.

The decease of the Gothic sovereign was not so sudden as to prevent him from arranging the succession. The kingdom was divided between his two grandsons, AMALARIC and ATHALARIC, the Rhone being fixed as the boundary between their dominions. To the former was assigned the throne of Spain, and to the latter the empire of Italy. Athalaric was at this time but ten years of age, and was under the control of his mother, the celebrated AMALASONTHA. Around the bedside of the dying Theodoric gathered the Gothic chiefs and Italian magistrates, and swore allegiance to the boyish prince, who, under the regency of his mother, was now destined to be their ruler. To perpetuate the memory of the great Gothic king, his daughter, Amalasontha, reared a conspicuous monument near the city of Ravenna, and here, in a vase of porphyry supported by four columns, his remains were deposited.

The government of a nation of two hundred thousand warriors was now intrusted to a woman. The mother of Amalasontha was the sister of Clovis, king of the Franks. The queen regent of Italy was thus descended from the two royal Houses of the *Merovingians* and the *Amalians*. Nevertheless, the laws of

the barbarians forbade the occupancy of their throne by a woman. Such, however, were the peculiar circumstances of her condition that, with the death of her father, the Goths were almost obliged to concede to her the prerogatives of sovereignty. She had contracted a fortunate marriage with prince Eutharic, of which union was born the youth, Athalaric, whom Theodoric designated as his successor. In the mean time Eutharic died, and the young widow, whose personal charms and keen intellect were heightened by the best education which the times could afford, became of necessity the chief personage in the Gothic state.

In the beginning of her regency, Amalasontha strove to obliterate the bitter memories which the last years of her father's reign had left in the minds of her subjects by restoring the children of Boëthius and Symmachus to their lost inheritance. She also conciliated her Roman subjects and quieted the Goths by salutary restraints. The chief of her counselors was the statesman and orator, CASSIODORUS, by whose wise advice she was generally guided. Meanwhile, she devoted herself assiduously to the education of her son. That youth, however, soon proved himself to be unworthy of his parentage. Having been properly punished by his mother for some neglected duty, he escaped from the palace and threw himself upon the sympathies of the half-barbarous Gothic chiefs, already become malcontent under the reign of a woman. They espoused the cause of their boy king, and determined to rescue him from the control of Amalasontha and her ministry. The lad was accordingly set free among the wild indulgences of the semi-barbaric life, and the queen found herself environed with enemies. Opposition stirred up the worst elements of her nature, and in order to maintain herself she resorted to assassination. Several of the Gothic nobles fell by treachery. In order further to strengthen her position, she then contracted a marriage with the prince THEODATUS, hoping to associate him with herself in the government. The Gothic faction, however, obtained control over the mind of Theodatus, and in 535 the queen was deposed from power, and subjected to imprisonment on an island in Lake Bolsena.

Now it was that the Emperor Justinian undertook to avail himself of the dissensions of the Goths, and thereby recover Italy. By his agents he procured the signature of the captive queen to a document surrendering her claims in his favor. The Emperor thus found opportunity for interference in the affairs of the West; but before any serious measures could be taken, Amalasontha was strangled in her bath by order of Theodatus. Such, however, was the condition of affairs in Italy and Africa that abundant excuse was offered to the Byzantine court for prosecuting its designs against the barbarian kingdoms. The state of the Vandals was distracted with civil commotions. Hilderic, the rightful sovereign, had been deposed and imprisoned, and the usurping Gelimer was seated on the throne. The Catholic party of the West favored the restoration of the deposed sovereign, and appealed to Justinian to aid in that work. The latter fitted out a powerful expedition, the command of which was intrusted to BELISARIUS. In the year 533, the armament proceeded to the African coast. A battle was fought with the Vandals a few miles from Carthage, and Belisarius was completely victorious. The Eastern army entered the Vandal capital. Gelimer was again defeated and obliged to surrender. Within three months, order was restored in Africa and Belisarius returned to Constantinople to be received with distrust by his suspicious sovereign. Such was his popularity, however, that a great triumph was celebrated in his honor in the capital of the East.

An excuse was soon found for the continuance of Greek interference in the affairs of Italy. On the occasion of the marriage of a sister of Theodoric the Great to Thrasimond, king of Africa, the fortress of Lilybæum in the island of Sicily was given as a bridal present to the Vandals. An army of Gothic warriors accompanied the gift and participated in the conflict of the Vandals with the Moors. Soon, however, the Goths and the Vandals quarreled, and Belisarius was invited by the former to aid them in restoring Lilybæum to the kingdom of Italy. To this was added the motive of vengeance against the murderers of Amalasontha. Accordingly in A. D. 535, Belisarius was again sent out from Constantinople to reduce Sicily. That work was accomplished without serious opposition, and in the following spring Belisarius crossed over

into Italy. The whole country south of Campania was speedily reduced. Capua and Naples were taken. Theodatus showing no signs of capacity in the emergency of his country was deposed by the Gothic chiefs, who lifted their general VITIGES upon their bucklers and proclaimed him king. Theodatus fled and was murdered in the Flaminian Way.

The old Roman faction of Italy, thoroughly orthodox and thoroughly tired of the supremacy of the Goths, went over to Belisarius, and the city of the Cæsars was once more rescued from barbarism. The king of the Goths, however, collected a formidable army in the North and in the spring of 537 besieged Belisarius in Rome. A line of fortifications was drawn around the city. Many of the ancient structures were demolished and the material rebuilt into the ramparts. The mausoleums of the old Emperors were converted into citadels. When the Goths swarmed around the sepulcher of Hadrian, the immortal marbles of Praxiteles and Lysippus were torn from their pedestals and hurled down upon the heads of the barbarians in the ditch. Belisarius made one audacious sortie after another, hurling back his inveterate assailants. Nearly the whole Gothic nation gathered around the Eternal City, but Belisarius held out until reinforcements arrived from the East, and after a siege of a year and nine days' duration, Rome was delivered from the clutch of her assailants. Vitiges was obliged to burn his tents and retreat before his pursuing antagonist to Ravenna.

Great were the present afflictions of Italy. In the brief interval which followed the withdrawal of the Gothic king from Rome, the Frank, Theodebert, king of Gaul, sent down from the Alps an army of Burgundians to espouse the cause of the Goths. The city of Milan, which had gone over to Belisarius, was by them besieged, taken, and dismantled. In the next year (A. D. 539) Theodebert himself, with an army of a hundred thousand Frankish warriors, entered Italy, and encamped on the Po. It soon became evident that by him the Goth and the Roman were to be treated without discrimination. Theodebert fell at the same time upon the opposing camps of Belisarius and Vitiges, and drove every thing before him. Soon, however, the provisions of the Franks were exhausted, and a pestilence broke out among them which swept away a third of their army. The turbulent warriors demanded to be led back to their homes beyond the Alps, and Theodebert was constrained to comply with their wishes. The barbarian horde was quickly withdrawn, and Belisarius again found opportunity to follow up his successes against Vitiges.

The king of the Goths now shut himself up in the impregnable fortifications of Ravenna. Nothing could tempt him to show himself beyond the defenses of the city. Nevertheless the Roman general laid siege to the place, and awaited the results of impending famine. He vigilantly guarded the approaches to the city, cut off supplies, fired the exposed granaries, and even poisoned the waters of the city. In the midst of their distress the Goths, conceiving that Belisarius but for his obedience to Justinian would make them a better king than their own, offered to surrender the city into his hands and become his subjects, if he would renounce his allegiance to the Emperor of the East and accept the crown of Italy. Belisarius seemed to comply. Ravenna was given up by the Goths, and the victor took possession. It was, however, no part of the purpose of Belisarius to prove a traitor to the Emperor, though the conduct of Justinian towards himself furnished an excellent excuse for treason. The suspicion of the thing done soon reached Constantinople, and Justinian made haste to recall the conqueror from the West. So the hero, who by his military genius and personal courage had well-nigh recovered the entire Western Empire of the Romans, took ship at Ravenna and sailed for the Eastern capital.

With the departure of Belisarius the courage of the Goths revived. They still possessed Pavia, which was defended by a thousand warriors, and, what was far more valuable, the unconquerable love of freedom. TOTILA, a nephew of Vitiges, was called to the throne, and intrusted with the work of reëstablishing the kingdom. Of the Roman generals whom Belisarius left behind him in Italy, not one proved equal to the task of meeting the Goth in the field. The latter traversed the country without opposition, marched through the heart of Italy, and compelled submission even to



SORTIE OF BELISARIUS FROM ROME.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

the extremes of Calabria. He then pitched his camp before Rome, and with an impudence not devoid of truth invited the Senate to compare his reign with the tyranny of the Greek Empire.

One of the alleged reasons for the recall of Belisarius had been that he might be assigned to the defense of the East against the armies of Persia. Having successfully accomplished this duty, he was again available as the chief resource of Justinian in sustaining the Greek cause in Italy. In the year 545 the veteran general was accordingly assigned to the command in the West. Care was taken, however, by the Emperor that the aged commander should be hampered with such restrictions as would make a conspicuous success impossible. Meanwhile Totila laid actual siege to Rome, and adopted starvation as his ally.

The city was defended by three thousand soldiers under the command of Bessas, a veteran Goth. The besieged were gradually reduced to the extremity of eating bread made of bran and devouring dogs, cats, and mice, to say nothing of dead horses and offal. When Belisarius landed in Italy he made an ineffectual attempt to raise the siege of the city, and the Romans were then obliged to capitulate. In the day of the surrender the barbarian in Totila asserted itself, and the city was given up to indiscriminate pillage. The walls were thrown down; some of the grand structures of antiquity were battered into ruins, and the Goth declared that he would convert Rome into a pasture. But before the worst could be accomplished Belisarius sent so strong a protest to Totila that the latter reversed his purpose, and the city was saved from general ruin.

The Gothic king next directed his march into Southern Italy, where he overran Lucania and Apulia, and quickly restored the Gothic supremacy as far as the strait of Messina. Scarcely, however, had Totila departed upon his southern expedition when Belisarius, who had established himself in the port of Rome, sallied forth with extraordinary daring, and regained possession of the city. He then exerted himself to the utmost to repair the defenses, and was so successful in this work that when, after twenty-five days, Totila returned from the South the Goths were repulsed in three successive assaults. Nor did it appear impossible that with seasonable reënforcements from the East Belisarius might soon recover not only Rome but the whole of Italy. To the message of his general, however, Justinian replied only after a long silence; and even then the order transmitted to the West was that Belisarius should retire into Lucania, leaving behind a garrison in the capital. Thus paralyzed by the jealousy of the Emperor, the old veteran languished in the South, while the Goths regained the advantage. In 549 they again besieged and captured Rome. Totila had now learned that to destroy is the smallest part of rational conquest. The edifices of the city were accordingly spared; the Romans were treated with consideration, and equestrian games were again exhibited in the circus under the patronage of barbarians.

In the mean time Belisarius was finally recalled to Constantinople and was forced into an inglorious retirement by a court which had never shown itself worthy of his services. He was succeeded in the command of the Roman army in the West by the eunuch NARSES, who in a body of contemptible stature concealed the spirit of a warrior. The dispatch of Justinian recalling Belisarius had declared that the remnant of the Gothic war was no longer worthy of his presence. It was this "remnant" that in the year 551 was intrusted to Narses. His powers were ample and his genius sufficient even for a greater work. On arriving in Italy he made haste to bring matters to the crisis of battle. On his way from Ravenna to Rome he became convinced that delay would be fatal to success. On every side there were evidences of a counter-revolution in favor of the Goths. It was evident that nothing but a victory could restore the influence of the Byzantine government in the West. Advancing rapidly on the capital he met the Goths in the Flaminian Way, a short distance from the city. Here, in July of 552, the fate of the kingdom established by Theodoric was yielded to the arbitrament of arms. A fierce and obstinate conflict ensued in which Totila was slain and his army scattered to the winds. Narses received the keys of Rome in the name of his master, this being the *fifth* time that the Eternal City had been taken during the reign of Justinian. The remnants of the Goths

retired beyond the Po, where they assembled and chose TEIAS for their king.

The new monarch at once solicited the aid of the Franks, and then marched into Campania to the relief of his brother Aligern, who was defending the treasure-house of Cumæ, in which Totila had deposited a large part of the riches of the state. In the year 553 Narses met this second army in battle and again routed the Goths and killed their king. Aligern was then besieged in Cumæ for more than a year, and was obliged to surrender. It was evident that the kingdom of the Goths was in the hour and article of death.

At this juncture, however, an army of seventy-five thousand Germans, led by the two dukes of the Alemanni, came down from the Rhætian Alps and threatened to burst like a thunder cloud upon Central Italy. The change of climate, however, and the wine-swilling gluttony of the Teutonic warriors combined to bring on contagion and decimate their ranks. Narses went forth with an army of eighteen thousand men and met the foe on the banks of the Vulturnus. Here, in 554, the petty eunuch inflicted on the barbarians a defeat so decisive as to refix the status of Italy. The greater part of the Gothic army perished either by the sword or in attempting to cross the river. The victorious army returned laden with the spoils of the Goths, and for the last time the *Via Sacra* was the scene of the spectacle of victory called a triumph. It was a vain shadow of the Imperial glory of the Cæsars.

Thus, in the year 554, after a period of sixty years' duration, was subverted the Ostrogothic throne of Italy. One-third of this time had been consumed in actual war. The country was devastated—almost depopulated—by the conflict. The vast area of the kingdom was reduced to the narrow limits of a province, which, under the name of the Exarchate of Ravenna, remained as an appanage of the Eastern Empire. As for the Goths, they either retired to their native seats beyond the mountains or were absorbed by the Italians. The Franks also receded beyond the limits of Italy, and the Emperor and the pope, using Narses as the right arm of their power, proceeded to restore a certain degree of order to the distracted peninsula.

In the mean time two other barbarian nations became competitors for the sovereignty of the North. These were the Gepidæ and the Lombards. The latter, after having disappeared from history since the days of Trajan, again returned to the stage, and for a season became the principal actors of the drama. After a contest of thirty years, they succeeded in overthrowing the Gepidæ, who before submitting fought to the verge of extermination. Audoin, king of the Lombards, was succeeded by his son, ALBOIN, who sought for his wife the princess Rosamond, daughter of the king of the Gepidæ; but the demand was refused, and Alboin undertook to obtain by force the coveted treasure. A dreadful war ensued, which, as above stated, resulted in the destruction of the Gepidæ. Alboin took the princess Rosamond after the heroic fashion, and converted the skull of his beloved father-in-law into a drinking cup.

Thus had the king of the Lombards a taste of the glory of war. He cast his eyes upon the sunny plains of Italy. Around his banners were gathered not only his own tribes, but also many of the Germans and Scyths. Meanwhile, the able though tyrannical Narses, accused by his Roman subjects of exactions and cruelty, had been recalled from Italy, and was succeeded by the exarch, Longinus. Fortunate it was for the Lombards that the puissant eunuch was not their competitor for the possession of the Italian prize. In the year 567, Alboin descended from the Julian Alps into the valley of the Po. Rumor spread her wings before the avenging avalanche, and no army could be found to confront the invaders. The people fled like sheep before the terrible Lombards, and Alboin was besought by the cowering multitudes to assume the lawful sovereignty of the country. Only the fortress of Pavia held out against the invaders until it was reduced by famine. Here Alboin established his court, and for more than two centuries Pavia, the ancient Ticinum, became the capital of Lombardy.

Brief, however, was the glory of the conqueror. The barbarian instincts of Alboin soon led to his destruction. Engaging in a night revel in a palace near Verona, he drank wine to furious intoxication. While his barbaric brain flashed with hilarious delirium, he

ordered the skull of Cunimund, his father-in-law, to be brought out and filled to the brim. He then had the horrid vessel refilled and carried to the queen with orders that she too should drink and *rejoice with her father!* Obliged to comply with the abominable request, Rosamond resolved on vengeance. She induced two chieftains to join her enterprise, and while the king was sleeping heavily from the effects of drink, she opened his chamber door and admitted the assassins. Thus in the year 573 the founder of the kingdom of the Lombards met his fate on the spears of murderers.

For the moment the remnant of the Gepidæ at Verona attempted to uphold their queen; but the Lombard chiefs quickly rallied from the shock, and Rosamond fled to Ravenna. Here she soon captivated the exarch Longinus, and with him she conspired to destroy Helmichas, the lover who had accompanied her in her flight. While in his bath she gave him a cup of poison, which he partly drained; but, discovering the treachery, he drew his dagger and compelled Rosamond *to drink the rest!*

In the mean time the Lombard chiefs had assembled at Pavia and chosen Clepho for their king. Short, however, was his reign. After a year and a half he was stabbed by a servant, and his hereditary rights and the regal office descended to his son Autharis. During his minority of ten years no regular regency was established, and Northern Italy was distracted by the conflicting claims and animosities of thirty dukes, Roman and barbarian. In the year 584 Autharis attained his majority and assumed the warrior's garb. He vigorously asserted his kingly rights, and again consolidated the Lombard party over the malcontent regions of Italy. It was well for the barbarians that their sovereign was able and warlike. Soon after the accession of Autharis, Childebert, king of the Franks, passed the Alps with a powerful army, which was presently broken up by the quarrels of the Alemannian and Frankish leaders. A second expedition was met and defeated by the Lombard king, and a third, after a partial success, yielded to famine and pestilence. The dominion of Autharis was indisputably established from the Alps to the headlands of Calabria.

In the year 590 Autharis died and left no heir. The Lombard chiefs laid upon his widow, Theodolinda, the duty of choosing a husband, who should be king. The queen's preference fell upon Agilulf, duke of Turin, who entered upon a reign of twenty-five years. Great was the reputation gained by Theodolinda among the Catholics; for she converted her husband to the true faith from the heresy of Arius. So marked was the favor which she thus obtained with the orthodox hierarchy that Pope Gregory presented to her the celebrated iron crown, afterwards worn by the kings of the Lombards. This famous royal bauble derived its name from an iron band with which it was surrounded, said to have been wrought from one of the nails used in the cross of Christ.

For a period of two hundred years Italy remained under the dominion of the Lombards. The petty exarchate of Ravenna also maintained its existence under eighteen successive governors. Besides the immediate territories ruled by the exarchs, the provinces of Rome, Venice, and Naples were also subject to their authority. Pavia continued to be the capital of the Lombard kingdom, whose confines swept around on the north, east, and west as far as the countries of the Avars, the Bavarians, the Austrasian Franks, and the Burgundians.

The Lombard monarchy was elective. The right of the chiefs to choose their own sovereign, though many times waived in deference to heredity and other conditions, was not resisted or denied. About eighty years after the establishment of the kingdom, the laws of the Lombards were reduced to a written code. Nor does their legislation compare unfavorably with that of any other barbarian state.

This epoch in history should not be passed over without reference to the rapid growth of the Papal Church in the close of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century. Most of all by Gregory the Great, whose pontificate extended from 590 to 604, was the supremacy of the apostolic see asserted and maintained. Under the triple titles of Bishop of Rome, Primate of Italy, and Apostle of the West he gradually, by gentle insinuation or bold assertion, as best suited the circumstances, elevated the episcopacy of Rome into a genuine papacy

of the Church. He succeeded in bringing the Arians of Italy and Spain into the Catholic fold, and thus secured the solidarity of the Western *ecclesia*. Greater even than these achievements was the conversion of our Anglo-Saxon fathers of Britain. Forty monks under



ST. AUGUSTINE BEFORE ETHELBERT.
Drawn by L. P. Lyendecker.

the leadership of St. Augustine were sent out by Gregory to rescue the island from paganism, and such was their success in evangelism that in a short time Ethelhert, king of Kent, with ten thousand of his Saxon subjects, had been baptized in the name of Christ. Such was the beginning of the great spiritual monarchy of Rome. Though the independence of the Greek Church was yet reluctantly recognized by the popes of the West, and though the open assertion of their temporal dominion was still withheld as inexpedient or premature, yet the foundations of the great hierarchical kingdom in the midst of the nations were securely laid, chiefly by the genius and statesmanship of Gregory the Great.

It was the growth and encroachment of Catholic power in Italy that ultimately led to the overthrow of the Lombard kingdom. As the eighth century drew to a close and the kingdom of the Franks became more and more predominant beyond the Alps, the popes with increasing frequency called upon the Carlovingian princes to relieve Italy of the Lombard incubus. As early as the times of Gregory III., Charles Martel was solicited to come to the aid of his Catholic brethren in the South. The entreaties of Pope Stephen were still more importunate, and Pepin, king of the Franks, was induced to lead an army across the Alps. Two centuries of comparative peace had somewhat abated the warlike valor of the Lombards. They were still brave enough to make occasional depredations upon the provinces and sanctuaries of the Holy Church, but not brave enough to confront the spears of the Franks. Astolphus, the Lombard king, cowered at the approach of Pepin, and he and his princes eagerly took an oath to restore to the Church her captive possessions and henceforth to respect her wishes.

No sooner, however, had the Frankish sovereign returned beyond the mountains than Astolphus broke his faith and renewed his predatory war on the Catholic diocese. A second time the angered Pepin came upon the recreant Lombards, whose country he overran and left the kingdom prostrate. For a period of about twenty years the Lombard state survived the shock of this invasion, and then returned to its old ways. Again the Romans were dispossessed of their property and driven from their towns. Pope Adrian I. had now come to the papal throne, and Charlemagne had succeeded his father Pepin. Vainly did the Lombards attempt to guard the passes of the Alps against the great Frankish conqueror. By his vigilance he surprised the Lombard outposts and made his way to Pavia. Here, in 773, Desiderius, the last of the Lombard princes, made his stand. For fifteen months the city was besieged by the Franks. When the rigors of the investment could be endured no longer, the city surrendered, and the kingdom of the Lombards was at an end. The country became a province in the empire of Charlemagne, but Lombardy continued for a time under the government of native princes. So much was conceded to the original kinship of the Lombards and the Franks.

CHAPTER LXXV.—KINGDOMS OF THE VISIGOTHS, VANDALS, AND FRANKS.



HEN, in the year 410, Alaric, the Goth, was buried in the channel of the Basentius, his followers chose his brother-in-law, ADOLPHUS, to be their sovereign. The new king opened negotiations with the Emperor of the West, and offered his services to that sovereign in repelling the barbarians beyond the Alps. Honorius gladly accepted the proffered alliance, and the Goth directed his march into Gaul. The cities of Narbonne, Toulouse, and Bordeaux were permanently occupied, and the Gothic dominion was soon extended to the ocean.

The friendly league between Adolphus and the Roman Empire was further cemented by his marriage with Placidia, daughter of Theodosius the Great. By the year

PERSIA.

32. **Chosroes II.**, THE GREAT; he has all the vices of his predecessors, but surpasses them in his great qualities. 91. **Chosroes III.**; he murders his father.
40. He lays waste Syria, and Justinian pays him 500 pounds for the sake of peace.
54. He renews the war and cuts to pieces a Roman army of 50,000 men.
27. **Siroes**, after murdering his father and brothers.
32. **Hormisdas.**

40. Library of Alexandria (700,000 volume) destroyed by the command of **Omar.**
45. **Othman.** He subdues Bactriana and pa
60. **Al Hasan.**
60. **Moawiyah (Ommias)**, first of **OMMIADES.** 87. **Ab-al-**

ARABIA.

The Arabians were descendants of Ishmael, the son of Abraham. They have always lived independent, although generally at war with their neighbors. As their history is unknown and unimportant, except in its connection with other nations, it is unnecessary to mention them until the time of Mohammed and the subsequent conquests of his followers, the Saracens, who were Arabians.

Mohammed,
12. Begins to propagate his doctrines.
27. He is saluted king.

55. **Ali,** a brave and virtuous caliph of Arabia, and **Mawia,** caliph of Egypt. Ali removes his seat from Mecca to Cuja. 79. **Yezid.**

22. **The Hegira,** or flight of Mohammed, the era from which his followers reckon time. 83. **Abdallah**

65. **Justin II.**, a weak prince.

27. **Justinian I.**, celebrated for his famous code of laws and for the victories of his generals, Belisarius and Narses.

32. **Abu-Beker,** his father-in-law, succeeds him as caliph; takes Damascus. 84. **Merwan**

33. **Omar.** In one campaign he conquers Syria Phœnicia, Mesopotamia, and Chaldæa; in the next, the whole of Persia. His generals subdue Egypt, Libya, and Numidia.

EASTERN EMPIRE.

10. **Heraclius.** The Persians make great ravages in the empire. He defeats them in five campaigns. 70. The Saracens b tinople
2. **Phocas,** usurper. 41. **Heraclius II.** They return se
6. He makes some concessions to the bishop of Rome, which forms the beginning of the temporal power of the Pope. 41. **Heracleonas.** 42. **Constans II.** or CONSTANTINE. and are defea who burns th celebrated "
38. Edict of Heraclius, called the "Ethesis or Exposition," by which he prohibits any dispute upon the question of one or two wills in Jesus Christ. 85. **Justinian.** 95. **L** 98.

73. **Tiberius III.** He defeats the Persians.
34. **Belisarius** takes Carthage, and ends the Vandal kingdom in Africa.
Dreadful pestilence, many cities wholly depopulated. 82. **Mauritius.**

VISIGOTHIC KINGDOM.

The West Goths conquer all Spain, except Galicia and Navarre.

83. The Suevi conquered by the Visigoths.

40. **Heldibadus.** 53. **Narses** defeats the Goths and governs Italy, as duke, until 67. 62. **Grimoaldus.**
41. **Eraric.** when, being recalled, in revenge he invites Alboin to invade the country.
36. **Vitiges.** **Totila.**

68. **Albion** king of the

LOMBARDS IN ITALY.

60. **Gundebertus.**

WESTERN EMPIRE

73. **Clephes.** The Latin Language ceases to be spoken in Italy. 71. **Pertharit.**
75. **Anarchy.** 91. **Agilulphus.** 15. **Adaloaldus.** 36. **Rotharis.**
84. **Antharis.** 52. **Rodoaldus.**
26. **Athalaric.** 37. **Belisarius** takes Rome. Feudal government 53. **Aribertus.** 86. **Cunibert.**
34. **Theodatus.** 46. **Totila the Goth** takes and plunders Rome. begins. 25. **Ariovaldus.**

AND

49. Rome retaken by Belisarius.
50. Again recovered by Totila.
30. The order of Benedictines instituted. 90. **Gregory**

4. **Sabinianus.** 40. **Severinus.** 55. **Eugenius I.** 72. **Adeodatus.**
I., the GREAT. 40. **John IV.** 57. **Vitalianus.** 76. **Donus I.** 85. **John V.**
6. **Boniface III.** 49. **Martin I.** 78. **Agatho.** 86. **Canon**
7. **Boniface IV.** 42. **Theodore.** 87. **Sergiu**
25. **Honorius I.** 83. **Benedict I**

KINGDOM OF THE OSTROGOTHS.

75. Thirty dukes govern.

33. The emperor Justinian applies to the bishop of Rome to settle a controversy, saying, "We hasten to submit all things to Your Holiness, who are the head over all the holy churches."

7. The Pantheon at Rome dedicated as a Christian Church.

80. **Sixth General** and severa

Middle Ages Begin.

50. Extreme unction introduced, and the invocation of the Virgin and saints.
16. Computation of time from the Christian era, introduced by Dionysius, the monk.
55. **Fifth General Council,** at Constantinople, where the errors of Origen, as well as the writings of Theodorus, Theodoretus, and Ibas, "the Three Chapters," are condemned as heresies.

GAUL OR FRANCE.

11. **Childebert** has Paris, **Clotaire I.** has Soissons, **Clodomir** has Orleans, and **Thierry** has Metz. Clotaire reunites the kingdom by 559, but at his death, in 562, it is again divided among his sons.

62. **Chilperic** has Soissons, **Charibert** has Paris, **Grotan** has Burgundy, and **Sigebert I.** has Austrasia.

87. **Pepin d'Herist** Thierry; d authority, t the honors

32. **Dagobert** commits all the real power into the hands of the mayor of the palace, which accounts for the character of the succeeding kings, aptly denominated "sluggards.
38. He dies, and his dominions are divided between his two sons. 91. **Clo**
38. **Clovis II.** has Nuestria, and **Dagobert II** has Austrasia. 65. **Clotaire II.**
84. **Clotaire II.** succeeds Chilperic. 73. **Thierry II.**
es tranquillity 28. **Dagobert I.**
ing the kingdom.

MEROVINGIAN HOUSE.

SAXON HEPTARCHY.

71. EAST ANGLIA, founded by **Offa.**
47. NORTHUMBERLAND, founded by **Idda.** 97. **Aus**
tin (Augustine) and forty monks arrive as missionaries, sent by Gregory, bishop of Rome.
27. ESSEX, founded by **Sigobert.** 84. MURCIA, founded by Crida.

WALES.

13. **Cadwan.** 34. **Cadwall.** 78. **Cadwallader.** 86. **Idwallo.**

SCOTLAND.

4. **Kenneth** (or CLENETH) **I.**
36. **Donald IV.** 68. **Malduin.** 88. **Eugene V.**
50. **Ferchard II.** 92. **Eugene**

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART No. IV.

BARBARIAN AND MOHAMMEDAN ASCENDENCIES.

From 500 to 900 A. D.

PREPARED BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.

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of Tartary.

e House of
lil.

Walid I.

49. Abul-Abbas, first of the ABBASSIDES. 79. Al Modi. 84. Musa 'l Hadi.

7. Al Amin. 61. Al Montaser.
13. Al Mamun, a great encourager of learning. 62. Al Mostaim.
33. Al Motasem. 65. Al Motaz.
68. Al Mohtadi.

SARACEN EMPIRE.

14. Soliman. 43. Walid. 86. Haroun Al Raschid, a brave and benevolent caliph; he does much for science. 41. Al Wathek. 69. Al Motamed.
17. Omar II. 44. Yezid III. 46. Al Motawakkel.
19. Yezid II. 44. Merwan II.
23. Hesham. 54. Al Mansor; does much for science.
"The Augustan age of Saracenic literature."

Caravansaries built.

62. Builds Bagdad for his capital, and calls it the city of Peace.

50. Turkish slaves formed into the body-guards of the caliphs.

7. Haroun sends Charlemagne a clock, the first ever seen in Europe.

61. After the murder of the caliph the Turkish guards dispose of the throne at their pleasure.

30. After conquering Spain they invade Gaul.

In consequence of this, Arabia loses much of its importance.

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ge Constan-
months.
years in succession
by Calinicus,
ships with the
ek fire."

41. Constantine V. COPRONYMUS.
11. Philipicus Bardanes.
13. Anastasius II.
15. Theodosius III.
16. Leo III.
26. Leo publishes an edict against the veneration of images, which causes disturbances.
75. Leo IV., iconoclast or image-breaker.
81. Constantine VI. Irene is regent in her son's minority. She restores image-worship. Irene negotiates a marriage with Charlemagne, but is dethroned. rs her son, and is sole empress.

2. Nicephorus. 29. Theophilus.
11. Michael I. CUROPALATES.
13. Leo V., THE ARMENIAN.
20. Michael II., THE STAMMERER.
42. Michael III., THE DRUNKARD.
67. Basil I. has a vigorous reign; restores in some measure the falling honor of the empire; founds the MACEDONIAN RACE.
86. Leo VI., THE PHILOSOPHER.

16. ISAURIC RACE.

tius.
marus Tiberius.

Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, a learned writer, d. 86.

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12. The Visigoths conquered by the Saracens, who, having extended their dominion along the northern coast of Africa, invade Spain from Mauritania, whence they are called Moors. The Goths retire into Asturias.

55. The kingdom or caliphate of Cordova founded by Abderrahman of the House of Ommiades. He and his successors encourage literature and science.

87. Hashem.

22. Abderrahman II. He encourages science and literature.
7. Insurrection at Cordova. Insurgents exiled, a body of whom capture Crete in 23, and found Candia.
52. Mohammed I. 89. Abdalla, a mild and enlightened prince.
60-81. Rebellion of Omar.
44. Irruption of the Norman Sea-kings, a race of pirates from Scandinavia, who, during two centuries (from 800 to 1000), ravage almost every coast in Europe.

18. Pelagias forms the kingdom of ASTURIAS.

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agimbertus usurps.
ribertus II.

44. Hildebrandus deposed for his vices.
Rachisius.
56. Desiderius. 74. Is deposed by annexes Ital
49. Astolphus; he retakes Ravenna a is defeated by Pepin.

12. Ansprandus.

Luitprandus; he takes Ravenna.

74. The donation and enlarged

Contests with the pope.

55. Pepin rewards Pope Stephen by co him the exarchate of Ravenna

Charlemagne, who
y to his empire.
nd threatens Rome;

55. Louis II. (emperor.)

75. Charles the Bald, king of France.
77. Carloman. 94. Lambert.
80. Charles the Fat, emperor in
81. 89. Guy of Spoletto, and Berenger of Friuli dispute the crown

of Pepin confirmed by Charlemagne.

44. Sergius II. 82. Martin II.
67. Adrian II. 84. Adrian III.

nferring upon and Pentapolis.

24. Eugenius II. 47. Leo IV. 72. John VIII. Stephen VI.
27. Valentine. 55. Benedict III. 91. Formosus.

ohn. 8. Constantine. 41. Zachary. 57. Paul I. 67. Stephen III. 95. Leo.
5. John VII. 31. Gregory III. 50. Stephen II. 72. Adrian I.
7. Sissinius.
15. Gregory II.
16. Stephen IV. Gregory IV. 58. Nicholas I.
17. Pascal I.

PAPAL CHURCH.

26 to 87. Controversies respecting image-worship.

87. Seventh General Council (Second of Nice).

48. Eighth General Council at Constantinople.
49. The Saracens besiege Rome; are repulsed by Leo IV.

cil, at Constantinople, at which Pope Honorius
r bishops are solemnly anathematized.

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55. Louis II. 66. He goes against the Saracens, who had invaded Italy, and is defeated.
13. Louis I., THE PIOUS. 40. Lothaire I. His brother Charles has France, and Louis Bavaria. 42. Louis of Bavaria. king of France.
Divides his dominions among his sons; they revolt. 75. Charles II., THE BALD.
81. Charles the Gross, grandson of Louis I.
87. Arnold, great-grandson of Louis I., proclaimed. 96. He takes Rome.

yor, declares war against him and rules with absolute
n he preserves to Thierry
alty.

14. Charles Martel succeeds his father as mayor.

52. He applies to the pope with reference to the deposition of Childeric III. The decision is that "As Pepin possesses the power, he shall also bear the title of king." The last of the Merovingians is therefore dismissed into a convent. 71. Carloman dies.
68. Charles the Great, or CHARLEMAGNE,

Charlemagne, or CHARLES THE GREAT, crowned emperor of the West; brave and industrious; a statesman and patron of learning. The Normans overthrow all the western provinces, burning and destroying.

40. Charles II., THE BALD.
41. *Fontenay*—Lothaire defeated by his brothers Louis and Charles.
77. Louis II., THE STAMMERER.
79. Louis III. and Carloman.

11. Dagobert III. 47. Chilperic III.
15. Chilperic II.
41. Pepin le Bref, son of Charles in Austrasia.
20. Thierry IV.

32. *Tours*—Charles defeats the Saracens with immense slaughter and saves the liberties and religion of Europe.
72-803. Charlemagne subdues the Saxons seven times.
73. He defeats Desiderius, who had invaded the dominions of the pope.

and Carloman.
87. Charles deposed for cowardice, and the imperial dignity transferred from France to Germany.
88. Eudes or ODO, elected.
84. Charles II., THE GROSS.
85. Normans besiege Paris.

CARLOVINGIAN. *IMPERIAL.*

BEDE. "the Venerable," an ecclesiastical historian, d. 35, a. 62.

Egbert the Great reigns in Wessex and Sussex.
19. Conquers Kent. 38. Ethelwolf.
24. Conquers Essex. 57. Ethelbald.
27. Finishes the conquest of the other kingdoms, and remains sole king.

72. Alfred the Great, the "father of his country," defeats the Danes in eight battles, divides England into counties, and establishes trial by jury.
86. Founds Oxford University.
58. Fresh invasions of the piratical Danes.
60. Ethelbert. 66. Ethelred.

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20. Roderic I. 55. Conan.

ie Britons, having been totally subdued by the Saxons, had before this time retreated into Wales and Cornwall.

18. Merwin Uriel, King of Man, and his wife Esyth, heiress of Wales.
43. Roderick II., THE GREAT.
77. He divides the kingdom among his sons into three principalities: viz., North and South Wales and Powy's Land.

Amberkeleth. 21. Mordach. 64. Fergus III. 87. Achalus or
4. Eugene VII. 30. Etfinus. 61. Eugene VIII.
67. Salvathus

ARCHANIS. 19. Congal III. 57. Donald V. 74. Ethus. 92. Donald VI.
24. Dongal. 58. Constantine II. 75. Gregory the Great.
43. He extirpates the Picts, and takes the title of king of Scotland.
He defeats the Danes and Welsh.

414 nearly the whole of Gaul had submitted to the conqueror, who next turned his arms against the barbarians of Spain. Five years previously the Spanish peninsula had been overrun by the Vandals, who with but little opposition gained possession of the country. Adolphus now made his way across the Pyrenees and began a career of conquest, which in the following year was cut short by his assassination. The chieftains, however, chose Wallia as a successor, and in three successive campaigns drove the Vandals out of Spain. The country was thus nominally reännexed to the Western Empire. On returning into Gaul, in the year 418, the Goths were rewarded by Honorius by the cession of Aquitaine, the same being the extensive region between the Garonne and the Loire. The Gothic capital was fixed at the city of Toulouse, and a more settled state of affairs supervened than had been witnessed since the beginning of the barbarian invasions.

During the reign of Theodoric he was frequently called upon to protect his Visigothic friends in Gaul and Spain. The Franks, however, became more and more aggressive. By the year 507 Clovis had fixed his capital at Paris. In a council held at that city he declared his purpose of making war on the Goths because of their heresy in following the creed of Arius. The nobles proclaimed their readiness to follow and their determination never to shave their beards until victory had crowned their enterprise. Clotilda, the queen, added woman's zeal to the cause, and through her influence Clovis vowed to build a church to the holy apostles, who were expected to be his patrons in the extermination of the Gothic heretics. A campaign was accordingly organized for the recovery of Aquitaine.

At this time the king of the Visigoths was Alaric, a warlike prince, but no match for Clovis. After mutual preparations the two armies came face to face a few miles from Poitiers, where the overthrow of the Goths was easily effected. The two kings met in the battle, and Alaric fell under the battle-axe of his rival. The conquest of the rich province of Aquitaine was the result of the conflict, but the Goths were permitted to retain the narrow tract of Septimania, extending from the Rhone to the Pyrenees. As to the rest of the Gaulish possessions of the Visigoths, they were permanently annexed to the kingdom of France.

In the mean time, during the latter half of the fifth century, the race of Alaric had planted itself firmly in Spain. In this country the barbarians made little concealment of their purpose to extinguish the Roman Empire. Theodoric II., who had himself obtained the Visigothic throne by murder, was in his turn assassinated by his brother, Euric, who proved to be as able as he was base. In the year 472 he passed the Pyrenees and captured Saragossa and Pampeluna. The nobles of the Roman party gathered an army to resist his progress, but were defeated in battle. He then extended his conquest into Lusitania, and reduced the whole peninsula. Even the little kingdom of the Suevi was made to acknowledge the authority of the Gothic sovereign.

With the beginning of the following century the royal line of the Goths was broken by the death of the infant grandson of Theodoric, and the government fell into the hands of Count Theudes, whose valor as a chieftain had already made him a power in the nation. At this time the Goths were engaged in a war with the Vandals, and it was resolved to invade Africa. In the year 535 an expedition was made against Ceuta, on the African coast. The place was besieged, with every prospect of success on the part of the besiegers; but on the Sabbath day the pious Goths forebore to press the enemy and engaged in worship. Taking advantage of this respite, the irreligious Vandals sallied forth and broke up the investment. It was with difficulty that Theudes made his escape into Spain. In a short time, however, an embassy came from Gelimer, now in the deepest distress; for Belisarius was victorious over the Vandals, and their king was a fugitive. In 534 he applied to Theudes for help; but the latter merely temporized with the messengers until he learned of the downfall of Carthage, whereupon he dismissed them.

After the conquest of Africa, Belisarius repaired to Italy and the Visigothic kingdom was for a while left undisturbed. When Theudes died the succession was disputed, and the less worthy of the two candidates appealed

to Justinian for the support of his claims. The Emperor espoused his cause, and received in return several cities and fortresses as a recompense. In this way the influence of the Eastern Empire was, to a certain extent, restored in Spain, and during the remainder of the sixth and the early part of the seventh century the kingdom of the Visigoths might well be regarded as a dependency.

Between the years 577 and 584 the great religious revolution was accomplished by which, in Gaul and Spain, the Arian faith was overthrown and the orthodox creed established as the true belief of the Christians. As usual in such movements, personal agencies were blended with general causes in effecting the result. At the period referred to, Leovigild was king of the Goths. He, like his subjects, held to Arianism. His son, Hermenegild, chose for his wife the orthodox daughter of Sigebert, king of the Franks. Between her and the wife of the Gothic monarch violent dissensions arose, and the younger princess was at last beaten almost to death and ordered to be drowned in a fish-pond. Hermenegild, backed by the archbishop of Seville, prevented the execution of the murderous purpose of the queen. The Catholic party rallied to the support of Hermenegild and his wife, and civil war—which was really a war of religions—broke out in the kingdom. For the time success declared for the side of the king and the Arians. The rebellious son was overthrown, and finally, after repeated acts of treason, was put to death.

When Leovigild died, he was succeeded by his son, Recared, who, like his brother, was of the othodox belief. He declared himself a Catholic. He called a council of the Arian clergy, and reason and superstition were both employed to persuade them from their error. By various means they were won over, though several nascent rebellions had to be crushed before the change in the national faith could be effected. The whole body of the Visigothic people was gradually brought within the Catholic fold, and the Suevi of North-western Spain were also added to the Church.

One of the principal acts of the reign of Recared was the calling of the great Council of Toledo—first of the conventions of that name. Seventy bishops of the Church assembled and testified the zeal of new converts by extending the doctrines of the Nicene Creed. The king celebrated the religious recovery of his people by sending costly presents to Gregory the Great, and that pontiff reciprocated by returning to Recared the hairs of John the Baptist, some of the wood of the True Cross, and some iron rust from the chains of St. Peter.

During the seventh century the Visigothic kingdom in Spain flourished as greatly as might be expected of a barbarian power in a barbaric age. One of the marked features of the times was the establishment of many colonies of Jews in the Spanish peninsula. The warlike spirit in the sons of Israel was now extinct, but their buffetings among the nations had developed in the race that marvelous faculty of gain by which the Jewish people have ever since been characterized. Their rapid accumulations had made them the victims of avarice in every state where they had settled. Nor were the pious Visigoths any exception to the rule of persecution. Of course the religion of the Jews was generally made an excuse for the perpetration of deeds the real object of which was mere confiscation and robbery. Indeed, it may be stated as a general fact that, during the Middle Ages in Europe, the right of property was never regarded except when enforced by the sword.

In the beginning of the seventh century the Visigothic king was Sisebut. During his reign a great persecution was instituted against the Spanish Jews. The real motive was plunder. Ninety thousand of the Israelites were compelled under penalty of confiscation to accept the rite of baptism. Those who refused were put to torture; nor were the recusants permitted to avoid the alternative by escaping from the country. It was baptism or death. The obstinacy of the Jews was such that most of their property passed to the hands of their persecutors. When there was little more to be obtained by robbery one of the successors of Sisebut issued an edict for the banishment of all Jews from his dominion. One of the great councils of Toledo required all succeeding sovereigns to subscribe to the law of banishment; but cu-

pidity was generally stronger than an oath, and it became the practice to despoil and enslave the Jews rather than drive them to foreign lands. Notwithstanding the distresses which they suffered the Jews continued to increase, and it can not be doubted that they were the agents of that intercourse by which in the early part of the eighth century the Moors of Africa, already panting for such an enterprise, were induced to cross the strait and undertake the conquest of Europe.

The story of this great movement, by which the Mohammedans were precipitated into Spain, will be reserved for its proper place in the Second Book. It is sufficient in this connection to say that in the year 711 a great army of mixed races, all professing the faith of the Prophet, and led by the great chieftain Taric, crossed the strait of Gibraltar and began a career of conquest which resulted in the subjugation of Spain. The Visigothic ascendency was ended, except in the Christian kingdom of Castile, in which the remnant of the Christian powers were consolidated and were enabled to maintain themselves during the remainder of the Middle Ages.

Of the KINGDOM OF THE VANDALS a good deal has already been said in the preceding pages. The progress of this people from the north and their settlement in Spain will readily be recalled.[1] Having once obtained a foothold in the peninsula they gradually prevailed over their adversaries. Even the Roman general Castinus, who in 428 was sent out against them, was defeated in battle and obliged to save himself by flight. The cities of Seville and Carthagena fell into the hands of the Vandals, who thence made their way to the islands of Majorca and Minorca, and then into Africa. Into the latter country they were invited by King Boniface, who had become the leader of an African revolt against his rival Aetius. The disposition of the Vandals to extend their conquests beyond the sea had been quickened by the warlike zeal of the great GENSERIC, who, after the death of his brother Gonderic, was elected to the Vandal throne. So great was the prowess of this mighty warrior that his name is written with those of Alaric and Attila as the third of the barbaric thunderbolts by which the great tree of Rome was riven to the heart. He is represented as a man of medium stature, lame in one leg, slow of speech, taciturn, concealing his plans in the deep recesses of his barbaric spirit. His ambition was as great as his policy was subtle. To conquer was the principal thing; by creating strife among his enemies, if might be, by open battle if necessary.

When about to depart for the war in Africa—though Genseric contemplated no less than the removal of the whole Vandal race to the south side of the Mediterranean and the consequent abandonment of the Spanish peninsula—he turned about to chastise the king of the Suevi, who had rashly presumed to begin an invasion of the territory from which the Vandals were departing. Genseric fell upon the impudent violators of the peace and drove them into the river Anas. Then in the year 429 he embarked at the head of his nation, crossed the strait of Gibraltar, and landed on the African coast.

The number transported for the succor of Boniface amounted to fifty thousand men of war, besides the aged and infirm, the women and the children of the nation. It was, however, the prestige of victory rather than the array of numbers that rendered the Vandal invasion so formidable to the African tribes. Strange, indeed, was the contrast between the florid-complexioned, blue-eyed German warriors, strangely dressed and still more strangely disciplined, and the swarthy natives of that sun-scorched shore. Soon, however, the Moors came to understand that the Vandals were the enemies of Rome, and that sufficed for friendship. The African tribes crowded around the camp and eagerly entered into alliances with Genseric, willing to accept any kind of a master instead of the relentless lords of Italy.

No sooner had the Vandals established themselves in Africa than Count Boniface and the Princess Placidia found abundant cause to repent of their rashness in soliciting the aid of the inexorable barbarians. It became manifest that neither Tyrian nor Trojan would receive any consideration at the hands of the stern king of the Vandals. Boniface sought and obtained the pardon of Aetius. Carthage, and the other Roman posts, by which Africa had long been overawed and

[1] See Book First, p. 36.

held in subjection, returned quickly to their allegiance, and Boniface with an army of veterans would gladly have coöperated with the constituted authorities in driving the Vandals beyond the sea. But Genseric soon annihilated the forces of Boniface, and carried his victorious banners far and wide until only the cities of Carthage, Cirta, and Hippo Rhegius remained in the possession of the Romans.

The religious condition of Africa contrib-



THE LANDING OF THE VANDALS IN AFRICA.
Drawn by F. E. Wolfrom.

uted to its rapid conquest by Genseric. A sect called the DONATISTS, so named from their leader, Donatus, who flourished in the beginning of the fourth century, fell under the ban of the orthodox party and were bitterly persecuted. Three hundred bishops and thousands of clergymen of inferior rank were deprived of their property, expelled from their country, and driven into exile. Intolerable fines were imposed upon persons of distinction supposed to be in sympathy with the heretics. Under these persecutions many of the Donatists gave way of necessity and entered the Catholic fold; but the fanatical element could not be subdued, and this numerous party became the natural ally of Genseric. The sacking of the Catholic churches which ensued, and which, as reported by the fathers, has made the word *vandalism* a synonym for wanton robbery, is doubtless to be attributed to the uncontrollable vengeance of the Donatists rather than to the barbarians themselves, who, on the whole, were less to be dreaded for their savagery than either the Goths or the Huns.

In the year 430, the seven rich provinces stretching from Tangier to Tripoli were overrun by the invaders. The cities were generally destroyed. The wealth accumulated by ages of extortion was exposed by the torture of its possessors, and seized with a rapacity known only to barbarism. In many instances the unresisting inhabitants of towns were butchered by the frenzied Vandals. Boniface himself, after vainly attempting to stay the work which he had provoked, was besieged in Hippo Rhegius. For fourteen months the garrison held out, but was finally reduced by famine. Meanwhile, the Empire sent what succor might be spared to shore up the tottering fortunes of Africa. A powerful armament, under the command of Aspar, leaving Constantinople, joined the forces of Boniface, and the latter again offered battle to the Vandals. A decisive conflict ensued, in which the Imperial army was destroyed. Boniface soon after fell in Italy in a civil broil with his old rival, Aetius.

It appears that, after the capture of Hippo Rhegius and the overthrow of Boniface, Genseric did not press his advantage as might have been expected. He entered into negotiations with the Emperor of the West, and agreed to concede to that sovereign the possession of Mauritania. Several aspirants for the Vandal throne, notably the sons of Gonderic, appeared to annoy rather than endanger the supremacy of the barbarian monarch. Nor could the turbulent populations which he had subdued be easily reduced to an orderly state. An interval of eight years was thus placed between the defeat of Boniface and the capture of Carthage. When the city fell into the hands of the assailants, it was despoiled of its treasures after the manner of the age. The dominant party of the Carthaginians was subjected to the severest treatment by the conqueror. The nobles, senators, and ecclesiastics were driven into perpetual banishment.

With the downfall of Carthage the supremacy of the Vandals in Northern Africa was completely established. The maritime propensities of the Moorish nations had not been extinguished by centuries of warfare. Nor was Genseric slow to perceive that the ocean was now the proper pathway to further conquest and glory. The coast towns again rang with the shipbuilders' axe, and the Vandals emulated the nautical skill of the subject people. It was not long till an African fleet conveyed an army into Sicily, which was readily subjugated. Descents were made on the coasts of Italy, and it became a question with the emperors, not whether they could recover Africa, but whether Rome herself could be saved from the clutches of Genseric.

A Vandal fleet anchored at the mouth of the Tiber. Maximus had recently succeeded Valentinian on the Imperial throne, but at the end of three months he was murdered and his body thrown into the Tiber. Three days after this event, the Vandals advanced against the city. The Roman bishop, Leo, and a procession of the clergy came forth, and in the name of religion and humanity demanded that the inoffensive should be spared and the city saved from ruin. Genseric promised moderation, but vain was the pledge of barbarism. For fourteen days and nights Rome was given up to indiscriminate pillage. The treasures of the Eternal City were carried on board the Vandal ships, and wanton destruction, fire, and murder added to the horrors of the sack.

She that had despoiled the nations was in her turn outraged and left lying in her own blood by the banks of the Tiber.

From this time, for a period of eight years, the Vandals became the terror of the Mediterranean. The coasts of Spain, Liguria, Tuscany, Campania, Lucania, Bruttium, Apulia, Calabria, Venetia, Dalmatia, Epirus, Greece, Sicily, Sardinia, and indeed of all the countries from Gibraltar to Egypt, were assailed by the piratical craft of Genseric. With all of his conquests and predatory excursions the Vandal king showed himself capable of policy and statecraft. After the capture of Rome, he took the Empress Eudoxia and her daughter, Eudocia, to Carthage. He compelled the young princess to accept his son Hunneric in marriage, and thus established a kind of legitimacy in the Vandal government. Eudoxia and her other daughter, Placidia, were then restored from their captivity.

The separation between the Eastern and Western Empires had now become so complete that the one could no longer depend upon the other for succor. The West was thus left to struggle with the barbarians as best she might; nor were her appeals for aid much regarded by the court of Constantinople. The warlike Count Ricimer, leader of the barbarian armies in Italy in alliance with Rome, was reduced to the necessity of tendering the submission of the country to the Eastern Emperor as the condition of protection against the Vandals.

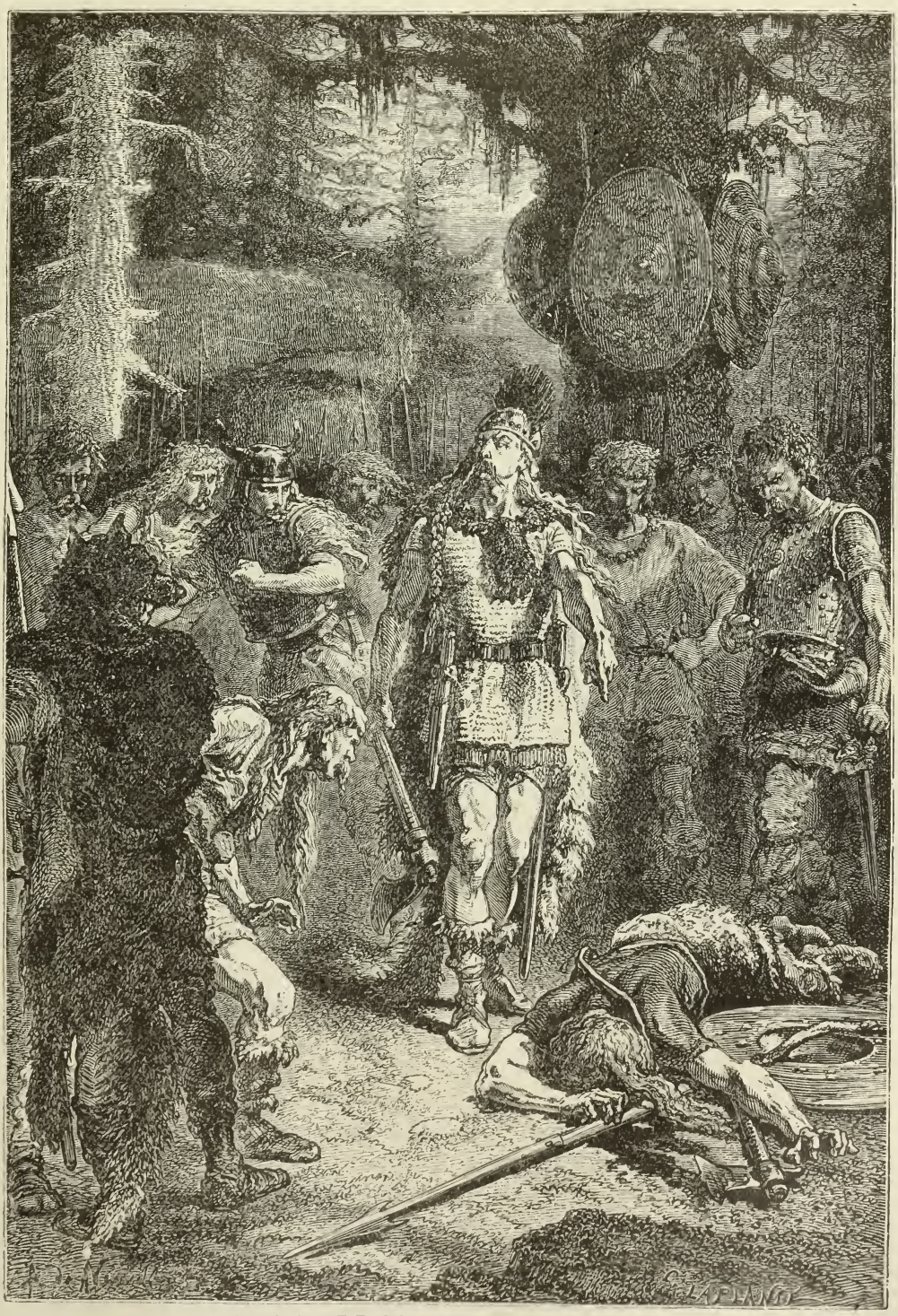
On his return to his African kingdom, Genseric again found himself embroiled with his Catholic subjects. The orthodox bishops openly disputed with his ministers in the synods, and the king resorted to persecution as a means of intellectual conquest. In the reign of Hunneric, who succeeded his father in the year 477, the Catholic party was still more seriously proscribed. Many were exiled, and a few were tortured on account of their religious creed. After the death of Hunneric in 484, the throne descended successively to his two nephews, Gundamund and Thrasimund, the former of whom reigned twelve and the latter twenty-seven years.

This period in Vandal history was occupied with the quarrels and wars of the Arian and orthodox parties in the Church. Meanwhile, Hilderic, the son of Hunneric, grew to his majority, and after the death of his cousin Thrasimund, in 523, acceded to the throne. His disposition was much more humane than that of his predecessors, but his goodness was supplemented by feebleness, and, after halting through a weak reign of seven years, he was supplanted on the throne by his cousin Gelimer. The end of the Vandal power, however, was already at hand. Partly with a view to exterminate the Arian heresy, and partly for the purpose of restoring the supremacy of the Empire throughout the West, Belisarius was dispatched into Africa and intrusted with the work of reconquering the country. The years 530–534 were occupied by the great general in overthrowing the dominion established by Genseric south of the Mediterranean. Gelimer was driven from the throne, and attempted to make his escape to the capital of the Visigoths in Spain. He made his way as far as the inland districts of Numidia, but was there seized and brought back a prisoner. In the year 534, Belisarius was honored with a triumph in the streets of Constantinople, and the appearance of the aged Gelimer in the captive train was a notification to history that the kingdom of the Vandals existed no longer.

The origin and course of the Frankish Nation down to the time of Clovis has already been narrated in the preceding pages.[1] It will be remembered that, after their settlement in Gaul in the beginning of the fifth century, the Franks were ruled in the German manner by a noble family, which traced its origin to the prince Meroveus and was known as the Merovingian House. The chieftains of this family were elevated on the bucklers of their followers and proclaimed kings of the Franks. They were represented as having blue eyes and long, flaxen hair, tall in stature, warlike in disposition. Clodion, the first of these kings, held his court at a town between Louvain and Brussels. His kingdom is said to have extended from the Rhine to the Somme. On his death the kingdom was left to his two sons, the elder of whom appealed to Attila, and the younger—Meroveus—to the court of Rome. Thus was prepared one of the conditions of the Hunnish invasion of Gaul. Of

[1] See Book First, p. 37.

the reign of Meroveus not much is known. The next sovereign, named CHILDERIC, was banished on account of his youthful follies. For four years he lived in retirement in Germany, where he abused the hospitality of the king of the Thuringians by winning away his queen, who accompanied him on his way into Gaul. Of this union was born the



"THUS DIDST THOU TO THE VASE AT SOISSONS."

prince KHLODWIG, or CLOVIS, who is regarded as the founder of the Frankish monarchy. In the year 481 he succeeded his father in the government, being then but fifteen years of age.

Clovis was a warrior from his youth. His disposition was audacious in the extreme. In one of his earlier campaigns he captured the cathedral of Rheims and despoiled the altar of its treasures. Among the rich booty was a marvelous vase of great size and value. When it came to a division of the spoil, the king—against that usage of the German race which required that all the spoils of war should be divided by lot—sought the vase for himself. For the bishop of Rheims had sent to him a request for a return of the priceless trophy, and Clovis would fain make friends with the Christian nobleman. But one of the Frankish chiefs struck the vase with his battle-axe and destroyed it.

Clovis was greatly angered, but for a while concealed his wrath. In the course of time there was a military inspection of the Franks, and when the king came to examine the arms of him who had broken the vase he found them rusty and unfit for use. He wrenched the battle-axe out of the hands of the chief and threw it on the ground, and when the owner stooped to recover it dashed his own ponderous weapon into the skull of the stooping warrior. "Thus," said he, "didst thou to the vase at Soissons." Nor did any dare to resent the murder of the chief.

At the time of the accession of Clovis the kingdom of the Franks embraced only the provinces of Tournay and Arras, and the number of Clovis's warriors did not, perhaps, exceed five thousand. It was, however, a part of the freedom of the German tribes to attach themselves to what chieftain soever appeared most worthy to be their leader.

At first Clovis was a soldier of fortune. In his earlier expeditions and conquests the spoils of battle were divided among his followers. Discipline, however, was the law of his army, and justice the motto of his government. His ascendency over the Franks and other German tribes soon became the most marked of any thus far witnessed since the beginning of the barbarian invasion. Soon after his accession to authority, Clovis was obliged to contend for his rights with the Roman Syagrius, who claimed to be master-general of Gaul. That element in Gaulish society, however, which was represented by Syagrius had so greatly declined in numbers and influence that Clovis gained an easy victory, and his rival was delivered over to the executioner.

The next conflict of the king of the Franks was with the Alemanni. This strong confederation of tribes claimed jurisdiction over the Rhine from its sources to the Moselle. Their aggressions in the kingdom of Cologne brought them into conflict with Clovis, and the latter defeated them in a great battle fought in the plain of Tolbiac. The king of the Alemanni was slain, and his followers were obliged to submit to the conqueror. The result of the conflict was so far-reaching that Theodoric the Great sent his congratulations from Ravenna.

In the year 496 Clovis was converted from paganism to Christianity. In the mean time he had married Clotilda, a Catholic princess, niece of the king of Burgundy. It was through her instrumentality that the king's mind was gradually won from the superstitions of the North. The tradition exists that in the crisis of the battle of Tolbiac, when the kingdom as well as the life of Clovis was hanging in the balance, he prayed aloud to the "God of Clotilda," whereupon victory declared in his favor. The pious warrior could do no less than recognize his obligation by accepting the religious faith of his queen.

It appears, moreover, that the doctrines of Christianity had already diffused themselves not a little among the chiefs of the Frankish nation. Though it was anticipated that the conversion of Clovis would be illy received by his people, yet the opposite was true. The chiefs of the Franks applauded his course and followed his example. In the year 496 Clovis was publicly baptized in the cathedral of Rheims, and the officiating bishops and priests spared no pains to make the ceremony as solemn and magnificent as possible. Three thousand of the principal Franks were likewise baptized into the new faith.[1] Thus, nominally,

[1] It is narrated that Clovis was greatly excited on hearing repeated the tragic story of the crucifixion of Christ. His feelings were a mixture of

at least, the new kingdom established by the genius of Clovis was planted upon a basis of Christianity.

It could not be truthfully claimed, however, that the lives and characters of the Frankish king and his subjects were much modified by their conversion. The ferocious manners and coarse instincts of the barbarians still continued to predominate until what time the gradual influences of enlightenment dispelled the darkness of heathenism. The reign of Clovis thus became a mixture of Christian profession and pagan practices. He accepted the miracles performed at the holy sepulcher at Tours by St. Martin, and drank in the entire superstition of his times. He received from the Catholic clergy the title of Eldest Son of the Church; for he was the first of the pagan kings to accept the doctrines of Christianity as they were promulgated from the See of Rome.



CLOVIS MURDERS THE MEROVINGIAN PRINCES.
Drawn by Vierge.

But neither the professions of religious faith, nor the baptismal ceremony, nor any humanity in the king himself prevented him from imbruing his hands in the blood of the innocent. He assassinated all the princes of the Merovingian family as coolly and deliberately as though he were an Oriental despot; nor was any human life or interest permitted to stand between him and his purpose. In the year 497, the Armoricans were obliged to submit to the new French monarchy. About the same time, the remaining troops and garrisons within the limits of Gaul were overpowered by the Franks. In further conquests Clovis extended his authority over the northern provinces, and in 499 he began war on Gundobald, king of the Burgundians. In the realms of that monarch, as previously in those of the king of the Franks, religious clamor was at its height between the Catholic and Arian parties. The king adhered to the latter, and the former, having a natural affiliation with Clovis, a good excuse was given to the king of the Franks for undertaking the war in the name of religion. In the year 500 a great battle was fought between Langres

Christian pathos and barbarian vengeance. "Had I been present with my valiant Franks," he exclaimed in wrath, "I would have revenged his injuries."

and Dijon. Victory declared for Clovis. Burgundy became tributary to the Franks. Within a short time Gundobald violated the conditions which were imposed by the conqueror, and the war was renewed. Gundobald, however, continued his nominal reign until his death, and was succeeded by his son, Sigismund.

With him the kingdom of the Burgundians was destined to extinction. In the year 532, an army of Franks was led into the country, and Sigismund was driven from the throne, captured, and, with his wife and two children, buried alive in a well. The Burgundians were still allowed to enjoy their local laws, but were otherwise incorporated with the dominions of the conqueror. There thus remained to the sons of Clovis a realm almost as broad as the Republic of France.

In the mean time Clovis had established his capital at Paris. In the first quarter of the sixth century occurred the great struggle between the Goths and the Franks for possession of the country north of the Alps. A personal interview was held between Clovis and Alaric on an island in the Loire. Many were the mutual professions of kingly and brotherly affection between the two distinguished monarchs, who each hid beneath the cloak of Christian regard a profound and settled purpose to undo his *friend* at the first opportunity. In the year 507 a great battle was fought about ten miles from Poitiers, in which the Franks were completely victorious.

In the next year the kingdom of Aquitaine was overrun by Clovis and annexed to his dominions. Hearing of these great conquests and especially delighted with the Christian profession of the king of the Franks, the Emperor Anastasius, looking out from Constantinople to the west, conferred upon him the imperial titles. The king entered the church of St. Martin, clad himself in purple, and was saluted as *Consul* and *Augustus*.

Something was still wanting to complete the establishment of the French monarchy, and this was supplied a quarter of a century after the death of Clovis. The city of Arles and Marseilles, the last strongholds of the Ostrogoths in Gaul, were surrendered to the Franks, and the transfer was sanctioned by Justinian. The people of the provinces beyond the Alps were absolved from their allegiance to the Emperor of the East, and by this act the independent sovereignty of the Franks was virtually recognized. So complete was the autonomy of the new government that gold coins, stamped with the name and image of the Merovingians, passed current as a measure of value in the exchanges of the Empire. The settled state of affairs which thus supervened among the people of Gaul, contributed powerfully to stimulate the nascent civilization of the epoch. Already under the immediate successors of Clovis, the Franks or French became of all the recently barbarous peoples of the North the most polite in manners, language, and dress.

It may be interesting in this connection to add a few paragraphs respecting the growth of law, and, in general, of the social usages which prevailed among the barbarian peoples, especially among the Franks, in the times of the Merovingian kings. Before the elevation of the House of Meroveus, namely, in the beginning of the fifth century, the Franks appointed four of their sagest chieftains to reduce to writing the usages of the nation. Their work resulted in the production of a code known as the *Salic Laws*. These statutes were reported to three successive assemblies of the people and were duly approved. When Clovis became a Christian he found it necessary to modify several of the laws which touched upon questions of religion. His successors in the kingdom further revised the Salic code until in the course of a century from the time of Clovis the statutes were reduced to their ultimate form. About the same time the laws of the Ripuarian Franks were codified and promulgated; and these two bodies of law were made the basis of the legislation of Charlemagne. It will be remembered that when the Alemanni were conquered by the Franks they were permitted to retain their own local institutions. The same was true in the case of the conquest of the Bavarians. The Merovingian kings took care that the laws of the two peoples last mentioned should also be compiled as a part of the local statutes of the kingdom. In the case of the Visigoths and the Burgundians, written legislation had already preceded the Frankish conquest. Among the former people King Euric himself was the tribal legislator, by whom the immemorial

usages of his nation were reduced to statutory form.

In general, the barbarian laws were such as sprang necessarily out of the conditions present in their rude society. Each tribe had its local customs and usages, which in the course of time obtained first the sanction of observance and then of authority. When the kingdom was consolidated under the Merovingians each tribe was permitted to retain its own laws; nor did Clovis and his successors attempt to exact uniformity. The same freedom which was thus extended to the various nations composing the Frankish power was conceded to the different classes of society. In some sense there was a law for each member of the tribe. Individuality was the essential principle—*free doom* the first thing consulted in legislation.

The barbarian customs were persistent—transmitted from father to son. The child received and followed the law of the parent; the wife, of her husband; the freedman, of his patron. In all procedures the preference was given to the defendant, who must be tried in his own court, and might choose the law under which he was prosecuted.

The peculiar vice of the barbarian legislation was the fact of its being *personal*. Crime was regarded as committed against the individual, not against society. This led inevitably to the substitution of private vengeance for public punishment. As among the American aborigines, so among the ancient Germans, revenge was regarded as honorable. Society conceded to each the privilege of vindicating his own rights and punishing the wrongdoer. The individual executor of the law was thus in his turn subjected to the will of the kinsmen of any whom he had punished. Vengeance and counter-vengeance thus became the common methods of obtaining redress. The *lex talionis* was the law of society. To the extent that this principle prevailed the magistrate was reduced to an advisory officer, whose duty was to mediate between man and man, rather than enforce by authority a common law upon all.

Growing out of these vicious principles was the idea present in nearly all the barbarian codes that human life might be measured by monetary valuation, that blood had its price. The admission of this element into the legislation of the Germans left the principle of fine and forfeiture as almost the only restraint against the commission of crime. Each member of society was permitted to take the life of the other, subject only to his ability to pay the price of the deed. Every person was appraised for criminal purposes. Upon the life of each was set an estimate, and this estimate was freely admitted as the basis of criminal proceedings. Of the *Antrustions*, or persons of the first rank, the lives were appraised at six hundred pieces of gold. The next grade of persons, embracing those who sat at the king's table, were listed at one-half as much as the Antrustions. The ordinary Frankish freeman was reckoned as worth two hundred pieces of gold, while the lives of persons of inferior quality were set at a price of a hundred or even fifty pieces. In general, the commission of crime against the life of a person was followed by the payment of a fine equal to the price at which the murdered man was appraised. It was perhaps fortunate that this irrational and inadequate punishment was reënforced by the fear of that personal vengeance which might in turn be taken upon the murderer.

With the lapse of time greater rigor was introduced in the administration of justice; and by the time of the advent of Charlemagne legislation had for the most part become impersonal—that is, punishment was thenceforth inflicted in the name of society, and not in the name of the individual.

In the sixth century the law was generally executed by the duke or prefect of the county. The judge was nearly always unlearned, passionate, perhaps vindictive. The methods employed in the alleged courts of justice were worthy of a barbarous age. The defendant might introduce his friends as witnesses, and prove that they *believed* him innocent! If as many as seventy-two persons could be found so to testify, it was sufficient to absolve an incendiary. It was found that the barbarian conscience was a very indifferent safeguard against the crime of perjury. In order more certainly to obtain the truth, two new methods were invented of putting the parties to the test. These were known by the common name of the "Judgment of God." The first was by

fire, the second by water. The accused was put to the test of handling a red-hot iron, which if he might do with impunity he was adjudged innocent. In the other case the criminal was put into the water. Should he be buoyed up, the judgment was, *Not Guilty;* should he sink, *Guilty.* Such was the benign legislation attributed to the lawgiver Gundobald, king of the Burgundians.

Another method of procedure in the barbarian court was that of judicial combat. In this case the accused was expected to confront the accuser, and to vindicate his innocence by battle. The combatants met each other on foot or on horseback, and fought, each according to the method of his own countrymen; and the court adjudged that he who fell was the criminal. This irrational and cruel method of deciding disputes, begotten, as it was, by ignorance and cradled by superstition, spread throughout all the states of Europe, and continued to prevail for many centuries. Nor might the weak, except by the aid of a champion, hope to contend successfully with the violence of the strong oppressor.

As far back as the days of Ariovistus, a claim was established by the Germans upon the lands of Gaul. At first one-third, and afterwards two-thirds, of the territory of the Sequani were assigned to the warriors beyond the Rhine. After five hundred years these claims, once recognized, were reässerted by the Visigoths and Burgundians, and became the basis of the subsequent land titles of Gaul.

At the time of the Frankish invasion, the rights of the original Gauls and Romans ceased to be regarded. The land distribution made by Clovis to his followers has already been mentioned. The Merovingian princes took and retained large domains out of the conquered territory. They also assumed the right of conferring upon the Frankish nobles certain lands called *benefices*, which were to be held in the feudal fashion on the conditions of military service and homage to the suzerain. Besides the royal estates and beneficiary lands, two other classes of title, known as the *allodial* and *Salic* possession, were also recognized. Already the system of Feudalism might be seen oozing out of barbaric France.

The system of slavery was adopted by the Franks as well as by the Romans. The barbarians reduced to servitude the prisoners taken in war. In general, however, the captives thus reduced to serfdom were attached to the *estates* of their masters, and were henceforth regarded as belonging to the land rather than subject to personal ownership. Still the power of life and death was freely exercised by the lord, and none might question his right to treat his serfs according to the dictates of interest, caprice, and fashion.

The consolidating and civilizing forces which began to assert themselves during the reign of Clovis were greatly retarded after his death. That event occurred in Paris in the year 511. The king was buried in the basilica of the Holy Apostles, which had been erected by him at the instance of Clotilda. The king left four sons as his successors. The first, named Theodoric, was born of a German wife, who preceded Clotilda. The other three, named Childebert, Clodomir, and Clotaire, were the sons of the queen. The unfortunate policy was adopted of dividing the kingdom among them. Theodoric received for his portion parts of Western Germany and Aquitaine, together with the country bounded by the Rhine and the Meuse. Childebert reigned at Paris; Clodomir, at Orleans; and Clotaire, at Soissons. The last named king was destined to unite the dominions of his brothers with his own.

At first the three sovereigns of Gaul formed an alliance and made a successful war on Burgundy, in the course of which Clodomir was killed, A. D. 531. Thereupon, Clotaire and Childebert conspired together to take his kingdom. The territory of the Orleans prince was accordingly divided between Paris and Soissons. After this Childebert made an expedition into Spain, and achieved some success over the Visigoths, but made no permanent conquests. Returning into France, a dispute arose between him and Clotaire, and the brothers undertook to settle their troubles by battle. But before the contest was decided, Childebert died; and by this mortal accident, the French territories of Clovis were again consolidated in the hands of his son. Meanwhile, the eastern part of the Frankish Empire, called Austrasia, remained under the authority of Theodoric. Two of the sons of Clodomir arose to claim the restitution of the Orleans province

which had belonged to their father; but they were hunted down and murdered by Clotaire.

A rebellion headed by Chramne, the king's son, was next suppressed by the royal army; and the disloyal prince, together with his wife and children, was burned alive. Theodoric's crown descended to his grandson, who died without issue, and Austrasia also was added to the kingdom of Clotaire, which now equaled in extent the realm governed by his father. His reign was extended for three years after the extinction of the Austrasian branch, when he died, leaving the Empire again to be divided among his four sons, Charibert, Gontran, Chilperic, and Sigebert. These all belonged to the race of *Rois Faineants*, or Royal Donothings, as they were called, in contempt of their indolent disposition and slothful habits.

On the death of Chilperic the crown descended to a second Clotaire, who, at the ripe age of four months, was left to the regency of his mother, Fredegonda. At this time the Austrasian government was under the regency of the Princess Brunehaut, who governed in the name of her grandsons. Between the two regents a war broke out, kindled with the double ferocity of barbarism and womanhood. In the year 613 Brunehaut was overpowered by the nobles of Burgundy and delivered into the hands of Clotaire, who put her to death with an excess of cruelty. Her extinction removed the last obstacle to the reüniting of the kingdom of Clovis in a single government.

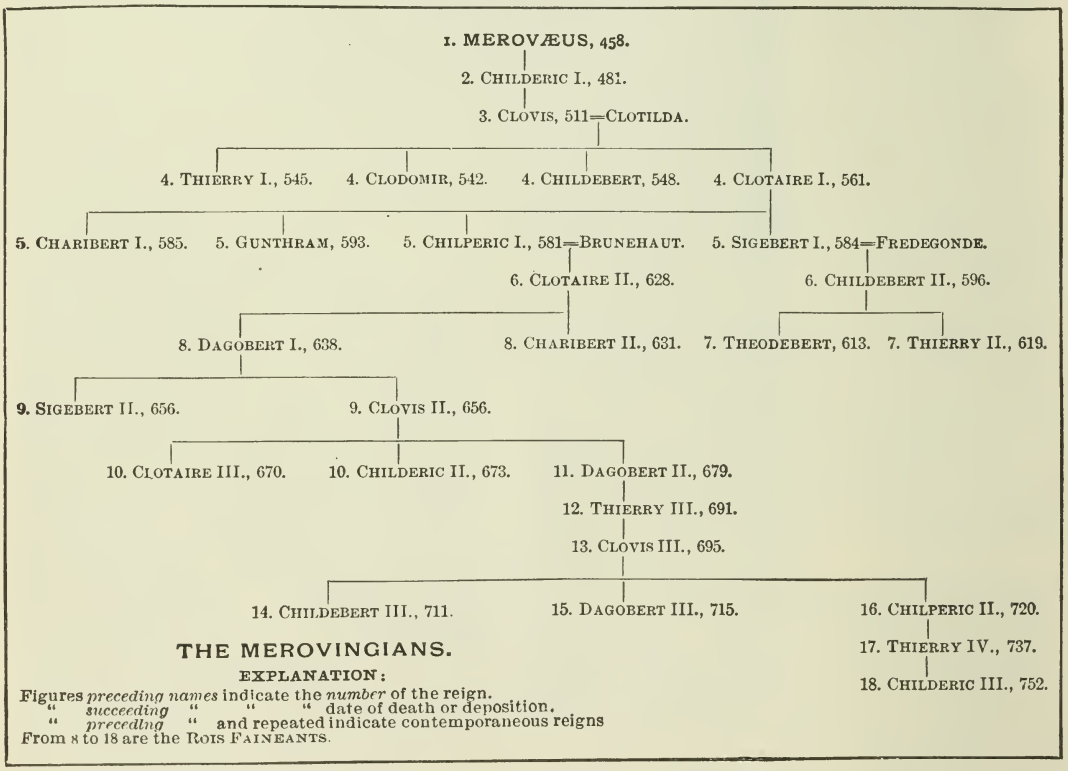
Clotaire II. died in the year 628, and was buried in the sepulcher of the Merovingians at Paris. He was succeeded in the government by his son Dagobert I. Before the death of his father, namely, in 622, he had been recognized as king of Austrasia. After the decease of the king, Neustria and Burgundy fell to Dagobert by inheritance; and three years later the kingdom of Aquitaine, which had been previously assigned to Charibert, was reännexed to the consolidated Empire.



MURDER OF THE CHILDREN OF CLODOMIR.

Dagobert proved to be a sovereign of great abilities and ambitions. He made his capital

the most splendid in Western Europe. He patronized learned men and great artisans. He endowed monasteries and abbeys. He revised the old Salian and Ripuarian statutes into a common code. He was called the Solomon of the Franks, and the name was well earned, both by the wisdom of his public and the social vices of his private life. Striking was the treachery displayed in his conduct toward the Bulgarians. Them he invited to accept an asylum within his dominions and then murdered. The royal household became



for the time a kind of Oriental harem, distracted with the broils of three queens and numberless concubines. He died in the year 638, and was buried at St. Denis.

Passing over the brief and inglorious reign of Sigebert II., we come to Dagobert II., who held the throne from 674 to 679, when he was assassinated by PEPIN OF HERISTAL and his brother Martin, mayor of the palace. This office had, during the alleged reigns of the *Rois Faineants*, become the most important in the Frankish government. The mayor of the palace was the great functionary of the state, and the king with his imbecile glory was hidden in the palace. When Dagobert II. was assassinated Pepin and Martin were honored with the titles of dukes of the Franks. At the same time the kingly title was abolished in Austrasia. In the year 680 Martin was killed in battle, and Pepin became master of the state. The German tribes on the border had now become hostile, and Duke Pepin was obliged to exert himself to maintain his eastern frontier. In 687 he inflicted a signal defeat on the enemy, and then invaded the territory of Neustria. He met the forces of this province in the battle of Testry, and inflicted upon them a defeat so signal as to complete at one stroke the conquest of Northern Gaul, or "Roman France," as that territory was then called.

Perhaps no other prince ever had more "kings" at his disposal than Pepin had. He did not, after the manner of Clovis, attempt the extermination of the remaining Merovingians, but permitted them each in his turn to occupy the nominal throne, behind which he himself stood a grisly terror. The kings Thierry III., Dagobert II., Clovis III., Childebert III., and Dagobert III. were so many

royal puppets in the hands of the great Frankish master. Once a year, on May-day, when the national assembly was convened at Paris, Pepin would bring forth his little sovereign and show him to the people. After this ceremony had been performed the king was sent back to the seclusion of his villa, where he was kept under guard, while Pepin conducted the affairs of state.

The period reaching from the year 687 to 712 was occupied with fierce struggles between the Franks and Frisians on the Rhine frontier. The former, however, having now gained the strength of civilization without having lost the heroic virtues of barbarism, were more than a match for the savage tribes whom they encountered in the north-east. The Frisians and the Alemanni were compelled, after repeated overthrows, to acknowledge the mastery of the victorious Franks.

Great were the domestic misfortunes to which Pepin in his old age was subjected. A fierce rivalry broke out between his queen, named Plectruda, and his mistress, Alpaida. Grimoald, son of the former, the legitimate heir of his father's power, was murdered; and the king was obliged to indicate a grandson, Dagobert III., as his successor. The son of Alpaida was Karl, or Charles, afterwards surnamed Martel, meaning the *Hammer*. When in the year 714, the boy grandson of Pepin acceded to power, he was placed under the regency of the widowed queen Plectruda; but Charles Martel soon escaped from the prison in which he had been confined by his father, seized his nephew, the king, and drove the queen from the palace. The way was rapidly preparing for a new dynasty.

In his restoration to liberty, Charles was aided by the Austrasians, who proclaimed him their duke. The Franks were now, as always, greatly discontented with the rule of a woman. Wherefore, when Martel led an army of Austrasians into Neustria, he easily gained the victory over the forces of the queen; and the Western Franks were little indisposed to acknowledge his leadership and authority. Becoming mayor of the palace, he permitted Dagobert to continue in the nominal occupancy of the throne. After his death three other kinglets, Chilperic, Clotaire, and Thierry, followed in rapid succession, playing the part of puppets. But when, in 737, the last of this imbecile dynasty died, Charles refused to continue the farce, and no successor was appointed. He, himself assumed supreme direction of affairs, and the *Rois Faineants* were dispensed with. The new monarch, however, declined to accept any title of royalty, merely retaining his rank as Duke of the Franks.

Great was the energy now displayed in the government. This was the epoch in which the struggle began to be manifested between the Frankish kings and their nobles. The barbarian aristocracy was little disposed to submit to the rule of a monarch. They felt that their free doom was curtailed by the authority of a king. Charles Martel was compelled to take arms against the powerful chieftains of Austrasia before they would submit; and the prelates of Neustria were in like manner reduced to obedience. He was also successful in several campaigns against the German tribes on the north-eastern frontier; but the great distinction of his reign and glory of his own genius were shown in his conflict with the Mohammedans.

The appearance in Spain of these fiery followers of the Arabian Prophet, their victories over the Visigoths, and the establishment of the Moorish kingdoms in the peninsula have already been referred to and will hereafter be narrated in full.[1] Having conquered Spain, the Moslems crossed the Pyrenees and invaded Gaul. Their purpose of conquest was nothing less than all Europe for Allah and the Crescent. In the south of France a gallant defense was made by Count Eudes, Duke of Aquitaine, who in 721 defeated the Saracens in a battle at Toulouse, where Zama, leader of the host and lieutenant of the caliph, was slain. The Moslems rallied, however, under their great leader Abdalrahman, and continued the invasion. Count Eudes called loudly to the Franks for aid, and the call needed no second; for the Saracens had already penetrated as far as Poitiers, and the kingdom was threatened with extinction.

Charles took the field at the head of his Frankish and German warriors and confronted the Moslem host on the memorable field a few miles north-east of Poitiers. Here,

[1] See Book Second, pp. 114–154.

on the 3d of October, 732, was fought one of the great battles of history, in which the religious status of Europe was fixed. All day long the conflict raged with fury. The Arabian cavalry beat audaciously against the ranks of the heavy-armed German warriors, who with their battle-axes dashed down whatever opposed. At sunset the Arabs retired to their own camp. During the night some of the Moslem tribes fell into battle with each other, and on the morrow the host rolled back to the south. Thus just one hundred years after the death of the Prophet, the tide of his conquests was forever stayed in the West.



CHARLES MARTEL IN THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.
After a painting by Plueddemann.

In honor of his triumph over the Saracens, Charles received the name of the Hammer; for he had beaten the infidels into the earth. Without any imprudent attempt to pursue the Mohammedan hordes beyond the limits of safety, he nevertheless pressed his advantage to the extent of driving them beyond the Pyrenees. The province of Aquitaine was recovered and permanently annexed to the Frankish dominions. Charles continued to rule the empire until his death in 741, when the government descended to his two sons, CARLOMAN, who received Austrasia, and PEPIN THE SHORT, to whom was assigned the remainder of the Frankish dominion. The latter soon obtained possession of his Austrasian province, as well as his own, assumed the name of king, and thus became the founder of THE CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTY.

On his first accession to power, Pepin adopted the policy of his immediate predecessors and set up a Merovingian figure-head in the person of Childeric III. This poor shadow of an extinct House was made to play his part until the year 752, when a decision was obtained from Pope Zachary in favor of the Carlovingian family. Childeric was thereupon shut up in a monastery, and Pepin the Short was anointed and crowned as king by St. Boniface in the cathedral of Soissons. He

signalized the first year of his reign by annexing to his dominions the province of Septimania, which for several years had been held by the Saracens of Spain. In 753 he engaged in a war with the Saxons, and compelled that haughty race to acknowledge his supremacy, to pay a tribute of three hundred horses, and to give pledges that the Christian missionaries within their borders should be distressed no more.

From the days of Clovis friendly relations were cultivated between the Frankish kings and the bishops of Rome. After the defeat of the Saxons, Pope Stephen III. made a visit to France, and earnestly besought the aid of Pepin against the barbarian Astolphus, king of the Lombards. The Frank readily accepted the invitation, and led an army into Italy. Astolphus was besieged in Pavia, and soon obliged to sue for peace. A favorable settlement was made by Pepin, who then retired to his own capital; but no sooner was he beyond the Alps than Astolphus violated the terms of the treaty and threatened the capture of Rome. In the year 755 Pepin returned into Lombardy, overthrew Astolphus, conquered the exarchate of Ravenna, and made a present of that principality to the head of the Church. Thus was laid the foundation of the so-called temporal sovereignty of Rome.

Five years later the attention of Pepin was demanded by the condition of affairs in Aquitaine. In that country a popular leader, named Waifar, had arisen; and under his influence the province was declared independent. For eight years the war continued with varying successes; nor was Pepin at the last able to enforce submission until he had procured the assassination of Waifar. In 768 the king of the Franks returned to his capital, where a few days afterwards he died at the age of fifty-three. The kingdom descended to his two sons, Carloman and Carolus, or Karl, commonly known as Charles, or Karl the Great, or still more generally by his French name of Charlemagne.—Such in brief is the history of the Frankish kingdom from the half-mythical and wholly barbarous times of Meroveus to the coming of that great sovereign, who by his genius in war and peace may be said to have laid the political foundations of both France and Germany.

CHAPTER LXXVI.—THE ANGLO-SAXON KINGDOMS.

TO people of the English-speaking race, the story of the Anglo-Saxons can never fail of interest. The hardy and adventurous stock transplanted from the stormy shores of the Baltic to the foggy island of Britain has grown into imperishable renown, and the rough accent of the old pirates of Jutland is heard in all the harbors of the world.

The native seat of the Anglo-Saxons has been already defined. From the river Scheldt to the islands of the Jutes, and extending far inland, lies a low and marshy country, through which the rivers for want of fall can scarcely make their way to the sea. The soil is a sediment; the sky, a bed of dun mist and heavy clouds, pouring out their perpetual rains. Ever and anon the storms roll in from the North Sea, and the black waves plunge and roar and bellow along the coast. From the first, human life in this low and doleful region has been an everlasting broil with the ocean.

It was from these dreary regions that the storm-beaten, war-hardened fathers of the English race came forth in the middle of the fifth century to plant themselves in Britain. Nor was the natural scenery of the new habitat, shrouded in fogs and drenched with rain, girdled with stormy oceans and clad in sunless forests, better calculated than their original seats to develop in our forefathers the sentiments of tenderness and refinement. By the banks of the muddy British rivers, and on the margin of the somber oak woods, the mixed tribes of Angles, Saxons, Jutes, and

Frisians established themselves and began to work out the severe but grand problems of English civilization. Of the personal characteristics and intellectual features of the race much has been written, but nothing better in the way of description and analysis than the essay of the eloquent Taine. Of the Anglo-Saxons he says:

"Huge white bodies, cool-blooded, with fierce blue eyes, reddish flaxen hair; ravenous stomachs, filled with meat and cheese, heated by strong drinks; of a cold temperament, slow to love, home-stayers, prone to brutal drunkenness: these are to this day the features which descent and climate preserve in the



LANDING OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS IN BRITAIN.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

race, and these are what the Roman historians discovered in their former country. There is no living in these lands without abundance of solid food; bad weather keeps people at home; strong drinks are necessary to cheer them; the senses become blunted, the muscles are braced, the will vigorous. In every country the body of man is rooted deep into the soil of nature; and in this instance still deeper, because, being uncultivated, he is less removed from nature. In Germany, storm-beaten, in wretched boats of hide, amid the hardships and dangers of seafaring life, they were preëminently adapted for endurance and enterprise, inured to misfortune, scorners of danger.

"Pirates at first: of all kinds of hunting the man-hunt is most profitable and most noble; they left the care of the lands and flocks to the women and slaves; seafaring, war, and pillage was their whole idea of a freeman's work. They dashed to sea in their two-sailed barks, landed anywhere, killed every thing; and having sacrificed in honor of their gods a tithe of their prisoners, and leaving behind them the red light of their burnings, went farther on to begin again. 'Lord,' says a certain litany, 'deliver us from the fury of the Jutes.' 'Of all barbarians these are strongest of body and heart, the most formidable,'—we may add, the most cruelly ferocious.

"When murder becomes a trade, it becomes a pleasure. About the eighth century, the final decay of the great Roman corpse, which Charlemagne had tried to revive, and which was settling down into corruption, called them like vultures to the prey. Those who remained in Denmark, with their brothers of Norway, fanatical pagans, incensed against the Christians, made a descent on all the surrounding coasts. Their sea-kings, 'who had never slept under the smoky rafters of a roof, who had never drained the ale-horn by an inhabited hearth,' laughed at winds and storms and sang: 'The blast of the tempest aids our oars; the bellowing of heaven, the howling of the thunder, hurt us not; the hurricane is our servant, and drives us whither we wish to go.'

"Behold them now in England more settled and wealthier. Do you look to find them much changed? Changed it may be, but for the worse, like the Franks, like all barbarians who pass from action to enjoyment. They are more gluttonous, carving their hogs, filling themselves with flesh, swallowing down deep draughts of mead, ale, spiced wines, all the strong coarse, drinks which they can procure; and so they are cheered and stimulated. Add to this the pleasure of the fight. Not easily with such instincts can they attain to culture; to find a natural and ready culture we must look among the sober and sprightly populations of the South."

Such is a picture of the character and life of the Anglo-Saxons when they began to possess themselves of England. It was in the middle decade of the fifth century of our era that the half-civilized Celtic people of South Britain, left naked by the withdrawal of the Roman legions, and hard pressed on the north by the Picts and the Scots, adopted the fatal expedient of inviting to their aid the barbarians of the Baltic. The tribes thus solicited were the Jutes, the Angles, the Saxons, and the Frisians. The first mentioned dwelt in the Cimbric Chersonesus, now Jutland, or Denmark. Parts of Schleswig and Holstein were also included in their territories. In the latter country the district known as Angeln was the native seat of the Angles. To the south of these two regions, spreading from the Weser to the delta of the Rhine, lay the country of the Saxons, embracing the states afterwards known as Westphalia, Friesland, Holland, and a part of Belgium. A glance at the map will show that these tribes occupied a position of easy approach by sea to the British Isles.

At this epoch the condition of Britain was much the same as it had been during the Roman Supremacy. With the retiracy of the legions from the island the life of the British Celts had in a measure flowed back into its old channel. The institution of the ancient race had been in large part revived. Especially had the religious superstition of the Celts reässerted its sway, and the Druidical ceremonial was again witnessed under the oaks and by the cliffs rising from the sea. Here, as of old, the Druid priests by their mysterious and often bloody ritual reached out the hand of power over their savage subjects and swayed their passions at will. Albeit, in matters of war the British Celts were no match for the rude barbarians of the North, who now descended in countless swarms upon the coasts of the island.

It is believed that Hengist and Horsa, the leaders of the barbarian host which accepted the call of the Celts, as well as a majority of their followers in the first expedition, were Jutes. With them, however, a large body of Angles from Holstein, and Saxons from Friesland, was joined in the invasion. So came a mixed host into England. At this time the king of the British Celts was Vortigern. Him the Jute chieftains aided in driving back the Picts and Scots. When the island was thus freed from its peril the Celtic king was entertained at a feast given by Hengist.

Beautiful was Rowena, the daughter of the warlike host. By her was the heart of Vortigern fatally ensnared. Humbly he sought and gladly received her hand, and in proof of gratitude he gave to the Jutes the isle of Thanet. Here the invaders found a permanent footing and would not be dismissed. Fresh bands were invited from the Baltic.

The fertility of exposed Britain and the wealth of the Celtic towns excited the insatiable cupidity of the barbarians. First quarrels and then hostilities broke out between them and the Celts. The sword was drawn. Vortigern was deposed and his son Vortimer elected in his stead. A hollow and deceptive truce was concluded, and the chief personages on both sides came together in a feast. When the drinking was at it height, Hengist called out to his Saxons, "*Nimed eure seaxas*" (Take your swords); whereupon each warrior drew forth his blade and cut down all who were present except Vortigern. The result of the first contest in the island was that all of Kent, the ancient Cantium, was seized by the invaders and ruled by Eric, the son and successor of Hengist. Thus was established the first Saxon kingdom in England.

Thus far the predominating foreigners were Jutes, mixed with Angles. This condition of affairs continued with little change for about a quarter of a century. In the year 477 a Saxon leader named Ella and his three sons landed a powerful force of their countrymen

in what was afterwards called Sussex, or South Saxony. The first settlement made by the immigrant warriors was at Withering, in the island of Selsey. Thus far the Celtic populations had measurably held their own, but a serious struggle now began for the possession



DRUIDS OFFERING HUMAN SACRIFICE.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

of Britain. The native peoples took up arms and made a spirited resistance. A great battle was fought in which the Saxons were victorious, and the Celts were driven into the forest of Andredswold. Meanwhile new bands of Saxons poured into the island and joined their countrymen. The British princes established a confederacy, but Ella defeated their army in a second battle and gained possession of nearly the whole of Sussex. Such was the founding of the second Saxon kingdom in Britain.

The coast now in possession of the invaders extended from the estuary of the Thames to the river Arun. Near the close of the fifth century the Saxon leader, Cerdic, with a second army from the continent, landed in the island and carried the conquest westward over Hampshire and the Isle of Wight to the river Avon. Thus was founded Wessex, or the kingdom of the West Saxons. West of the Avon the country was still held by the Britons, who now fought desperately to maintain their frontier against the invaders.

North of the river Thames the first conquest was made in 527 by the Saxon prince, Ercenwine, who overran the flat country of Essex, establishing here the kingdom of the East Saxons. Subsequent conquests soon extended the Saxon border northward to the Stour, which was maintained as the frontier till 547.

The next descent made by the German tribes from the Baltic was on the coast at Flamborough Head. A long space was thus left between the frontier of the East Saxons and the scene of the new invasion. This time the invaders were Angles. The wild country between the Tees and the Tyne, embracing the present county of Durham, was overrun, and here was founded the kingdom of Bernicia. The next incoming tribe was also of the Angle race. The territory between the Tees and the Humber was now occupied, but not without a long and bloody contest with the natives. This region became the kingdom of Deira.

Near the close of the sixth century the barbarians came in swarms. The most populous bands were out of Angeln. The names of the chieftains by whom they were led have not been preserved. The new-comers were divided into two bands, called the South Folk and the North Folk. They overran the country between the Stowe and the Great Ouse, including the present counties of Suffolk and Norfolk. This district constituted the state of East Anglia. The country of which these last invaders possessed themselves was almost insular in its isolation from the rest of the island. Around its western frontier lay a series of bogs, meres, and lakes, and to the defense thus naturally afforded the East Angles added a long earthwork, the line of which is still plainly to be seen, being known as the *Devil's Dike*.

Still the northern tribes poured into the island. In the beginning of the seventh century the country between the Wash and the Humber, constituting the modern Lincolnshire, was conquered, the same being the only chasm now unoccupied by the foreigners between the Avon of Hampshire and the North Umbrian Tyne. The northern boundary was now extended to the Frith of Forth. In the year 617 the Angles of Bernicia and Deira were united and formed into the kingdom of North Umbria. The western coast of England, from the Frith of Clyde to the Land's End in Cornwall and the southern coast from Cornwall to the borders of Hampshire remained in possession of the Celts.

The inland frontier of the Saxon kingdoms was for a long time wavering and uncertain. It was perpetually fixed and unfixed by the varying fortunes of war. During the seventh century a branch of the populous Angles founded the inland kingdom of Mercia, extending from the Severn to the Humber, and bounded on the west by Wales. In this district a war of conquest was not so violent as in other parts of the island. A large proportion of the original Celts remained in their homes, and were blended with the conquering people. The Mercian Angles are said to have contributed more than any other of the northern tribes to the general subjugation of Britain.

Such was the Saxon conquest of England, and such is the story of the establishment of the seven petty kingdoms known by the name of the HEPTARCHY. The movement of the German tribes from the north occupied a period of nearly two hundred years. More than half of that time (so stubborn was the resistance of the Britains) was occupied with fierce

wars between the invaders and the invaded. Of the previous history of the British Celts very little is known. Nor can the traditions which have been preserved of the famous Prince Arthur and his chivalrous knights of the Round Table be accepted as historical truth. Old British patriotism has woven the fiction of a mythical, national hero, whose actual exploits were attended doubtless with the disasters and misfortunes of the Saxon conquest, and might be regarded as heroic only because they were performed by a patriotic and valorous prince striving to defend his country.

It has been matter of dispute among those who have most critically examined the history of the Saxon Heptarchy whether the kings of the different states were of equal and independent rank, or whether one was recognized as superior to the rest. According to Bede, the Anglo-Saxon chronicler, one of the princes of the kingdoms held the title and rank of *Britwalda*, or Wielder of the Britains, being sovereign of the rest. If, however, any such tie of sovereignty bound together the several kingdoms of the Heptarchy, it was a very feeble and ineffectual bond.

The first Britwalda, or ruler of Britain, is said to have been Ella, the conqueror of Sussex, who held that rank until 510. After this for a considerable period no prince was preeminent. Then arose Ceawlin, king of Wessex, who became Britwalda in 568, but his right of sovereignty was disputed by Ethelbert, fourth king of Kent, and a descendant of Hengist. Hostilities broke out between the two princes; but Ceawlin held the primacy until his death in 593. The office then fell to Ethelbert. This prince took for his queen the beautiful Bertha, daughter of Charibert, one of the *Rois Faineants* of Paris. It was the fortune of Ethelbert to be in authority at the time when the forty Christian monks sent out by Gregory the Great came into Britain and set up the standard of the cross. Now it was that the Anglo-Saxons were induced to abandon the superstitions and practices of paganism and accept the doctrines of Christianity.

The first three Britwaldas—Ella, Ceawlin, and Ethelbert—were Saxons, or Jutes. The fourth was Redwald, king of East Anglia, who is said to have obtained the supreme rank in the year 617. His reign was occupied with wars, first with the Scots, and afterwards with Edilfrid, king of the North Umbrians, whom he defeated in a great battle in Nottinghamshire. Nevertheless a few years later the office of Britwalda passed to Edwin, king of North Umbria, whose assumption of authority marked the transfer of political power from the south to the north of the island. The old historian Fabyan has this to say of the peaceful reign of Edwin: "In this time was so great peace in the kingdom of Edwin that a woman might have gone from one town to another without grief or annoyance; and for the refreshing of way-goers this Edwin ordained at clear wells cups or dishes of brass or iron to be fastened to posts standing by the said wells' sides; and no man was so hardy as to take away those cups, he kept so good justice." Such are the simple annals of a simple age.

It was during the reign of Edwin that the Isles of Man and Anglesea were added to North Umbria. So powerful became the king that all the Saxon chiefs of South Britain acknowledged his authority. In the year 633, however, Penda, the Saxon king of Mercia, rebelled against Edwin, and formed an alliance with Cadwallader, king of Wales. In the next year a great battle was fought at Hatfield, near the river Trent, in which Edwin was defeated and killed. Penda next invaded the country of the East Angles. In these movements he stood as the representative of the old paganism of the Angles. It was impossible, however, that the principles which he represented should make much headway against the converted nations along the coast. In 634 Oswald, a nephew of Edwin, gathered an army, fell unexpectedly upon Cadwallader and his Welsh in their camp near Hexham, and routed them with great slaughter. Cadwallader himself was among the slain. The temporary ascendency of Wales was destroyed. Oswald retook the territories which Edwin had lost, and he was soon afterwards recognized as Britwalda of the Heptarchy.

In this epoch in the history of the Anglo-Saxon fathers, churches and monasteries began to be built in various parts of the kingdoms. Oswald himself was a patron of such structures. He gave his daughter in marriage to Cynegils, king of Lindesfarne, for the conver-

sion of whose people and those of Wessex he labored assiduously. The energy of his government can not be doubted. He compelled even the Scots and Picts to acknowledge his authority. In him rather than in any of the preceding Britwalda might be recognized the lineaments of a real king of the Angles.

In 642 Oswald was slain in battle, whereupon Penda, the pagan king of Mercia, endeavored to regain his ascendency over the Angles; but Oswy, the brother of Oswald, rallied his countrymen, and the Mercians were beaten back. Oswy, however, was not recognized as Britwalda. Under the repeated assaults of Penda he was restricted to the old kingdom of Bernicia, while Deira was given to a prince named Odelwald. In 652 the Mercian king again advanced into North Umbria, laying waste with fire and sword like a savage. In his despair Oswy sued for peace, which was granted on such terms as greatly to weaken the North Umbrian kingdom. Two years later, however, the compact was broken and a great battle was fought near York between the Mercians and North Umbrians. In this conflict Penda and thirty of his princes were killed. In gratitude for his unexpected victory, Oswy established ten abbeys and sent one of his daughters to become a nun with the Lady of Hilda.

Following up his success the victorious Oswy inflicted a signal vengeance on the Mercians. All the territory north of the Trent he annexed to his kingdom, and soon afterwards added the remainder south of the river. In 655 he assumed the office of Britwalda, but his claim was disputed by a rival. In the following year the North Umbrians revolted under Wulfere, son of Penda, and not only regained their kingdom, but also made a successful conquest of a part of Wessex. About this time Oswy was greatly afflicted by the revolt of his son Alchfrid, who demanded that a part of North Umbria should be given to him in sovereignty. The king was obliged to comply with the wish of the rebellious prince. Meanwhile an epidemic called the yellow plague broke out with violence, and for twenty years continued to decimate the island. In 670 Oswy died, being the last of the Britwaldas, unless an exception should be made in the case of Ethelbald, king of Mercia.

In the mean time a consolidating tendency had appeared among the states of the Heptarchy. The seven kingdoms were reduced to three. Kent, Sussex, Essex, and East Anglia were swallowed up in North Umbria, Mercia, and Wessex, which now became the ruling states of England. This fact of consolidation greatly simplifies the remaining history of the Saxon kingdoms, and further on we shall find the tendency to union constantly illustrated until the final mergement in the times of Egbert.

The successor of Oswy in North Umbria was his son Egfrid. Scarcely was the latter seated on the throne when his northern frontier was assailed by the Picts. In 671 they were defeated by Egfrid's cavalry and driven to their own territories. Eight years afterwards the king made war on Mercia, and his army met that of his enemy on the banks of the Trent. Here was fought another bloody battle, in which many brave leaders on each side were slain. Peace was made by the interposition of a Christian bishop, who induced the rival Saxons to desist from further bloodshed. In 685 the Picts and the Scots again rushed down from the North, and were confronted by Egfrid. This, however, was the last of his battles. He was slain in a conflict with Brude, the Pictish king.

Such was the violence of these times, that of the fourteen kings who reigned in England during the seventh century, six were slain by rival competitors, generally their own kinsmen; five were overthrown by their rebel subjects; two sought refuge in monasteries; and one died with the crown on his head. Of such bloody materials was composed the concrete under the heavy walls of the English Monarchy!

During the first quarter of the eighth century, a dubious contest was waged between the kingdoms of Mercia and Wessex. The tide seemed to set against the latter, and the kings of Wessex were reduced to a kind of vassalage. In 737, Ethelbald, king of Mercia, was recognized as monarch over the whole country south of the Humber, excepting Wales. In the fifth year of that monarch's reign, however, the Saxons of the West Kingdom rose against the Mercians and defeated them in a great battle at Buxford, in Oxford-

shire. From 757 to 794 the paramount authority of Mercia was again recognized, especially in the reign of King Offa, who, after subduing Sussex and Kent, overran all that part of the kingdom of Wessex on the left bank of the Thames. He then made war on Wales, and drove the king beyond the river Wye. The country between that stream and the Severn was permanently occupied by Saxon colonists. In order to secure this region from reconquest, he caused a ditch and an earthwork to be drawn for a hundred miles along the Welsh frontier. The line of this defense is still to be traced from Basingwerke to Bristol.

King Offa was called the Terrible. Well might he so be named by the yeomanry of Wales, who many times felt his vengeful blows. Those whom he met in battle he slew, and the captives he reduced to slavery. Albeit, he was a taciturn spirit, always abounding in silence, subtle to conceive, quick to execute his designs; not without pride, but above a petty vanity. His cruelties in war were so many and merciless that not even the monkish chroniclers have been able to make his reputation other than that of a bloody tyrant.

In the year 795 the king of Mercia died, and the power which he had established by his warlike deeds began rapidly to decline. At the same time North Umbria fell into a weak and helpless condition. Meanwhile the kingdom of Wessex had been gradually gaining an ascendency which was soon to be asserted in a still more striking manner. At the time of Offa's death the West Saxons were ruled by Beotric. His right, however, was disputed by Prince Egbert, who, after a short and unsuccessful struggle for the crown, was obliged to seek safety in flight. He found refuge at the court of Mercia, whither he was followed by the messengers of Beotric, who demanded that the Saxon refugee should be killed, and Eadburgha, daughter of Offa, be given to himself in marriage. Escaping from the Mercian capital, Egbert fled to the camp of Charlemagne and took service in the army of that great monarch. Beotric obtained Eadburgha for a wife, but she soon proved to be the bane of the kingdom. She instigated her husband to the perpetration of many crimes. She then became a murderess herself. She prepared a cup of poison for one of Beotric's noblemen, but by mistake the potion was drunk by the king himself, who died in a horrid manner. The thanes and warriors then rose against the bloody-minded queen, and she was expelled from the kingdom. Flying to the court of Charlemagne, she was sent to a convent for security. Here her bad disposition reässerted itself, and she was turned out of doors. Years afterwards she was seen, haggard and forlorn, begging bread in the streets of Pavia.

Learning of the death of Beotric, Egbert returned from the continent and claimed the kingdom of Wessex. He was received by his subjects with great joy, and acknowledged without further opposition. His first enterprise was to establish his authority in Devonshire and on the side of Cornwall. Scarcely had this work been accomplished when Wessex was invaded by the Mercians. Egbert now established his character as a great captain by inflicting a decisive defeat on the enemy. Following up his advantage he subdued the whole kingdom of Mercia, and annexed it to his own dominions. He appointed a governor for the country and others for East Anglia and Kent. The country north of the Humber was next invaded, and in a short time North Umbria was compelled to submit. Eanred, the North Umbrian king, became a vassal of Egbert, whose authority was acknowledged from Cornwall to the Frith of Forth.

Thus in the year 827 were the kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy consolidated under a single ruler. It was three hundred and seventy-six years since the landing of Hengist and Horsa, and eleven years after the death of Charlemagne. It will thus appear that the tendency to political union was felt somewhat later in England than on the continent, where the great Frankish emperor had already established a single rule over most of the barbarian states. Egbert continued to style himself the king of Wessex and Britwalda of the Saxon states. The name of king of *England* was reserved for his illustrious grandson.

For seven years the island enjoyed the blessings of a government more regular and extensive by far than any previously established in Britain. Local insurrections here and there were easily suppressed, and the English people began to feel the influence of

civilization. Scarcely, however, had this state of affairs supervened when the country was profoundly shaken by a new invasion from the north. The Anglo-Saxons were in their turn made to feel the blows of lawless barbarism. Now it was that the Danes, disturbed in their native seats on the Baltic, took to sea, as the Angles and Saxons had done, and threw themselves on the shores of England.

No brood of pirates more reckless, fierce, and hardy had ever gone forth on the hazardous seas of fortune. The first landing of these Northmen was effected in the Isle of Sheppey in the year 832. In the following year a new band was landed from thirty-five ships at Chartmouth, in Devonshire. Here they were met by the army of Egbert, and, after a stubborn conflict, driven back on shipboard. The Saxons were astonished at the desperate valor displayed in battle by their new enemy. The whole coast became infested with the sea-robbers, who captured, killed, or destroyed whatever came in their reach. They made a league with Cornwall, and in 834 landed an army in that country to coöperate with the Cornish king against Devonshire. Egbert, however, was not to be discouraged, much less alarmed, by the activity of the Danes.

The people of Cornwall were in a state of comparative independence. They felt themselves well able to regain the political position which they had had before the invasion of Egbert; but this hope was vain. They were met by the Saxons at Hengsdown Hill, and defeated with great slaughter. Great was the misfortune to Wessex and all England when, in 836, the warlike Egbert died. It became at once apparent that the kingdom which he had founded had been maintained by his genius and sword. Scarcely was he buried until the supremacy of the West Saxons was denied, and the states began to reässert their independence. The crown of the West Saxons descended to Egbert's son Ethelwulf, who began his reign by conferring the kingdom of Kent on *his* son Athelstane. Mercia revolted and regained her independence. Thus at the very time when the piratical Danes were swarming along the coast, that political union by which only England might hope to protect herself against the invaders was broken up.

Finding that the great Egbert was dead, the Northmen spread inland everywhere. The southern parts of Wessex and Kent were completely overrun, and a fleet of Danes sailing up the Thames captured and pillaged London. So desperate became the condition of the country that, in 851, the bishops and thanes of Wessex and Mercia met in a congress at Kingsbury to devise means of defense. Barhulf, king of Mercia, led an army against the Danes, but was defeated and slain. Better success attended the campaign of Ethelwulf, who, with his West Saxons, overthrew the Northmen in Surrey, inflicting upon them such a bloody defeat as they had never before suffered in the island. Another victory was gained over the pirates at Sanwich by Athelstane, of Kent. Ceorl, chief of Devonshire, also defeated the Danes at Wenbury.

The distractions of France were at this time such as to make that country a more inviting field than England to the rapacious Northmen. In the time following their defeats they sailed up the Seine, captured Paris, and laid the city in ashes. England was for the moment relieved by this diversion of her enemies. Ethelwulf even found time to make an expedition into Wales and to punish the people of that country for a recent insurrection. He carried his banners as far as Anglesey, and the Welsh were obliged to yield.

Returning from his war, Ethelwulf, whose religious zeal was even greater than his military abilities, determined to make a pilgrimage to Rome. In the year 853 he passed over to the continent, crossed the Alps, and reached Rome, where he remained for nearly a year. On his return into France, the aged zealot fell in love with Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, of France. Obtaining her father's consent, he led the princess to the altar of the cathedral at Rheims, where they were married, with a solemn ceremony.

Ethelwulf had five sons. Athalstane, the eldest, who had been king of Kent, was now dead. Ethelbald, the next of the brothers, was ambitious to receive the kingdom from his father. A plot was formed to anticipate the course of nature by dethroning Ethelwulf. The conspiracy extended over all Wessex. A manifesto was issued, in which the direful flagitiousness of Ethelwulf was set forth in this—that he had openly eaten with his French

queen at the table! It is believed, moreover, that the favor shown to his youngest son, ALFRED, had something to do with his elder brother's resentment. The boy Alfred had been taken by Ethelwulf to Rome, and there the pope had anointed the young prince with oil. It is also thought that Osburgha, the king's first wife and mother of his sons, was not yet dead, but only put away to make room for Judith.

The old king was greatly distracted by the broil in his kingdom. Finally he agreed to a division of Wessex, by which the better part was given to Ethelbald. Ethelwulf did not long survive. He died in 857, and Ethelbald succeeded to the government of the whole kingdom. It now appeared that his antipathy to his father's French queen was entirely insincere, for he immediately took that princess for his own wife, thus setting at defiance all consistency and law. So flagrant, however, was this offense that the Church at once lifted her hand and demanded a divorce. Judith returned to France, and presently found solace with a third husband, Baldwin of Ardennes. Her son became Earl of Flanders, and married Elfrida, daughter of Alfred the Great, of whom was born that Maud, or Matilda, who, as the wife of William the Conqueror, became the great mother of all the subsequent sovereigns of England.

After a brief reign, Ethelbald was succeeded by his brother, Ethelbert. Meanwhile the Danes returned in swarms and hovered around the coasts. They made inroads from every quarter. Winchester, the capital of Essex, was seized and burned. In 867 the king died and was succeeded by Ethelred. During the first year of his reign he fought nine pitched battles with the Danes. Hundreds and thousands of the invaders fell under the swords of the Saxons, but as soon as one horde was destroyed another arose in its place. As the war progressed, it became contantly more apparent that the main reliance of the Saxons must be placed in Prince Alfred, who in the fierce battles fought by his brother with the Danes displayed not only the greatest courage but also the highest qualities of generalship. In the fierce battle of Ashton the day was saved by his valor and presence of mind. In the year 870, two fierce conflicts occurred in which the Saxons were defeated, and in the following year Ethelred died. The crown then descended without dispute to Alfred, the youngest and greatest of the sons of Ethelwulf. For him destiny had reserved a more distinguished part than for any other sovereign of primitive England. The events of his glorious career, and the circumstances attending the real founding of the English Monarchy will be fully narrated in the Third Book of the present Volume.—Such is a brief sketch of the principal states and kingdoms founded by those barbarous nations that converted the Roman Empire into a desolation and then established themselves amid the ruin.





Book Twelfth.

The Mohammedan Ascendency.

Chapter LXXVII.—Career of the Prophet.

MOHAMMED, the son of Abdallah, of the tribe of Hashem, was born in Mecca on the mideastern shore of the Red Sea, in the year 569. His infancy was obscure and unfortunate. The family were poor Arabs, and the child was afflicted with epileptic spasms. His uncles and aunts, of the Hashem tribe, declared him to be possessed of the Djin, or Demons. So that from his childhood he was looked upon with a certain measure of superstitious dread; but the boy proved to be amiable, and the prejudice of his kinsfolk against him was gradually relaxed.

The father, Abdallah, died when Mohammed was but two months old, and the child was given to a Bedouin nurse, who reared the little epileptic on a regimen of goat's milk and rice. By and by he was returned to his mother, but the latter, unwilling to endure his convulsions, gave him to his grandfather, a tough old personage, named Abd el Mottallib. When he was six years old his mother died, and presently the tenacious grandfather also ceased, after which the young Prophet was put under the care of an uncle named Abu Taleb, who disliked his ward and abhorred the Djin by whom he was possessed.

At the age of nine the boy Mohammed was mounted on a camel and dispatched on a merchandising expedition into Syria. While abroad he saw the sacred places of the Jews. He stood on the spot where the King of Salem came out and did obeisance to Abraham. He was shown the place where his great mother, the bondwoman Hagar, went forth leading Ishmael by the hand. He saw Damascus, city of the desert, and Sinai, the mountain of the law. Then he returned to Mecca full of visions and dreams.

When twelve years old Mohammed left Abu Taleb and lived with another uncle named Zubeir. He was also a merchant, but did not, like Abu Taleb, trade in the direction of Palestine and Egypt. Zubeir led his caravan into Southern Arabia, and him Mohammed, now reaching his sixteenth year, accompanied on a second expedition of trade and travel. He continued in his service till he was twenty years of age. Then, becoming

weary of irksome dromedaries and monotonous journeys, he turned his attention to war. The Meccans became involved in a quarrel with an East-Arabic tribe called the Beni Kinanah, and Mohammed enlisted with his countrymen. After the war was over he returned to Mecca and took up the vocation of a shepherd. Afterwards he formed a partnership with a linen merchant named Saïb, and so divided his attention between his flocks and his merchandise. While engaged in carrying on the linen trade, he became acquainted with the rich widow Kadijah, living at the town of Hajasha. Her, though much older than himself, he presently married, thus obtaining a faithful wife and a large estate. He thereupon gave up the business of watching flocks, and lived at Kadijah's home in Hajasha.

Thus, from the age of twenty-six to thirty-five, Mohammed passed the time as an Arab citizen in private life. About the year 594, however, he was brought to the attention of his countrymen in a conspicuous way. The idolatrous temple in Mecca was called the Kaaba. When the patriarch Abraham lived at that place, the angel Gabriel gave him a white stone as an emblem of the original purity of the race. Over this stone the temple was built. With the growing wickedness of the world the stone became as black as pitch. The Kaaba had now become dilapidated, and it was decided by the chiefs of Mecca that the edifice must be rebuilt. This was accordingly done; but when it came to the sacred task of removing the Black Stone into its new resting-place, the chiefs fell into violent quarrels as to who should perform the work. At last it was agreed that the matter should be decided by arbitration, and Mohammed was called from Hajasha to be the umpire. On coming to Mecca he performed his difficult duty in a manner highly satisfactory to all concerned. It was the first public transaction of the Prophet's life.

It appears that the dispute of the chiefs about the Black Stone of the Kaaba made a profound impression on Mohammed's mind. To a man of his clear understanding, it is likely that the quarrel appeared in its naked absurdity. He may have said to Kadijah, on his return home, that the fathers of his race, Abraham and Ishmael, would be ashamed of such wrangles as he had lately witnessed at Mecca.

Mohammed was exceedingly unfortunate in his children. One after another they died. The bereaved father grew melancholy and morose. The motherly Kadijah was growing old. The Prophet walked alone among the hills and talked abstractedly to himself. One day he wandered among the rocks at the foot of Mount Hara. He entered the mouth of a cave and sat musing. All at once—so he afterwards told Kadijah—he fell into an agony. He was shaken as by an unseen power, and great drops of sweat rolled down his face. While he sat shuddering, all of a sudden a light flashed around him, and there stood the angel Gabriel. Mohammed was overwhelmed with terror, but the angelic voice spoke out clearly and said:

"Cry! In the name of the Lord who has created all things; who hath created man of congealed blood. Cry! By the most beneficent Lord, who taught the use of the pen; who teacheth man that which he knoweth not of himself. Assuredly. Verily man becometh insolent, because he seeth himself abound in riches. Assuredly." Such is the first chapter of the KORAN.

Mohammed is reported to have run home after his swoon and cried out: "O, Kadijah! I have either become a soothsayer or else I am possessed of the Djin and have gone mad." The good Kadijah answered: "O, Abu 'l Casem! God is my protection. He will surely not let such a thing happen unto thee, for thou speakest the truth. Thou dost not return evil for evil; neither art thou a talker abroad on the streets. What hath befallen thee?" Mohammed told her what had happened to him in the grotto. The wife replied: "Rejoice, my husband, O, Abu 'l Casem, for my life shall stand as a witness that thou wilt be the prophet of this people." Mohammed thought, however, that he was possessed of the Djin, and on the next day, being in despair, he went out to Mount Hara to kill himself; but Gabriel reäppeared, held back the rash Arab from his purpose, and said: "I am Gabriel, and thou art Mohammed, the Prophet of God." Still the son of Abdallah trembled and refused to believe.

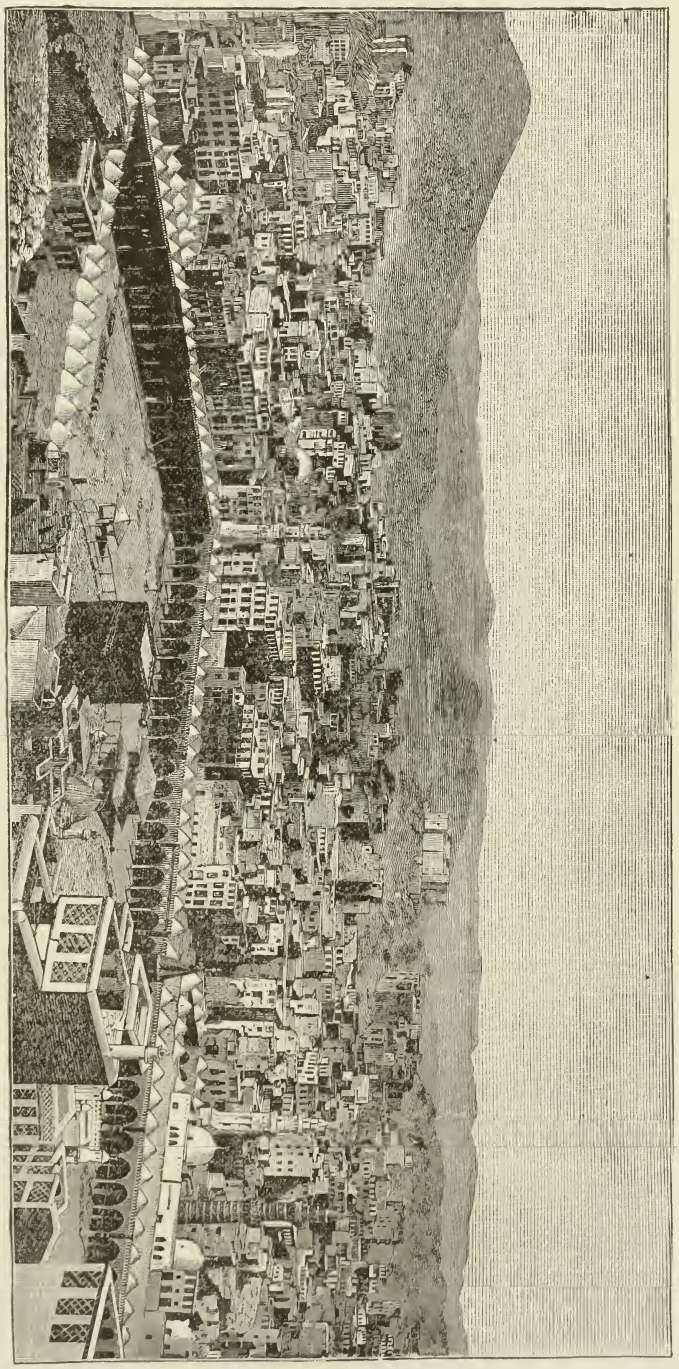
It is related that at this juncture Moham-

med and Kadijah took a certain Jew, or, as some say, a monk, named Waraka, into their confidence, and told him all that had occurred. Thereupon the holy man said: "I swear by Him in whose hands Waraka's life is, that God has chosen thee, O Abu'l Casem, to be the Prophet of this people."—Such was the commission of Mohammed, the beginning of his prophetic office.

For more than twenty years revelations continued to be given by Gabriel, as circumstances seemed to require. No one ever saw the celestial visitant but the Prophet himself: he was his own interpreter. What Gabriel told him in the grotto he repeated to Kadijah or other believers; and these revelations, gathered together by his followers after his death, constitute the Book Al Koran, the Bible of Islam.

Having persuaded himself of the truth of his visions, Mohammed began proclaiming his mission to the Arabs. His first converts were those of his own household. From this nucleus his doctrines leavened the surrounding neighborhood. Finally the tribe of Hashem was called together in council. Before the assembly the Prophet stood up and explained his purpose and the principles of the new faith. There was much contrariety of opinions among the Hashemites. The Prophet's uncle, Abu Taleb, arose and pronounced him a fool. Young Ali, son of Abu Taleb, however, expressed his admiration for his cousin's doctrines and his purpose to follow him and fight for his cause. Most of the tribe voted in the same way; but Abu Taleb remained an infidel. He used to say, as Mohammed passed by: "There he goes now! Look out! He is going to talk about Heaven! Assuredly."

After a brief proclamation of his doctrines at Hajasha, Mohammed repaired to Mecca. Here he preached with passionate vehemence. He told the Meccans that they were a race of miserable idolaters, unfit either to live or to



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die. "There is no God but Allah," he shouted by day and night. He stood up in the very face of the Koreish, the Arabian Levites, who had charge of the Kaaba, and denounced their traditions and practices. The Koreish took fright and called upon Abu Taleb to suppress his nephew as an enemy of religion; but Abu could not do it. The alternative was thus placed before the priests of themselves being converted or taking up arms. They chose the latter course, and hostilities were about to begin at Mecca.

Mohammed was sagacious. Seeing himself not sufficiently strong to cope with his enemies, disliking at first to undertake the propagation of religion by the sword, he escaped from his native city and took refuge at the court of Abyssinia. The king received him and was converted, as were also the members of his court. Nor did his flight from Mecca discourage his followers in that city. They continued to proclaim his doctrines and await his return. Many took sides against the Koreish, and the latter were obliged to consent to peace. Mohammed returned little less than victorious.

A new factor was now introduced into the situation. About sixty miles from Mecca was the town of Yathreb. In this place there was a large colony of Jews, who, with that tenacity of religious belief for which over all the world they are proverbial, had established a synagogue. Here on every Saturday the priests stood up and expounded *Hallachah* and *Haggadah*—the Law and the Tradition. They looked for a Messiah, and said "Lo here and Lo there." These Israelites traded with Mecca and found that city profoundly agitated by the presence of Mohammed. They heard the Meccans reciting how the Son of Abdallah of the tribe of Hashem had become a great Prophet. This news was carried to Yathreb, and the synagogue became excited with the belief that the Messiah had come. The Rabbins took council together, and said: "If this Mohammed is indeed that great Prophet, let us, first of all, tender to him our allegiance. Wherefore, when he shall have become the ruler of the nations, he will honor us as the first to accept him." An embassy was sent to Mecca to ascertain the truth, and to tender the submission of the Jews. Mohammed cautiously accepted the offer. "For," said he, "Ishmael our father was the uncle of Jacob. Assuredly."

The Koreish now became desperate. They held a council, and resolved that Mohammed should be assassinated. A committee was appointed to do the bloody work; but when the night came for the perpetration of the wicked deed Mohammed, informed of the conspiracy, wrapped himself in his cousin Ali's cloak, and aided by the darkness, escaped from the perilous city and fled towards Yathreb. This event, which occurred in the year 622, is called the HEGIRA, and is the Era of Islam.

As Mohammed approached Yathreb the gates were opened by the Jews. He entered and was safe. The name of the city was changed from Yathreb to Medinet al Nabbi, or City of the Prophet—the modern Medina. From this time forth, the Son of Abdallah awaited an opportunity to be revenged on the Meccans. The city of his birth soon became distracted with the civil feuds of his friends and his enemies. When the time ripened for the event, the Prophet, accompanied by a great band of pilgrims, set out from Medina and returned to Mecca. In that city, so powerful had his influence now become, the Koreish were obliged to submit. They sent out an embassy and concluded a treaty with the conqueror for a period of ten years. The neighboring tribes also sent messengers, tendering their acceptance of his doctrines. The star of Islam was in the ascendant.

After a year or two the Meccans broke their treaty; but Mohammed was now strong enough to enforce obedience. The vocation of the Koreish was gone. The idolatrous images were knocked from their places in the Kaaba, and the renovated temple was dedicated to the worship of Allah.

The Prophet now lost no time in giving shape to the new religion. He built a mosque at Medina. He systematized his dogmas. He labored with the discordant elements of Arabian thought. He struggled with belligerent factions. He allayed feuds, jealousies, and schisms. He consolidated the scattered bands of his followers, and planned great foreign wars. His purpose contemplated no less than the subjugation of the world by the Book and sword of Islam.

In the beginning of his military career Mohammed was unsuccessful. In his first battle, however, which was fought with Abu Sofian, chief of the Meccans, the Prophet gained the victory. Afterwards he met with a series of reverses. In 625 he was defeated by the Koreishites in the battle of Mount Ohod. Two years later he was besieged in Medina. Among his own followers there were dangerous factions and contentions. His connection with the Jews proved unfortunate. He could not be their Messiah; they would not be his people. His alienation from the sons of Israel became so great that war ensued, and he conducted several campaigns against the Jewish tribes in Arabia. In revenge for these aggressions against her countrymen, a Jewess, named Zaïnab, fed the Prophet a poisoned lamb, the effects of which burned in his bones until his death.

By this time the idea of propagating the doctrines of Islam by the sword had taken complete possession of the mind of Mohammed. He sent to Chosroes II., king of Persia, a written demand that he should submit himself and his people to Allah and his Prophet. When this was refused, he undertook to enforce compliance by war. A desperate battle was fought at Muta, in which Mohammed's general, KHALED, so greatly distinguished himself that he received the surname of the "Sword of God."

Meanwhile the Meccans again revolted. After a severe struggle, however, they were subdued, and their submission was the end of present resistance in Arabia. For a season the Prophet returned to Medina, where, in the ninth year of the Hegira, he received ambassadors from many of the surrounding states. He next made a demand of submission upon Heraclius, Emperor of the East, but the same was rejected with as much disdain as that somewhat mild-mannered sovereign could command. Mohammed thereupon declared war, but his attempted conquest resulted in a ridiculous failure. The soldiers of the Prophet became discontented and mutinous, but were finally quieted.

Resuming his station at Medina, Mohammed now busied himself with the preparation of a great pilgrimage to Mecca. The event was set for the tenth year of the Hegira. At least forty thousand pilgrims assembled for the journey. The rites and ceremonies of the preparation and the march have ever since remained the models of the annual pilgrimage of the faithful to the shrine of their Prophet. In the year 632, three months after his return to Medina, he was taken with a fatal illness. He clearly foresaw the end which his friends would have concealed from his vision. He had himself taken to the house of his favorite wife Ayesha—for the good Kadijah was now dead. This house adjoined the mosque, and the Prophet ordered himself borne back and forth from his couch to the shrine. He spoke of his approaching death. He liberated his slaves and distributed sums of money to the poor. He then prayed for support in the final struggle and quietly breathed his last.

There was much dispute about the place of the Prophet's burial. It was, however, finally determined that he should be interred in the house where he died, adjacent to the mosque of Medina. Subsequently the temple was enlarged so as to include the spot where the bones of Abdallah's son are still reposing. Of all his children only a daughter named Fatima survived her father. She was married to Ali, the Prophet's cousin, and became the mother of the rulers and nobles of the Mohammedan world.

Mohammed was a man of medium stature and of a well knitted and sinewy frame. His body was of the Oriental type, and his constitution delicate. He had a fine oval face, full of tender lines, and a massive head with slightly curling dark hair. His long well-arched Arabian eyebrows were separated midway by a vein which swelled and throbbed visibly when he was excited. His eyes were large, black, and restless. His hand, which in salutation he never first withdrew from another, was exceedingly small, and soft as the hand of woman. His step was quick and energetic, and is described in tradition as being like that of one who steps from a higher place to a lower. When his attention was called he stopped short, and turned not only his face but his whole body in that direction.

In mind the Prophet had the rare union of womanly timidity with extraordinary courage. In times of danger he would, without a moment's hesitation, put his life in peril. He

was of a nervous and restless temperament, and often low spirited. He was sometimes talkative, but more frequently taciturn, and often walked alone, moody and brooding. When he spoke his words came forth with emphasis and an overwhelming fluency. "If you had seen him smile," said the early chronicle of Islam, "you would have thought of the sunshine."

In the character of Mohammed there were traits of childlike simplicity. After Kadijah's death he used to sit in the house and play with the dolls which his girl-wife Ayesha had brought with her. The love of solitude and the



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desire to be considered a famous man seem to have been the prevailing passions in the heart of the founder of Islam. "O my little son," says one of the Arabic traditions, "if thou hadst seen him by moonlight thou wouldst have looked first at him and then at the moon, for his dress was striped with red, and he was brighter and more beautiful than any moon. Assuredly."

In order to a full understanding of the career of Mohammed it is desirable to glance at the previous condition of his race and country. At the dawn of our era the peninsula of Arabia was occupied by the tribes of Ishmael. From the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea, from the Strait of Bab el Mandeb to the borders of Palestine, people of any other blood were either infrequent or entire strangers.

The wild offspring of Hagar's son led the life of nomads. Their hand was against every man and every man's hand against them. After the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, many of the fugitives escaped into foreign lands. Not a few bands and colonies found refuge in Arabia. Geographical proximity, the vagrant disposition of the Arabs, which had left large districts sparsely peopled or not peopled at all, the ties of consanguinity by which the Arabs and the Jews were bound together, the affinity of their languages—both derived from a common original—all invited the unfortunate sons of Israel to find a new home among their erratic kinsmen of the South. So Jewish settlements were formed in Arabia. Before the close of the fourth century the whole coast of the Red Sea from Suez down to Mecca and beyond was lined with little Jewish rookeries like swallows' nests under the eave. There were also inland colonies, so that by the seventh century Jewish and Arabian opinions and customs were well intermingled, if not amalgamated. On the question of religion, however, each people kept to its own traditions and beliefs. The Arabs continued idolaters, and the Jews observed the laws and ritual of Moses.

Meanwhile Christianity arose and flourished in the North. The missionaries of the Cross, full of zeal, planted the seeds of the new faith in every quarter of the globe. Many of these monks, evangelists, travelers, penetrated Arabia, and there preached first of all to the unrepentant Israelites. They found their hearers sitting, as their fathers had done, in the synagogue and listening to the exposition of *Hallachah* and *Haggadah*. But these Jews were as stubborn as flint under the preaching of the Gospel. A few less obdurate than the rest, with numbers of the native Arabs, were converted to the new doctrines; so that by the beginning of the seventh century Christian as well as Jewish settlements were frequent in many parts of Arabia.

It will thus be seen that at the birth of

Mohammed two Semitic religions, neither in a very flourishing condition, existed side by side in the land of his appearing. Judaism and Christianity, the old and the new development of Mosaism, dwelt together in a sort of subdued antagonism. The time had now come when a third Semitic faith, more aggressive than either and possessing the same original ingredients as both, should appear to contest with its predecessors the battle-field of faith.

The system of Mohammed may be defined, first of all, as an effort to rescue the Arabs from idolatry. But in a larger and more philosophic sense it was an effort on the part of the Prophet to furnish a common ground and basis of union between the Christians and the Jews by which all the descendants of Abraham might be gathered into a single religious household. The scheme was worthy of a great and capacious genius. It showed that Mohammed realized the condition of the religious world. He saw in the chaos of the Semitic race around him the materials for the aggrandizement of his own nation and the glory of his own name. He conceived it possible to reädjust the Semitic fragments and to bind together both Christian and Jew by an indissoluble tie; but he misjudged the peoples with whom he had to deal. So far as his own countrymen were concerned they were soon brought within the fold of Islam; but the sons of Israel and the followers of Christ remained immovable in their respective beliefs. After several tentative efforts on the Prophet's part, an open rupture occurred between the three religious parties in Arabia. Islam began its own independent career; Judaism fell away into obstinate conservatism, and Christianity parted company with both. From this time forth the three Semitic religions are seen like three ships sailing apart on the expanse of ocean.

It may be of interest, before proceeding to notice the political development of Mohammedanism, to review briefly the points of concord and dissonance between the three religious systems here referred to. In many of their fundamentals they were all at one. All had a common historical basis. That there is one God, Father Omnipotent and Maker of heaven and earth, Judaism, Islam, and Christianity all emphatically affirm. Secondly, that the Divine authority in the world is to be upheld by a government—a kingdom—and that this kingdom is to be perpetually ruled by a Messiah, Judaism and Christianity affirm; Islam denies. Thirdly, that Moses was an inspired lawgiver and prophet, Judaism, Islam, and Christianity all affirm. Fourthly, that Christ was an inspired Teacher and Prophet, Islam and Christianity affirm; Judaism denies. Fifthly, that Christ is the Messiah and Savior of the world, Christianity affirms; Judaism and Islam strenuously deny. Sixthly, that Mohammed was an inspired Teacher and Prophet, Islam vehemently affirms; Judaism does not affirm; Christianity denies. Seventhly, that the Scriptures of the Old Testament contain the inspired and authoritative doctrines of God, Judaism, Islam, and Christianity affirm. Eighthly, that the Scriptures of the New Testament are the words of Divine truth, Christianity affirms; Islam affirms *in part*, and Judaism denies. Ninthly, that the Book Al Koran is the revealed truth of God, Islam strongly affirms; Judaism denies *in part*, and Christianity denies *in whole*. Tenthly, that the world is ruled by eternal Fate, Islam affirms; Judaism does not affirm, and Christianity denies. Eleventhly, that man is a free or, at any rate, responsible agent, Christianity affirms; Judaism does not deny, and Islam denies. Twelfthly, that man is rewarded for those actions which are called virtuous and punished for those which are called vicious, Christianity, Judaism, and Islam all affirm. Thirteenthly, that there is a resurrection of the body after death, Christianity and Islam affirm; Judaism neither affirms nor denies. Fourteenthly, that it is the highest duty of man in this life to serve God in faith and obedience, Christianity, Judaism, and Islam all affirm. Fifteenthly, that God is Triune, Christianity affirms; Judaism and Islam deny. Sixteenthly, that God made the universe out of nothing, Christianity, Judaism, and Islam all affirm. Seventeenthly, that there is appointed a Day of Judgment in which God will judge all men according to their works, Christianity and Islam affirm; Judaism either does not affirm or denies.

This list of fundamental propositions might be greatly extended, but will perhaps prove sufficient to give a clear idea of the leading features of the three religious systems.

The material of the Koran was all produced during Mohammed's life. The whole work is emphatically monotheistic. The oneness of God is the dominant thought of the whole. *Lo Illah il Allah*, "there is no God but Allah," is reïterated on almost every page. Not the severest passages of the Jewish Pentateuch are more singular in their enunciation of one supreme and indivisible Deity than are the repeated declarations of the scriptures of Islam. Thus in the one hundred and twelfth Chapter:

"Cry! God is one God; the eternal God: he begetteth not, neither is he begotten: and there is not any like unto him."

An extract from the second chapter is as follows: "To God belongeth the east and the



ARAB READING THE KORAN.

west; the face of God is everywhere, for God is omnipresent and omniscient. Yet they say God hath begotten children: God forbid! To him belongeth whatever is in heaven or in earth: and when he decreeth a thing, he only saith unto it, Be; and it is."

The third chapter, also, has this to say respecting Divine Unity: "There is no God but God, the living, the self-existing; he hath sent down unto thee the Book Al Koran; for he formerly sent down the Law and the Gospel; and he hath also sent down the distinction between good and evil. Verily there is no God but he, the mighty and the wise."

Chapter thirty-seventh of the Koran begins as follows: "By the angels who rank themselves in order; and by those who drive forward and dispel the clouds: and by those who read the Koran for an admonition, verily your God is one."

Islam was ever at war with Christianity respecting the sonship of Christ. To admit this doctrine was regarded by the Mohammedans as destroying the unity of the Deity. The idea that God had had a son, born of woman, in any other sense than that all men are his offspring, was so repugnant to the mind of Mohammed as to call forth his severest denunciations. In the nineteenth Chapter the Koran says:

"This was Jesus, the son of Mary, the word of truth, concerning whom they doubt. But it is not meet for God that *he* should have a son: Praise to Allah! Yet they say God hath begotten a Son. In this they utter a blasphemy; and but little is wanting that the Heavens should tear open, and the earth cleave asunder and the mountains fall down, for that they attribute children to the most Merciful. Verily it is not meet for God to have a Son."

The imminent peril of the Day of Judgment is everywhere depicted in the Koran. The threatened retribution is held forth as the most powerful motive of human conduct. In the expectation of this final ordeal, Islam sets forth every deed of man and utters against every species of sin the terrible invectives of the coming wrath. Everywhere the Koran proclaims the approach of inexorable doom for every soul that sinneth. The fifty-first Chapter has the following paragraph:

"Cursed be the liars who wade in deep waters of ignorance neglecting their salvation. Forsooth they ask, When will the Day of Judgment come? By the winds dispersing and scattering the dust; and by the clouds bearing a load of rains; and by the angelic bands who distribute things necessary for the support of all creatures; verily that wherewith ye are threatened is certainly true, and the Day of Judgment will come. Assuredly."

In the fifty-second chapter the same strain is continued: "By the mountain of Sinai; and by the book written in an expanded scroll; and by the visited house; and by the elevated roof of heaven; and by the swelling ocean; verily the punishment of the Lord will surely come down, on that day wherein the heaven shall be shaken and shall reel, and the mountains shall stagger and pass away."

In many parts the Koran breathes a spirit of piety strangely at variance with the vindictive utterances of other portions. There are occasional tender and beautiful passages which may well be compared with the best of the

Vedic Hymns or the Psalms of David. The following, which stands as Chapter first in most of the editions, might well have been sung by the son of Jesse:

"Praise be to God, the Lord of all his creatures; the most merciful, the King of the Day of Judgment. Thee do we worship and of thee do we beg assistance. Direct us in the right way, in the path of those to whom thou hast been gracious; not in the way of those against whom thou art incensed, nor of those who go astray."

The Koran is preëminently sensuous in its imagery. The delights of the blessed and the torments of the wicked are given with all the realism of detail peculiar to the Arabian imagination. Paradise and Hell are painted with a vividness that might well add new gleams of light and darkness to the glory and dolor of the *Divine Comedy*. The fifty-sixth Chapter of the Koran gives a true idea of Islam's abodes of peace and anguish:

"When that inevitable Day of Judgment shall suddenly come, no soul shall charge the prediction of its coming with falsehood. Then the earth shall be shaken with a violent shock; and the mountains shall be dashed in pieces, and shall become as dust scattered abroad; and men shall be separated into three distinct classes: the companions of the right hand; (how happy shall the companions of the right hand be!) and the companions of the left hand; (how miserable shall the companions of the left hand be!) and those who have been preëminent in the faith of Islam. These last are they who shall approach nearest unto God, and shall dwell in the gardens of delight. They shall repose on couches adorned with gold and precious stones, and shall sit opposite to each other's face. Youths who shall continue in their bloom forever shall go round about to attend them with goblets, and beakers and a cup of flowing wine: their heads shall not ache for drinking it, neither shall their reason be disturbed: and with fruits of the sorts which they shall choose, and with the flesh of birds of the kind which they shall desire shall they be fed. And there shall accompany them fair damsels having great black eyes resembling pearls that are hidden in their shells; and these shall be the reward for the work which the righteous shall have wrought. They shall not hear therein any vain discourse, or wrangling, or charge of sin; but only the salutation of Peace! Peace!—And the companions of the right hand (how happy shall the companions of the right hand be!) shall have their abode among lotus trees that are free from thorns, and trees of Mauz laden regularly with their produce from top to bottom; under an exalted shade, near a flowing water and amidst abundant fruits which shall not fail, nor be forbidden to be gathered. . . . But the companions of the left hand (how miserable shall the companions of the left hand be!) shall dwell amidst burning winds, and scalding water, under the shade of a black smoke neither cool nor agreeable; and they shall eat of the fruit of the tree of Al Zakkum, and they shall fill their bodies like to burst, and shall drink boiling water like a thirsty camel. This forsooth shall be their entertainment on the Day of Judgment. Assuredly."



SEAL OF MOHAMMED.

But it is in his imprecations against infidelity, and in his terrible oaths in attestation of the truth of his mission, that the Prophet of Islam rises to the height of his power. He swears by the foaming waters and by the grim darkness, by the flaming sun and the setting stars, by Mount Sinai and by Him who spanned the firmament, by the human soul and the small voice, by the Kaaba and by the Book, by the moon and the dawn and the angels, by the ten nights of dread mystery, and by the Day of Judgment! Such are the oaths of Islam, and such is Islam's book—a book under whose fiery influence the wild Arabian tribes were converted into a terrible nation, whose flaming swords and fierce unquenchable valor conquered an empire greater than that of Alexander.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.—CONQUESTS OF THE FIRST CALIPHS.

MOHAMMED died without a successor. The Arabs, however, were so fired with religious enthusiasm, caught from the spirit of the Prophet, that there was no danger of dissolution. Before the death of Abdallah's son four of his followers—two of them civilians and two military heroes—had already acquired a national reputation. The civilians were Mohammed's kinsmen, his uncle Abu Beker and his cousin, the noble young Ali, heretofore mentioned. The two military leaders were the Prophet's generals, the austere Omar and the old veteran Khaled. Each of these had his partisans, and each might have pressed his claims as the rightful successor of Mohammed. But the leaders of young Islam were too wise and full of zeal to indulge in open quarrels. The succession was allowed to pass quietly to Abu Beker. Ali could well abide his time, and the generals were satisfied with carrying the banners of the new faith into foreign lands. The remainder of the present Book will be occupied with the narrative of the Mohammedan conquests, beginning with Arabia.

The Caliph Abu Beker contented himself with the title of king or prince, rejecting all claims to be the vicar of God on earth. He was surnamed El Seddek, or the Testifier of the Truth. He was also called the father of the virgin, the reference being to Ayesha, the only one of the Prophet's wives who was married a maiden.

Abu Beker soon showed the highest qualities of leadership. His purposes, moreover, were for the promotion of the cause of Islam and the general good of the Arabian people. He was a man of virtue and integrity, little susceptible to the influence of luxury and indulgence. In the government he received no emoluments, accepting only a camel and a black slave. On entering into office he directed Ayesha to make an inventory of his personal estate, lest any might accuse him of enriching himself from the Caliphate.

The death of Mohammed was the signal of great commotions. All Arabia was affected by the intelligence that the Prophet was no more. After the bitter persecutions to which, in the beginning of his ministry, the son of Abdallah had been subjected, he had proclaimed the propagation of Islam by the sword. It will be remembered that the larger part of the ten years of his public career was devoted to the work of religious conquest. The establishment of his power in Arabia was by force; the Arabs feared him as a conqueror. The condition was such as to lead inevitably to revolt when his death was known.

The Arab tribes, believing that they had nothing further to fear, now rose in rebellion. They gave no heed to Abu Beker. They refused to pay the *Zacat*, or religious tribute, which the Prophet had imposed. The revolt spread far and wide, until in a short time there was nothing left of the empire of Islam but the three cities of Mecca, Medina, and Tayef.

The rebels took the field under the lead of the chieftain Malec Ibn Nowirah. He was noted as a valorous Arab knight, as well as a poet and man of culture. His popularity, moreover, was increased by the fame of his wife, who was reputed to be the most beautiful woman in Arabia. The advance of Malec against Medina gave notice to Abu Beker that the insurgents aimed at the entire extinction of his authority and the restoration of tribal independence throughout the country.

The Caliph hastened to fortify the city. The women, the children, the aged, and the infirm were sent to the mountains to find freedom and security. The chief reliance of Abu Beker was upon the veteran Khaled, to whom the command of the army was intrusted. At the head of four thousand five hundred men the fiery soldier of Islam went forth and quickly overthrew Malec in battle. He had been instructed by Abu Beker to

treat the rebel chieftain with courtesy, but Khaled was devoid of sentiment, and proceeded to lay waste the territories of the revolted tribes. He had Malec brought into his presence and demanded why he had refused to pay the *Zacat;* and when the captive answered that he could pray without any such exactions, his head was struck off by one of Khaled's soldiers. Abu Beker felt constrained to permit the murder of the prisoner to pass by unavenged.

Meanwhile, in the city of Yamama, the false prophet Moseïlma had arisen and corrupted the belief of many. He went about uttering rhapsodies, and claiming to be the inspired messenger of Allah. Hearing of his progress, the poetess Sedjah, wife of Abu Cahdla, prince of the tribe of Tamin, visited the alleged prophet, and the twain became enamored. While this brief idyl was enacting, Khaled marched forth from Medina and overthrew the followers of Moseïlma near the the capital of the rhapsodist. The prophet himself was killed, and the remnant of his forces escaped destruction by professing the faith of Islam. Khaled then marched from tribe to tribe, enforcing obedience and exacting tithes and tribute. The rebellion was everywhere broken up, and before the end of the first year of Abu Beker's reign, the Mohammedan empire was reëstablished throughout Arabia.

Now it was that Abu Beker undertook to collect and reduce to form the precepts and revelations of the Koran. Many of the speeches of the Prophet already existed in writing, but many others were preserved only in the memories of his friends and followers. Abu Beker perceived that in the course of nature, to say nothing of the hazards of battle, the associates of Mohammed would soon pass away, and that the precious words which he had uttered would erelong be given to the uncertainties of tradition. "In a little while," said the zealous Omar, "all the living testifiers to the faith who bear the revelations of it in their memories will have passed away, and with them so many records of the doctrines of Islam."

Urged by these considerations, Abu Beker proceeded to collect from various sources the materials of the Book. The surviving disciples were diligently questioned as to the sayings of the Prophet, and whatever could be thus obtained was written down, revised, and made authentic. Such parts as already existed in manuscript were compared and edited by the scribes of the Caliph, and the whole work brought into nearly the form which the Koran at present bears. The work, however, was subjected to a subsequent revision by a later Caliph, after which further modifications were forbidden. But the chief honor of the permanent composition of the Bible of Islam belongs to the reign of Abu Beker.

As soon as the reconquest of the Arabian tribes had been completed, the vision of universal dominion again rose on the court of Medina. The prophet had said that the world should be subdued to his doctrines. Either persuasion or the sword should avail to bring all nations to submission. By his oft-repeated injunctions, his followers were incited to undertake the conquest of the world. From Arabia the scepter of authority was to be stretched out to the remotest habitable borders; and pagans, idolaters, and unbelievers should bow to the sway of Allah and his servants.

Nor was the time inauspicious for the undertaking. The Roman Empire of the West was under the heel of the barbarians. The Byzantine power and the Empire of Persia had exhausted themselves with long-continued wars. Scarcely a single state of Western Asia, and not one of the kingdoms whose territories touched the Mediterranean was in a condition to offer a successful resistance to a new and aggressive power. Abu Beker, therefore, made haste as soon as Khaled had reduced the Arab tribes, to assume the work enjoined by Mohammed. The first country against which he raised his arm was Syria.

The Syrian states, embracing Phœnicia and Palestine, had long been consolidated into a province of the Eastern Empire of the Romans. Heraclius now reigned at Constantinople, but the Byzantine power had so much declined from what it was in the days of Theodosius as to invite attack from every quarter. Syria was especially exposed; nor did the Arabs fail to perceive in that country a fair field of conquest. Their caravans going and coming from the Syrian cities had made

them familiar with the abundant resources of the province, no less than with its comparatively defenseless position. Accordingly, in the second year of his reign, Abu Beker



PREACHING THE KORAN.
Drawn by Lisc.

issued to the chiefs of the Two Arabias the following proclamation:

"In the name of the Most Merciful God. Abdallah Athek Ibn Abu Kahafa to all true believers health, happiness, and the blessing of God. Praise be to God and Mohammed his Prophet! This is to inform you that I intend to send an army of the faithful into Syria to deliver that country from the infidels, and I remind you that to fight for the true faith is to obey God."

No sooner was this summons issued than the wild horsemen of the desert flocked to Medina, eager to join the expedition. The command of the host was given Yezed, and Abu Beker himself accompanied the army for the first day's march, walking as a servant of the Prophet. He then gave to Yezed his parting injunctions, which may well be repeated as illustrative of the spirit of young Islam going forth to conquest:

"Treat your soldiers with kindness and consideration," said Abu Beker to his general. "Be just in all your dealings with them, and consult their feelings and opinions. Fight valiantly, and never turn your back upon a foe. When victorious, harm not the aged and protect women and children. Destroy not the palm-tree or fruit-trees of any kind; waste not the corn-field with fire; nor kill any cattle excepting for food. Stand faithfully to every covenant and promise; respect all religious persons who live in hermitages or convents, and spare their edifices. But should you meet with a class of unbelievers of different kind, who go about with shaven crowns and belong to the synagogue of Satan, be sure you cleave their

skulls unless they embrace the true faith or render tribute."

So Yezed began the invasion of Syria. On the borders of the country he met an army which Heraclius had sent to oppose his march, and the Mohammedans gained an easy victory. Twelve hundred of the enemy were left dead on the field, and a long train of booty was sent to Medina. Arabia was fired with the intelligence of triumph. A new army was quickly gathered at Mecca, placed under the command of Amru, and sent to the Syrian frontier. In a short time no fewer than four Mohammedan generals were carrying the banners of Islam through the enemy's country. Amru invaded Palestine. Obeidah marched against Emessa. Seid proceeded towards Damascus, and Hassan overran the country beyond the Jordan. All four of the armies were to act in concert, and Obeidah was to be general-in-chief.

While the Syrian war was thus put in motion, a second campaign was undertaken into ancient Babylonia, now tributary to the Persian monarch, and of this expedition the command was given to the veteran Khaled. With ten thousand men he undertook the subjugation of the country. He besieged the city of Hira, carried the place by storm, and killed the king in battle. The Chaldæan kingdom was quickly subdued, and an annual tribute of seventy thousand pieces of gold was imposed upon the conquered people. The conqueror then marched against the city of Aila, where he overthrew the Persian general Hormuz, and sent his crown, a fifth part of the booty, and an elephant, to Abu Beker. Such were the first instances of a tribute levied by Islam upon a foreign nation.

Nothing could withstand the headlong career of Khaled. Three Persian armies were successively beaten down before him. The Babylonian cities were taken one after another until opposition on the banks of the Euphrates ceased. The name of Khaled became a terror to unbelievers. Establishing his head-quarters in Babylonia, he wrote a letter to the Persian monarch, saying: "Profess the faith of Allah and his Prophet or pay tribute to their servants. If you refuse both, I will come upon you with a host who love death as much as you love life."

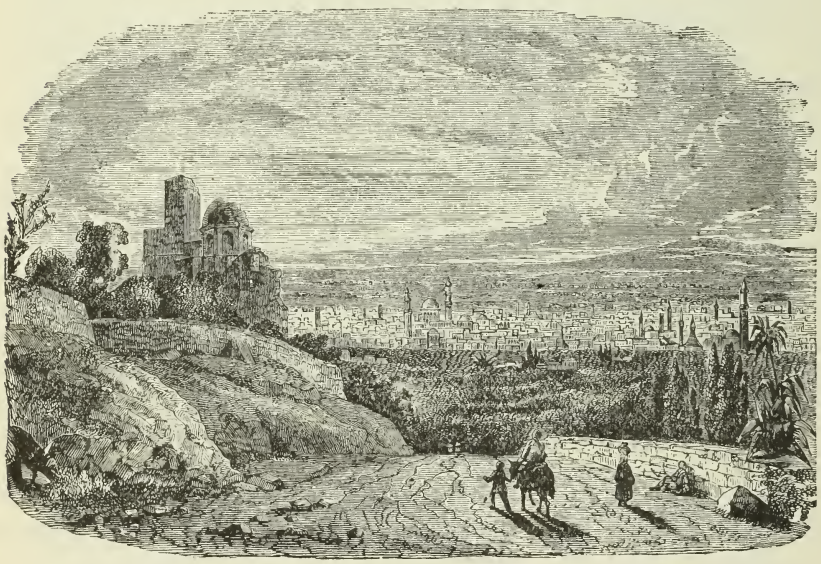
As the spoils taken by Khaled in the East poured into Medina the Arabians fairly flamed with enthusiasm. The trophies seemed but the earnest of universal triumph. The fiery zeal of the followers of the Prophet was fed with the sight of captured crowns snatched from the heads of infidel princes; and the Koran promised immortal bliss to the faithful soldier who should fall in battle. The Arab chiefs rushed to the uplifted standard of Islam, eager to join the victorious general on the Euphrates. "By Allah," said old Abu Beker, "all womankind is not able to give birth to another such as Khaled."

Meanwhile, however, the Mahommedan armies in Syria were attended with less success. Abu Obeidah proved unequal to the task which was imposed upon him by the Caliph. While each succeeding dispatch from Khaled brought to Medina the notes of victory, the news from Obeidah was full of discouragement and alarm. He had heard that great armies were on the march from Constantinople to oppose him and deemed himself unable to confront the hosts of Heraclius. Great was the contrast thus exhibited to the mind of Abu Beker by the headlong career of Khaled and the timid inactivity of Obeidah. The Caliph accordingly ordered his victorious general to leave the Euphrates and assume the direction of the war in Syria.

Khaled at once hastened across the Syrian desert with a force of fifteen hundred horse and joined the army of his countrymen before the city of Bosra. This important mart near the Arabian frontier was a place of great strength. Romanus, the governor, estimating the probabilities of the conflict, would have surrendered to the Mohammedans, but the garrison and the inhabitants resisted the proposition and insisted on defense. Before the arrival of Khaled, the city was already assailed by ten thousand Mohammedan horsemen under the command of the veteran Serjabil; but the garrison sallied forth, threw the Moslems into confusion, and cut them down with great slaughter.

The terrified Mohammedans were already breaking into a rout when a great cloud of dust on the horizon announced the arrival of Khaled. The impetuous warrior dashed upon the field, restored order, drove the Syrian gar-

rison again into the city, and set up his own banner before the gates. With the early morning the besieged army again sallied forth confident of victory. Romanus, riding before his army, entered into a sham, personal combat with Khaled, telling his terrible foeman to strike softly and he would surrender the city into his hands. Khaled readily assented to the proposition, but when Romanus returned into Bosra he was deposed by the indignant garrison and a new governor appointed in his stead. Another sally was made and a personal combat ensued between the commander and the young Abdalrahman, son of the Caliph, who appeared as the champion of Khaled. The governor was wounded and put to flight. Thereupon the whole Moslem force charged upon the opposing army and drove the besieged headlong into the city. With nightfall the gates were closed and Bosra was invested.



DAMASCUS.

Taking advantage of the darkness Romanus, who had been confined in his own house near the wall of the city, broke an opening through the rampart and made his way to the tent of Khaled. Abdalrahman was sent with a hundred men into the city to open the gates. At a preconcerted signal the Moslem hosts rushed forward, poured through the gates, and the people of Bosra were suddenly aroused with the shrill battle-cry of Islam. Thousands were cut down, and other terrified thousands cried for quarter. The city was taken and the carnage ended by the order of Khaled. The inhabitants were obliged to renounce Christianity and to accept Mohammed as their Prophet.

After the downfall of Bosra Khaled fixed his eyes on Damascus, the flower of the Syrian desert. With a force of thirty-seven thousand men he pressed forward to the rich plain and groves of palm in which the city is situated. So beautiful was the sight which greeted the eyes of the Moslem host that it seemed to them a vision of that Paradise which the Prophet had promised to the faithful. The city was strongly fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison. Nor did it appear to Heraclius, who was then holding his court at Antioch, that the expedition of Khaled was more to be feared than a predatory foray of nomads. He therefore merely ordered a force of five thousand men to march from Antioch for the succor of Damascus. Arriving at the city, Caloüs, the general of the detachment, attempted to assume the command, and violent dissensions ensued. Meanwhile Khaled drew near at the head of his army, and a sense of danger served to unite the factions within the walls. The garrison was drawn out through the gates, and the two armies were brought face to face in the plain. A fierce battle ensued, in which both the Christian commanders were killed, and their army driven within the ramparts.

Damascus was now besieged. Heraclius, learning the real character of the foe with whom he had to grapple, sent forward from Antioch an army of a hundred thousand men. But the undaunted Khaled sallied forth into the desert, met the approaching hosts in detachments, and inflicted upon them a complete overthrow and rout. The siege was again re-

sumed, but Heraclius, now thoroughly alarmed, raised another army of seventy thousand men, and a second time hurried to the relief of Damascus. Khaled called upon the Moslem chiefs of Arabia for aid, and as soon as possible broke up his camp before the city, marching in the direction of Aiznadin. The garrison of Damascus sallied forth and pursued the retiring army. Khaled, however, turned upon them and inflicted a severe defeat; but the assailants succeeded in carrying off a part of the baggage and many of the Moslem women. These in turn were recaptured by Khaled, and the assailants were glad to make good their escape within the fortifications of the city.

Meanwhile the Moslem reënforcements arrived before Aiznadin, where Khaled now gathered his entire force for the impending battle. The Imperial army greatly exceeded the Mohammedan in number, and was thoroughly equipped and disciplined according to the Roman method. After lying face to face for a day Werdan, the commander of the Christian host, sought to circumvent Khaled by treachery; but the latter outwitted his rival, and Werdan was caught and slain in his own stratagem. Taking advantage of the temporary dismay of the Imperial army, Khaled, though outnumbered two to one, charged upon the opposing camp, and a massacre ensued hitherto unparalleled in the fierce conflicts of those desert lands. Those of the Christians who survived the onset fled in all directions. The spoils of the overthrown were greater than the victorious Moslems could well dispose of. An immense train of booty was dispatched to Medina, and Abdalrahman was commissioned to bear the news of the victory to Abu Beker.

It appeared that all Arabia was now ready for the field. Every chief and his tribe were eager to join the victorious Khaled for the capture of Damascus. After the victory of Aiznadin the Mohammedans resumed the investment of the city, and the siege was pressed with such severity that neither citizen nor soldier durst venture beyond the ramparts. The Moslems, however, were repelled in several assaults, and the garrison in turn was driven back at every sally. For seventy days the siege continued with unremitting rigor. When at last the people were reduced to extremity, an embassy went forth, and one of the city gates was opened to Obeidah. At the same time Khaled obtained possession of the gate on the opposite side, and fought his way into the city, where he met the forces of Obeidah, peacefully marching in according to the terms of capitulation. Great was the rage of Khaled, who swore by Allah that he would put every infidel to the sword. For a while the slaughter continued; but Khaled was at length induced to desist, and to honor the terms which had been granted by the more merciful Obeidah.

So Damascus fell into the hands of the Moslems. A part of the inhabitants remained and became tributary to the Caliph, and the rest were permitted to retire with their property in the direction of Antioch. The latter, however, were pursued by the merciless Khaled, overtaken in their encampment beyond Mount Libanus, and were all slain or captured. This exploit having been accomplished, the Moslems hastened back to Damascus, where some time was spent in dividing the spoils of the great conquest.

In the mean time Abu Beker grew feeble with age, and died at Medina. His death occurred on the very day of the capture of Damascus, and before the news of that great victory could reach him. Perceiving his end at hand, the aged Caliph dictated a will to his secretary, in which he nominated Omar as his successor. The latter was little disposed to accept the burden of the Caliphate. Having extorted from Omar a promise to accept the office and to rule in accordance with the precepts of the Koran, good Abu Beker, after a reign of a little more than two years, left the world in full assurance of Paradise.

The succession fell peaceably to Omar, who began his reign in A. D. 634. He was a man great in mind and great in stature, strong of will and resolute of purpose. The two years' successful reign of his predecessor had left the Caliphate in the ascendant; and it was not likely that Omar would allow the conquests of Islam to stop with their present limits. His religious zeal was equal to his warlike valor, and his private life was as temperate as his public example was commendable. For the false luxury of the world he had no liking. His manners were as severe as those of John the Baptist. His beverage was water;

his food, of barley bread and dates. His motto was: "Four things come not back: the spoken word; the sped arrow; the past life, and the neglected opportunity."

On acceding to power Omar received the title of Emir-al-Moumenin, or Commander of the Faithful. He began his career by introducing several salutary methods in the administration of justice. He ordered to be prepared a twisted scourge for the backs of a certain class of offenders, and the remedy was so freely applied as to provoke the saying, "Omar's twisted scourge is more to be feared than his sword."

One of the first acts of the new Caliph was to reäppoint Abu Obeidah to the command of the army in Syria. The measure was one of great peril; for neither did Obeidah desire to be general-in-chief, nor was it by any means certain that Khaled would quietly submit to his own deposition. The supremacy of Islam, however, prevailed over all minor considerations, and the fiery warrior, who had received the surname of the "Sword of God," accepted a position subordinate to Obeidah. A short time after this transfer of the command the Syrian town of Abyla, whereat a great fair was holding, and hundreds of merchant princes were met to exhibit their stuffs, was taken by a division of horsemen under the command of Khaled, and another rich harvest of booty gathered from the infidels. A long train of spoil was driven back to Damascus, and the plunder distributed among the faithful.

By this time the Saracens had become a terrible army of veterans. The discipline of the Koran enjoined moderation in all matters of appetite, and the simple fare of the followers of Islam conduced to their excellence as soldiers. While the army was reposing at Damascus, however, the use of the interdicted wine-cup began to prevail, and Omar and Obeidah were scandalized with occasional reports of drunkenness. "By Allah," said the Caliph, "what is to be done with these wine-bibbers." A message was prepared at the suggestion of Ali, wherein Obeidah was directed to have the offenders publicly whipped. On receiving the dispatch the general summoned the guilty, and had the bastinado laid upon their flesh until the honor of Islam was vindicated. Such was the heat of religious fervor that many whose potations had been in secret came forward of their own accord, acknowledged their sin, and were whipped till their consciences were satisfied.

Leaving a sufficient garrison in Damascus, Obeidah now went forth to complete the conquest of Syria. The two most important cities still remaining uncaptured were Emessa and Baalbec. As soon as the expedition was begun Khaled was sent forward with one-third of the Moslem army to scour the country in the direction of Emessa. The main body, under the general and chief, advanced by way of Jusheyah, which city purchased immunity for a year by the payment of a large ransom to the Mohammedans.

On reaching Emessa, Obeidah found that Khaled had already begun a siege. An investment ensued; but the authorities of the city, like those of Jusheyah, preferred to secure a temporary peace by the payment of ten thousand pieces of gold and two hundred silken robes. It was stipulated that at the expiration of a year Emessa should be surrendered to the Moslems, on condition that the latter should in the mean time have taken the cities of Aleppo, Alhadir, and Kennesrin, and that they should have defeated the Imperial army. By these heavy contributions Obeidah secured unlimited means of prosecuting his campaigns and of filling the coffers of the government at Medina.

As soon as the merchants of Emessa found themselves secure from aggression they opened the gates of the city, established fairs, and began to ply a profitable trade with their conquerors. The god of Thrift began to recover from Mars a portion of his spoils. The Mohammedans meanwhile ravaged the surrounding country, fell upon the villages of the unbelievers, and seized the property of whoever would not profess himself a follower of the Prophet. The Syrian Greeks, having much of the religious suppleness for which their race had ever been noted, soon learned that the readiest and safest way of reaching a conclusion of their peril was by voluntary submission and the payment of tribute. The Mohammedans were keepers of their faith. Town after town sent deputations to Obeidah and secured peace, until by their own act the

whole territories of Emessa, Alhadir, and Kennesrin were saved from devastation.

Relations quite friendly were thus established between the dominant Moslems and the subject Syrian populations. The policy of Obeidah was so successful that when for a long time no intelligence of further conquest was borne to Medina, Caliph Omar, believing that Obeidah had ceased to glorify the Prophet, wrote him a letter complaining of his apathy in the cause. Stung by the reproaches of his master, Obeidah left Khaled to await the expiration of the year's truce at Emessa, and himself at once set forward on an expedition to Baalbec. While on the march he captured a rich caravan of merchants and found himself in possession of four hundred loads of silks and sugars. The caravan, however, was permitted to ransom itself and continue on its way to Baalbec. Thus were the people of that city notified of the approach of the Moslems.

Herbis, the Syrian governor, believing that the disturbers of his peace were only a band of marauders, sallied forth with an army to put to flight the assailants of his people; but Obeidah inflicted on him a severe defeat and he was glad to secure himself within the walls of Baalbec. The city was soon besieged, but the garrison made a brave defense. In a sally which was ordered by Herbis, the Moslems were driven back. Shortly the besieged made a second sortie in full force, and a general battle ensued, in which the Syrians were defeated. Being reduced to extremities, Herbis finally sought a conference with Obeidah, and Baalbec, like Emessa, was ransomed from pillage at a heavy cost. The same scenes which had been witnessed at Emessa were now reenacted in the recently captured city. Merchantmen grew fat by the establishment of a trade with the victorious but reckless Moslems, who, burdened with the spoils of war, were quick to purchase at an exorbitant price whatever pleased their fancy.

Meanwhile the year of truce with Emessa expired, and Obeidah demanded the actual surrender of the city. The sole condition of exemption was the acceptance by the people of the faith of Islam or the payment of an annual tribute. "I invite you," said Obeidah, "to embrace our holy faith and the law revealed to our Prophet Mohammed, and we will send pious men to instruct you, and you shall participate in all our fortunes. If you refuse, you shall be left in possession of all your property on the payment of annual tribute. If you reject both conditions, come forth from behind your stone walls and let Allah, the supreme judge, decide between us."

The authorities of Emessa rejected this summons with contempt. The garrison presently sallied forth, and the Moslems were handled roughly. Obeidah then resorted to stratagem and proposed to the inhabitants that he would retire and undertake the conquest of other cities, on condition that his army should be provisioned for a five days' march from the storehouses of the city. The proposal was gladly accepted, but when the five days' provisions were dealt out to the Moslems, Obeidah, pretending that the supply was still insufficient, asked the privilege of purchasing additional stores. This granted, he continued to buy until the supplies of Emessa were greatly reduced. The Moslem army then marched away and quickly captured the towns of Arrestan and Shaizar, This done, he returned with all haste to Emessa, claiming that his promise to leave the city was by no means a promise not to return.

Thus by craft and subtlety the inhabitants of Emessa found themselves overreached and subjected to the hardships of another siege. After several days' fighting, during which the Moslems found themselves unable to make any impression on the steady phalanxes of the Syrian Greeks, they resorted to their usual stratagem of pretending to fly from the fight. The opposing army, believing that the Arabs were really routed, rushed forward in pursuit and fell to plundering the Moslem camp. Suddenly, however, the forces of Obeidah turned from their flight and threw themselves headlong upon the broken ranks of the Syrians. The latter were thunderstruck by the unexpected onset of a foe whom they considered overthrown, and were unable to reform the phalanx. Then a terrible slaughter ensued. The field was strewn with Christian dead. The huge bulk of the governor was discovered among the slain, his bloody garments still fragrant with the perfumes of the East.

The city, unable to offer further resistance, immediately surrendered. Obeidah, however,

was unable to avail himself of the advantages of victory. For in the moment of triumph, intelligence was received that Constantine, son of the Emperor, was approaching with an immense army of heavy-armed Greeks, flanked by a host of auxiliaries, against whom the Moslems could not hope to stand. It became a serious question in Obeidah's camp what course should be pursued to maintain the now unequal contest. In a council of war it was decided to march to Yermouk, on the borders of Palestine, and there await the approach of Constantine. For the position was such as to be within supporting distance of Medina.

The rumor of the approaching Imperial army was well founded. For the Emperor Heraclius, at first despising the reports of the Mohammedan aggressions on the south-west, was now thoroughly alarmed at the portentous intelligence which foretold the Moslem conquest of all Syria. An army of eighty thousand men was accordingly organized and placed under the command of Manuel, who was ordered to recover the Syrian province from the Arabs. Manuel was joined *en route* by another army numbering sixty thousand, led by a renegade Islamite, named Jabalah. Such was the powerful host, the rumor of whose coming had obliged the hasty retirement of the victorious Moslems after their capture of Emessa.

The Arab generals, now posted at Yermouk, sent a message to the Caliph describing their peril and asking for reënforcements. Eight thousand men were hastily collected, placed under the command of Seid, and sent forward to Obeidah. Before the arrival of this force, however, the impetuous Khaled had sallied forth with a body of picked troops, fallen upon the traitorous Jabalah, who led the hostile advance, and inflicted on him a severe defeat. As Manuel approached with the main army, he opened negotiations with Obeidah. Khaled was sent to a conference, but nothing was effected except the release of some Arab prisoners. It was evident that the issue must be decided by the sword.

In the impending battle, Obeidah, distrusting his own abilities, gave the chief command to Khaled. That veteran, before beginning the conflict, made to his men a characteristic address. "Paradise," said he, "is before you; the devil and hell behind. Fight bravely, and you will secure the one; fly, and you will fall into the other." The hostile armies met near Yermouk. The battle began at morning, and raged furiously throughout the day. Three times the Moslems were driven back by the steady charges of the Græco-Syrian phalanx, and three times the cries and entreaties of the Arab women in the rear prevailed with the warriors to renew the fight. Nightfall gave a brief respite to the tired army of the Prophet.

With the morning light the battle was renewed, and again continued to the darkness. The third and fourth days of the conflict were decisive. The Christian hosts were at last thrown into confusion by the fiery assaults of the Moslems. Manuel was slain and his army completely routed. The conflict was decisive as it related to the possession of Syria.

After a month's rest at Damascus, the Arab army proceeded to besiege Jerusalem. The inhabitants of that city prepared for defense by gathering provisions and planting engines on the walls. The usual demands made by the Moslem leaders that the people should either embrace the faith of Islam or become tributary to the vicar of the Prophet were rejected, and the investment began. For ten days the assaults were renewed from time to time, and a second summons to surrender was followed by a conference between the Christian patriarch Sempronius and Obeidah. It was agreed that the Caliph Omar should himself come from Medina and receive the city. That potentate accordingly traversed the Arabian desert, and the Holy City was given into his hands. It was stipulated that the Christians should build no new churches in the countries which they surrendered; that the doors of all places of worship should be kept open to travelers and Mohammedans; that the bells should ring no more, and that the cross should not be publicly exhibited. Having subscribed the articles of capitulation, Omar assured the people of his protection and took possession of the city of David.

Omar scrupulously observed the terms of the surrender. The Moslems were forbidden to pray in the Christian churches. The devotions of the Islamites were at first limited to the steps and porches of the sacred edifices.



ENTRANCE OF OMAR THE GREAT INTO JERUSALEM.

Drawn by O. Fikentsher.

The Caliph, however, did not fail to add the sanctity of Jerusalem to that of Islam. Searching out the site of the temple of Solomon, he cleared the sacred spot of the *débris* of centuries, and laid thereon the foundations of the great mosque which still bears his name, and has ever been regarded as among the most magnificent specimens of Arabian architecture. Thus, in the year A. D. 637, the ancient and holy capital of the Jewish nation passed into the hands of the followers of the Prophet.

Before leaving Jerusalem Omar planned the completion of his Syrian conquests. Southern Syria was assigned to Abu Sofian, while the northern region lying between Hauran and Aleppo was committed to Obeidah. At the same time an invasion of Egypt was ordered, and an expedition against that country put under command of Amru. These arrangements being completed, Omar returned in triumph to Medina. During his absence the affairs of state had been managed by Ali, whom the Caliph had intrusted with the government.

Meanwhile, Obeidah began his march to the north-east. The cities of Kennesrin and Alhadir were surrendered to him without a conflict. The great mercantile metropolis of Aleppo, however, was not to be given up without an obstinate struggle. This wealthy city was strongly fortified, and the citadel, standing upon a high mound, seemed impregnable to assault. The place was under command of an able soldier named Youkenna, who encouraged the people by word and example, and prepared to fight for the city to the last. Before Obeidah could reach Aleppo, Youkenna sallied forth with ten thousand men to confront the approaching Moslems. During his absence the peace-loving traders of Aleppo sent a deputation to Obeidah, offering to make the city tributary on condition of being spared. But, while the negotiations were pending, Youkenna surprised the Arab advance and gained a partial success; then, hearing what the citizens of Aleppo had done, he hastened back to the city to prevent a surrender.

On reëntering the gates Youkenna charged upon the citizens, and hundreds were put to the sword. A scene of bloodshed and confusion ensued as terrible as any thing which was to be apprehended from the Moslems, and before this desperate, internal strife could be quieted, Khaled appeared with his army before the walls. The city was stormed, the conflict raging fiercely for many hours, until even the headlong Khaled was obliged to desist from the assault. The heads of the Arab prisoners were cut off and thrown down from the walls in contempt, and Youkenna, by frequent sallies, made himself a terror even to the undaunted Moslems.

For five months the citadel was besieged, until Obeidah was ready to give up the enterprise; but the Caliph ordered the investment to be pressed to a conclusion. At last an Arab stratagem succeeded where courage had failed. A certain Moslem Hercules, named Damas, with a band of thirty reckless followers, scaled the castle wall by night, killed the guard, threw open the portal, raised the battle-cry of Islam, and held the gate until Khaled and his irresistible host poured in and captured the citadel. Aleppo was the prize of victory. The terrible Youkenna, finding the Arab sword at his throat, saved himself by a sudden conversion to Islam, and most of the garrison followed his example. He signalized his defection from the Christian cause by taking up the sword of the Prophet. He betrayed the city of Aazaz into the hands of Obeidah, and then undertook no less an enterprise than the delivery of Antioch to the Mohammedans. To this end he gave himself up at one of the Imperial outposts, and was taken into the presence of Heraclius at the Syrian capital. He pretended to be a fugitive. The Emperor accepted his story, and put him in command of the very band of renegades whom he had led within sight of the city. He rapidly rose in the Imperial favor. He was made a counselor of the court, and became one of the most important personages in Antioch.

Meanwhile, Obeidah came on with the main army to besiege the city. The treacherous Youkenna was intrusted with the defense. The forces of the Emperor were drawn up and reviewed without the walls, and Heraclius himself made a present of a crucifix to each battalion. The main dependence for the safety of Antioch was the great stone bridge across the river Orontes. This passage must be

secured by the Moslems before they could hope to take the city. The guards of the bridge, however, had a private spite to be gratified, and as soon as the Arab army drew near surrendered themselves and their charge to Obeidah. Thus was the approach to Antioch laid open, and the two armies were brought face to face before the walls of the city.

In the mean time Youkenna, who held command within the ramparts, completed his treason by liberating the Arab prisoners. When the intelligence of his proceedings was carried to Heraclius, the latter fell into despair, slipped away from the Christian camp with a few followers, took his course to the sea-shore, and embarked for Constantinople. The generals of the Emperor, however, remained and fought. In the severe battle which ensued before the walls of the city, the Moslems were again triumphant. Antioch surrendered, and was obliged to purchase her exemption from pillage by the payment of three thousand ducats of gold.

The conquest of Syria was now virtually complete. Khaled, at the head of a division of the army, traversed the country as far as the Euphrates. Everywhere the towns and villages were compelled either to profess the faith of Islam or pay an annual tribute. Another leader, named Mesroud, undertook the conquest of the Syrian mountains. Little success, however, attended the expedition until Khaled went to the assistance of Mesroud, whereupon the opposing army of Greeks withdrew from the country.

In the mean time Amru, to whom had been assigned the subjugation of Egypt, proceeded against Cæsarea. Here was posted Constantine, son of the Emperor, in command of a large army of Græco-Syrians. Great were the embarrassments of Amru in the conduct of his expedition; for many Christian Arabs, who could not well be discriminated from the true followers of the Prophet, hovered as spies about the Moslem camp and carried to Constantine intelligence of whatever was done or purposed. None the less, the Christian general entertained a wholesome dread of the Moslems, and on their approach sought a peaceable settlement. He remonstrated with Amru, and at the same time protested that the Greeks and Arabs were brethren.

Amru maintained, however, that according to the Noachic distribution of the world Syria belonged to the descendants of Shem; that they had been wrongfully dispossessed and thrust into the deserts of Arabia, and that they were now come to repossess their inheritance by the sword. After much parley, the usual alternative was presented by the Mohammedan. The people of Cæsarea must either accept Mohammed as their Prophet and acknowledge the unity of God or else become tributary to the Caliph Omar. The armies then prepared for battle. It was the peculiarity of all these conflicts that challenges to personal combat were given and accepted by the leaders. Before the wall of Cæsarea a powerful Christian warrior rode forth and defied the Moslem host to send a man to match him in fight. An Arab youth from Yemen offered himself for martyrdom and was quickly slain. A second and third followed his example. Then the veteran Serjabil went forth and was prostrated by the Christian hero. But when the latter was about to take the life of his fallen foeman, his own hand was cut off by a saber stroke of a certain Greek, who came to the rescue.

Presently after this adventure—the weather being cold and boisterous—Constantine immured himself in Cæsarea. That place was then besieged by the Moslems, and Constantine, instead of being reënforced, received the intelligence of the capture of Tripoli and Tyre. He also learned that a fleet of munitions and supplies which had been sent to his relief had fallen into the hands of the enemy. Discouraged by these tidings, he gathered together his treasures and family, slipped away from Cæsarea, and embarked for Constantinople. As soon as the authorities of the city learned that the prince had fled, they made overtures to Amru and secured their safety by the payment of a ransom of two hundred thousand pieces of silver. A few other places of minor importance were taken by the Mohammedan, and by the following year, A. D. 639, opposition ceased. All Syria was wrested from the Empire of the East and added to the Caliphate of Medina.

It will be remembered that on the accession

of Omar that potentate displaced the victorious Khaled from the command of the Syrian army, and in other ways showed his dislike for the favorite general of Abu Beker. Khaled was a hero according to the Arab heart and model. Eschaus, one of the many poets of the desert, sang the praises of the Sword of God and attributed to him the full glory of the Syrian victories. For this bit of adulation Khaled was weak enough to make the poet a present of thirty thousand pieces of silver. To the austere Omar, already inimical to Khaled, this vainglory appeared intolerable. The veteran soldier was, moreover, accused of embezzlement, was deposed from his command, and disgraced with a trial. Already aged and infirm, the hardy warrior could not recover from his disgrace. He died of a broken heart, but from the sepulcher his fame shone out more brightly than ever. For it was found that instead of enriching himself by embezzlement, his whole estate consisted of his war-horse and armor.

Amru was now free to prosecute his invasion of Egypt. Having crossed the border, his first work was to capture Pelusium, which he did after a siege of a month's duration. He then marched against Misrah, the ancient Memphis, which, next to Alexandria, was now the most important city of Egypt. The place was invested for seven months, nor might it then have fallen into the hands of the Moslems, but for the treason of the governor, Mokawkas, who entered into a correspondence with Amru, and agreed to surrender the city on condition that he be permitted to retain the treasures which he had collected while in office.

Having thus possessed himself of Memphis, Amru next set out for Alexandria. By the terms of capitulation the people were obliged to prepare the way before him, bridge the canals, and supply provisions. The malcontent—especially the Greek—element of Egyptian society fell back before the invading army and took refuge in Alexandria. So strongly fortified was this city, so well provisioned and defended, and so easily accessible to all the fleets of the Mediterranean, that its attempted reduction by the men of the desert appeared the project of insanity. Nevertheless, Amru made the usual demands of religious and civil submission to the Prophet and his vicar, and when these were refused, boldly laid siege to the powerful capital. In a short time he succeeded in capturing the citadel, but the Greeks rallied in great force, drove out the assailants, and made prisoners of Amru and several of his officers. Not knowing, however, the rank and importance of their captives, the victors permitted them to depart on the easy mission of obtaining favorable terms from Amru! The far-resounding shouts of the Moslems on beholding the safe return of their general gave notice to the credulous governor of Alexandria that he had let fly the most important bird of the desert.

For fourteen months the siege of the city continued. Nothing could disappoint the desperate Moslems of their prey. Caliph Omar sent army after army to reënforce the besiegers. It is said that twenty-three thousand of the Arabs fell in various unsuccessful assaults before the city was obliged to yield. At last, however, the end came, and the capital of Egypt succumbed to the followers of the Prophet. The fiery Crescent took the place of the Cross in the metropolis of Africa.

Most of the Greeks, who for some centuries had been the predominant class in Egypt, took ship and left the country. For a while, however, they hovered about the coast, and when it was learned that Amru, leaving a small garrison in Alexandria, had started on his march up the valley of the Nile, a large force of the Greek fugitives suddenly returned and retook the city. Great was the wrath of Amru on hearing what was done. He at once marched back to the capital, and after a brief investment, again carried the citadel by assault. Most of the Greeks were cut to pieces, and the rest escaping to their ships took flight by sea. The Mohammedans were now mad for the pillage of the city, and were with difficulty held in check by Amru and a message from the Caliph. Omar was very far from desiring that the magnificent metropolis should be destroyed. At this time Alexandria is said to have contained four thousand palaces, five thousand baths, four hundred theaters, twelve thousand gardeners, and forty thousand tributary Jews. The Caliph was sufficiently wise to understand that not pillage but the imposition of tribute was the best

method of replenishing the coffers of Medina and providing the resources of war.

Formidable resistance ceased in Egypt with the capture of the capital. The other towns and villages surrendered at the first summons and became tributary to the conqueror. A tax of two ducats was laid upon every male Egyptian, and a large additional revenue was derived from the landed property of the kingdom. It was estimated that the Caliph received from these various sources the sum of twelve millions of ducats.

At the time of the conquest of Egypt, there was resident in Alexandria a certain Christian scholar of the sect of the Jacobites, known by his Greek name of Johannes Grammaticus, and the cognomen of Philoponus. With him Amru, himself a scholar and a poet, became acquainted. The antagonism of religious zeal was for once overcome by the sentiment of personal regard. While still resident in the city, the Grammarian informed Amru that Alexandria contained one treasure, which he had not yet beheld, more valuable and glorious than all her other riches. This was, in brief, the renowned ALEXANDRIAN LIBRARY, the vastest collection of manuscripts known to the ancient world. It had been founded by Ptolemy Soter, who placed the vast collection made in his own times in a building called the Bruchion. Here was gathered during the reigns of the earlier Ptolemies a mass of four hundred thousand volumes. An additional building, called the Serapeon, was subsequently procured, and in this another collection of three hundred thousand was stored. During Julius Cæsar's invasion of Egypt, he was besieged in Alexandria; a fire broke out, and the Bruchion with its contents was destroyed. The Serapeon was saved from destruction. Afterwards, as far as practicable, the lost collection was restored. During the ascendency of Cleopatra, the library of Pergamus was brought by her lover, Mark Antony, to Egypt, and presented to the easy-going but ambitious princess. Notwithstanding the injuries which the great library at various times sustained, it was, at the time of the Moslem invasion, by far the grandest and most valuable collection of books in the world.

In making an inventory of the treasures of the city according to directions received from Omar, Amru, through ignorance of its existtence, failed to take notice of the library. The Grammarian thereupon besought him that he himself might be made the possessor of the vast collection. Amru, disposed to favor his friend, referred the matter to the Caliph Omar for decision. From that potentate he presently received the following fatal missive: "THE CONTENTS OF THOSE BOOKS ARE IN CONFORMITY WITH THE KORAN OR THEY ARE NOT. IF THEY ARE, THE KORAN IS SUFFICIENT WITHOUT THEM; IF THEY ARE NOT, THEY ARE PERNICIOUS. LET THEM, THEREFORE, BE DESTROYED."

This reckless mandate of ignorant bigotry was carried out to the letter. The invaluable treasures of the Bruchion and Serapeon were torn from their places and distributed as fuel among the five thousand baths of the city. So vast were the collections that six months were required to consume them. At last, however, the work of barbarism was completed, and the library of Alexandria was no more.[1]

The capture of Alexandria ended the dominion of the Roman Empire in the Southeast. So great was the affliction of Heraclius on account of his losses that he presently fell into a paroxysm and died. The crown descended to his son Constantine, but that prince had neither the courage nor ability to undertake the reconquest of Syria. Fortunate it was for the Mohammedans that Egypt fell at this juncture into their hands. A great dearth ensued throughout Arabia, and Caliph Omar was obliged to call upon Amru to furnish Medina and Mecca with supplies. The rich granaries of Egypt were emptied of their stores to save the people of the South from starvation.

In order to open and facilitate communication between Egypt and Arabia, Amru completed the canal from the Nile to the Red Sea—a work which had been begun by the Emperor Trajan. By this means an all-water

[1] The story of the destruction of the Alexandrian Library has been doubted by so careful an authority as Gibbon, who found the act unmentioned by two of the most ancient historians, and regarded it, moreover, as a deed altogether inconsistent with the intelligence and character of Amru.

route was established between the Egyptian store-houses and the capital of the Caliphate. Amru continued for some time in the government of the country which he had conquered, exhibiting in peace talents as remarkable as those which he had displayed in war.

In the mean time, while the conquest of Syria and Egypt had been progressing, the Mohammedan dominion had likewise been extended in the direction of Persia. The victories of the Romans in that country, no less than the civil broils and murders with which the Persian court was constantly disgraced, invited the sons of Islam to undertake an invasion. The capital of the country was now the city of Madain, on the Tigris, the site of the ancient Ctesiphon. The conquests of Khaled on the Euphrates before his recall to aid in the subjugation of Syria have been already narrated. It will be remembered that on going to the aid of Obeidah, Khaled left the larger part of his army under command of Mosenna to carry on the war. On the accession of Omar a new officer was appointed to the governorship of Babylonia, which Khaled had subdued to Islam. It does not appear that Mosenna was competent as a military chieftain. For a time nothing was added to the Mohammedan dominion, and Caliph Omar, tired of his subordinate in the East, sent a second Obeidah, surnamed Sakfi, to supersede Mosenna and carry out the policy of Abu Beker.

On the approach of the new commander to the capital, an army of thirty thousand men was sent out by the Persians to confront the invaders on the border. A battle was fought between the advance detachments of this force and the Arabs, in which the latter were victorious. The main body came up too late to succor the routed van, and was itself signally defeated. The reserves of the kingdom were now brought out under the command of Behman, who led into the field a new army and thirty elephants. The Persian forces were reörganized on the plains of Babylon, and were vastly superior in number to the Moslems, whose army consisted of nine thousand men. There was a dispute between Obeidah and the other commanders as to whether they should hazard a second battle or retire into the desert and wait for reënforcements from Arabia. Obeidah was for fight, and his views prevailed over the adverse opinions of his generals. The Arabs crossed the Euphrates and attacked the Persians on the opposite bank, but reckless valor could not prevail over the hosts of the enemy. Obeidah was slain, and four thousand of his men were either killed or drowned in attempting to retreat. Had the Persians followed up their success with energy, the whole Moslem army must have been destroyed. Mosenna, however, succeeded in rallying three thousand of his men, and was soon reënforced by detachments out of Syria. Thus enabled to reässume the offensive, Mosenna ravaged the Babylonian plains, capturing towns and villages.

After the battle on the Euphrates, Queen Arzemia, then the ruler of Persia, gave the command of her army to Mahran, who was ordered to check the career of Mosenna. The hostile armies again met in battle near the town of Hirah, on the confines of the desert. From midday until the setting of the sun the fight raged fiercely, and the victory remained undecided, till at last Mosenna and Mahran met in single combat. The latter was slain, and the Persians took to flight. A revolution in the capital followed the news of the battle. Arzemia was dethroned by Rustam, prince of Khorassan, who put his captive sovereign to death. A new army was mustered, and it was determined to scourge the Arabs from the land.

Meanwhile, the Caliph Omar had not been idle. A large contingent of nomad warriors was gathered at Medina, and Omar was with difficulty dissuaded from taking the field in person. The command of the reënforcements was at length given to the veteran Abu Wakkas, who had been a companion of the Prophet. He was given the general command of all the Moslems in Persia, and was intrusted with the completion of the conquest. Mosenna presently died, and the whole responsibility devolved on Abu Wakkas.

The Persians still greatly outnumbered their assailants. Their army, under command of Rustam, was posted at Kadesia, on the frontier. So great was the disparity of numbers that Abu Wakkas would fain have waited for reënforcements; but the messenger

of the Caliph exhorted the general to fear not, but to strike in the name of the Prophet. Before venturing on a battle, however, Abu Wakkas determined to attempt the conversion of his enemy by persuasion. An embassy, consisting of the most eminent Arabs, was sent to the Persian capital, and the king was exhorted to turn to the faith of Islam. The latter was indignant at the impudent demand, and the conference was broken up with mutual recriminations.

Again the fate of the kingdom was submitted to the arbitrament of battle. The two hostile armies were drawn up on the plains of Kadesia. Here a terrible conflict ensued, but night came without decisive results. The next day was consumed in skirmishing and personal combats, in which several of the leaders on both sides were slain. The third day's fight was attended with varying successes, and the battle continued during the night. On the next morning Rustam was killed, whereupon the Persian army took to flight, and the camp was despoiled by the Moslems. Thirty thousand of the Persians were slain in the battle and the pursuit, and an incalculable amount of booty fell into the hands of the victors. The sacred banner of Persia was captured by an Arab soldier, who received therefor thirty thousand pieces of gold. Thus, in the year 635, was fought the great battle which decided the fate of Persia.

The work of organizing the Babylonian country was now devolved by the Caliph on Abu Wakkas. A new capital, named Bassora, was founded on the united Euphrates and Tigris, and here were established the head-quarters of the Mohammedans in the East. In a short time the city grew into importance, becoming a great mart for the commerce of India. Until the present day Bassora is regarded as one of the principal emporiums of eastern trade.

As yet the capital of Persia had not been assailed by the Moslems. But after the battle of Kadesia, the people were so dispirited that the completion of the conquest by the Arabs was only a question of time. Many cities and strongholds were given up without even a show of defense. What remained of ancient Babylon thus fell into the hands of the followers of the Prophet.

After a short time Abu Wakkas gathered his forces, crossed the Tigris, and advanced against Madain. On his approach to the capital the Persian counselors besought the king, Yezdegird, to save himself and them by flying into Khorassan. No settled policy was determined on until the Moslems were within one day's march of Madain. Then the king, accompanied by his panic-struck household, took to flight. There was no formal resistance to the entrance of the Arabs into the capital of Persia. The city was left sitting with her treasures in her hand. "How many gardens and fountains," said Abu Wakkas, "and fields of corn and fair dwellings and other sources of delight did they leave behind them!"

The abandoned capital was given up to pillage. A scene ensued like that of the sack of Rome by the barbarians. The Arabs of the desert broke into the magnificent palace of Chosroës and reveled in the splendid halls of the Sassanian king. While the Prophet lived he had written a letter to the Persian monarch, demanding his submission to the new kingdom which Allah was establishing in the earth; but the haughty sovereign tore up the Prophet's letter in contempt. "Even so," said Mohammed, "shall Allah rend his empire in pieces." When the Arabs gained possession of the Persian basilica, they cried out: "Behold the white palace of Khosru! This is the fulfillment of the prophecy of the Apostle of God."

Abu Wakkas established himself in the royal abode. Most of the treasures which through ages had been accumulated in the vaults of the capital were seized by the Moslems. These untold spoils of war were distributed according to the Arab method. One-fifth of the whole was set apart for the Caliph, and the remainder was divided among the sixty thousand followers of Abu Wakkas, each soldier receiving twelve hundred pieces of silver. A caravan of nine hundred heavily laden camels was scarcely able to convey the Caliph's portion to Medina. Never before had such an enormous train of spoil been seen in the streets of the City of the Prophet.[1]

[1] As illustrative of the spirit of the Mohammedans, an incident may be related of the division of the spoils. The royal carpet of the Persian palace, perhaps the most famous piece of tapestry

Thus, in the year 637—the event being coïncident with the capture of Jerusalem by Omar—the Empire of Persia passed under the dominion of the Mohammedans. The cloud, apparently no larger than the hand of a man, rising from the shores of the Red Sea, had spread out to the east until its shadow fell beyond the valley of the Euphrates and the lofty range of Zagros.

Remaining in the capital of Persia, Abu Wakkas sent forward an army of twelve thousand men in pursuit of the fugitive king. The latter had fled to Holwan, in the Median hills. This place was besieged for six months, and finally captured. From this place Yezdegird made good his retreat to Rhaga, the ancient residence of the Parthian kings. The further pursuit of the monarch was forbidden by the Caliph, who urged that the welfare of the believers was of more importance than booty taken from infidels.

Abu Wakkas soon discovered the unhealthfulness of the situation at Madain. At the suggestion of the Caliph it was determined to seek a more salubrious position for the Arab army. The village of Cufa, on the western bank of the Euphrates, was accordingly chosen and made the future head-quarters of the Moslems of the East.[1] In building his new city Abu Wakkas despoiled the old; for many of the edifices of Madain were pulled down to furnish material for the new structures on the hither side of the Euphrates.—And now came a characteristic event in the career of the conquering Islam.

It appears that Abu Wakkas was too susceptible to the influences of Persian luxury. He began to assume the habit and splendid manners of the East. He had built for himself at Cufa a magnificent Kiosk, or summer residence, where he assumed the state of royalty like that of a Persian prince. Great was the mortification of Caliph Omar when the news of these proceedings was borne to Medina. He immediately wrote a message to Abu Wakkas, and despatched the same by the hands of a faithful envoy named Mohammed. The latter repaired at once to Cufa, where he signalized his advent by burning to the ground the sumptuous Kiosk of Abu Wakkas. When that distinguished personage came forth indignantly and demanded to know the reason of this incendiary work, the ambassador put into his hands the following letter from Omar: "I am told thou hast built a lofty palace, like to that of the Khosrus, and decorated it with a door taken from the latter; with a view to have guards and chamberlains stationed about it to keep off those who may come in quest of justice or assistance, as was the practice of the Khosrus before thee. In so doing thou hast departed from the ways of the Prophet (on whom be benedictions), and hast fallen into the ways of the Persian monarchs. Know that the Khosrus have passed from their palace to the tomb; while the Prophet, from his lowly habitation on earth, has been elevated to the highest heaven. I have sent Mohammed Ibn Muslemah to burn thy palace. In this world two houses are sufficient for thee; one to dwell in, the other to contain the treasure of the Moslems."

Islam had now become an Empire. The austere Omar found himself burdened with the cares of state. His main dependence in the transaction of public business was in the advice of Othman and Ali. Between them and himself he drew as closely as possible the ties of relationship and interest. In the same year with the founding of Cufa he married the Arab princess, Omm Kolsam, daughter of Ali and Fatima, and granddaughter of the Prophet. The relation of the reigning Caliph with what may be called the royal family of Islam was thus more closely drawn, and the support of Ali secured for the future.

Meanwhile Hormuzan, satrap of Susiana, looked with ill-concealed aversion upon the Mohammedan power in Babylonia. To him the founding of the city of Bassora on the

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of ancient times, was taken with the other booty to Medina. What disposition should be made of this most beautiful and costly trophy? Should it be spread out and used on state occasions by the Caliph? or should it be cut up and distributed with the other spoils? Omar decided that justice required the partition of all booty. The beautiful carpet was accordingly divided without respect to the design or workmanship, and parceled out in scraps to those who had taken the palace.

[1] The town of Cufa was deservedly famous in the traditions of the Semitic nations. There Noah, when the world was about to be drowned, entered the ark of safety, and there the serpent that tempted Eve was banished under the curse.

Lower Euphrates appeared as a menace. The haughty prince foresaw that his province must also presently succumb to the aggressive Mohammedans, or else that they must be repelled from his borders. He accordingly resolved on war and made Bassora the object of his hostility. The people of that city applied to the Caliph for assistance, and another army of the faithful was sent out from Medina.

The conflict was short and decisive. Hormuzan was defeated in a series of battles, and half of his province was added to the Moslem dominions in the East. In the mean time Yezdegird, the fugitive king of Persia, sent word from Rhaga to the governor of Faristan to take up arms in common with Hormuzan for the recovery of the kingdom. The conflict was accordingly renewed. Reënforcements were sent forward by the Caliph, and Hormuzan was pressed to the border. Besieged in the fortress of Ahwaz, he was finally compelled to surrender, and taken as a prisoner to Medina. Here, in order to save his life, he was compelled to accept the doctrines of Islam and be enrolled among the faithful.

Nothing gave greater cause of anxiety to Caliph Omar than the apprehension that his generals would be corrupted by the luxurious habits of the people whom they conquered. Especially was the distrust of Omar directed against Abu Wakkas, who was again reported at Medina as having assumed the manners of a Persian prince. This report so offended the Caliph that he deposed Abu Wakkas from the command and appointed Numan to succeed him. When the news of this proceeding was carried to Yezdegird, his hopes again revived, and he ordered the governors of the provinces still unsubdued to send forward all their available troops to rendezvous at Nehavend, fifteen leagues from Ecbatana. Here in a short time an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men was collected for battle. This force was greatly superior in numbers to that of the Moslems, but the latter were disciplined in all the hardships of war and trained to victory until they regarded themselves as invincible. The command of the Persian host was given to Firuzan, an aged warrior, whose discretion was as great as his courage. On assuming control of the army, he adopted the policy of fortifying himself in an impregnable camp until what time the Moslems should wear out their energies by ineffectual assaults.

Accordingly, when Numan arrived before the Persian camp, the army of Firuzan could not be induced to come forth and fight. For two months the Arabs beat in vain against the position of the enemy. But when valor failed stratagem succeeded. Pretending to break up his camp and retreat, the crafty Numan fell back for one day's march and was followed cautiously by the Persians. For another day the Moslems continued their feigned retreat; but on the third morning, with the break of day, they turned back with terrible impetuosity on their pursuers, and in an hour inflicted upon them a disastrous defeat. The Arabs, in their turn, pursued the routed host and cut them down by thousands. Both Numan and Firuzan were killed, the former in the heat of battle and the latter in the flight. The number of the Persian dead was reckoned at a hundred thousand. So decisive of the fate of the Persian Empire was this great conflict that the Moslems ever afterwards celebrated their triumph as the "Victory of Victories."

Soon after this signal success of the Mohammedans, a strange Persian rode into the Moslem camp and promised, under pledge that his life should be spared, to show the Arab commander a greater treasure than any his eyes had yet beheld. It appeared that this stranger had received from the hand of the fugitive Yezdegird a box containing the crown jewels of Persia. The casket was opened in the presence of Hadifeh, who had succeeded to the command after the death of Numan. The Moslem general accepted the treasure; but since it had not been taken by the sword, it might not be distributed to the soldiers. The scrupulous Hadifeh accordingly sent the box to the Caliph; but the latter looked upon the flashing jewels with ill-concealed contempt alike for the precious stones and for any who could be dazzled by them. "You do not know," said he, "what these things are. Neither do I; but they justly belong to those who slew the infidels and to no one else." He then ordered the box to be carried back to Hadifeh, by whom the jewels were sold to the merchants who followed the

Moslem camp. The proceeds of the sale were distributed to the army, each soldier receiving for his portion four thousand pieces of gold.

In the mean time the remnants of the Persian army overthrown on the field of Nehavend had collected at Hamadan, the ancient Ecbatana. Here, in a strong fortress, they took refuge and made a stand. Habesh, the commander, in order to gain a brief interval for preparation, entered into a treaty with Hadifeh, at the same time preparing an obstinate defense for the city. Learning of the treachery which had been practiced upon his lieutenant, Caliph Omar sent forward a detachment of his army to besiege Hamadan and bring Habesh to his senses. The latter in a short time led out his army, and a great battle was fought before the Median capital. After a struggle of three days' duration the conflict ended with the overthrow of the Persians and the capture of Hamadan.

All Media now lay open to the invaders. The Arab general, Nuhaim, was despatched to hunt down the king in his hiding place at Rhaga. Hearing of his approach the monarch fled, leaving the defense of the town to a subordinate officer. The gates were soon opened by a rival chieftain; two thousand Mohammedans were admitted; the Persian governor was cut down in the streets, and the city taken in the midst of much slaughter. The traitor Zain, who had betrayed the place to the Moslems, was made provincial governor. Bodies of troops were sent out to reduce the surrounding country. Resistance was virtually at an end. Town after town yielded to the invaders and became tributary to the Caliphate. The province of Tabaristan paid five hundred thousand pieces of gold to purchase exemption from the levying of troops within her borders. It was evident, moreover, that so far as the religious systems in conflict were concerned that of Persia was tottering to its fall; and in proportion as the time-honored faith of the people gave way, just in that degree did the national spirit fail. The more thoughtful among the Persians foresaw and predicted the inevitable result. A certain aged hero, named Farkhan, stood up among the military leaders, and said: "This Persian religion of ours has become obsolete; the new religion is carrying every thing before it. My advice is to make peace and then pay tribute."

During the conquest of Hamadan, the Moslems had to encounter the soldiers of Azerbijan, who had come from their own province in the north-west of Media to aid their countrymen in the South. It was not likely that Islam would overlook such an affront, more particularly when it proceeded from the Fire Worshipers, who had their altars at the foot of Mount Caucasus. No sooner, therefore, had Hamadan fallen into the hands of the Mohammedans than they turned their arms against Azerbijan. The Magian priesthood and secular princes of the country rallied their forces to resist the invasion; but the god of fire was no match for Allah, and the sacred altars of the Magi, long time aflame with the consuming symbol of the deity, were overthrown by the followers of the Prophet. The armies of Azerbijan were beaten to the earth, and the province was added without a serious conflict to the now vastly extended dominions of the Caliphate.

The plain countries south of the defiles of the Caucasus had now all been subdued. It remained for the rocky passes of the North to be seized by the men of the desert. Of old time these passes had been guarded by fortresses and iron gates, behind which a few courageous soldiers were able to keep at bay the innumerable hordes of Gog and Magog from beyond the mountains. It was necessary to the further progress of Islam that the defiles of the Caucasus should be held by the friends of the Prophet. To secure this result, several bodies of troops were sent forward after the conquest of Azerbijan, and the passes were taken from the enemy. One fortress, known as Demir-Capi, or the Gate of Iron, was wrested from the barbarians only after a severe conflict, in which not a few of the Moslems fell.

When the gateways of the North were thus secured, Caliph Omar appointed Abdalrahman governor of the region of Caucasus, to keep the passes against any possible irruption of barbarism from the North. The governor, in performing his duty as guardian of the outposts of Islam, took into his confidence and pay one of the mountain chieftains, named Shahr-Zad, whom he made his subordi-

nate in the work of defense. The acquaintance of the Moslem with this barbaric leader, and the stories which the latter told of the mysterious regions of Gog and Magog, finally determined the adventurous Abdalrahman to carry his arms beyond the defiles and make new conquests in a part of the world hitherto unknown to the faithful. He accordingly penetrated the countries between the Caspian and the Euxine, where he encountered the ancestors of the Turks, who were astonished at the strange demeanor of the Arabs. "Are you angels or the sons of Adam?" said they to the Moslems. To which the true believers gave answer that they were the sons of Adam, but that the angels were on their side, fighting the battles of the servants of Allah.

For a while the barbarians were kept aloof by awe; but presently, when the spell was broken, they fought the invaders with savage audacity. By degrees, however, the Turcomans were overcome, and Abdalrahman turned his arms against the Huns. He laid siege to Belandscher, the capital city of the barbarians, but the place withstood his assaults. The Turks came to the assistance of their beleaguered neighbors. A hard battle was fought before the walls, and Abdalrahman, who had undertaken the expedition without the consent of the Caliph, paid for his rashness with his life. His body was taken by the enemy, and became an object of superstitious reverence. The army of the faithful made its way back into the passes of the Caucasus. Selman Ibn Rabiah, brother of Abdalrahman, was appointed as his successor in command of the northern outposts of Islam.

For the Caliph Omar the day of fate was now at hand. Among the Persian prisoners taken to Medina was a certain carpenter, named Firuz. He was a follower of the Magi, worshiping the fire. Like others of his class, he was subject to the taunts and exactions of the Mohammedans. Being compelled by the authorities to pay a tax of two pieces of silver a day, he went to the Caliph, complained of the abuse to which he was subjected, and demanded a redress of his grievance. Omar heard his story, and decided that one who received such large wages as Firuz did (he being a manufacturer of windmills) could well afford to pay a tax of two pieces a day. Firuz turning away exclaimed: "Then I will build a windmill for you that shall keep grinding until the Day of Judgment!" "The slave threatens me," said the undisturbed Omar. "If I were disposed to punish any one on suspicion, I should take off his head." Firuz, however, was allowed to go at liberty. Nor was it long until his murderous menace was carried into effect. Three days after the interview, while the great Caliph was praying in the mosque of Medina, the Persian assassin came unperceived behind him and stabbed him three times with his dagger. The attendants rushed upon the murderer, who defended himself as long as he could, and then committed suicide rather than be taken.

The good Omar finished his prayer, and was then borne to his own house to die. He refused to name a successor, declaring that he preferred to follow the example of the Prophet. He, however, appointed a council of six, to whom the question of succession should be referred. Foreseeing that the choice would likely fall on Ali or Othman, he exhorted both those princes to beware of unrighteousness and personal ambition. To his own son Abdallah he gave much fatherly counsel, instructing him especially to repay into the public treasury eighteen thousand dirhems, which he himself had borrowed. He also wrote a touching letter to him who should be his successor, full of admonitions and patriotic maxims. He then made arrangements with Ayesha that he should be buried by the side of Abu Beker; and then, on the seventh day after his assassination, quietly expired. His death occurred in the eleventh year of his reign and the sixty-third of his age.

A bloody scene followed the murder of the Caliph. The enraged Abdallah was easily persuaded that others as well as Firuz were accessory to the taking-off of his father. Believing that a conspiracy had existed, he flew upon the imagined conspirators and cut them down without a trial. Thus were slain Lulu—the daughter of Firuz—a certain Christian, named Dschofeine, and Hormuzan, who will be remembered as the captive satrap of Susiana.

So distinguished a part did Caliph Omar bear in the establishment and propagation of Islam as fairly to entitle him to his appellative of the Great. He had all the virtues which

sprang from the fanatical enthusiasm of the Prophet. To great natural abilities he added the discipline of experience. Perhaps no great ruler was ever less subject to the impulses of personal ambition than was Omar. His whole career showed him to be a man whose guiding star was integrity, whose fundamental maxim of government was justice. The temptations of riches and the allurements of power passed harmlessly by this unbending apostle of the early Islam, and to him more than to any other ruler or man, save only the Prophet, the establishment of the Empire of the Mohammedans must be referred. Some of the maxims of his government may be favorably compared with those of the greatest and best sovereigns. It was a rule of his reign that no female captive who became a mother should be sold as a slave. In the distributions of money to the poor from the public treasury it was the need of the applicant and not his worthiness that determined the bounty. In explanation of his course the Caliph was accustomed to say: "Allah has bestowed the good things of this world to relieve our necessities, not to reward our virtues. Our virtues will be rewarded in another world."

It was also a settled principle of Omar's government to pay pensions to those who distinguished themselves in the cause of the Prophet. Abbas, the uncle of Mohammed, was granted a yearly stipend of two hundred thousand dirhems. Nearly all the veterans of the Syrian, Persian, and Egyptian wars were rewarded with bounties varying from one thousand to five thousand dirhems. Nor would the Caliph brook with patience the criticisms or strictures of any who complained of these disbursements. Upon the factious opposers of his policy he hesitated not to heap the curses of Allah.

It was during the reign of Omar that the government of Islam began to assume a regular form. There was a division of labor in the administration of affairs. An exchequer was organized and put under the direction of a secretary. The year of Mohammed's flight from Mecca was made the Era of Islam from which all events were dated. A system of coinage was established, each piece bearing the name of the Caliph Omar with the inscription, Lo illah il Allah, — "There is no God but Allah."

It was, however, by the vast work of conquest that the reign of Omar the Great was most distinguished. The Mohammedan records claim the capture of thirty-six thousand towns and fortresses as trophies of the ten-and-a-half years of his administration. But Omar was by no means a destroyer. As far as was practicable he preserved all that was taken from the enemy. Not only so, but he built in the conquered territory many new cities and emporiums of commerce. Under his authority the Caliphate was consolidated and his reign became the source of the Iliad of Islam, teeming with great enterprises and heroic adventures. Out of this epoch rose the gigantic figure of Saracen dominion, and to it must be referred the rise of that political greatness which for many generations made the Arabians the masters of the East.

CHAPTER LXXIX.—OTHMAN AND ALI.



S soon as the Caliph Omar had received sepulture, the electoral council which he had appointed convened for the choice of a successor. Ali and Othman were both members of the body. At first the electors tendered the Caliphate to the former. In doing so they required of him a pledge that he would govern according to the Koran, obey the traditions of Islam, and follow the precedents established by Abu Beker and Omar. To the first two conditions he readily assented, but as it related to his predecessors he declared that he would follow the dictates of his own conscience rather than their example. Upon this expression of his will the electors again assembled, and the choice fell on Othman, who accepted the terms of the council, and was proclaimed Caliph.

The new potentate was already seventy years of age, gray as to his flowing beard, tall, swarthy, and in every sense Arabian. He had not the austerity of manners or simplicity of character which had belonged to Omar; but in the strict observance of religious duties he emulated his predecessor. It was, however, in the matter of expenditure that Othman differed most from the second Caliph. He was lavish in the distribution of the great riches which conquest had turned into Medina. Nor was there wanting among the faithful a spirit to appreciate the liberality of the ruler. In times of famine the poor were freely supplied from the bounty of the state. The Caliph failed not in his antecedents and present conduct to excite the admiration and loyalty of the true believers. He took in marriage two daughters of the Prophet, thus combining in his household the profoundest elements of personal veneration known to the Islamites. In his previous history Othman had been intimately associated with Mohammed, and had been a partner of both of his flights. Nor did any of the companions of the Prophet stand more closely in his affections than did the faithful Othman. Of him the son of Abdallah said: "Each thing has its mate, and each thing its associate: my associate in Paradise is Othman."

The fugitive Yezdegird still hung like a shadow on the borders of the ancient kingdom. Hope of recovering his former power, there was none; but the friends of the exiled king still rose in rebellion here and there, and gave trouble not a little to the Moslems. The latter, under their veteran leaders, continued their conquests in all directions. Ancient Assyria was overrun by their arms. The ruins of Nineveh, as those of Babylon had already been, were trodden under foot by the men of the desert. Yezdegird was pursued from town to town, from province to province. Being driven from Rhaga, he found shelter for a brief season at the magnificent city of Ispahan, and then fled to the mountains of Faristan, whence in ancient times the Achæmenian kings had gone forth to the conquest of the world. Afterwards Yezdegird sought refuge in Istakar, among the ruins of Persepolis, and here he barely escaped capture by his enemies. Thence he fled to the province of Kerman, and thence into Khorassan. For a while he hid himself on the borders of Bactria. In his flight he still maintained the forms of kingly authority. About four thousand dependents of the old Persian court at Madain still followed the wretched king and shared his fortunes.

While tarrying at the city of Merv, Yezdegird busied himself with his superstitions. He built a temple for the fire-worship, and hoped, perchance, to win through the favor of heaven what he had lost by the folly of earth. Meanwhile the city of Ispahan was regarrisoned by the fragments of the Persian army which had survived the battle of Nehavend. But on the approach of the Moslems the governor proved treacherous, and the city was given up. A sterner defense was made at Istakar. Around this venerable site were gathered the traditions of Persian glory. Within the ramparts of the city were collected no fewer than a hundred and twenty thousand men, who, under the leadership of Shah-Reg, the provincial governor, made a final brave stand for Persia. But no courage or patriotism could avail against the furious assaults of the Moslems. A great battle, fought outside the walls, resulted in the annihilation of the Persian forces. Shah-Reg was killed, and Istakar fell into the hands of the Mohammedans.

The province of Khorassan was the next to be overrun by the invaders. One district after another was subdued until Yezdegird, driven to the border, crossed the river Oxus and fled to the Scythians. Nor did his wanderings cease until he presented himself to the khan of Tartary and the emperor of China. Returning from these remote pilgrimages and supported by the Tartars, he crossed into Bactria and renewed the effort to recover his kingdom. Soon, however, he was deserted by his Northern allies, while his own nobles, who had so long adhered to his fortunes, entered into a conspiracy to betray him into the hands of the enemy. Discovering the treason, he escaped from Merv and continued his flight to a river, whither he was pursued by a band of horsemen and hacked to death with their cimeters. Thus, in the year 651, expired the last of the old kings of Persia. With him the fire-temples of the East tottered to their fall, and the dynasty of Chosroës was extinct. Persia became a Mohammedan province.

Meanwhile Egypt had remained quietly

under the governorship of Amru. The people, if not contented with the change of masters, accepted the Cresent as the emblem of their fate. A tolerable degree of quiet was maintained until the accession of Othman, when Amru was removed from the governorship to make room for Saäd, brother of the Caliph. The new officer owed his elevation to favoritism, and was by no means the equal of Amru in executive abilities. The latter had, indeed, won the affections of the Egyptians by his justice and moderation, and they bitterly resented his deposition. From the first the ears of the new governor were greeted with the mutterings of revolt. Nor did the emperor, Constantine, who had succeeded Heraclius at Constantinople, fail to take advantage of the dissension which had thus been fomented in Egypt. A fleet was immediately equipped, placed under the command of Manuel, and sent against Alexandria. With him the Greeks of the great metropolis entered into correspondence, and the city was presently betrayed into his hands. Thus of a sudden, the political condition of the kingdom was reversed, and Othman found quick occasion to repent of his folly in appointing an incompetent favorite to office.

Amru was at once reïnstated. The old general repaired to the scene of action, raised a large army, composed largely of the anti-Greek element in Egypt, and again laid siege to Alexandria. It was now the third time that that city had been invested by the forces of Amru. The veteran now registered an oath in heaven that it was the *last* time that the capital of Egypt would find herself in a condition to become the subject of a siege. Accordingly, when, after an obstinate defense on the part of the Greeks, the city again fell into his hands, he leveled the ramparts to the earth and left the metropolis exposed to assault on every side. Manuel and his Greeks, glad to escape with their lives, took ship and sped away to Constantinople. The rest of the inhabitants were, for the most part, spared, and the spot where the slaughter was stayed was commemorated by the merciful Amru, who built thereon a mosque called the Mosque of Mercy.

As soon as the danger was passed and Egypt pacified, the Caliph Othman aggravated his former folly by again deposing Amru from the governorship and reäppointing Saäd in his stead. The latter, smarting under a disgrace which could not be wiped out by the factitious honors of office, resolved to gain glory by foreign conquest. He accordingly fixed his eye upon Northern Africa as an inviting field for his operations. There, from the borders of Egypt, stretching away across Barca to Cape Non in the distant West, lay a country more than two thousand miles in extent, many of the districts populous and fertile to exuberance, and all of historic fame. Here were the countries of Libya, Mamarica, Cyrenaica, Carthage, Numidia, and Mauritania, especially inviting to the rapacious zeal of the Mohammedans. After the disastrous wars related in the last Book of the preceding and the first of the present Volume, the African states had, during the sixth century, sunk into a condition of helpless decay. They were now to be roused from their stupor by the clamorous war-cry of Arabia.

As soon as Saäd had settled the affairs of Egypt after his reïnstatement in office, he began to prepare for his contemplated African campaign. An army of forty thousand Arabs, fully equipped, mostly veteran soldiers, well supplied with camels for the march across the desert, was mustered on the border of Egypt, looking out to the west.

A toilsome march was now begun across the trackless wastes of Libya. But to the Arab and the camel the desert was a native place of peace and freedom. Arriving at the city of Tripoli, one of the most wealthy emporiums of the African coast, Saäd began a siege. A valiant resistance, however, was made by the inhabitants and the Greek auxiliaries who came to their assistance, and the Moslems were driven back with severe losses. Meanwhile the Roman governor, Gregorius, arrived on the scene with an army numbering a hundred and twenty thousand men. Most of these, however, were raw recruits whom the general had gathered in Barbary for the defense of his African territories. The host, though greatly outnumbering the Moslems, was little capable of standing before the Arab veterans in battle.

The two armies met before the walls of Tripoli. For several days the conflict was

desperately renewed from morning till noon, when the African sun would drive the combatants to the shade of their tents. Saäd distinguished himself in the battle. In the part of the field where he fought the enemy was driven back with slaughter, but in other parts the Moslems were repulsed. One of the most conspicuous personages of the fight was the warlike daughter of Gregorius, who, mounted on a tremendous steed, flashing in burnished armor, scoured the field like Bellona.

The Roman general, unable to rout the Arabs, undertook to accomplish by perfidy what he could not do by force. He offered a reward of a hundred thousand pieces of gold and the hand of his Amazonian daughter to any one who would bring him the head of Saäd. Hearing of this proposal, the Arab leader was induced to keep aloof from the field, and the battle went against him until what time it was suggested that he in his turn should offer a hundred thousand pieces and the hand of the same maiden—so soon as she should be taken captive—to him who would cut off the head of Gregorius. Then the Arabs fell to stratagem. On the following morning, pretending to renew the fight, they held most of their forces in reserve until the heated hour of noon. Then the Moslems, fresh from their rest, led by the valiant Zobeir, broke from their tents, fell upon the exhausted enemy, killed Gregorius, captured his daughter, and inflicted an overwhelming defeat on his army. Zobeir, by whom the Roman general was slain, refused to accept the reward, and though he was made the bearer of the news of victory to Medina, he forebore all reference to his own deeds in reciting to the Caliph the story of the battle.

Though completely triumphant over the army of his enemy, Saäd was unable to follow up his successes. So great had been his losses that he could not further prosecute his conquests. He was not even strong enough to retain possession of the territories which he had overrun, but was obliged, after an absence of fifteen months, to return to Egypt. The expedition had been more fruitful in slaves and spoils than in the addition of territory to the dominions of Islam. In the following year Saäd made similar expeditions from Upper Egypt into the kingdom of Nubia. The people of that land had been christianized by the agency of traveling missionaries, who had set up the Cross as far south as the Equator. The Nubian king was compelled by the Moslems to acknowledge the supremacy of the Caliph, and to emphasize his own dependency by an annual contribution of Ethiopian slaves.

In establishing the authority of the Caliphate over the distant countries subdued by the prowess of the Arabs, it became necessary to organize provinces and to establish therein a kind of satrapial governments. In pursuing this policy, Caliph Othman appointed as governor of Syria one of his ablest generals, named Moawyah Ibn Abu Sofian, chief of the tribe of Koreish, to which belonged Mohammed. Abu Sofian proved to be an able and ambitious officer. During his service under Omar he had frequently sought permission of that Caliph to build a fleet and extend the authority of Islam over the seas. Omar, whose policy it was to hold his ambitious generals in check, refused the permission; but after the accession of Othman, namely, in the year 649, it was agreed that Abu Sofian should equip an armament and try the fortunes of the Mediterranean. The outlying Asiatic islands still owned a nominal dependence upon the Empire of the East; but the decadence of the government at Constantinople had left the insular kingdoms exposed to easy conquest. Abu Sofian directed his first movement against the island of Cyprus. The garrison proved too weak to make any effectual resistance, and a conquest was easily effected. In the island of Aradus, however, the Moslems met with a more serious reception. Once and again they landed, and as often were repulsed by the heroic inhabitants. With superior forces the Arabs then renewed the attack, overran the island, fired the principal city, and drove most of the native Aradians into exile.

In the mean time the Emperor Constantine fitted out a squadron, took command in person, and went forth to encounter the Moslem fleet in the Phœnician Sea. It was the first decisive conflict of Islam on the deep. Constantine ordered psalms to be sung and the Cross to be lifted on high as his ships went into battle. On the other side the golden

Crescent was displayed above the mast, and passages of the Koran were recited by the faithful as they began the conflict. The battle soon showed that, by sea as well as by land, a new power had arisen to contest for the supremacy of the nations. The fleet of the Emperor was either wrecked or driven from the scene, and Constantine himself barely escaped by flight. Such was the battle of the Masts.

The next movements of the Moslems were directed against Crete and Malta. Landings were effected, cities taken, conquests made in the name of the Prophet. The island and city of Rhodes suffered a memorable assault. That celebrated Colossus, which was reckoned one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world, was broken into fragments, shipped to Alexandria, and sold to a Jewish merchant.[1]

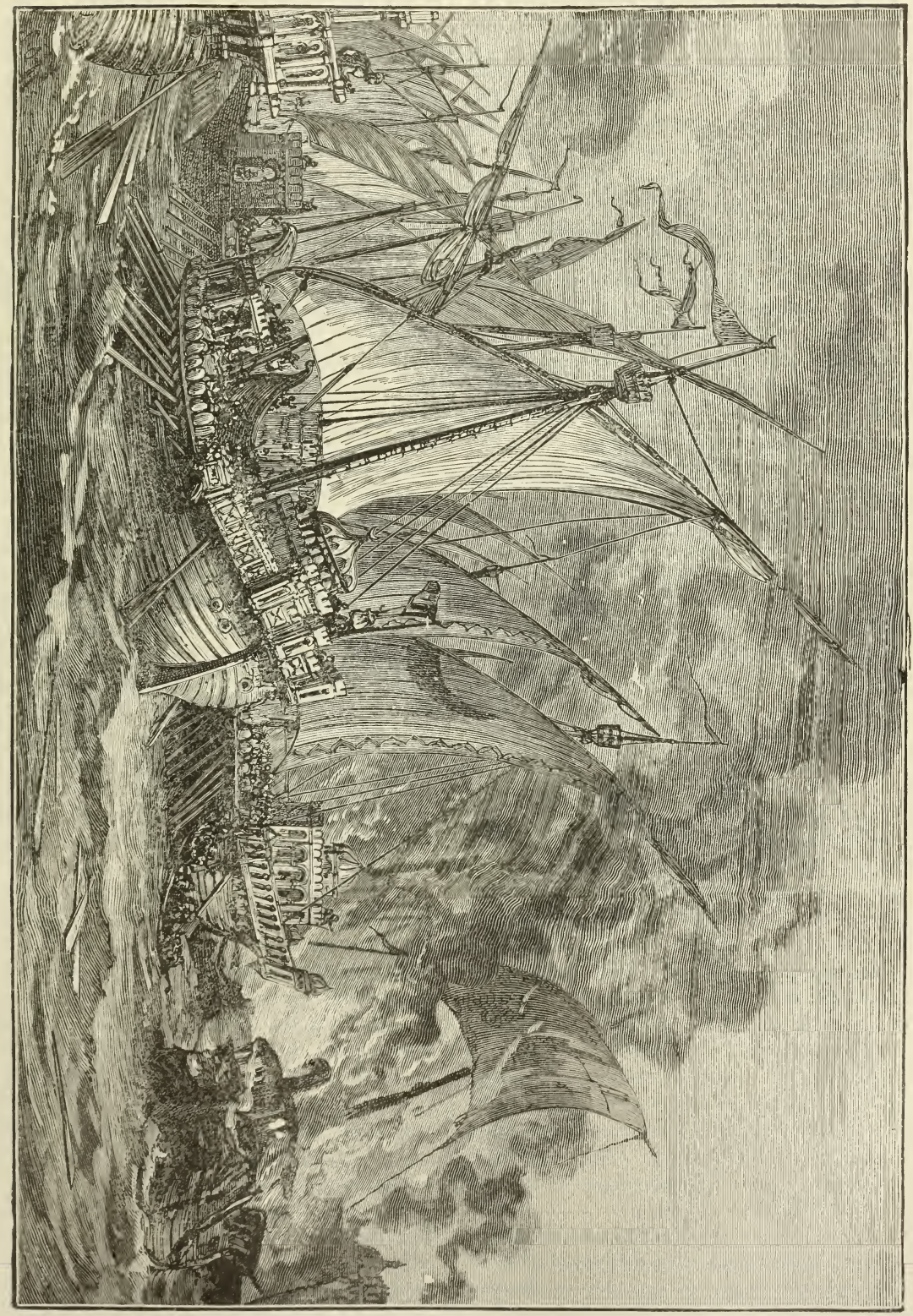
Soon afterwards a second sea-fight was had with the Christians in the Bay of Feneke, less decisive in its results than the so-called Battle of the Masts in the Sea of Phœnicia. Subsequently the Arabs coasted along the shores of Asia Minor, crossed the Hellespont, and flaunted the emblem of Islam within sight of the turrets of Constantinople. Thus in a few years did the inflamed followers of the Camel-driver of Mecca, springing, as it were, from the parched sands of the desert, inspired with the sullen dogma of Fate and the rapturous vision of Paradise, rear their victorious banners over the ruins of the most famous states of antiquity.

Ominous was the accident which now befell the Caliph Othman. Mohammed had had a ring. At his death he gave it to the venerable Abu Beker. After his departure the sacred relic passed to Omar, and from him to Othman. It consisted of a band of silver, inscribed with the words, "Mohammed, the Apostle of Allah." One day, while gazing into a brook, Othman dropped the ring into the water. The stream was searched in vain; the relic could not be found. It was the signet of authority. Great was the dread which fell upon the superstitious Arabs on account of this irreparable loss.

[1] The fragments of the great bronze statue are said to have been so many and heavy that it required a caravan of nine hundred camels to transport them across the desert.

It came to pass that since the days of Abu Beker the Book of Al Koran had become corrupted by the interpolation of many spurious passages and false versions. Violent disputes arose among the teachers of Islam as to what was and what was not the true Koranic doctrine. The quarrels of the doctors became a scandal to the faith, and Othman was impelled to correct the abuses by authority. A council of the chief Moslems was called, and it was decreed that all the copies of the Koran, excepting one only which was in the hands of the old princess Hafza, widow of Mohammed, and which was recognized as genuine, should be burned. The precious volume of the widow was then used as the basis of seven carefully made transcripts, and one copy of the authentic original thus established was ordered to be placed for preservation in the seven cities of Mecca, Yemen, Damascus, Bahrein, Bassora, Cufa, and Medina. All others were given to the flames. Wherefrom the careful Othman received the title of the Gatherer of the Koran.

The Caliph was already in his dotage. For several years his secretary, named Merwan, had had an undue ascendency over the old man's mind and was indeed the master spirit in the government. Two other circumstances tended powerfully to render the administration unpopular. In the first place, during the quarter of a century from the death of Mohammed, the true moral enthusiasm of his followers had somewhat abated. The motives of action which impelled the leaders of Islam were more worldly, less sincere. Of course the fiery zeal for the propagation of the faith still burned in the hearts of soldier and civilian, but the dross of personal ambition and the cross-purposes of enmity and jealousy prevailed over the higher principles and impulses of the first believers. In the next place, the personal and administrative character of Othman was of a kind well calculated to offend and incite the faithful to discontent. Othman had assumed a bearing more haughty than that of his predecessors. His expenditures of the public money were unreasonably lavish. He wasted the treasures of Islam upon friends and favorites, many of whom were unworthy of respect. To the parasites of the court he gave money without stint. The ambitious secretary received a gift of more than five



BATTLE OF THE MASTS.

hundred thousand dinars, the donative being appropriated out of the spoils of Africa. Nor would the haughty old potentate brook with patience the criticisms and complaints of his people. His conduct in removing the able Amru from the governorship of Egypt and the appointment in his stead of Saäd, his own foster brother, had laid the foundations of distrust in the beginning of his administration. Other removals of faithful officers had added to the discontent, and now, for the first time in the history of Islam, were heard the mutterings of revolt and mutiny.

Accidental circumstances fired the train of rebellion. On a certain occasion the Caliph went into the pulpit of the mosque and defended himself against the charges which were freely circulated. He declared that the money in the public treasury belonged to Allah, and that the Caliph, as the successor of the Prophet, had a right to distribute the funds in what manner soever he would. Hereupon a certain veteran Moslem, named Ammar Ibn Yaser, who had been one of the companions of the Prophet, spoke out openly in the mosque, contradicting what the Caliph had said. For this he was attacked by the kinsfolk of Othman and shamefully beaten until he fainted away. When the intelligence of this outrage was spread abroad the smouldering elements of sedition were fanned into a flame.

At this juncture a certain leader arose, being a converted Jew of the name of Ibn Caba. Knowing the distempered spirit of the people he went about inciting to revolt. He visited Yemen, Hidschaf, Bassora, Cufa, Syria, and Egypt, denouncing the government of Caliph Othman and inviting the multitude to dethrone their sovereign. He advised that a fictitious pilgrimage to Mecca be undertaken with the ulterior object of collecting an army against the government. It began to be said that Ali was the rightful potentate of Islam, and that the reign of Othman had been a usurpation from the first. This was done, however, without the connivance of Ali, who remained faithful to Othman.

The seed sown by Ibn Caba took root and grew and flourished. Bands from all parts of the country began to assemble at Medina. Encamping at a distance of a league from the city, the insurgents sent a message to the Caliph, demanding that he should either reform the abuses of his government or abdicate the throne. So critical became the situation that Othman was obliged to seek the services of Ali as a mediator of the people. The latter agreed to use his influence for peace on condition that the Caliph would denounce the errors of his reign and make reparation for the wrongs which he had inflicted. The aged Othman was obliged to go into the mosque and make a public confession of his sins, and to offer prayer to Allah for reconciliation and forgiveness. The multitude was quieted, and a temporary peace secured.

In a short time, however, the Caliph, acting under the inspiration of his secretary, who had been absent from Medina during the recent crisis, returned to the old abuses; and the people, learning of his perfidy, again rose in revolt. Ali refused to interfere; for Othman had broken faith. When the rebellion was about to break into open violence, the Caliph again came to his senses and eagerly sought to maintain the peace. He implored Ali to lend his aid in placating the multitude. The latter finally agreed, on condition of a written pledge, that the abuses in the government should be corrected, to go forth again and persuade the people to desist from violence. Saäd was removed from the governorship of Egypt, and the popular Mohammed, son of Abu Beker, was appointed in his stead. The new officer set out for Alexandria, and affairs at Medina again assumed a more peaceable aspect; but while Mohammed was on his way to Egypt, one of the slaves of Merwan, riding by, was taken, and upon his person a dispatch was found directed to Saäd, and signed by Othman. The former was directed by the latter to seize Mohammed on his arrival in Egypt, and put him to death! Thus had a double treachery been perpetrated by the government at Medina.

Mohammed at once marched back to the capital. Othman was confronted with his letter, but he denied all knowledge of its composition. Suspicion fell on Merwan, but the Caliph refused to give up his secretary to the vengeance of the people. A great tumult arose in the city. Ali and other patriotic Moslems sought in vain to allay the excitement. The insurgents, led by Mohammed and Ammar

Ibn Yaser, broke into the Mosque, where Othman, now eighty-two years of age, sat reading the Koran. By some he was struck with clubs and by others pierced with swords till he was dead. The treasure-house was plundered, and the body of the murdered Caliph was buried in his bloody garments.

As soon as it was known that vengeance had done its work, the city became first calm and then repentant. The magnanimous Ali gave public expression to his sorrow, and rebuked his sons for not having fought more bravely in defense of the dead Caliph. It appeared, moreover, that the treacherous letter to the emir of Egypt had really been written by Merwan for the purpose of hastening the revolution; for he, in the mean time, had secretly abandoned the cause of Othman, and gone over to the insurgents. Thus in the year A. D. 655, the third Caliph of the Mohammedan states ended an unpopular reign with a shameful death.

Though no successor was named by Othman, the popular voice at once indicated Ali. But several candidates appeared for the vacant Caliphate and the delegates who came to Medina from the various parts of the Moslem Empire were clamorous for their respective favorites. From the first, however, it appeared that the election of Ali could hardly be defeated. He was by birth the Prophet's cousin; by marriage, his son-in-law. He was courageous, eloquent, and liberal. He had reputation both in the field and in the cabinet. It was perceived, moreover, that his election would establish the crown in the House of Mohammed; for Fatima, the Prophet's daughter, was the wife of Ali, and the mother of all the lineal descendants of Abdallah's son. The chief of the opposing candidates were Zobeir, who had distinguished himself in the war with Barbary by the slaying of Gregorius; Telha, who had been one of the electoral council appointed to choose a successor to Omar the Great, and Moawyah, the satrap of Syria.

Medina was thrown into great excitement on the occasion of the election. Nor might the choice of a new Caliph be postponed; for the people were clamorous for a new ruler. The leading men pleaded with Ali to accept the office, and he was disposed to yield to their entreaties; but he refused, as in the election twelve years previously, to bind himself with pledges, declaring his purpose, if elected Caliph, to administer the government with independence and justice to all. The election was held in the mosque of Medina. The choice fell on Ali, and the other candidates came forward and gave their right hands in token of allegiance. Moawyah, however, was not present at the election, and his family, the tribe of Ommiah, withdrew as soon as they perceived the result of the election. It was doubtful also whether the pledge given by Zobeir and Telha was any thing more than a superficial recognition of what they were unable to prevent. Their merely nominal loyalty was soon discovered in an effort which they made to ensnare Ali in difficulty by advising him to investigate the assassination of Othman and to punish the perpetrators of that deed. This, if undertaken, would have hopelessly embroiled the government with some of its most able supporters. Ali prudently adopted the policy of letting the dead past bury its dead; nor did he omit any measure which wisdom could dictate to propitiate the favor of the tribes of Koreish and Ommiah, which had so strenuously supported Moawyah for the Caliphate.

Ali had the genius to discover and the will to correct the governmental abuses which had sprung up during his predecessor's reign. He began his work by reforming the provincial governments. The subject states of Islam had received as their governors at the hands of Othman a class of favorites who, as a rule, had little fitness for their office. It became the duty of Ali to displace these worthless satraps and to appoint others in their stead. In the performance of this duty he displayed his usual courage. Notwithstanding the temporizing advice of his counselors he proceeded to depose the incompetent and to put the faithful in their places. Strenuous efforts were made to retain Moawyah in the governorship of Syria. His wealth and influence were so great as to make him a terror to the timid advisers of the Caliph. But the disloyalty of Moawyah was so manifest that Ali could not blink the situation without jeopardy his own authority.

The governor of Syria had recently displayed one of the bloody garments of Oth-

man in the mosque of Damascus and had exhorted the Syrians to demand the punishment of the wretches who had slain their sovereign. To permit Moawyah to retain authority in the East was a virtual abdication on the part of Ali. A new catalogue of governors was accordingly made out, and the officers so appointed were at once sent to their respective provinces.

These measures were attended with much hazard. The new officers were either not accepted at all or received with aversion and distrust. The deposed governor of Arabia, Felix, resigned to his successor, but carried off the treasures of the province to Medina and delivered them to Ayesha, who was of the party of the malcontents. The new governor of Bassora found his subjects in such a state of eruption that he was obliged to retire from the city, and was glad to effect his escape. Ammar Ibn Sahel, who had received the satrapy of Cufa, found the people of his province in arms, supporting the former governor, whom Othman had appointed. Saäd Ibn Kaïs, who had received the governorship of Egypt, was met by multitudes who demanded that the murderers of Othman should first be punished, and provincial governors appointed aftrwards. Ibn Kaïs, like the rest, unable to support his claims by force, returned to Medina. Nor did better success attend the effort of Sahel Ibn Hanif to install himself in the governorship of Syria. So completely were the people of this province under the influence of Moawyah, that they drew their cimeters on the very borders, and forbade the satrap to set his foot within their territory. It thus happened that four out of the five provincial governors were obliged to return as if from a fool's errand into foreign parts, and present themselves empty handed to the Caliph.

It was now evident that affairs had reached a crisis. Ali dispatched a messenger to Moawyah demanding his allegiance, and the Syrian governor sent back to Medina by the hands of an officer a sealed missive; but when the letter was opened it was found to contain not a word. Such a mockery could not be otherwise interpreted than as a challenge to battle.

Moawyah immediately prepared for the conflict. He hung up in the mosque of Damascus the bloody vest of Othman, and by his ascendency over the passions of the Syrians soon mustered an army of sixty thousand men. But Ali was not to be intimidated. He made a public declaration in the name of Allah and the Prophet that he was guiltless of the blood of his predecessor. He then dispatched messengers into all the provinces, demanding that the true believers should rally around the emblem of Islam.

Meanwhile, Ayesha, Zobeir, and Telha withdrew with their confederates from Medina and made their head-quarters at Mecca. The birthplace of the Prophet became the seat of a conspiracy for the dethronement of his successor. Ayesha was the leading spirit of the great rebellion. Supported by the two powerful families of Koreish and Ommiah, she sent out couriers inviting the coöperation of those governors whom Ali would have deposed and inciting the people of the provinces to insurrection. In a council which was held at Mecca, it was resolved that the rebellious army, under the leadership of Telha, should march to Bassora and make that city the base of future operations against the Caliph. At the same time the following proclamation was prepared by Ayesha and trumpeted through the streets of Mecca:

"In the name of the Most High God. Ayesha, Mother of the Faithful, accompanied by the chiefs Telha and Zobeir, is going in person to Bassora. All those of the faithful who burn with a desire to defend the faith and avenge the death of the Caliph Othman, have only to present themselves and they shall be furnished with all necessaries for the journey."

The retirement of the insurgent host from Mecca was not unlike the embarrassed movements of the Prophet and his friends in the early days of Islam. Ayesha, mounted on a camel, led the way; but the princess was distracted with superstitious fears. On arriving at Bassora the gates were closed against her and her army; for the people of the city were divided in their allegiance, and the party of Ali had gained the ascendency. Some went forth and joined the camp of Ayesha, and skirmishing began between the two factions.

Meanwhile, a message was sent to Medina to know whether Telha and Zobeir had freely assented to the election of Ali or had acted

under compulsion. While this business was pending, however, the partisans of Ayesha broke into the city, killed the governor's guard, and obtained possession of his person. By this means the party of Ali was suppressed and Bassora remained in the hands of the rebels. The latter conducted themselves with more prudence than was to have been expected, for they forebore to persecute the adherents of the Caliph, seeking to win them from their allegiance by kindness and blandishments.

Ali was not idle in the emergency. Being an orator, he harangued the multitudes from the mosque. There was, however, less enthusiasm for his cause in the city than a sanguine prince would hope for. Still the people came to his standard, and when two learned doctors of the law made a solemn declaration that Ali was in no wise implicated in the murder of Othman, the loyalty of the people was kindled to full heat. Taking advantage of the uprising, the Caliph marched forth from the city and proceeded against Bassora. He sent word to Abu Musa Alashair, governor of Cufa, and to the other satraps who were favorable to his cause to come to his assistance; but the ruler of Cufa was little disposed to aid a prince who had attempted to depose him from office. A reply was accordingly sent which meant either evasion or nothing at all. Meanwhile, the governor of Bassora, who had been put out of office by Ayesha, and whose beard had been contemptuously pulled out hair by hair, came to the camp of Ali and made a plaint of his degradation. The Caliph next dispatched his son Hassan and Ammar Ibn Yaser to expostulate with the governor of Cufa and to demand a contingent of troops.

These messengers were kindly received by the governor, and urged upon him the reasonableness of Ali's demands; but he held aloof from complying. He was for arbitration, for investigating the offense which was charged to the Caliph, for every thing, indeed, except furnishing the troops. While the negotiations were pending, another one of the Caliph's ambassadors had struck to the bottom of the question by seizing the citadel of Cufa, scourging the garrison into obedience, and sending the soldiers of the escort to stop the nonsense which was enacted at the mosque. The people thereupon turned suddenly to the cause of Ali. Nine thousand of the inhabitants followed the ambassadors to the Caliph's camp. Bassora was invested by a loyal army of thirty thousand men. Seeing the futility of resistance to such a force, Zobeir and Telha would have capitulated; but the vindictive Ayesha defeated the negotiations for peace; and the issue was decided by battle.

A severe conflict ensued outside the walls, in which Ayesha, seated on her camel, rode up and down among her partisans, urging them to strike for victory and spoil. After a bloody fight, in which Moslem cut down Moslem with no better inspiration than the breath of faction, victory declared for Ali. Telha was killed, and Zobeir, withdrawing from the field, set out towards Mecca, but was overtaken at a brook and slain while kneeling down to pray. When his gory head was borne to Ali, the generous Caliph wept bitterly at the sight, and bade the wretch who brought it to carry the tidings of his bloody deed to Ben Safiah in hell! Thus perished the two rebels who had been the main support of the insurrection. As to Ayesha, she continued the fight until her camel, hacked with the merciless swords of Ali's men, sank to the earth and left her a prisoner. Ali, however, had given orders that no indignity should be offered to her who had received the absurd name of Mother of the Faithful.[1] The spoils of victory were divided according to the rules of war, and the rebellion in Arabia was at an end.

Not so, however, with the revolt in Syria. Here the powerful Moawyah stood in arms and defied the authority of the Caliph. The minds of the Syrians had been abused with the belief that Ali was guilty of the murder of Othman, and the local power of the provincial governor was used to divide them more and more widely from all sympathy with the government at Medina. Nor was Moawyah wanting in the subtle policy peculiar to ambitious chieftains. He sent word to Amru, the deposed governor of Egypt, now in Palestine, to come and join his standard, promising to restore him to the high authority which he had held under the former Caliphate. Amru

[1] Absurd, for Ayesha *had no children.*

was not insensible to the appeal. Journeying to Damascus, he had an interview with Moawyah, and publicly cast in his fortunes with those of the rebellion. It thus became necessary for Ali to continue in the field in order to keep the throne.

For the prosecution of his Syrian campaign the Caliph raised an army of ninety thousand men. Arriving on the borders of Syria, the soldiers suffered for water; but a Christian monk who lived in the neighborhood produced an ancient parchment, said to have been written by Saint Peter, wherein it was predicted that a well digged of old by Israel should be reöpened by the lawful successor of the last of the prophets. Ali accordingly directed his attendants where to dig, and a huge stone being with difficulty overturned, the well of antiquity was found. The army was saved from thirst and the hermit converted to Islam.

In the year 657 the forces of the Caliph came face to face with those of Moawyah in the plain of Seffein, near the Euphrates. The army of the enemy, led by the rebellious governor and Amru, numbered eighty thousand men. The leading generals on the other side were Ali himself and the venerable Ammar Ibn Yaser, now ninety-two years of age, of old time one of the companions of the Prophet. When the two hosts came in sight Ali attempted to se-



CAPTURE OF AYESHA BY ALI.
Drawn by F. Fikentsher.

cure peace by negotiations; but Moawyah was implacable, and the issue was given to the decision of the sword—and the decision was rendered in favor of the Caliph.

During the four months that followed several battles ensued, but the results were indecisive. The general advantage was on the side of Ali, whose successes, however, were clouded by the loss of several able officers, among whom was the patriarch Ammar Ibn Yaser. In one of the desultory fights Ali spurred his steed within hearing of Moawyah, and challenged him to come forth and decide their quarrel by a personal combat; but the wary rebel would not put his life upon such a hazard. His refusal precipitated a general battle, which was fought during the night, and which resulted in the rout of the Syrian army. When, however, the defeated insurgents were driven to their camp, and were about to be exterminated, they hoisted the Koran on a lance and demanded that the dispute should be settled by the decisions of the Book. The victorious Ali was little disposed to surrender the fruits of a triumph so hardly won to an arbitration which Moawyah had many times refused; but the religious prejudices of the Moslems were so strong that they trailed their lances in the presence of the Koran, and would not fight against those who appealed to its decision. An arbiter was accordingly appointed from each army, Abu Musa being chosen by Ali and Amru by Moawyah.

The ambassadors met at Jumat al Joudel, and the negotiations were undertaken. It soon appeared that Musa was overreached by the wit and subtlety of Moawyah's agent. Amru succeeded in persuading him to a decision by which both Ali and Moawyah were to be deposed and a new Caliph elected. When, however, it came to the proclamation of the result, and a tribunal had been erected between the two armies, Musa was induced to go up first and to announce that Ali was deposed. It was then Amru's turn to declare the deposition of Moawyah; but instead of making the proper proclamation, he ascended the tribunal and said: "You have heard how Musa on his part has deposed Ali; I on my part depose him also, and I adjudge the Caliphate to Moawyah, and I invest him with it as I invest my finger with this ring; and I do it with justice, for he is the rightful successor and avenger of Othman."

Great were the surprise and discontent on the announcement of this fraudulent decision. Strange that a decision so procured and promulgated should have been regarded of binding force; but the bigotry and superstition of the age were ready to enforce an agreement which bore the *semblance* of faith, though its *substance* was clearly a fraud. Ali accordingly withdrew his army, and personal hatred and religious animosity between the opposing powers were substituted for honorable battle.

Thus it was that victory already achieved vanished from the grasp of the Caliph. The Caliphate was profoundly shaken by the catastrophe, and the influence of Ali faded away for a season. Dissensions sprang up among those who had been his adherents. One party, called the Karigites, denounced the Caliph bitterly for allowing himself to be circumvented by Moawyah and Amru. The fanatics declared—and with great truth—that the compact was, on the part of the Syrians, a palpable fraud, and that its observance on the part of the Arabians was a piece of superstitious folly. The Karigites renounced their allegiance and took up arms, and Ali was obliged to suppress them by force.

Meanwhile, Moawyah attempted to make good the promise which he had given to Amru respecting his restoration to authority in Egypt. In order to secure by subtlety what he could not accomplish by force, the Syrian governor forged a letter purporting to be written to himself by Saäd Ibn Kaïs, the governor of Egypt, in which treacherous overtures were made respecting an alliance against Ali. This letter was permitted to fall into the hands of the Caliph, whose mind was thereby poisoned against Saäd, and who appointed Mohammed, the son of Abu Beker, to supersede him. The government of Saäd in Egypt had been as popular as that of Mohammed proved to be distasteful to the people. Dissensions were spread abroad and revolt followed. Learning of the condition of affairs, Ali sent out a new governor, named Malec Shutur; but the latter was poisoned before reaching his destination. Affairs were thus thrown into such confusion that Moawyah dispatched Amru with an army

to seize the Egyptian government for himself. The movement was successful. The party of Ali was overthrown. Mohammed was slain, and his body, inclosed in the carcass of an ass, was burnt to ashes. Thus was Egypt suddenly snatched away from the successor of the Prophet.

Moawyah now became more active than ever. He assumed the offensive, carried his arms into Arabia, ravaged Yemen, and hoisted his banner over the Kaaba at Mecca. The spirits of Ali were so greatly depressed that he fell into melancholy, and he, who had been called the Lion of Islam, went about with an abstracted air or sat in moody silence. At length, however, he roused himself to action. He raised an army of sixty thousand men, and determined that Moawyah should feel erelong the force of a staggering blow. But at this juncture the remnants of the Karigites became a factor in the political condition of the times. Three of the fanatic sect, meeting in the mosque of Mecca, and attributing the distractions of Islam to the ambitious rivalries of Ali, Moawyah, and Amru, resolved upon the assassination of all three of the rulers. The conspirators then separated and went to their allotted stations.

Barak, who undertook the murder of Moawyah, went to Damascus, took his stand in the mosque, and as Moawyah knelt to pray, dealt him a terrible blow with his sword. The governor, however, was saved alive, and finally recovered from his wound; but the assassin was taken and put to death. The second murderer, Amru, the son of Asi, repaired to Egypt, entered the mosque, and killed the Imam Karijah, mistaking him for the governor. This assassin was also taken and executed. The third conspirator, named Abdalrahman, made his way to Cufa, which was now the capital of Ali. Here he entered the house of a Karigite woman, to whom he presently made an offer of marriage. She agreed to give her hand on condition that her husband would bring her as a dowry three thousand pieces of silver, a slave, a maid-servant, and the head of the Caliph Ali. All these things Abdalrahman agreed to bestow. He accordingly took into his confidence two confederates, and the three stationed themselves in the mosque to await the coming of their victim. When Ali drew near they fell upon him with their swords and inflicted a fatal wound. One of the murderers escaped, one was slain as he was flying from the scene, and Abdalrahman was taken. "Let him not be tortured," said the benignant Caliph before he expired, and his orders were obeyed. Thus, in the year A. D. 660, the fourth successor of the Prophet died a violent death.

The character of Ali suffers not by comparison with that of any of the early Moslems. In war he was a warrior, in peace, peaceable. But for the rebellion of Moawyah, Zobeir, and Telha his reign would, perhaps, have been the most prosperous among those of the early Caliphs. Nor should failure be made to mention his patronage of letters and art; for it was from this epoch that the Arabians began to be distinguished as poets, historians, and philosophers. Ali himself was a devotee of the Arabian Parnassus. His career throughout showed the man of sentiment and reflection rather than the fiery zealot which was revealed in Omar. "Life," said the poetic Ali, "is but the shadow of a cloud, the dream of a sleeper."

The family of the Caliph Ali embraced the lineal descendants of Mohammed. His first wife, Fatima, was the Prophet's daughter, and by her he had three sons, Mohassan, Hassan, and Hosein, two of whom survived their father. Of his other eight wives were born twelve sons and eighteen daughters. The children of Fatima, as being of the blood of the Prophet, were held in great esteem. They were permitted to distinguish themselves by their turbans and other dress from all other Moslems. The descendants of this line were known as the FATIMITES, from the name of their great mother, and were ever regarded by the Arabians as the legitimate sovereigns of Islam. By that people the memory of Ali was held most sacred, next to that of the Prophet, and the anniversary of his death is still scrupulously observed as a solemnity by the faithful.

CHAPTER LXXX.—OMMIADES AND FATIMITES.

AFTER the death of Ali his son HASSAN was chosen to the Caliphate without opposition. He was well fitted by the excellence of his character and the benevolence of his purposes for the sovereignty of a great state; but the times were distracted with rebellion and turmoil, and Hassan was little disposed to war. Nevertheless, in his inaugural ceremony he pledged himself to uphold the Book of Allah, to follow the tradition of the Prophet, and to make war against all opposers. The people, in their turn, pledged themselves to support his government, both in peace and in war.

The circumstances of the accession of a new Caliph were such as hardly to permit him to remain at peace. There, on the Syrian horizon, stood the hostile figure of Moawyah. Against him the Caliph Ali, at the time of his assassination, had already prepared an army of sixty thousand men. The warlike Hosein, brother of Hassan, was eager for the fight. The Caliph accordingly took the field in the first year of his reign, and marched against the Syrians.

In a short time, however, his inefficiency as a general was manifest. A tumult having broken out in the army, he was unable to enforce discipline, and treachery became rife around him. His courage failed, and he resolved to make overtures to Moawyah. He accordingly sent to that potentate an embassy, proposing to surrender to him the Caliphate on condition that he himself should be permitted to retain the public treasury, and that no further slanders should be uttered against the memory of his father. The first condition was fully agreed to, and the second in part. Hassan himself was not to be offended by hearing his father's name spoken with contempt. It was also stipulated as a part of the terms of Hassan's abdication that he should return to power on the death of Moawyah.

Nothwithstanding the anger of the warlike Hosein, and notwithstanding that the people of Cufa refused to surrender the treasury, which they claimed as their own, the settlement was carried into effect, and the governor of Syria became Caliph, with the title of MOAWYAH I. Hassan received a large revenue, and retiring to Medina found compensation for the loss of power in distributing to the necessities of the poor.

The dissensions of the Empire being thus quieted, and the shade of Othman placated by the destruction of those who had taken his life, Islam had peace. About the only faction remaining to disturb the state of the faithful were the Karigites, who stirred up a revolt in Syria and were with difficulty suppressed. They were a sect of fanatical zealots who, contemptuous of all the forms of government, attempted to establish a reign of spiritual frenzy over the prostrate form of reason.

The new line of sovereigns beginning with Moawyah was known as the OMMIAD DYNASTY, being so called from Ommiah, the ancestor of the tribe to which the Caliph belonged. The opposing party of princes in the politics of Islam, representing the true descendants of the Prophet, were, as already said, known as the FATIMITES.

The powerful warrior, whose ambition was thus at last gratified with the possession of the throne of Islam, now gave his attention to the arts of peace. He called about him many learned men, poets, scholars, and statesmen, many of whom were brought from the Grecian islands, and whose culture added to the luster of the court of Damascus. But while the Caliph thus strengthened himself in the world of letters, a strange family complication introduced some excitement in the world of politics. It had happened in the days of yore that Abu Sofian, father of Moawyah, had, while sojourning in the city of Tayef, become enamored of a Greek slave, who afterwards bore him a son. The child, being illegitimate, was named Ziyad Ibn Abihi, that is, Ziyad the son of Nobody. But

the blood of his ancestry told in spite of the ban. The youth had genius. He drew to himself by his eloquence the attention of the people. During the reign of Omar he became a distinguished judge in the courts of Islam. The Caliph Ali appointed him governor of Persia, and that position he still held on the accession of his half-brother to the throne.

But the Son of Nobody by no means hastened to recognize Moawyah as Caliph. The latter became alarmed at the silence of Ziyad and sent a kindly invitation for him to come to Cufa. Accepting the invitation, he was met and embraced by Moawyah, who thus publicly acknowledged the governor as his brother. An act was secured by which Ziyad was made a legitimate branch of the House of Koreish and a prince of the realms of Islam.

Great was the anger of the aristocratic Ommiades to be thus scandalized by the introduction into their ranks of the parvenu son of a Greek slave. But the far-sighted Moawyah let fume their idle passion, for he had gained a powerful friend and supporter. Nor did the Caliph fail to make good use of his new-found brother. He sent him to assume authority in the city of Bassora, where a reign of anarchy and assassination had been established. The city had become a den of thieves, and its reputation a stench in the nostrils of Islam. To all this the Son of Nobody put a speedy termination. Two hundred ruffians were put to death on the first night after his assumption of office.

Order was at once restored. The governor was then sent to Khorassan. So exemplary were his measures that quiet reigned wherever he went. As he journeyed from city to city, he made proclamation that the people should leave their doors open at night, promising to make good whatever was taken by theft. Having reduced all Babylonia to good government, he set out for Arabia Petra. But while on his way thither he was attacked with the plague and died. So great had been his merit that his family rights were confirmed to his son Obeidallah, who was made governor of Khorassan and a prince of the empire. Another son, named Salem, was, in like manner, honored, and so great was his popularity that twenty thousand children were said to have received his name. The third son, Kameil, was also so much distinguished by his talents that he was made a prince of Arabia Felix, and his descendants considered it an honor to be called the children of Ziyad. It thus happened that the base-born Son of Nobody became the illustrious Father of Somebody. Nature had written her sign-manual above the puny statutes of men.

Moawyah kept his faith with Amru by reinstating him in the governorship of Egypt. But the latter did not long survive the recovery of what had been the object of his ambition. In A. D. 663 he died, and Islam had cause to lament the fall of one of the ablest veterans of the faith. Like many of his fellow-leaders, he became in his old age enamored of letters, and sought by patronage and example to hasten the return of the day of light and learning.

The reign of Moawyah was noted as the epoch when hostility to the Eastern Empire became a part of the settled policy of Islam. The warlike impulses of the Caliph were turned in the direction of Constantinople. The injunction of the Prophet to conquer the world still rang in the ears of true believers, and the general quiet of the Mohammedan states encouraged the half-dormant desire of foreign conquest. It was now almost a half century since the death of the Prophet. His promise of full pardon for all the sins committed by the soldiers who should conquer Constantinople was not wanting as an incentive of war in the breasts of faithful veterans who recalled with a sigh the glorious days of early Islam.

An army was accordingly mustered to march against the distant Greeks. The command was given to the veteran Sofian, who, with several other aged patriots, companions of Mohammed, undertook the enterprise with the fiery zeal of youth. Hosein, the brother of Hassan, was given a command, and a chivalrous spirit pervaded the army, to which the soldiers of the Crescent had become strangers during the civil wars. The enthusiasm of battle was in the ranks, and future victory was regarded as a part of that necessity which the Prophet had proclaimed as the immutable law of the world. On the other hand, a general flavor of decay was noticeable throughout the Empire of the Greeks. Especially were

the armies which issued from the gates of Constantinople fatigued, as it were, with the lassitude of declining age. In no respect, moreover, was the weakness of the Eastern Empire more displayed than in the will and character of Constantine IV., the reigning sovereign, whose chief element of greatness was a famous name.

In the preceding volume[1] a brief reference has already been made to this effort of the Moslems to capture Constantinople. No extensive details of the expedition have been preserved. It is only known that the Mohammedan squadron passed the Dardanelles in safety and debarked the army a few miles from the city. The Arabs with their accustomed vehemence began a siege, but very unlike were the battlements of Constantinople to the puny ramparts surrounding the towns of Syria and the East. The Greek capital, moreover, was well defended by troops collected from many quarters, most of them veterans in the defense of cities. The employment of Greek fire spread terror among the assailants, to whom such explosive and portentous bombs seemed no less than the favorite hand-balls of Ben Safiah. Of course, the besiegers with their nomad armor could make no impression on the rock-built bastions of the city. So, despairing of success, they fell away from the prize which was beyond their grasp and ravaged the adjacent coasts of the two continents. They established themselves in the island of Scyzicus, and from time to time renewed the conflict through a period of two years.

As the war continued, the forces of the Moslems were gradually wasted. On the other hand, the courage of the Greeks was revived when it was seen that they only had been able to interpose a bar to the progress of Islam. By and by they marched forth with their forces and pursued the Mohammedans, inflicting several defeats. Moawyah was first driven to act on the defensive, and then compelled to seek an expensive peace. A truce was established for thirty years, and the Caliph agreed to pay the Emperor an annual tribute of three thousand pieces of gold, fifty slaves, and fifty Arabian steeds.

In the mean time the Caliph had grown old. The compact still existed with Hassan that the latter should succeed to the government on the death of Moawyah. But Yezid, the Caliph's eldest son, was already a conspirator to secure the succession for himself. In the year 669, the exemplary and unambitious Hassan ended his career by poison. Nor is it doubtful that the potion was administered by an Arab woman at the instigation of Yezid, who promised to reward her crime with marriage. The prince died as he had lived, in a serene frame of mind, calmly consigning his murderers to the mercies of Allah, before whom they must presently stand, stripped of all disguises.

The politic Yezid refused to marry her whose crime had opened to him the way to the throne; but he procured her silence with large gifts of money and jewels. Though Hassan himself was destroyed, his family was by no means extinguished. He left as his contribution to the House of Fatima fifteen sons and five daughters. One of his marriages had been with the daughter of Yezdegird, the last king of Persia, and the expiring glory of the Sassanidæ was blended with the prophetic blood of Islam. A few years after the death of Hassan, the celebrated Ayesha, who had survived the death of Mohammed forty-seven years, and by the perpetual feuds springing from her jealousy of Fatima had kept the court of Medina constantly embroiled, expired, A. D. 678. She left no offspring; nor did any of the other wives of the Prophet, excepting only Fatima, transmit his name to posterity.

It will be remembered how the unpopular Abdallah Ibn Saäd attempted to make good his claim to leadership by the conquest of Northern Africa; and how he failed before the walls of Tripoli. Afterwards the attention of the Moslems was absorbed in the civil wars, and then in the contest with Constantinople. Thus for a while the African enterprise was abandoned. The foothold which Islam had gained on the coast west of Egypt was broken, and the dominion of the Crescent was again almost restricted to the valley of the Nile.

After the failure of his war with the Greeks, Moawyah determined to devote the energies of his old age to the recovery of what had been lost on the African coast. To this end an army was organized and placed under command of Acbah, who at the head of his forces at once

[1] See Volume II., p. 383.



THE ARABS CROSSING THE DARDANELLES.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

departed from Damascus to enter on his campaign. His first movement was directed against the province of Cyrenaica, and its capital, Cyrene. The city was besieged and taken, its walls thrown down, the country conquered.

From the borders of this province Acbah then continued his march to the west. Through dense and serpent-haunted woods and trackless wastes of sand, he pressed onward to the site of ancient Carthage. Here he chose a heavily wooded valley as the place in which to found a city which should serve as the headquarters of Islam in the West. Nor has tradition failed to record how Acbah went forth into the dank wilderness, infested as it was with lions, tigers, and serpents, and conjured them to fly to other jungles. "Hence!" said he; "avaunt, wild beasts and serpents! Hence, quit this wood and valley!" Then they fled to parts unknown.

When the news of the progress of Acbah was borne to Moawyah, he added the newly conquered countries to the province of Egypt, and appointed Muhegir governor. But the action of the Caliph was based upon ignorance of the vast extent of the territory which Acbah had overrun. The latter had meanwhile established himself in his new city and exercised authority over the surrounding country. When Muhegir arrived in Egypt, he became desperately jealous of the fame of Acbah, and slandered him in letters to the Caliph to the extent of securing his recall and deposition from his command. The valorous Acbah, however, indignant at the injustice done him, hastened to Damascus and made so manly a remonstrance that he was at once reïnstated. Returning by way of Egypt he found that Muhegir had used the interim to destroy, as far as possible, the results of the conquest. Acbah accordingly deposed him from authority and placed him in irons, and then went about to remedy the mischief which he had accomplished.

In a short time he had reduced the country to such a state of quiet that he was able to resume his work of conquest in the West. From the frontier which he had already established at Cærwan, he marched into Algiers, the ancient Numidia, and setting up the banners of Islam, compelled the barbarous tribes to reverence the name of the Prophet. He then proceeded into Morocco, the Mauritania of the ancients, and in like manner reduced the inhabitants to submission. Still westward he pressed his way until reaching the Atlantic, he rode into the salt waves to his saddle girth, and drawing his cimeter, declared that only the sea prevented him from honoring the Prophet by further conquests in his name.

In the mean time intelligence was borne to the victorious Moslem that the Greeks of the African coast behind him, as well as the savage tribes of the interior, had revolted and were about to overthrow his authority. His capital of Cærwan was threatened with capture. Returning by rapid marches he was attacked in Numidia by the Berbers or Moors, who gave him great annoyance, but could not be brought to battle. On reaching his capital, however, Acbah found that his lieutenant Zohair had beaten the rebels in battle, and restored order in the province. As soon as every thing was made secure, the adventurous governor returned into Numidia to punish the audacious Moors.

Meanwhile, the Greeks of the coast had joined their fortunes with the barbarians of the mountain slopes, and Acbah found a large army ready to oppose him. The leader of the Moors was a noted chieftain named Abu Cahina. When Acbah came in sight of the enemy, he perceived that their numbers were so great as to make a victory over them impossible; but with the dauntless zeal of a true follower of the Prophet, he determined to conquer or die. He struck off the chains of Muhegir and gave him a horse and armor. The two then rode, side by side, into the hopeless conflict. The Moslems fought with thinning ranks, but invincible courage. At last only a handful remained, but they faced the enemy until all had perished. The dead body of Acbah was discovered still grasping his sword and surrounded with a heap of infidel slain. The destruction of the heroic band of Islam was complete.

Meanwhile, important events had taken place in the Caliphate. The aged Moawyah, forecasting the end of his career, named Yezid as his successor. This act was in violation of the precedent established by Mohammed and observed by Abu Beker, Omar, and Othman. It was a direct effort on the part of Moawyah to make the crown of Islam hereditary in his

family—to substitute the principle of descent for the right of election. Such a policy ran counter to all the maxims of Arabian politics; but so powerful was the influence of the Caliph, that when he sent abroad a summons to the various provinces to appoint delegates who should perform the act of fealty to the prince Yezid, nearly all the regions made a favorable response, and the prince was acknowledged as the representative of the Ommiades and the heir expectant to the crown of Islam. Thus was established by the will and power of Moawyah the dynasty of the House of Ommiah, from which fourteen Caliphs were destined to arise.

The institution of a regular court, after the manner of the East, had now become an established fact in the Caliphate. The stern demeanor of the primitive successors of the Prophet relaxed in the soft airs of Damascus. The transformation from the austere *régime* established by Abu Beker and Omar was mostly effected during the reign of Moawyah I. Already before the death of that potentate, his household and government, in the luxurious capital of Syria, had assumed the typical aspect of the courts of the East. The plain food, simple garb, and severe manners of the early Moslem rulers yielded to the influences of ease and opulence, and the exemplary virtues of the first Caliphs were no longer regarded as the passports to Paradise.

Superstition still held sway over the minds of the greatest. It was a part of the policy of Moawyah to make Damascus one of the sacred cities of Islam. To this end he conceived the project of transferring from Medina some of the relics most sacred in the eyes of true believers. Among the objects to be removed were the walking staff of the Prophet and the pulpit from which he used to discourse to the people. The staff was found and transferred to the new capital, but when the pulpit was about to be removed an eclipse of the sun occurred and the faithful were terrified. To see the stars in daytime was too much even for Moawyah, and the pulpit of the Prophet was allowed to remain in Medina.

Feeling his end approach Moawyah summoned Yezid into his presence and gave him his parting injunctions. In A. D. 679, being then in the twentieth year of his reign, the great Caliph was gathered to his fathers. His sepulcher was made at Damascus, which had now become the chief city and capital of the Mohammedan Empire. Great was the fame which Moawyah had won by his deeds, and great was the grief which the true believers manifested on his departure for Paradise.

The succession had already been appointed to YEZID. He received the royal garments in the spring of 680. The new prince came to the throne under the full impulse of his father's popularity and the reputation won by his own abilities and ambitions. Nevertheless his character as a youth had been greatly injured by his associations in Damascus, and his accession to power at the age of thirty-four found him indolent, intemperate, and sensual. He entered upon his reign, however, with many auspicious omens and no opposition, save from Mecca, Medina, and some of the towns on the Euphrates.

The personal rivals whom he had most cause to fear were Hosein, brother of Hassan, and Abdallah, son of Zobeir. To the danger to be apprehended from these princes the new Caliph was fully awake. A plot was made against their lives, but they escaped from Medina and fled to Mecca. While resident here Hosein received a secret message from the city of Cufa, declaring that the people of that metropolis were ready to acknowledge him as the rightful successor of the Prophet. He was informed that on going thither he would be recognized and obeyed as Caliph.

To ascertain the truth of these reports a messenger was sent to Cufa, who found affairs as represented, but the governor of the city had no knowledge of the conspiracy. By some means, however, intelligence of the true state of affairs was conveyed to the Caliph, who despatched Obeidallah, son of Ziyad, to suppress the revolt. This general hastened to Cufa, took possession of the city, killed the ambassador of Hosein, and scattered the conspirators in all directions.

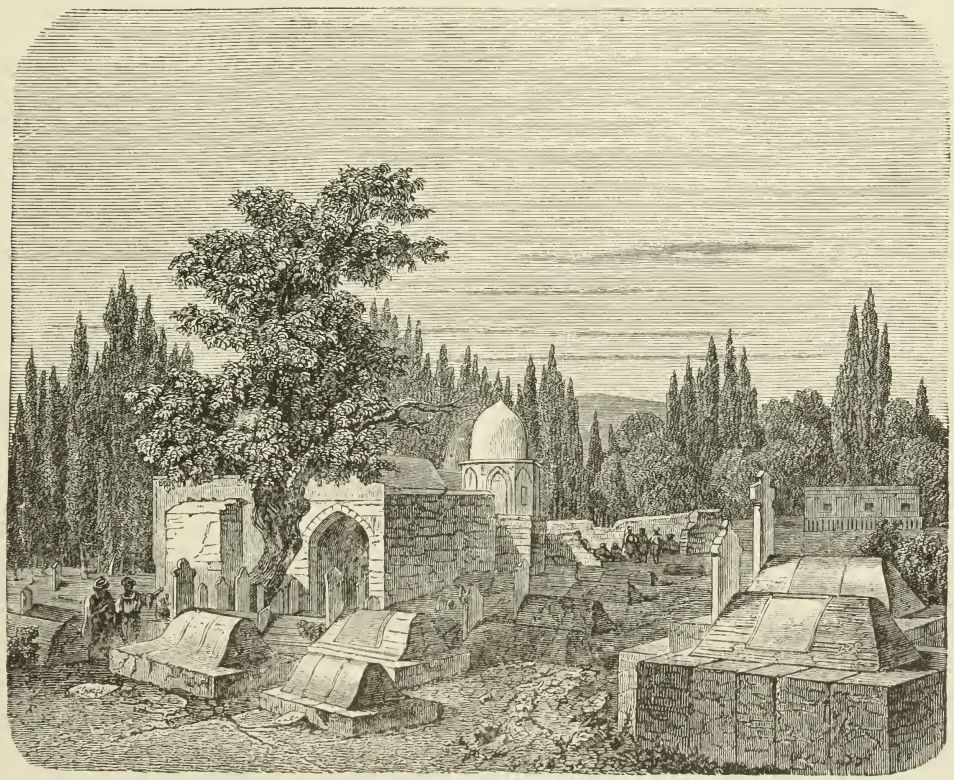
In the mean time the unfortunate prince, who expected to reach the Caliphate by means of the insurrection, set out from Mecca and journeyed toward Cufa. On the borders of Babylonia he was met by a band of horsemen, sent out by Obeidallah to bring the aspirant into his presence. The prince was led along

to the banks of the Euphrates. Finding that every thing had turned against him he would fain have returned into Arabia. Those who had him in charge would gladly have shown consideration to a descendant of the Prophet, but Obeidallah had resolved that Hosein should acknowledge Yezid or perish for his temerity. The son of Ali, however, chose to die rather than submit. With his small band he attempted to defend himself in his camp.

Desultory fighting continued for several days. His followers fell one by one until he was left alone. At last he sank to the earth, bleeding with thirty wounds, and died under the swords of his assailants. His head was then cut off and carried to Obeidallah in Cufa. After being displayed to that savage warrior the bloody trophy was sent to the Caliph Yezid at Damascus, who either through real or affected grief denounced the murder of the prince and cursed Obeidallah as the son of a Greek slave. The Caliph treated the family of Hosein with consideration, and thus in some measure made atonement for the destruction of the grandson of the Prophet.

The assassination of their prince made a profound impression on the minds of the Fatimites. The day of his death became an anniversary of mourning, and was called the Day of Hosein. On the spot where he fell a sepulcher was built, and tradition recited to the coming generations, the omens and portents wherewith Allah threatened the world when the descendant of his Apostle was slain.

Among those whom the dying Moawyah had named as persons to be feared by his successor was Zobeir's son, Abdallah. The caution was well taken; for after the death of Hosein the tribe of Hashem proclaimed Abdallah as Caliph, and he was recognized as such by the people of Medina and Mecca. The prince thus made conspicuous was ambitious and warlike. The party of Fatima, enraged at the murder of Hosein, rallied to the support of Abdallah, and a seer out of Egypt declared that the Prophet Daniel had predicted for this prince the honors of royalty. The Caliph Yezid became alarmed at the condition of affairs in Western Arabia; but pretending to despise the presumption of Abdallah, he sent



TOMBS OF THE CALIPHS, DAMASCUS.

word to the governor of Medina to put a silver collar around the neck of the pretender, should he not desist from his claims, and send him in fetters to Damascus. The governor, however—as did also his successor—feared to undertake the duty which Yezid had assigned. Nor did the task allotted by the Caliph to his subordinate become less onerous when the stories of his own immoral life were circulated among the abstemious and continent Arabs. The unpopularity of the reigning prince became so great that an insurrection broke out in Medina, and the few adherents of Yezid were obliged for safety to shut themselves up in the palace of the governor. It was with great difficulty that the Caliph secured an army and a general to go against the insurgents. At length the veteran Meslem assumed command, and the expedition departed to suppress the revolt.

Meanwhile the people of Medina digged a trench around the city, and prepared to defend themselves to the last. When Meslem arrived he summoned the place to surrender, but for three successive days the demand was refused. On the fourth Medina was attacked and carried by storm. The friends of Yezid were liberated from the governor's palace, and the city given up to indiscriminate slaughter and pillage. Having completed the work of destruction, Meslem started on the march for Mecca, but died before reaching his destination. The command devolved upon Hozein Ibn Thamir, who proceeded to the city and began a siege. For forty days the walls were battered by the Syrian engines. A part of the Kaaba was broken down, and the rest burned to ashes. The Meccans were brought to the last extremity; but in the day of their despair a messenger came announcing the death of Yezid. Thereupon Zobeir, who commanded the city, sent the intelligence to Hozein, and demanded that since the Caliph was no more, hostilities should come to an end. As soon as the news was confirmed the besiegers assented to a truce. The siege was abandoned, and the Syrian army, accompanied by the family of Ommiah, retired to Damascus. Nor did the true believers of the party of Fatima fail to ascribe the sudden death of the Caliph to the avenging hand of Allah; for the pillage of Medina, the sacred home of the Prophet, was a sacrilege well calculated to excite the indignation of heaven.

Moawyah II., son of Yezid, was at once proclaimed Caliph. He was still a mere youth, weak in body and in mind, fickle in conduct, and somewhat heretical in belief. For his teacher, Almeksus, being of the sect of the Kadarii, taught the freedom of the will as against the doctrine of predestination, and the young Moawyah imbibed the dangerous heresy. He was afflicted with weak eyes, and obliged to avoid the daylight, from which circumstance the Arabs gave him the surname of Abuleilah or Father of the Night. For six months he nominally held the scepter and then abdicated, refusing to name a successor. This unheard-of proceeding greatly excited the Ommiades, who attributed the prince's resignation to the influence of Almeksus. Him they accordingly seized and buried alive.

The recreant Moawyah not only refused to name his successor, but even went so far as to denounce the Ommiad line, saying that his grandfather was a man less worthy than Ali, and that Yezid had been unfit to reign. He also very properly included himself in the list of unworthies. Having thus relieved his conscience, he shut himself in a dark chamber and remained there until he died.

It thus became necessary for the princes of Islam to choose a new Caliph. In a convention at Damascus, the election fell on Merwan, the same who had once been the secretary of Othman. It was stipulated, however, that at his decease—for he was already aged—the crown should descend to Khaled, the junior son of Yezid. Merwan gave the required pledges and entered upon his reign at Damascus. Meanwhile Abdallah, the son of Zobeir, was acknowledged as Caliph throughout the West. Not only Arabia, but also Khorassan, Babylonia, and Egypt, recognized him as the legitimate ruler of Islam. At the same time, the bloody-minded Obeidallah, son of Ziyad and emir of Bassora, endeavored to obtain the Caliphate. He pleaded that the dissensions between the Houses of Fatima and Ommiah were sufficient cause for the independence of Bassora and his own appointment as Caliph. The chiefs of the city were ready to second the movement, and Obeidallah was called upon to accept the primacy, at least

until a new ruler could be legally elected. This action, however, was soon repented. The people of Cufa, still remembering the atrocious conduct of Obeidallah in the murder of Hosein, rejected his claims with disdain; and the inhabitants of Bassora, turning upon their own creature, drove him from power. He was obliged to disguise himself as a woman and fly for his life. He escaped into Syria, and perceiving the present hopelessness of his situation, gave his influence to Merwan and aided in his election to the Caliphate. This adherence of Obeidallah to the cause of the Ommiades was one of the circumstances which led to the defection of Babylonia and the transfer of the allegiance of that country to Abdallah, Caliph of the West.

The accession of Merwan was thus recognized only in Syria, and among the Syrians themselves a strong party arose in opposition to his claims. The leader of the disaffected was a certain chieftain named Dehac Ibn Kaïs, recently governor of Cufa, who sympathizing with the politics of the people of his former province, declared for Abdallah and raised an army to support his pretensions. Merwan at once took the field against his Syrian enemies, and a bloody battle was fought, in which Dehac was killed and his army cut to pieces. Merwan returned in triumph to Damascus, and began his administration from the palace of Moawyah and Yezid.

The great age of the Caliph and the general suspicion that he would attempt to violate the agreement respecting the succession led to a movement on the part of the authorities of Damascus to secure a guaranty. They demanded that Merwan should marry the widow of Yezid, and thus place himself *in loco patris* to the young Khaled. He complied with reluctance; but in order to extricate himself as far as possible from the complication, he raised an army and set out on an expedition against Egypt. The campaign was attended with success, and the party of Abdallah was overthrown in that province.

Merwan then returned to Damascus. But scarcely had he reached the capital when news came that Musab, the brother of the Western Caliph, was marching upon Egypt to recover what was lost. A second time the Syrian army, led by Amru, the son of Saäd, marched against the Egyptians, and another hard-fought battle resulted in a complete victory for Merwan and the reëstablishment of his authority in the valley of the Nile. He appointed his son Abdalaziz governor of the conquered country, and again returned to the capital of Syria.

In the mean time the people of Khorassan, disgusted with the quarrels of the rival Caliphs, chose for their governor Salem, the son of Ziyad, who was to act as regent of the province until what time the political affairs of the Caliphate should be settled. While Khorassan was thus virtually made independent, the people of Cufa, long ill at ease on account of the murder of Hosein, sought by repentance to make their peace with the Fatimites. A society was organized, called The Penitents, embracing in its membership the principal men of the state. The whole movement had for its ulterior design the restoration of the House of Ali to the undivided sovereignty of Islam. The leader of the revolutionary party was Solyman Ibn Sorad, who had been one of the companions of the Prophet. An army was mustered, which, after passing a day and night in prayer on the spot where Hosein was murdered, began its march into Syria. But before Solyman reached Damascus, Obeidallah came forth at the head of twenty thousand men and scattered the revolutionists to the four winds.

It will be remembered how the hero Acbah, on the far-off plains of Numidia, was overpowered and destroyed by the Moorish host led by Abu Cahina. The latter, after his victory, pressed on to Cærwan where he began a siege. At this juncture, however, reënforcements arrived, sent out from Egypt by Abdalaziz, the recently appointed governor. Every thing looked to the speedy repulse of Cahina and the restoration of Moslem authority in Northern Africa. But in the mean time the sleepy court of Constantinople had aroused itself to action and dispatched an Imperial army to make common cause with the Moors in the expulsion of the Mohammedans. Against these combined forces of Christianity and barbarism, Zobeir, the governor of Cærwan, made a desperate but ineffectual resistance. The Moslems were defeated in battle and driven back to Barca. Cærwan was assaulted

and taken, and all the western parts of the African coast restored to the condition in which they had been before the conquest by Acbah.

Just after the fiasco of Solyman in Syria, the intelligence of the loss of Northern Africa was carried to Damascus. It had the effect of an electric spark upon the half-paralyzed right arm of Islam. For the nonce, the bitter feuds of faction were consigned to oblivion. Though Zobeir recognized the Caliph of the West, Merwan sent forward a large army, under command of his son Abdalmalec to assist the African governor in recovering his province. The forces of Zobeir and those of Syria were united in the Barcan desert, and an expedition was at once begun to regain the lost territories. The old spirit of the Arabs was fully aroused in the struggle with the unbelievers. The Christians and Moors were driven back precipitately upon Cærwan. The city was besieged and retaken, and the whole region recovered from the enemy more quickly than they had won it. Zobeir was reïnstated as governor of Africa, and Abdalmalec marched back to join his father at Damascus.

In his last days, the aged Merwan attempted to undo the terms of settlement by which he had been elected to the Caliphate. It was evident that his oath to transmit the crown to Khaled had been taken with mental reservation. It transpired that when engaged in the struggle for the recovery of Egypt, Merwan had promised the succession to Amru Ibn Saäd on condition that that prince would aid him in the establishment of his power. This promise also was made in bad faith; for the monarch all the while entertained the purpose to advance his own son, Abdalmalec, to the throne. Circumstances favored the scheme; for Abdalmalec returned in great glory from his African campaign, and was received with such favor by the Damascenes that Merwan found little difficulty in having him recognized as his successor. This act, however, hastened the exit of the Caliph and substituted violence for the order of nature. The prince Khaled reproached his faith-breaking step-father for his conduct, and the latter denounced the prince as a son of unchastity. Thereupon the mother who was thus insulted thrust a pillow into the face of the feeble old Caliph and *sat upon it* until he was smothered to death. Thus, in the year 684, the Caliphate of Damascus was transferred to ABDALMALEC.

The new potentate was acknoweldged by Syria, Egypt, and Africa. From the first he exhibited the qualities of a powerful and ambitious ruler. He gave his attention to affairs of state and laid extensive plans for the promotion of the interests of Islam. The chief weaknesses of his character were superstition and parsimony. He was a scrupulous observer of dreams and omens, and his conduct was so sordid that the Arabs gave him the surname of Rafhol Hejer, or the *Sweat-Stone.*

Abdallah, the son of Zobeir, still held the Western Caliphate, having his capital at Mecca. Not a little fame was added to his government by the fact that the sacred city of the Mohammedans was the seat of his authority. It was deemed desirable by Abdalmalec to establish in his own dominions a second sacred place to which the faithful might direct their pilgrimages. To this end the temple of Jerusalem was selected, and the enterprise of enlarging and beautifying the edifices on Mount Moriah and of filling them with holy relics was undertaken by the Caliph. The stone upon which the patriarch Jacob laid his head on the night of his heavenly vision was placed in position to receive the kisses of true believers, even as the Black Stone of the Kaaba was saluted in the holy place at Mecca. Thus did the Caliph endeavor to divert the Moslems from visiting the scenes which were associated with the memory of the Prophet in the capital of Abdallah.

Among those chieftains who in the city of Cufa had favored the cause of Hosein was a certain Al Thakifi, surnamed Al Moktar, the Avenger. When the emir Obeidallah suppressed that unfortunate insurrection, Al Moktar was persecuted and imprisoned. He received from Obeidallah a blow which put out one of his eyes. Being released by Yezid, he swore eternal enmity against the tribe of Obeidallah, and his vengeance neither waited nor slept. Finally his time came to be avenged. Before the accession of Abdalmalec, at whose court the family of Obeidallah was in high

favor, Al Moktar had gone to Mecca and espoused the cause of Abdallah, where he fought with great bravery until the death of Yezid occasioned the raising of the siege. Afterwards he went to Cufa and became an agent in the organization of a band of Penitents. With the overthrow of that sect he was again imprisoned, but was released on the death of Merwan. He then went into Arabia, and became recognized as one of the strongest supporters of the House of Ali. At the head of a body of avengers he fell upon and destroyed Shamar, who had commanded in the massacre of Hosein and his friends. He slew Caulah, another of that band, and burned his body in his own dwelling. Others of the enemies of Hosein met a similar fate, until the larger number were destroyed.

Al Moktar established himself in Cufa and extended his authority over all Babylonia. The attitude which he here assumed was such as to bring upon him the hostility of both the Caliphs. They accordingly made preparations to suppress him by force. Al Moktar entered into a correspondence with Mohammed, half-brother of Hosein, then residing at Mecca, but could not induce him to do any thing disloyal to Abdallah. But the suspicions of the Western Caliph were excited, and Mohammed and his friends were thrown into prison. Al Moktar now advanced with a small army of horsemen to release his friends by force. The assailants made their way into Mecca, broke open the prison, and set the son of Ali at liberty. The frightened Caliph, however, was permitted to remain in authority, and Al Moktar returned to Cufa to defend himself against Obeidallah, who was approaching at the head of a Syrian army. The latter was encountered a short distance from the city, and utterly routed by the forces of the Avenger. Obeidallah was killed, and a large part of his followers destroyed in the flight. When the head of the slain emir was carried to Al Moktar he struck the bloody face a terrible blow, as if to repay the stroke which he had himself received from Obeidallah, and by which one of his eyes had been destroyed.

The Avenger was thus left victorious at Cufa. A combination, however, was soon formed against him, and armies were mustered to besiege his capital; but Al Moktar marched forth boldly to meet his enemies in the open field. A battle was fought, in which he was defeated and driven into the citadel. Here, with about seven thousand men, he defended himself till he was slain. Thereupon the garrison surrendered to Musab, the general of Abdallah, and every man was put to the sword. The enemies of the house of Ommiah were avenged on the Avenger.

By the victory thus gained over Al Moktar the province of Babylonia became a dependency of the Western Caliphate. Musab, the governor, was the brother of Abdallah, and Abdalmalec perceived that in order to maintain his authority he must reconquer the country on the Euphrates. He accordingly mustered a large army, and leaving Amru as his regent at Damascus, set out on an expedition into Babylonia. No sooner, however, had the army departed than Amru, cherishing the memory of the wrongs which he had suffered at the hands of Merwan, usurped the vacant seat of the Caliph and undertook to perpetuate his authority. Hearing of this flagrant proceeding, Abdalmalec returned to Damascus, put the usurper to death, and drove his family into exile. The Caliph then again departed on his Babylonian campaign. A battle was fought with the Cufians, near the city of Palmyra, in which the army of Musab was completely routed. The emir and his son were both among the slain. It is narrated that when the head of Musab was carried to the Caliph an aged patriarch living in the castle took up his burden and said: "I am four-score and ten years old, and have outlived many generations. In this very castle I have seen the head of Hosein presented to Obeidallah, the son of Ziyad; then the head of Obeidallah to Al Moktar; then the head of Al Moktar to Musab, and now that of Musab to yourself." Determining that the fifth act should not be added by the presentation of his own head to another within that castle, Abdalmalec ordered the noble edifice to be leveled to the ground. Having done so much at the dictation of superstition, he appointed his brother Besner and the prince Khaled to be governors of Babylonia and Bassora, and then returned to Damascus.

The next difficulty in which the Eastern Caliphate was involved was with a sect of

fanatics called the Separatists, a kind of communistic party, who were opposed to all government, alike civil and religious. For a while these zealots had been restrained by Mohalleb, one of the generals of Musab; but when the latter was slain the Separatists rose in arms, and when the Caliph sent his brother Abdalaziz to suppress the insurrection the fanatics were victorious, inflicting on the regular army a disastrous defeat. This overthrow however, occurred during the absence of Mohalleb at Bassora. That general was now restored to the command, and the Separatists were soon scattered to the winds.

During the continuance of these dissensions and bloody strifes the Emperor of the East had not failed to avail himself of the distractions of Islam. In order to save his dominions from invasion, Abdalmalec was constrained to add fifty thousand ducats to the annual tribute hitherto assessed by the court at Constantinople. By this means, however, the Caliph secured immunity, and having established his authority in all the eastern parts of his dominion, he resolved on the subjugation of Arabia, to the end that all the followers of the Prophet might be united in a single kingdom. An army was accordingly raised, placed under the command of Al Hejagi, and dispatched against Mecca. Abdallah soon found himself besieged in the sacred city. The investment continued for some time, and many assaults were made, in which both assailants and assailed suffered all the havoc of war. Abdallah was reduced to desperate extremities, but still persevered with the courage of a true Moslem. When most of his friends had fallen away or were slain in battle, he led forth the courageous few who remained, and assailed the enemy with the utmost fury until he was wounded and sank bleeding to the earth. "The blood of our wounds falls on our insteps, not on our heels," said the dying Caliph; and the enemy struck off his head with a sword. Thus perished the valorous Abdallah, son of Zobeir, Caliph of the West.

The fall of his rival left Abdalmalec master of the Mohammedan Empire. The only emir to dispute his sovereignty was Abdallah Ibn Hazem, of the province of Khorassan. In order to intimidate this governor, Abdalmalec sent to him, as an earnest of what he might expect in case of hostility, the head of the dead Caliph of Mecca. But the loyal son of Hazem reverently embalmed the gory relic and sent it home to the family of the slain sovereign. He then compelled the ambassador of Abdalmalec *to eat* the letter which he had brought, and threatened to cut off his head if he did not take himself out of sight. This piece of loyal bravado, however, cost the emir dearly. Al Hejagi was called from Africa and sent with a powerful army into Khorassan. Abdallah went bravely forth to fight, but was met by the enemy, defeated in several battles, and slain.

So signal had been the successes achieved by Al Hejagi that the Caliph next sent him to assume the duties of governor in Babylonia. He at once repaired to the city of Cufa, spoke to the people from the door of the mosque, and gave them to understand that their turbulence and treason would now be brought to an end. Nor was his threatening oration unbacked by equal severity of action. Beginning with the old enemies of the Caliph Othman, he proceeded with unsparing hand to weed out the elements of discontent. Among those who were singled out for destruction was the late prime minister of the province, the veteran Musa Ibn Nosseyr, who in order to save his life fled first to Damascus and thence into Egypt. At Bassora he was equally severe. An insurrection broke out under his despotic rule, but the same was quickly suppressed, and eighteen of the leaders lost their heads.

In the year 697 an attempt was made to do away with Abdalmalec by assassination. Two of the Separatists undertook to murder the Caliph, but the plot was discovered and the conspirators obliged to fly for their lives. They repaired to the town of Daras, in Mesopotamia, where they organized a revolt and took the field. The general Adi was sent against them, but was defeated and slain. In the next battle, however, the fanatics were beaten and one of their leaders killed. But the other rallied his men, and the army of the Caliph was again routed. Shebib, the Separatist chieftain, assumed the honors of government until Al Hejagi put him to flight and scattered his followers. The fanatic then

scoured Persia, rallied a new band, and again returned to the Tigris. Here, however, he was drowned in attempting to cross the river.[1]

The next difficulty which the governor Hejagi had to contend with was with one of his officers, named Abdalrahman. In order to dispose of the refractory general, the emir sent him with an inadequate force against the Turks; but the general perceived the machination against himself, revealed the plot to his soldiers, and took the field against Hejagi. The latter went forth to suppress the rebellion, but was signally defeated in two bloody battles. Abdalrahman entered Cufa in triumph, and was proclaimed Caliph. The Babylonians recognized the usurpation and rejoiced to be set free from the tyranny of Hejagi. The latter, however, soon collected a third army, divided the insurgent forces, drove the mock Caliph into a fortress and besieged him, until Abdalrahman, losing all hope of escape, threw himself down from a tower and was killed.

Among the Mohammedans the emir Hejagi acquired an unenviable reputation. He is said to have caused the death of a hundred and twenty thousand people. When near his end, he sent for a soothsayer to know if any distinguished general was about to die. The seer consulted the stars and reported that a great captain named Kotaib, or the Dog, would soon expire. "That," said the dying emir, "is the name by which my mother called me when I was a child. And since you are so wise, I will take you with me that I may have the benefit of your skill in the other world." He then ordered the astrologer's head to be cut off.

Finding himself at length freed from domestic enemies, the Caliph Abdalmalec sought the glory of foreign wars. He accordingly threw before the Emperor of the East the gage of battle, by refusing to pay any longer the enormous tribute which that sovereign received from Islam. This act of hostility was followed by another. The Mohammedan general Alid was sent to make inroads upon the territories of the Empire. Nor was the expedition unattended with success. Several cities were taken by the invaders, and Alid returned to Damascus laden with an immense amount of booty.

During the time when the attention of the Caliph was absorbed with his troubles in Babylonia, the Eastern emperor had taken advantage of the situation to recover his ascendency in Northern Africa. The fleets of the Greeks hovered along the coasts. Armies were landed wherever the weakness of the Moslems seemed to invite attack. Zohair, the Arab governor of Barca, was assailed, defeated, and slain. Such was the deplorable condition of the political affairs of Islam in the countries west of Egypt that a reconquest of Northern Africa was necessary to lift up the fallen Crescent. To this end, in the year 696, Abdalmalec called out an army of forty thousand men, and sent the same, under the command of Hossan Ibn Annoman, on a campaign against the Africans. The general proceeded at once against the city of Carthage, and after a tedious siege, carried the place by storm. The walls were demolished, and a vast amount of booty, including a great number of Moorish maidens to be sold as slaves, was added to the treasures of Islam. A short time afterwards, however, an Imperialist fleet arrived unexpectedly in the harbor, and the Moslems were expelled from the city. But the success of the Greeks was only temporary. The Arabs soon rallied and returned to the attack with redoubled fury. Carthage was again taken and reduced to ashes.

Hossan now continued his expedition along the coast, carrying every thing before him. At length, however, he encountered a formidable rival in the princess Dhabba, who appeared among the Berbers as a prophetess. The nomad tribes of Mauritania and of the neighboring deserts flocked to her standard; nor was this strange woman without the ability to organize and discipline an army. A superstitious belief that their queen was divinely inspired added enthusiasm and audacity to the Moors, who attacked the army of Hossan with such fury that he was eventually driven back to the very borders of Egypt.

Having thus secured a momentary liberation from foreign despotism, the Berber prophetess exhorted her followers to reduce the country

[1] Arabic tradition says that Shebib was literally the most *hard-hearted* of all rebels. For when the body was dragged up and opened, and his heart taken out, that organ was found to be like a stone.

to such a condition that not even the Arabs would longer be able to traverse the region which patriotism had desolated. The advice was eagerly accepted, and the work of destruction began. Treasures were buried in the earth; orchards were cut down; gardens destroyed; houses demolished; walls leveled with the earth; cities burned to ashes, and the whole country between Tripoli and Tangier reduced to a desert.

These terrible measures, however, soon wrought their result. The ruin of their homes led the wild people of the devastated region to turn to the Moslems for protection. The hosts that had gathered around Dhabba deserted her standard and retired to their own districts. The queen attempted to check the march of Hossan, who was now returning with augmented forces; but she was presently defeated and taken prisoner. When brought before the Moslem general, she haughtily refused either to pay tribute or acknowledge Mohammed. Finding his fierce captive utterly intractable, Hossan ordered her to be put to death. Her savage head was embalmed and sent as a trophy to the Caliph.

After his victory over the Africans, Hossan returned to Damascus, where he was received with great honor, and appointed governor of the conquered countries. Barca was included in his dominions; but this addition of territory proved a bane to the recipient. For Abdalaziz, the Caliph's brother, then emir of Egypt, claimed the Barcan province as his own. As Hossan was returning to the countries over which he had been appointed, his commission was taken away and destroyed by Abdalaziz, who did not cease from his persecutions until Hossan was brought to disgrace and death.

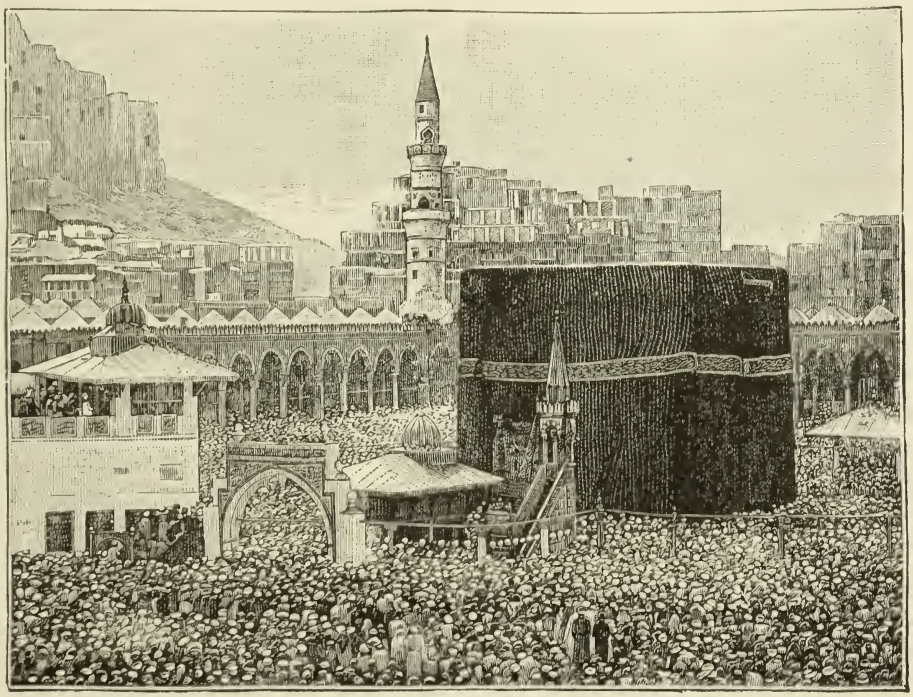
The next officer appointed to the governorship of Northern Africa was that Musa Ibn Nosseyr, previously mentioned as a supporter of the Merwan House in Babylonia. He was already sixty years of age, but was in the full vigor of health and strength. Repairing to the African camp, he took command in the name of the Prophet and his successor. On his arrival he found the country of Tunis and Algiers terrorized by the Berbers, who, from the mountain slopes, would rush down upon the coast, devastate, pillage, burn, and then fly to their inaccessible retreats. But Musa soon proved more than a match for the marauders. He pursued the Berbers to their fastnesses, and hewed them down by thousands. Great was the reputation which he thus achieved. He became upon the poetic tongue of Islam what Pompey the Great was to Rome after his destruction of the Cilician pirates.

Musa, like other faithful Arab conquerors, carried the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other. The Berber tribes might choose between the two. Not a few preferred the latter, and believing Moors began to be added to the mixed host of warriors—Arabs, Syrians, Persians, Copts—that gathered around the standard of Musa. He took advantage of every situation to establish and augment his authority. He patronized the old tradition that the Berbers were of the same original family with the Arabs. Presently the full tide of conversion swept over the plains of Mauritania and Numidia, and the Berbers by thousands took up the cry of Allah and his Prophet. Some of the tribes, however, still resisted and fought. Thus especially did the Zenetes and the Gomeres, until in the year 702 they were beaten down in the extreme West by the victorious army of Musa.

The great African governor now became a patron of fleets and navies. Notwithstanding the success which had attended a similar enterprise during the reign of Moawyah, the work undertaken by Musa was met with doubt and suspicion. But the veteran general was not to be diverted from his purpose. He organized a company of ship-carpenters, and a Moslem fleet was soon launched from the dock-yard of Tunis. The armament went to sea, and for a while secured much booty. At length, however, the squadron was caught in a storm and dashed to pieces on a rock-bound coast. But another armament was soon equipped, and not only the shores of Africa, but the distant islands of the Mediterranean, were coasted by the freebooters of Islam. Thus were laid the beginnings of those audacious Moorish piracies which have ever since vexed the civilization of the world.

In the year 705 the Caliph Abdalmalec died, and was succeeded by his eldest son Waled. A glance at the city of Damascus,

which was now the capital and chief glory of Islam, would show that the Arabs had by this epoch imbibed largely of the arts and learning of surrounding nations. Contact with the Greeks had contributed not a little to the development of the philosophic spirit. The political organization was mostly copied from the Persians, and the same people had contributed most of all to form the manners which henceforth prevailed in the Arabian court. But not all of the grandeur which Islam now displayed—not even the major part thereof—should be attributed to foreign causes. It



THE KAABA IN MECCA.

was the epoch of the Arabic evolution. The native genius of the race burst forth in efflorescence. The religious fervor kindled by the Prophet furnished the motive power of an abundant though bigoted activity, which at the first displayed itself in heroic conquest and afterward in direful cruelty.

It has been said that the new Caliph Waled, whose youth had been passed in Damascus, was in his manners and tastes more Greek than Arabian. Certain it is that he was indolent in habit and voluptuous in disposition. The harem had already become one of the chief delights of Islam. Soothed by its blandishments, the unwarlike Caliph forgot the cares of state and abandoned the service of Mars. In better moments he gave himself to the arts and muses, and failed not to glorify the Prophet's name by an orthodox observance of religious rites. By him the mosque of Omar, in Jerusalem, was enlarged and beautified, and that of Medina was by his orders so extended as to include the tomb of Mohammed.

Of similar sort was the enterprise of enlarging the Kaäba at Mecca. The adjacent buildings were cleared away to make room for the more than magnificent structure which the architects of Damascus planned to occupy the site of the ancient edifice. Not without much regret and many conservative murmurings did the old people of Mecca behold these preparations, by which the most venerable structure known to the true believers was to be replaced with a new and more stately building. At Damascus, likewise, the Caliph commemorated his reign by the erection of one of the grandest mosques in the Mohammedan Empire. As a site for this magnificent edifice he selected the church of Saint John the Baptist, wherein, since the days of Constantine,

the Christians of Syria had delighted to deposit the bones and relics of the saints. At first the polite Caliph offered to purchase the church for forty thousand dinars of gold; but this being refused by the owners, Waled took forcible possession of the building and would pay therefor not a farthing.

Meanwhile the foreign affairs of the Caliphate were left to generals and secretaries. Moslema, one of Waled's fourteen brothers, made a successful campaign into Asia Minor, where he besieged and captured the city of Tyana. He afterwards carried his victorious arms into Pontus, Armenia, and Galatia, in all of which provinces he reared the Crescent and gathered the spoils of war.

On the side of the East the dominions of the empire were enlarged by Moslema's son, Khatiba. Having been appointed to the governorship of Khorassan, he carried the Crescent across the Oxus into Turkestan, where he met and defeated a great army of Turks and Tartars. The city of Bokhara was captured and the khan of Chariam driven into Samarcand. The city was then besieged by the courageous Khatiba, and after a long investment was obliged to surrender. A mosque was at once erected, and the conqueror himself ascending the pulpit explained the doctrines of Islam.

Still further to the east, another general, named Mohammed Ibn Casem, led an army of the faithful into India. The kingdom of Sinde was successfully invaded. A great battle was fought; the Moslems were victorious, and the head of the Indian monarch was sent as a trophy to Damascus. The expedition then continued to the east, until the victorious standard of the Prophet was erected on the banks of the Ganges.

In the far west the emir Musa was still busy with his army and fleet. In the year 704 a Mohammedan squadron committed ravages in Sardinia and Sicily. On land the emir carried his banner westward to where the spurs of the Atlas descend into the Atlantic. The countries of Fez, Duquella, Morocco, and Sus were added by successive conquests. The resistless sway of Islam was extended to where the setting sun casts his last look at the headlands of Cape Non.

As a governor Musa established order. His administration was so wise and simple that the Berber tribes soon became the most loyal of his subjects. The whole coast of Northern Africa, with the exception of Tingitania—the same being the northern projection of land next the strait of Gibraltar—acknowledged his authority and followed his banners. It remained for him, before beginning the conquest of Europe, to subdue the Tingitanians by capturing the two cities of Ceuta and Tangiers. These fortresses were now held by the Gothic Spaniards, whose kingdom on the opposite side of the strait was thus defended from invasion.

Musa collected an army and advanced against Ceuta, which was held by a strong garrison, under command of Count Julian. The Moslems laid siege to the fortress and several unsuccessful assaults were made, in which thousands of the assailants were slain. It had already become evident that with the imperfect besieging enginery of the Arabs, they would be unable to take the citadel.

At this juncture, however, the Count Julian committed treason. A correspondence was opened with Musa, and it was agreed that Ceuta should be surrendered to the Moslems. The treachery also embraced the delivery of the whole kingdom of Andalusia, then ruled by the Gothic king Roderic, to the followers of the Prophet! It transpired that Count Julian had been the victim of private wrongs at the hands of his sovereign, and he now sought this method of squaring the account. Great was the surprise of the veteran Musa in having thus opened to his imagination the easy conquest of Spain.

Meanwhile the great soldier Taric Ibn Saäd, to whom had been assigned the capture of Tangiers, had succeeded in his work. Those of the garrison who belonged to the Berber race were converted to Mohammedanism, and the Christian inhabitants of the city were permitted to retire into Spain. Musa suspecting the sincerity of Count Julian—for the latter had represented that the people of Andalusia were already ripe for a revolt to overthrow the government of Roderic — now sent for Taric, and ordered him to cross the strait in company with Julian and ascertain the true condition of affairs in Spain. By summoning his friends, the Count seemed to verify the representations which he had made to Musa.

Nor did Taric, in returning to Africa, fail to scour the Spanish coast and carry home a ship load of spoils and female captives. On receiving his ambassador, Musa at once wrote to the Caliph, depicting in glowing colors the glorious prospect which opened before his vision in Spain. He implored Waled to permit him to undertake the conquest of the Visigothic kingdom, and the Commander of the Faithful was not slow to give his consent.

Accordingly in the spring of the year 711, an army under command of Taric was sent across the strait and landed on the opposite headland, to which the Moslems now gave the name of *Gebel al Taric*, corrupted by modern times into Gibraltar. King Roderic, on hearing of the invasion, sent Edeco, one of his lieutenants, to bind the audacious strangers and throw them into the sea. Edeco was easily defeated by Taric, and his forces scattered. Roderic then summoned the nobles of the kingdom to rally for defense. An army of ninety thousand men was quickly mustered to repel the invaders; but great disaffection prevailed, chiefly on account of Julian, who induced great numbers of the Christians to join the Arabs and share in the spoliation of Spain.

In midsummer the two armies met on the opposite banks of the river Guadalete. For several days there was continuous skirmishing, which at last brought on a general battle. Victory inclined to the banners of the Christians. The field was strewn with sixteen thousand of the Moslem dead. "My brethren," said Taric, "the enemy is before you, the sea is behind; whither would ye fly? Follow your general! I am resolved either to lose my life or to trample upon the prostrate king of the Romans."

Before the battle was decided, another interview with Count Julian led to a defection in the Gothic ranks, and Taric rallied his men with the energy of despair. The Goths broke and fled. Roderic, leaping down from an absurd ivory car, in which by two white mules he had been drawn about the field of battle, attempted to escape across the Guadalete and was drowned. His crown and kingly robes and charger were found on the banks of the river.

A short time after this decisive victory, the city of Cordova was assaulted and taken by a detachment of the Saracen army. Taric meanwhile continued his victorious march through the Sierra Morena until he came to the city of Toledo, which at once capitulated. The conduct of the conqueror was such as to merit praise even on the page of modern history. The Christians were permitted to continue their worship—the priests to officiate as usual. Nor were the Goths driven from civil authority, but were allowed to remain in the subordinate offices of the kingdom. Especially were the Jews, long and bitterly persecuted by the Christians, rejoiced at the fact of deliverance.

As yet, however, the collapse of the Gothic power was not complete. Some half-spirited, but futile, efforts were made to beat back the invaders. But Taric, marching forth from Toledo, carried his banners to the North until the regions of Castile and Leon were added to the Moslem conquests. A few invincible fugitives retreated into the hill country of the Asturias, and defied the Arabs to dislodge them.

Meanwhile Musa, excited and perhaps jealous on account of the successes of Taric, hastened to cross the strait with a second army under his own command. Something still remained for the sword of the master to accomplish. The fortified cities of Seville and Merida still remained in the hands of the Goths. Both cities were besieged and taken, though the latter fell only after an obstinate defense. Musa then continued his march to Toledo, where it soon became apparent that his feelings toward Taric were any other than kind and generous. The brave general was compelled to give an exact account of the treasures which had fallen into his hands, and was then scourged and imprisoned. Having established himself in the capital, the conqueror soon planned a campaign against the Goths of the North. He crossed the Pyrenees, conquered the province of Septimania, fixed his frontier at Narbonne, and returned in triumph to Toledo.

The remnants of the Gothic power in the peninsula were represented after the death of Roderic by the prince Theodemir. With him a treaty was now made by which he was allowed to retain the territories of Murcia and Carthagena, and to exercise therein the rights of a provincial governor. The conditions of peace embraced the following clauses: That

Theodemir should not be disturbed or injured in his principality; that he should deliver seven of his cities to the Arabs; that he should not assist the enemies of the Caliph; that he and each of his nobles should pay an annual tribute into the Moslem treasury.

Thus did the years 711–714 witness the overthrow of the Gothic monarchy of Spain and the substitution therefor of the institutions of the Arabs. Musa, however, did not long survive his triumph. The same ungenerous treatment which he had visited on Taric was now reserved for himself. He fell under the suspicion of the court of Damascus and was arrested by the messenger of the Caliph. His two sons, Adallah and Abdalaziz, were left in the governments of Africa and Spain. The journey of the veteran Musa into Syria, though he was virtually a prisoner was little less than a triumphal procession. Before he could reach Damascus the Caliph Waled died, but his successor was equally unfriendly to Musa. The old general was tried on a charge of vanity and neglect of duty and was fined two hundred thousand pieces of gold. He was then whipped and obliged to stand in disgrace before the palace, until, condemned to exile, he was permitted to depart on a pilgrimage to Mecca. The resolute spirit of the aged soldier was broken, and he died on reaching the shrine of the Prophet.

In a short time after the conquest Spain became the most prosperous and civilized country of the West. Manufactures and commerce sprang up. Cordova became a royal seat. The city contained six hundred mosques, nine hundred baths, and two hundred thousand dwellings. Within the limits of the kingdom were eighty cities of the first class and three hundred of the second and third, and the banks of the Guadalquivir were adorned with twelve thousand hamlets and villages.

Having thus securely established themselves in the Spanish peninsula, the Arabs soon began to look for other fields of conquest beyond the Pyrenees. They aspired to the dominion of all Europe. Having conquered the barbarian kingdoms north of the Alps, they would carry the Crescent down the banks of the Danube until the Greek Empire, pressed on the east, and the west by the victorious evangelists of the Koran, should collapse, and the banners of Islam be set up around the entire Mediterranean. Such was the outline of a purpose which wanted but little of fulfillment.

To the north of the Pyrenees lay the kingdom of the Franks, fallen into decline under the last of the Merovingians. The condition of the country was such as to provoke an invasion by the men of the South. Pepin the Elder, mayor of the palace, had died, and after a brief contention among his illegitimate children, his rights had descended to Charles, who was destined soon to win the sobriquet of the Hammer. Fortunate it was for the destinies of Christian Europe that the *Rois Faineants* had been dispossessed of the throne of the Franks and the power transmitted to one who was able to defend it against aggression.

It has already been noted that in the first years of their Spanish ascendency the Arabians carried their arms to the north of the Pyrenees and overran Septimania or Languedoc. By degrees the limits of their Frankish territory were extended until the south of France, from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Rhone was included in the Moslem dominion.

This realm, however, was by no means as broad as the ambition of Abdalrahman, the Arab governor of Spain. To him it appeared that the time had now come to honor the name of the Prophet by adding Western Europe to his heritage. He accordingly determined to undertake a great expedition against the Frankish kingdom. In the year 721 he raised a formidable army and set out on his march to the north. Having crossed the Pyrenees he proceeded to the Rhone and laid siege to the city of Arles. The Christian army which came forth for its defense was terribly defeated on the banks of the river, and thousands of the slain and drowned were carried by the swift and arrowy Rhone to the sea. Meanwhile the valiant Eudes, duke of Aquitaine, mustered an army at the passage of the Garonne, where a second great battle was fought with the same result as the former. The Christians were again defeated with the loss of many thousands.

The progress of the Mohammedans northward had now continued unchecked a distance of more than a thousand miles from Gibraltar.

Another similar span would have carried the Crescent to the borders of Poland and the Scottish Highlands; and in that event the conjecture of the sedate Gibbon that the Koran would to-day be used as the principal textbook in the University of Oxford, would appear to be justified.

Destiny, however, had contrived another end. The battle-axe of Charles, the bastard son of the elder Pepin, still showed its terrible edge between Abdalrahman and the goal. The Frankish warrior was already hardened in the conflicts of twenty-four years of service. In the great emergency which was now upon the kingdom, it was the policy of Charles to let the Arabian torrent diffuse itself before attempting to stem the tide. Nor is the suspicion wanting that the delay of the great mayor in going forth to meet the enemy was partly attributable to his willingness that his rival, the duke of Aquitaine, should suffer the humiliation of an overthrow at the hands of the Mohammedans.

Meanwhile, Abdalrahman advanced without further resistance to the center of France, and pitched his camp in the plain between Tours and Poitiers. Here, however, he was confronted by the army of the Franks. Europe was arrayed against Asia and Africa; the Cross against the Crescent; Christ against Mohammed. For six days of desultory fighting, in which each party, apparently conscious of the crisis in the affairs of men, seemed wary of the other, and forbore to close in the grapple of death, victory inclined the rather to the banner of Islam; but, on the seventh day of the fight, the terrible Germans arose with their battle-axes upon the lighter soldiery of the South and hewed them down by thousands. Night closed upon victorious Europe. Charles had won his surname of the Hammer; for he had beaten the followers of the Prophet into the earth. Abdalrahman was slain. In the shadows of evening the shattered hosts of Spain and Africa gathered in their camps, but the Moorish warriors rose against each other in the confusion and darkness, and ere the morning light the broken remnants sought safety by flight. On the morrow the Mohammedan camp was taken by the Christians, and the spoils of one of the greatest battles of history were gathered by the Franks.



BATTLE OF TOURS.—Drawn by A. de Neuville.

The Arabs hastily retired across the Pyrenees. Count Eudes recovered his province of Aquitaine, and all Europe breathed freely after escape from a peril which was never to be renewed. Thus, in the year 732, precisely a century after the death of Mohammed, did the invincible valor of the Teutonic race oppose an impassable barrier to the hitherto victorious progress of Islam.[1] The triumphant

[1] It would have been supposed that Charles Martel would have received the highest honors which the Christian world could bestow. But a different result followed his victory. In raising and equipping his army, he had been obliged to

Franks, however, attempted not to press their advantage by an invasion of Spain. There the Mohammedans remained for many centuries in peaceable possession of the country. Cordova became the seat of art and learning. The Arab philosophers became the sages of the West. With the subsidence of prejudice the unlettered peoples beyond the Pyrenees and the Alps began to repair to the Mohammedan schools to receive an education which could not be obtained in the barbarous institutions of the North. The seeds of learning were scattered by the scholars of Islam, and the Crescent taught the Cross the rudiments of art.

appropriate the treasures of several churches, and for this sacrilegious act the clergy could never forgive him. A Gaulic synod subsequently declared that Charles had gone to perdition. One of the saints had a vision, in which the hero of Poitiers was seen roasted in purgatorial fires, and a tradition gained currency that when his tomb was opened, the spectators were affrighted with the smell of sulphur and the apparition of a dragon.




MAP X
CARLOVINGIAN EMPIRE.
From Thalheimer's Mediæval and Modern History, by permission.
Boundaries showing the three divisions of the Empire made by the treaty of Verdun. A. D. 843.
Boundaries of the Great Fiefs.
Scale
0 25 50 75 100 200 Mls.
ABBREVIATIONS:
KDM....Kingdom
DM.....Dukedom
M.....Margraviate
CO.....Countship
E. of. Greenwich
SEA
English Channel
Bay of Biscay
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Adriatic Sea
Corsica
Elba
Lincoln
London
Canterbury
I. Wight
Guernsey
Jersey
Calais
Boulogne
Amiens
Rouen
Bayeux
Evreux
Compiegne
Senlis
Laon
Rheims
Chalons
Paris
Melun
Meaux
Orleans
Jargeau
Auxerre
Langres
Nantes
Angers
Tours
Bourges
Nevers
Chalon
Autun
Besançon
Poitiers
Saintes
Angoulême
Clermont
Périgueux
Bordeaux
Aurillac
Toulouse
Tarbes
Narbonne
Marseilles
Toulon
Arles
Avignon
Valence
Lyons
Nice
Barcelona
Gerona
Douro R.
Ebro R.
Pyrenees Mts.
Cantabrian Mts.
Sierra Morena
Mt Cenis
Mt Iporedia
Secusia
Turin
Milan
Como
Cremona
Mantua
Piacenza
Parma
Reggio
Bologna
Tortona
Genoa
Venice
Padua
Vicenza
Verona
Trent
Aquileia
Triest
Istria
Pola
Zara
Ravenna
Ancona
Fermo
Spoleto
Florence
Pisa
Siena
Arno R.
Viterbo
ROME
Terracina
Benevento
Pr.
Hamburg
Transalbingia
Holstein
Bremen
Verden
Saxonia
Osnaburg
Brunswick
Hildesheim
Halberstadt
Saxonbur.
Paderborn
Munster
Nimeguen
Utrecht
Cologne
Aixla Chapelle
Landen
Namur
Coblentz
Frankfort
Mentz
Bingen
Worms
Spever
Treves
Verdun
Metz
Toul
Hagueneau
Strasburg
Wurtzburg
Ratisbon
Augsburg
Ingolstadt
Ulm
Fryburg
Basle
Constance
Zurich
Lucerne
Lausanne
Geneva
Sion
Besançon
Ripuarians
Thuringia
Bohemia
Moravia
Olmutz
Leitmeritz
Prague
Iglava R.
Eger R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Netze R.
Warthe R.
Saxons
Wiltzes
Obotrites
Sorabians
Bavaria
Danube R.
Inn R.
Isar R.
Lech R.
Main R.
Neckar R.
Rhine R.
Moselle R.
Meuse R.
Scheldt R.
Somme R.
Seine R.
Loire R.
Marne R.
Yonne R.
Cher R.
Vienne R.
Dordogne R.
Garonne R.
Lot R.
Tarn R.
Rhone R.
Saone R.
Isere R.
Durance R.
Po R.
Arno R.
Tiber R.
Drave R.
Save R.
Mur R.
Murg R.
March R.
Naab R.
Aller R.
Ems R.
Weser R.
Elbe R.
Saale R.
Mulde R.
Havel R.
Spree R.
Warthe R.
Netze R.
Vistula R.
Oder R.
Neckar R.
Main R.
Danube R.
Inn R.
Isar R.
Lech R.
Drave R.
Save R.
Mur R.
Murg R.
March R.
Naab R.
Iglava R.
Eger R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Netze R.
Warthe R.
Spree R.
Havel R.
Mulde R.
Elbe R.
Scheldt R.
Somme R.
Seine R.
Loire R.
Marne R.
Yonne R.
Cher R.
Vienne R.
Dordogne R.
Garonne R.
Lot R.
Tarn R.
Rhone R.
Saone R.
Isere R.
Durance R.
Po R.
Arno R.
Tiber



Book Thirteenth.

The Age of Charlemagne.

Chapter LXXXI.—The First Carlovingians.

THE Aryan nations again claim our attention. After a long sojourn among the tribes of Ishmael—after following the flaming Crescent to its zenith over the field of Poitiers—let us turn to the peoples north of the Alps and the Pyrenees, and, taking our stand in the great Kingdom of the Franks, trace out the course of human affairs in the west of Europe.

The career of Pepin of Heristal, duke of the Austrasian Franks, has already been sketched in the First Book of the present volume.[1] It will be remembered that after the battle of Laon, A. D. 680, in which conflict his brother Martin was killed, Pepin became sole ruler of the Austrasians. In the years that followed he was engaged in several desultory wars with the German tribes on the right bank of the Rhine, and in 687 invaded the province of Neustria. The fate of this country was decided in the battle of Testry, in which Pepin was victorious. Roman France, as the northern part of Gaul was called, yielded to the Austrasians; and Duke Pepin was acknowledged as the sovereign of the Frankish empire.

It was now the heyday of the *Rois Faineants*. The kingly Donothings still occupied the alleged throne of the Franks. They had, however, been gradually reduced to the condition of puppets in the hands of the powerful mayors of the palace. For reasons of policy Pepin chose not to disturb the royal show, and the *Faineants* were kept in nominal authority. Thus the puny race was lengthened out during the so-called reigns of Thierry III., Dagobert II., Clovis III., Childebert III., and Dagobert III. Once a year, namely, at the great national assembly in May, Pepin would bring forth the royal manikin, show him to the people, and then return him to the villa, where he was kept under guard.

For a quarter of a century (687–712) Pepin was engaged in almost constant wars with the Frisians and Alemanni dwelling on the Rhine. The hardest battles of the period were fought with these barbarians, who, after many defeats, were subdued by the Frankish king. It was, however, in the great family which he was about to establish, rather than

[1] See Volume II., p. 440.

in his wars, that Pepin was destined to distinguish himself as one of the chief personages of his times. But the founding of his family was attended with many troubles. Besides his wife Plectruda, he had a mistress, Alpaida, upon whom he lavished the greater part of his attentions. A bitter feud was thus created in the mayor's palace between the lawful and the unlawful wife of the ruler. In these rivalries Alpaida gained the ascendency, and Plectruda, with her children, was thrust into the background. Finally Grimoald, her son, and the heir expectant of Pepin's rights, was murdered, and the party of Alpaida was involved in the crime. The mayor was obliged to appease public indignation and private wrath by putting in prison the son of his mistress, afterwards known as Martel. That bold and impetuous spirit, however, could not long be kept in confinement. Regaining his liberty he soon overthrew the regency which Pepin had left to his widow during the minority of Grimoald's son, and seized the mayoralty for himself.



MURDER OF GRIMOALD.
Drawn by W. Claudius.

The career of Charles Martel down to the battle of Poitiers has already been narrated in the two preceding Books.[1] After that great event his prudence forbade any reckless

[1] See Volume II., Book Eleventh, p. 439, and Book Twelfth, p. 511.

pursuit of the Arabs, who, though overthrown north of the Pyrenees, were still in full force in Spain. He afterwards renewed the war with the Arabian emirs, who still retained a foothold on the Gallic side of the mountains, and the intruders were gradually forced out of the country. The annexation of Aquitaine to the Frankish kingdom followed; nor was there any longer a likelihood that the Saracens could regain what they had lost within the limits of Gaul. Charles continued in authority until his death. Like his father, however, he chose to be recognized as Mayor of the Palace rather than as King of the Franks. The assumption of the latter dignity remained for his son and successor, Pepin the Short.

At his death Charles Martel bequeathed his authority to his two heirs, CARLOMAN, who received Austrasia, and PEPIN, who inherited Neustria. The measures by which the latter circumvented his brother and became sole ruler of the Frankish kingdom have been already narrated. Pepin soon took upon himself the title of king. Childeric III., the last of the Rois Faineants, was sent to the monastery of Sithien, at Saint Omer, and Pope Zachary consented to the substitution of the CARLOVINGIAN for the MEROVINGIAN dynasty. Pepin was anointed and crowned by Saint Boniface at Soissons, in the year 752.

It was at this time that the province of Septimania, which had been overrun by the Mohammedans, finally submitted to the Franks. In 753 Pepin enforced the payment of tribute upon the Saxons, and also obliged them to receive with civility the Christian ministers who had been sent among them. At this juncture the relations existing between France and Italy were greatly strengthened and extended by the favor of the Pope to the Carlovingian dynasty. Stephen III. crossed the Alps and visited Pepin, with a view to securing his aid against the Lombards. Astolphus, the king of that people, had become the oppressor of the papacy, and the Pope naturally looked for help to the Most Christian King of the Franks. Pepin received the great ecclesiastic with as much dignity as an uncourtly barbarian could be expected to maintain. He readily assented to lend the powerful aid of the Franks in upholding the dignity and honor of the Church.

A large army was at once collected and led across the mountains to Pavia, where Astolphus was besieged and brought to his senses. The Lombard king sought earnestly for a peace, but it soon appeared that his earnestness was in direct ratio to his fears. For no sooner had Pepin consented to cease from hostility and withdrawn his army than Astolphus repudiated the compact and threatened, should he again be disturbed, to capture and pillage Rome. But Pepin was a monarch whom threats merely excited to belligerency. He hastily recrossed the mountains and completely broke the power of Astolphus. The exarchate of Ravenna was overrun, and that province, together with the Pentapolis, was given to Pope Stephen. Thus, in the year 755, was laid the foundation of the temporal sovereignty of the Popes of Rome.

Five years later, the chieftain Waifar raised a revolt in Aquitania. The province was declared independent, and the Aquitanians defended themselves with great heroism. For eight years Pepin and his Franks were seriously occupied with the rebellion. Nor did the king succeed in bringing the refractory state to submission until he had procured the removal of Waifar by assassination. Pepin, however, did not long survive this crime. He died in 768, and left the kingdom to his two sons, Carloman and Karl, or Charles.

The elder son of the late king of the Franks exercised but a small influence on the destinies of the state. His character was without the element of greatness, and his early death, which occurred only three years after that of his father, cut short any small plans of ambition which he may have entertained. In 771 his younger brother, soon to be known as CHARLEMAGNE, or Charles the Great, became sole sovereign of the kingdom of the Franks, which now embraced the whole of Gaul and the western parts of Germany. But even this widely extended territory was by no means commensurate with the ambition of the young prince who occupied the throne. He soon developed a genius which, alike in war and peace, shone with such extraordinary luster that its brilliancy flashed into the courts of the East.

Charlemagne appears to have been one of those men of whom Guizot has said that to them

"the spectacle of society in a state of anarchy or immobility is revolting and almost unbearable. It occasions them an intellectual shudder as a thing that should not be. They feel an unconquerable desire to change it, to restore order; to introduce something general, regular, and permanent into the world which is placed before them. Tremendous power! often tyrannical, committing a thousand iniquities, a thousand errors; for human weakness accompanies it. Glorious and salutary power, nevertheless, for it gives to humanity by the hand of man a new and powerful impulse."

In the very beginning of his career the new sovereign of the Franks was confronted with the necessity of a war with the Lombards. The ascendency attained by his father south of the Alps was about to be lost by the ambitions and intrigues of the Lombard king, Desiderius. The jealousy between the two monarchs was mutual and based upon causes which mediæval kings were very prone to observe. Before his accession Prince Karl had married Desiderata, daughter of Desiderius; but after becoming king—being offended at the conduct of his father-in-law—he sent the queen home to her parents, for whom he took no pains to conceal his contempt. For his part, Desiderius received and protected the nephews of Charlemagne—an act which seemed to discover a purpose of supporting the claims of the family of Carloman. Desiderius also added to his offenses by unfriendly conduct towards the Pope, whose partiality for the Carlovingians was notorious. It was not likely that Charlemagne would permit any indignity offered to the Holy Father to pass without adequate punishment. The personal anger of the king was combined with his religious prejudices, and both were excited by the loud call of Pope Adrian I., who besought the Frankish monarch to come to the rescue of the newly established but now imperiled patrimony of Saint Peter.

At the first, Charlemagne, preserving the appearance of peace, sent envoys to Desiderius requesting that that monarch should regard the rights of the Pope; but the Lombard refused, and Charlemagne immediately prepared for the invasion of Italy. One army, led by the king in person, crossed the Alps by way of Mont Cenis, and the other descended upon Lombardy by way of Saint Bernard. On the other side of the mountains Desiderius made a brave resistance, but was soon obliged to take refuge within the walls of Pavia. Charlemagne at once advanced to the siege. The defense was conducted with obstinate courage. The assaults of the Franks were several times repelled, and the king of the Franks was obliged to sprinkle cool patience on his ardor. Finding that the investment was to continue during the winter, he converted his camp into a royal head-quarters, and built a chapel for the appropriate celebration of the Christmas festivities. He then sent for the Queen Hildegarde, a Suabian princess whom he had married instead of the discarded Desiderata, and with her made the hours of the siege less tedious. Winter wore away and the spring came, and still the Lombards held the city.

Meanwhile Pope Adrian was all anxiety to secure the presence of Charlemagne in Rome. The dream of the nuptials of the Holy See with the great Frankish bridegroom had risen in full splendor upon the vision of the pontiff, and he would fain make it real by a consummation of the ceremony. Charlemagne was induced by the Romish ambassadors to leave the siege of Pavia to his lieutenants and to hasten forward to the city of St. Peter.

On approaching the battlements of the ancient capital, the Frankish sovereign was met by the magistrates and people, who poured forth through the gates to welcome their great champion from beyond the mountains. The children of the schools came in processions, carrying palms and singing hymns of praise. He was cordially welcomed by the Pope, who, with a strange mixture of affection and dignity, heaped honors and distinctions on his guest. He gave to Charlemagne a book containing the canons of the Church from its foundation to the current date, and inscribed upon the title-page a copy of verses containing the following anagram: Pope Adrian to his most excellent son, Charlemagne, the king.

For some time the king of the Franks continued in conference with the Holy Father at Rome. The Pope took all pains during the sojourn of his distinguished guest to impress



CHARLEMAGNE CROSSING THE ALPS.
After the painting by Paul de Laroche.

his mind as much as possible with the pageant of the Imperial city and the spectacle of the Imperial faith. He urged him to continue his conquests in the name of religion, but dissuaded him from incorporating Lombardy with his own dominions. As soon as the conference was at an end, the king returned to his camp before Pavia, and the siege of the city was presently brought to a successful conclusion.

The capital of Lombardy was surrendered to the Franks. The whole country fell before the conquering arms of the Carlovingian. The various dukes and counts, who had hitherto, after the German fashion, maintained themselves in a state of semi-independence, hastened to make their submission, and resistance was at an end. The only exception was in the case of Aregisius, duke of Beneventum, who for a season held himself in hostility. Desiderius himself was taken prisoner and led into France, where first at Liège and afterwards at Corbie he found leisure to repent of his rashness in lifting his arm against Charles the Great.

It appears that his visit to Rome and the magnificent and holy things there witnessed made a profound impression upon the mind of Charlemagne. It should not be forgotten that this great personage was still in manners and purposes but half emerged from barbarism, and his dispositions were peculiarly susceptible to such influences as the adroit Bishop of Rome was able to bring to bear. The Holy See at this time made the discovery that the presentation of moral truth and obligation to the barbarian imagination was less effective than splendid shows and gilded ceremonies. She therefore adopted pageant instead of moral expostulation, and converted the barbarians with spectacles.

After tarrying at Rome until the spring of 774, Charlemagne returned to France. Having satisfactorily regulated the affairs of Italy, he now conceived the plan of extending the empire of religion in the opposite directions of Saxony and Spain. In furtherance of this purpose he convened at Paderborn, in the year 777, a general assembly of his people, and there the scheme of conquest was matured. The German chiefs had generally obeyed his summons and were present at the assembly, but Wittikind, king of the Saxons, was conspicuous by absence.[1]

Charlemagne had already had occasion to note the obstinacy of the Saxon people. Of all the barbarians these were most sullen in their refusal to accept the doctrine and practice of Christianity. As early as 772 the king of the Franks had felt constrained to make war on the tribes dwelling north of the Elbe. He invaded Saxony, wasted the country with fire and sword, captured the fortress of Ehresburg, and overthrew the great idol whom the pagans called *Irminsul*.[2] These offenses, however, rather excited than allayed the belligerent spirit of the Saxons, who henceforth lost no opportunity to repay the Christian Franks for the injuries which they had inflicted. The border of the Elbe became a scene of constant depredation, inroad, and destruction of villages and towns. The fierce Saxons stayed not their hands wherever they could find the hamlets of their recreant countrymen, who had betrayed the faith of their pagan fathers.

Such were the antecedents of the contest which Charlemagne was now about to undertake with the barbarians of the North. The subjugation of Saxony became indispensable to the peace and safety of the kingdom, and it was manifest that no conquest could be effectual which did not include the substitution of Christianity for paganism. The Saxons fought not only for national independence, but for the whole myth and tradition of the German race. The Franks, on the other hand, entered the conflict under the full in-

[1] It was at this assembly of the Saxon chiefs that Charlemagne gave his refractory subjects their option of baptism or the sword. The impenitent barbarians, yielding in action but obdurate in mind, were compelled to kneel down at the bank of a stream while the priests who accompanied Charlemagne's army poured water upon their heads and pronounced the baptismal ritual. The king soon had cause to learn the inefficiency of such a conversion from paganism.

[2] It appears that the effigy called Irminsul (German, *Herrmann-Säule*, or Herrmann's Pillar) was so named in honor of the great hero Arminius, who, by the destruction of the legions of Varus (see Vol. II., p. 272), had made Imperial Rome tremble for her safety. On this great feat of the German arms Saxon patriotism had reared a pagan superstition.

fluence of a new-born religious zeal not unlike that which had fired the Saracens in the conquests of Islam. In courage and indomitable will the combatants were not unlike, being of the same blood and proclivities. The struggle was destined to continue with varying vicissi-



CHARLEMAGNE INFLICTING BAPTISM UPON THE SAXONS.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

tudes for more than a quarter of a century, and to end with the triumph of the Franks.

In beginning the war Charlemagne adopted the policy of military occupation. Wherever he made a conquest he built a fortress and left a garrison. By the side of every castle rose a church, and at the right hand of every Frankish chieftain stood a priest. But victory under such circumstances and over such a foe could not insure permanency. As soon as the march was resumed into another district the pagans rose as if from the earth behind the conqueror. They stormed his castles, burned the churches, slaughtered the garrisons, and sacrificed the priests and missionaries to the gods of the North.

In the midst of these bloody scenes the priest was more audacious than the soldier. The missionaries in the very face of death made their way into the Saxon woods and preached the gospel to the barbarians. It was, however, a gospel of the sword rather than of peace. A certain priest, named Saint Liebwin, made his way to the banks of the Weser, and warned the general assembly of the Saxons to make peace with the powerful prince, who, as the captain of heaven's army, was about to fall upon them. "The idols ye worship," said the priest, "live not, neither do they perceive: they are the work of men's hands; they can do naught either for themselves or for others. Wherefore the one God, good and just, having compassion on your errors, hath sent me unto you. If ye put not away your iniquity I foretell unto you a trouble that ye do not expect, and that the King of Heaven hath ordained aforetime; there shall come a prince, strong and wise and indefatigable, not from afar, but from nigh at hand, to fall upon you like a torrent, in order to soften your hard hearts and bow down your proud heads. At one rush he shall invade the country; he shall lay at waste with fire and sword and carry away your wives and children into captivity."

So great a rage followed this denunciatory prophecy that many rushed into the forest and began to cut sticks on which to impale the priest alive; but a certain prince, Buto, appealed to the assembly of chiefs to respect the sacred rights of embassy. So Liebwin escaped with his life.

The Saxon nation at this time consisted of three or four different populations. These were the Eastphalians, the Westphalians, the Angrians, and the North-Albingians—though the latter were sometimes classified as a distinct people. Each of these principal nations was subdivided into many tribes, each with its own chieftain and local institutions. Charlemagne was thoroughly familiar with this German constitution of society, and well understood how to avail himself of the feuds and jealousies of the Saxon people. He adopted the plan of making war upon each tribe separately, and of preventing, as far as possible, any cohesion of the nation as a whole. If a given chieftain could be induced to submit and to accept Christianity, the king would treat with him separately and make peace on terms favorable to the tribe; and if others offered a stubborn resistance, they were punished with more than the usual severity. In a general way, however, the Saxons made common cause against the invader, and in doing so they found a leader worthy of the German name.

Wittikind, son of Wernekind, king of the Saxons north of the Elbe, appeared as the national hero. Besides his own hereditary rights and abilities as a chieftain, his relation with the surrounding states was such as to make him a formidable foe. He had married the sister of Siegfried, king of the Danes, and was in close alliance with Ratbod, king of the Frisians. He it was who now, in the year 777, refused to attend the assembly of chiefs called by Charlemagne at Paderborn; and by his refusal gave notice of his open hostility to the king of the Franks.

The previous disturbances of his country had made it necessary for Wittikind to find refuge with his brother-in-law, the king of the Danes. From this vantage-ground, however, he directed the council of the Saxon chiefs and encouraged them to a renewal of their rebellion. Following his advice, the people again rushed to arms, and the Franks recoiled from the fury of their assaults. In 778 the barbarian army advanced to the Rhine, and destroyed nearly all the towns and villages on the right bank of that river from Cologne to the mouth of the Moselle. No age, sex, or condition was spared by the

bloody swords of the enraged pagans. The Frankish forces met the insurgent barbarians on the Rhenish frontier, and for three years the struggle with them continued almost without cessation.

Gradually, however, the superior discipline and equipment of the Franks triumphed over the obstinacy of their enemy. The revolted tribes fell back from the Rhine and were driven to submission. Many of the chiefs sought peace, and accepted reconciliation with the king on condition of professing the Christian faith and receiving baptism. Wittikind returned into Denmark; but the politic Siegfried was now anxious for peace, and the Saxon king was obliged for a season



CUTTING DOWN A SACRED OAK OF THE SAXONS.
Drawn by H. Leutemann.

to make his head-quarters among the Northmen. Within a year, however, he again crossed into Saxony and incited his countrymen to another revolt. In 782 Charlemagne's armies were twice defeated on the banks of the Weser, and the king himself was obliged to take the field. Unable to meet his great enemy, Wittikind again fled to the Northmen, and the brunt of the king's hostility fell upon those who had participated in the revolt. Four thousand five hundred of the Saxons were brought together at Werden, on the river Aller, and were all beheaded by the orders of Charlemagne. Having thus soaked the river banks in blood, the king retired into France and made his winter quarters at Thionville.[1]

The terrible vengeance taken by the king of the Franks was by no means sufficient to terrify the now desperate Saxons. On the contrary, their anger and determination rose to a greater height than ever. During the winter of 782–83 the tribes again revolted, and held out against the most persistent efforts of Charlemagne till 785. In the latter year the king's victories were more decisive, and it seemed that the pagans must finally submit. The king took up his residence at the castle of Ehresburg, and from that stronghold sent out one expedition after another to overawe the rebellious tribes.

Charlemagne had now learned what the barbaric despair of the pagan Saxons was able to do in war. Nor did he lack that kingly prudence upon which the desire for personal vengeance was made to wait in patience. He adopted diplomacy where force had failed. He sent across the Elbe a distinguished embassy to the place where Wittikind had his camp, and invited that austere warrior and his friend, the chieftain Abbio, to come to him under protection and to confer on the interests of Saxony. At first the great barbarian feared to trust himself to the good faith of his foeman, but was finally induced to accept the invitation. He accordingly presented himself to the king at the palace of Attigny, and so considerate was the reception extended by Charlemagne, and so favorable the proffered conditions of peace, that Wittikind was induced to accept them for himself and his countrymen. He accordingly professed the Christian faith and underwent the rite of baptism. He received at the hands of Charlemagne a full amnesty and the title of Duke of Saxony, though the sovereignty was thenceforth to be lodged with the king of the Franks.

Wittikind ever faithfully observed the conditions to which he had pledged his honor. So exemplary was his life, so tractable his disposition under the teaching of the priests, that some of the old chroniclers added his name to the calendar of the saints. In the year 807 he was killed in a battle with Gerold, duke of Suabia, and the tomb of the old Saxon hero is still to be seen at Ratisbonne. Nor is the tradition wanting that the great House of Capet, destined, after two centuries, to supplant the Carlovingian dynasty on the throne of France, had Wittikind for its ancestor; for the legend runs that he was the father of Robert the Strong, great-grandfather of Hugh Capet.

But the pacification of Saxony was not completed by the action of Wittikind. The old spirit of paganism was not to be extinguished by a single act. Through a series of years insurrections broke out here and there, and were suppressed with not a little difficulty and bloodshed. In some instances the king found it necessary to remove whole tribes to other territories, and to fill their places with Christian, or at least Frankish, colonists. Nevertheless it was not doubtful after the surrender of Wittikind, that the conquest of Saxony was virtually accomplished, and Charlemagne might with propriety consider the country beyond the Elbe as an integral part of his growing empire.

The task of Charlemagne on the German side of Gaul was by no means completed. Many of the populations which had already been subdued continued in a state of turbulence, and the utmost vigilance of the king

[1] History has her pictures and contrasts. It was on this same river Weser that Charlemagne, on a previous occasion, had gathered an entire tribe of the barbarians for wholesale baptism. The program was unique, the ceremony expeditious. The Church militant stood on the shore; a priest lifted up the cross, and the ministrants poured water on the penitent Saxons as they waded across the river. On this occasion Charlemagne tried a baptism of blood.

was necessary to keep them in tolerable subordination to authority. The Frisians had to be reduced by force of arms, and only then consented to a sullen peace. On the distant horizon of the north and east lay the still more savage peoples—the Avars, the Huns, the Slavonians, the Bulgarians, and the Danes—all bearing down from their several quarters of the compass upon the frontiers of the Frankish empire. Nothing less than the most strenuous activity and warlike genius of Charlemagne was requisite to hurl back the barbarian races to their own dominions, and to keep a solid front on the side of barbarism.

The monarch proved equal to every emergency. In his contests with the more distant nations he had the advantage of a Germanic barrier between himself and the foe. Before a barbarian army could inflict a wound on any vital part of the dominion it must traverse Saxony or some other frontier state which the king had established as a breakwater between himself and the wild ocean beyond. He thus was enabled to carry on successful warfare with the savage races who came upon him from the north and east, and to give them a permanent check. Viewed with respect to the general destinies of his age, the king of the Franks may properly be called the Stayer of Barbarism.

In the year 781 Charlemagne found a conspicuous occasion on which again to recognize and honor the majesty of the Pope. Four years previously Queen Hildegarde had brought to her lord a royal son, who received the name of Pepin, and who was now presented to Pope Adrian for baptism. The rite was administered to the Carlovingian scion, and he was anointed by the Holy Father as King of Italy—this title being conferred out of deference to the Pope's advice that Lombardy should not be incorporated with the kingdom of the Franks.



BAPTISM OF BARBARIANS IN THE WESER.

Meanwhile, on the south-west, events had taken place of but little less importance than those which were happening on the Elbe, the Rhine, and the Weser. The forty years following the battle of Poitiers had witnessed

but few disturbances along the Spanish frontier of Gaul. The Christians and Mohammedans coming to a better understanding, and having a tolerable regard for each other's rights, had maintained a fair degree of peace. With the accession of Charlemagne, however, the ambitions of the Franks and the jealousies of the Saracens had in a measure revived. The one, perhaps, cherished the dream of an early expulsion of the Mohammedans from Europe, and the other looked with ill-concealed enmity at the rapid progress and overwhelming influence of the barbarian Emperor on the other side of the Pyrenees. Nor might it well be forgotten or forgiven that he was the grandson of that other Charles, at whose hands the great Abdalrahman had met his fate.

Mixed with these general motives was a specific act of treason. Among those who in 777 had convened at the assembly of Paderborn was a certain Ibn al Arabi, the Saracen governor of Saragossa. Having a difficulty with the Caliph, he sought the aid of the Christian Franks, and would fain make common cause with them against the Mohammedans. For this reason came he to the assembly called by Charlemagne.

The king of the Franks was quick to seize the opportunity thus afforded of extending his dominions on the side of Spain. Though still embarrassed with his German wars, he gladly accepted the invitation of Ibn al Arabi to become his champion and avenger.

In the spring of 787 the Frankish sovereign, having divided his army into two parts, as in the Italian campaign, set out on the Spanish expedition. One division of his troops, under command of Duke Bernard, was directed to seek the eastern passes of the Pyrenees, and traverse the peninsula by way of Gerona and Barcelona to Saragossa. The other division, led by Charlemagne in person, was to pass to the west, enter Spain by the valley of Roncesvalles, and march by way of Pampeluna to the place of meeting before the walls of Saragossa. In carrying out his own part of the campaign, Charlemagne traversed the provinces of Aquitaine and Vasconia, at this time ruled by Duke Lupus II., son of that Duke Waifar who will be recalled as a formidable antagonist of Pepin the Short. The reigning prince was descended from the Merovingians, and could neither by blood kinship or political inclination be expected to favor the cause of the Carlovingian conqueror. The latter, however, soothed Duke Lupus, and by generous treatment secured from him an oath of fealty. But the event soon showed that the pledge was given with the mental reservation to break it as soon as circumstances might seem to warrant the act of perfidy.

After this brief but necessary detention Charlemagne hurried forward to prosecute his work in Spain. Passing through the valley of Roncesvalles, he arrived before Pampeluna, and received the surrender of that city; for the Arab governor deemed himself ill able to make a successful defense against the Franks. The king then pressed forward to Saragossa, where he expected to receive a similar surrender at the hands of his friend Ibn al Arabi. But as has so many times occurred in the history of the world, the recreant governor had promised more than he could fulfill. It was one thing to agree and another to deliver. For, in the mean time, the old Arab spirit was thoroughly aroused from its dream of peace. The local quarrels of these ambitious towns of the Western Caliphate were suddenly hushed in the presence of the common danger. The Saracens rushed forward to the succor of Saragossa, and Charlemagne found that he must take by a serious siege—should he be able to take at all—the prize which the officious Arabi was to have delivered with such facility.

In a short time there was a greater scarcity of provisions outside than inside the walls. The besiegers were constantly beset by new bodies of troops arriving from various parts of the peninsula. Diseases broke out in the camp of the Franks, and they found themselves more endangered by the invisible plagues of the air than by the swords of the Saracens. At the same time intelligence came that the Saxons on the opposite side of the kingdom had again risen in arms, and were threatening to undo the entire work of conquest on the north-east. It was, therefore, fortunate for Charlemagne that at this juncture the Arabs sought to open negotiations. The king gladly accepted their offer of a large ransom

to be paid in gold and guaranteed by hostages in lieu of the besieged city. Such an offer gave him a good excuse for the abandonment of an enterprise which would soon have had to be given up without even a show of success.

As soon, therefore, as a settlement had been effected with the authorities of Saragossa, Charlemagne began a retreat out of Spain. On arriving at Pampeluna, he ordered the walls of the city to be leveled with the ground, in order that any future revolt of the people might be attended with greater hazard. The king's army then reëntered the passes of Roncesvalles, and had partly escaped through the defiles when the Basques, having taken possession of the heights, began to hurl down upon the soldiers in the pass huge masses of stone. The discomfiture of those who constituted the rear-guard of the army was complete. Very few of the Franks escaped from their dangerous situation. The Basques fell upon the baggage-train and captured a great amount of booty. Several of Charlemagne's captains lost their lives in the engagement. Eginhard, master of the king's household; Anselm, count of the palace; and the chivalric Roland, prefect of Brittany, and greatest knight of his times, were among the slain. Nor was Charlemagne in any condition to turn upon the mountain guerrillas who had thus afflicted his army. He was obliged to continue his march and leave the Basques to the full enjoyment of their victory.[1]

Though Charlemagne was not able to punish the mountaineers of Vasconia for their perfidy in the affair of Roncesvalles, he failed not to take vengeance upon the people of Aquitaine. Duke Lupus, who was thought to have had a hand in the insurrection, was



THE BATTLE IN THE VALLEY OF RONCESVALLES.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

[1] The defeat of the Franks in the passes of Roncesvalles gave rise to a cycle of heroic legends, some of which are still popular in the south of France. *The Song of Roland*, reciting the exploits and tragic death of that hero, became a favorite with his countrymen, and was chanted by the soldiers as an inspiration to victory. The men of William the Conqueror sang the hymn as they marched to the battle of Hastings.

seized and hanged. The lives of his two sons were spared only on condition of vassalage. But while Aquitaine was thus reduced to a dependency, the politic king took pains that the province should still be left sufficiently free to constitute a bulwark against the Arabs. The national vanity of the Aquitanians was flattered with the rule of a native duke, but the real purpose of such a concession was the making of a defense against the Andalusian Arabs.

During his absence on the Spanish campaign Queen Hildegarde added another son to the royal household. The child received the name of Louis, and was afterwards known as the Debonair. In 781 the child, then three years of age, was taken with his brother Pepin to Rome, and was anointed by the Pope as King of Aquitaine. Within less than a year he was taken by the courtiers to his own province. In order that the farce might be as imposing as possible the child was clad in armor, mounted on a horse, and conducted by his councilors to the royal seat of government. The administration of the affairs of Aquitania was henceforth conducted in Louis's name, though the real authority proceeded from the court of Charlemagne.

One of the leading principles in the policy of the king of France was the establishment of a secure frontier around his empire. In this work he was measurably successful. From the eastern borders of the Frankish dominions the Huns and Slavonians were driven back against the borders of the Empire of the East. The Saracens were confined to Spain and the islands of Corsica and Sardinia. On all sides a boundary was so well established as to secure comparative exemption from foreign invasion. In the mean time the king had found it desirable to transfer the seat of government to his new capital of Aix-la-Chapelle, which was favorably situated on the side of the kingdom next the German peoples. At this place the court of the monarch became the most important, if not the most splendid, in all Christendom. Hither came embassies bearing presents from the great potentates of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Neither the emperors of the East nor the Caliphs of Baghdad failed to respect in this way their fellow sovereign of the West. So great had been his activity and so signal his success, both in war and in peace, that by the close of the eighth century Charlemagne had taken and held a rank among the greatest monarchs of the age.[1]

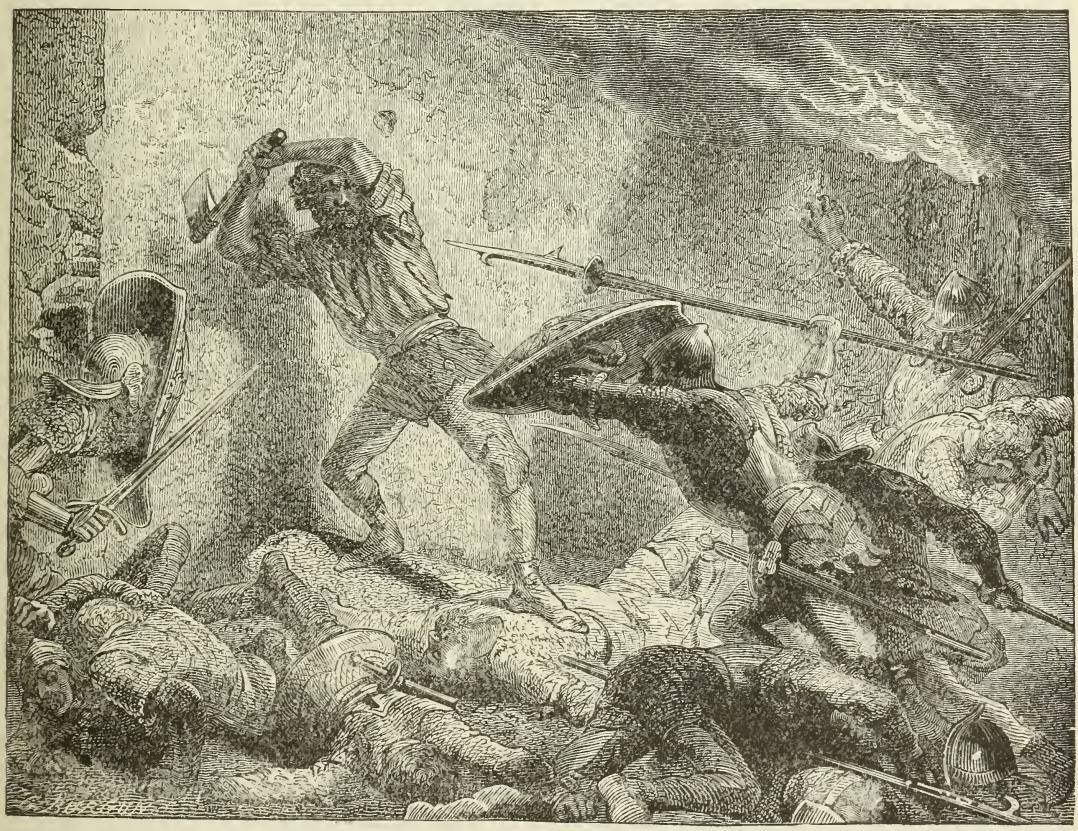
In the year 799 intelligence was brought to Aix-la-chapelle of serious and most disgraceful riots at Rome. It was said that a band of conspirators had been organized, that Pope Leo III. had been attacked, that his eyes and his tongue had been cut out, and himself shut up in the castle of Saint Erasmus. The intention of the Holy Father, thus

[1] As illustrative of the prodigious military activity of Charlemagne the following table of his *fifty-three* campaigns is here appended.

SYNOPSIS OF THE FIFTY-THREE CAMPAIGNS OF CHARLEMAGNE.

No....	Date.	AGAINST WHAT ENEMY.	HOW CONDUCTED.
1	769	The Aquitanians.....	Charlemagne at Dordogne.
2	772	The Saxons.....	Advances beyond the Weser.
3	773	The Lombards.....	Crosses Alps to Pavia and Verona.
4	774	The Same.....	Takes Pavia; goes to Rome.
5	774	The Saxons.....	Beyond the Weser.
6	775	The Same.....	" "
7	776	The Lombards.....	Reaches Treviso.
8	776	The Saxons.....	At the sources of the Lippe.
9	778	The Arabs of Spain.	In person at Saragossa.
10	778	The Saxons.....	Beyond the Weser.
11	779	The Same.....	In the country of Osnabruck.
12	780	The Same.....	On the Elbe.
13	783	The Same.....	At confluence of Weser and Aller.
14	783	The Same.....	On the Elbe.
15	784	The Same.....	On the Sale and the Elbe.
16	785	The Same.....	On the Elbe.
17	785	The Thuringians.....	Conducted by his generals.
18	786	The Bretons.....	" " "
19	787	The Lombards.....	In person at Capua.
20	787	The Bavarians.....	Goes to Augsburg.
21	788	The Huns or Avars..	Goes to Ratisbon.
22	789	The Slavonians.....	On Lower Elbe and the Oder.
23	791	The Huns or Avars..	Confluence of Danube and Raab.
24	794	The Saxons.....	Beyond the Elbe and the Weser.
25	795	The Same.....	" " "
26	796	The Same.....	" " "
27	796	The Huns or Avars..	Conducted by King Louis.
28	796	The Arabs.....	Conducted by King Pepin.
29	797	The Saxons.....	On the Lower Elbe and Weser.
30	797	The Arabs of Spain.	Conducted by his son Louis.
31	798	The Saxons.....	Beyond the Elbe.
32	801	The Lombards.....	Conducted by his son Pepin.
33	801	The Arabs of Spain.	Conducted by his son Louis.
34	802	The Saxons.....	Conducted by his sons.
35	804	The Same.....	Between the Elbe and the Oder.
36	805	The Slavonians.....	Conducted by his son Charles.
37	806	The Same.....	" " "
38	806	Saracens of Corsica.	Conducted by his son Pepin.
39	806	The Arabs of Spain.	Conducted by his son Louis.
40	807	Saracens of Corsica.	Conducted by his generals.
41	807	The Arabs of Spain.	" " "
42	808	Danes and Normans.	" " "
43	809	Dalmatian Greeks...	Conducted by his son Pepin.
44	809	The Arabs of Spain.	Conducted by his generals.
45	810	Dalmatian Greeks...	Conducted by his son Pepin.
46	810	Saracens of Corsica.	Conducted by his generals.
47	810	The Danes.....	In person on the Weser.
48	811	The Same.....	" " "
49	811	The Avars.....	By his generals.
50	811	The Bretons.....	In person.
51	812	The Slavonians.....	On the Elbe and the Oder.
52	812	Saracens of Corsica.	By his generals.
53	813	The Same.....	By his generals.

brutally treated, was announced to appeal to the king of the Franks as the defender of the insulted Church. In a short time his Holiness came in person to Paderborn, and poured out his grievances in the ready ear of Charlemagne. Nor was it doubtful that the latter would uphold the cause of the Pope with all the resources at his command. Having tarried for a brief season in the Frankish dominions, Leo returned to Rome.



DEATH OF ROLAND.

The first months of the year 800 were spent by the king in the usual affairs of government; but in midsummer he announced to the national assembly his purpose of making another visit to Italy. The journey was undertaken in the autumn, and late in November the king arrived before the walls of Rome. The Pope came forth and received him with every mark of obsequious favor. He was led into the city and given a reception on the steps of the basilica of Saint Peter, from which place, followed by the shouts of the multitude, he was taken into the sanctuary of the apostle. Some time was spent in examining the charges made by and against the Pope. Two monks, sent by the patriarch of Jerusalem, brought to the great Carlovingian the blessing of their master and the keys of the Holy Sepulcher. Finally, on Christmas day, when the king came into the basilica to attend the celebration of mass, even as he was bowing down to offer prayer, Pope Leo placed upon his head the golden crown of the Empire, while the people shouted, "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by God, the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans!" Charles assumed to be astonished at the crowning and the proclamation. He even declared that, had he known of what was intended, he would not have entered the church, even to attend the Christmas festivities. But his faculties were not sufficiently confused or his humility sufficiently shocked to prevent him from paying adoration to the Pope, according to the old-time method at the coronation of the em-

perors. Nor did he fail thereafter to relinquish his title of Patrician of Rome, and to assume that of Emperor and Augustus. It can not reasonably be doubted that the whole tableau and ceremony had been arranged by Leo and Charlemagne on the occasion of the recent visit of the former to France.

It was now clear that a principal element in the mutual admiration of the Holy See and the king of the Franks was the project to restore the Empire of the West. The scheme met with a favorable reception, especially in Italy, where the Popes and Bishops became conspicuously obsequious to their great ally and supporter north of the Alps. It remained for the Emperors of the East to exhibit their jealousy over an event which they were impotent to hinder. But Charlemagne could well afford to veil under a kingly suavity and prudent ambiguity his contempt for the imbecile rulers of Constantinople. His communications with the eastern emperors were accordingly couched in polite and conciliatory language, such as might well turn aside their enmity or even provoke their admiration. By such means he avoided any open rupture with the effete political power which from the palace of Constantinople still claimed to be the Empire of the Cæsars.

In the internal affairs of his government, no less than in his foreign wars, Charlemagne exhibited a genius of the highest order. By the close of the eighth century, his conquests had made him master of the whole country from the Elbe to the Ebro, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean. Germany, Belgium, France, Switzerland, and the northern parts of Italy and Spain were included in his dominions. At his accession to power the diverse hostile tribes inhabiting these wide domains were but half emerged from barbarism. The Emperor of the Franks imposed upon himself the herculean task of civilizing these perturbed nations, and of giving to them the advantages of a regular government.

It was impossible in the nature of things that even the masterful spirit of Charlemagne should succeed at once in giving order and rest to the barbaric society of Western Europe. The genius of confusion still struggled with the spirit of cosmos, and the evolution of regular forms was slow and painful. The administration was one of adaptation and expedients. Whatever the Emperor found to be practically available in carrying out his mandates, that he retained as a part of his administrative system. Whatever failed was rejected. The king struggled like a Titan with the elements of disorder around him. Wherever the superhuman energies of his will were manifested, there peace and quiet reigned for a season. But no sooner would the imperial presence be turned to some other quarter of the kingdom than the old violence would reässert itself, and the reign of chaos would begin anew.

The efforts of the Emperor to form his subjects into a single nation and government were beset with special difficulties. The people of his empire spoke many languages. Their institutions were dissimilar; their progress and civilization variable. In some of the states the authority was in the hands of assemblies of freemen; in others, military chieftains held the chief authority. No fewer than four class distinctions were recognized in society. First, there were the *Freemen;* that is, those who, acknowledging no superior or patron, held their lands and life as if by their own inherent right. The second class was composed of those who were known as *Luedes*, *Fideles*, *Antrustions*, etc.; that is, those who were connected with a superior, to whom they owed fealty as to a chief or lord, and from whom they accepted and held their lands. Third, *Freedmen;* that is, those who had, for some signal act of service or as an act of favor, been raised from serfdom to a condition of dependence upon some leader or chief to whom they attached themselves in war, and near whom they resided in peace. Fourth, *Slaves;* that is, those who, being the original occupants of the soil, had been reduced to bondage on the conquest of the country, or those who, taken captive in war, were converted by the captors into serfs.

But these classes were by no means fixed. Many of the people sank from a higher to a lower level; some rose from a lower to a higher. Weak Freemen would attach themselves to some distinguished leader and become his vassals. Ambitious Antrustions—even Slaves—would not only achieve their emancipation, but would themselves conquer

estates and become independent. It was with this vast, inorganic, and shifting mass that Charlemagne had to deal, and it was out of this heterogeneous material that he labored to create a great and stable state.

The Frankish Emperor was by no means a theorist. However anxious he may have been to see a regular system of authority established over the peoples whom he ruled, he was preëminently willing to be taught by circumstances. However eager he was to govern by reason and law, he none the less retained the sanction of force as the means of preserving order. In an epoch of transition, while the winds of barbarism blew from all quarters of the compass and met in his capital, he opposed to their fury the barrier of his will, saying, "Thus far, but no farther." He was thus enabled, by personal energy, sternness of decision, and inveterate activity, to build up in a boisterous age the fabric of a colossal monarchy, well worthy to rival the Empire of the Cæsars. In all his methods and work there were, of course, the inherent vices of absolute power; but the system established by Charlemagne was the best that the times would bear or the people were able to receive.

If we look more closely into the nature of the Imperial administration, we shall find first of all the central government established at Aix-la-Chapelle. Here the Emperor reigned; here held his court; here summoned his ministers to council. Beside those dignitaries who were immediately associated with him in the government, by whom he dispensed his authority, and upon whose judgment he relied somewhat in conducting the affairs of state, the general assemblies, composed of the chief men from all parts of the kingdom, constituted a notable feature of the political system. According to the judgment of modern historians, indeed, the national councils of Charlemagne were the distinguishing characteristic of his reign. No fewer than thirty-five of these great assemblies were convened by royal authority. Sometimes one city and sometimes another was named as the place of the council. Worms, Valenciennes, Geneva, Paderborn, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Thionville were in turn selected as the seat of the assemblies. Many of the dukes and counts answered the edict of the king with great reluctance; but the Emperor's overwhelming influence was generally sufficient to secure a large attendance. The meetings, when convened, were in the nature of congresses, in which measures were proposed and debated after the manner of more recent times. It was the wish of Charlemagne to make his chiefs and nobles participants in the government, and to concede to them such freedom of expression as might at least enable him to apprehend the wishes of the people.

In regard, however, to the measures discussed by the assemblies, the right of proposing the same was reserved by the king. It does not appear that at any time the initiative of legislative action might be taken by the assembly itself. Every thing waited on the pleasure of the sovereign, who wrote out and laid before his congress the subject matter to be debated. The assembly which convened in the early spring was called the March-parade; and the principal convention of the year, which was appointed for the first of May, was known as the May-parade. In the interval between one meeting and the next Charlemagne was wont to note down such matters as he deemed it prudent to lay before the assembly, and it not infrequently happened in times of emergency that special sessions were convened to consider the needs of the state. Modern times are greatly indebted to Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, who flourished near the close of the ninth century, for a full and satisfactory sketch of the great Frankish assemblies and of the business therein transacted. Both the subject-matter and the style of this venerable chronicler may justify the quotation of a few paragraphs from his work. He says:

"It was the custom at this time to hold two assemblies every year. In both, that they might not seem to have been convoked without motive, there were submitted to the examination and deliberation of the grandees . . . and by virtue of orders from the king, the fragments of law called *capitula*, which the king himself had drawn up under the inspiration of God or the necessity for which had been made manifest to him in the intervals between the meetings."

The next paragraph from Hincmar shows conclusively that not only the initiative but also the definitive or final act in legislation

rested with the Emperor. The chronicler continues:

"After having received these communications, they [the counselors] deliberated on them two or three days or more, according to the importance of the business. Palace messengers, going and coming, took their questions and carried back the answers. No stranger came near the place of their meeting until the result of their deliberations had been able to be submitted to the scrutiny of the great prince, who then, with the wisdom he had received from God, adopted a resolution, which all obeyed."

The talkative archbishop thus further describes the workings of the Imperial government:

"Things went on thus for one or two capitularies, or a greater number, until, with God's help, all the necessities of the occasion were regulated.

"Whilst these matters were thus proceeding out of the king's presence, the prince himself, in the midst of the multitude, came to the general assembly, was occupied in receiving the presents, saluting the men of most note, conversing with those he saw seldom, showing towards the elders a tender interest, disporting himself with the youngsters, and doing the same thing, or something like it, with the ecclesiastics as well as the seculars. However, if those who were deliberating about the matter submitted to their examination showed a desire for it, the king repaired to them and remained with them as long as they wished; and then they reported to him with perfect familiarity what they thought about all matters, and what were the friendly discussions that had arisen amongst them. I must not forget to say that, if the weather were fine, every thing took place in the open air; otherwise, in several distinct buildings, where these who had to deliberate on the king's proposals were separated from the multitude of persons come to the assembly, and then the men of greater note were admitted. The places appointed for the meeting of the lords were divided into two parts, in such sort that the bishops, the abbots, and the clerics of high rank might meet without mixture with the laity. In the same way the counts and other chiefs of the state underwent separation, in the morning, until, whether the king was present or absent, all were gathered together; then the lords above specified, the clerics on their side and the laics on theirs, repaired to the hall which had been assigned to them, and where seats had been with due honor prepared for them. When the lords laical and ecclesiastical were thus separated from the multitude, it remained in their power to sit separately or together, according to the nature of the business they had to deal with, ecclesiastical, secular, or mixed. In the same way, if they wished to send for any one, either to demand refreshment, or to put any question, and to dismiss him after getting what they wanted, it was at their option. Thus took place the examination of affairs proposed to them by the king for deliberation.

"The second business of the king was to ask of each what there was to report to him or enlighten him touching the part of the kingdom each had come from. Not only was this permitted to all, but they were strictly enjoined to make inquiries, during the interval between the assemblies, about what happened within or without the kingdom; and they were bound to seek knowledge from foreigners as well as natives, enemies as well as friends, sometimes by employing emissaries, and without troubling themselves much about the manner in which they acquired their information. The king wished to know whether in any part, in any corner, of the kingdom, the people were restless, and what was the cause of their restlessness; or whether there had happened any disturbances to which it was necessary to draw the attention of the council-general, and other similar matters. He sought also to know whether any of the subjugated nations were inclined to revolt; whether any of those that had revolted seemed disposed towards submission; and whether those that were still independent were threatening the kingdom with any attack. On all these subjects, whenever there was any manifestation of disorder or danger, he demanded chiefly what were the motives or occasion of them."

In this description it is easy to discover the real preponderance of Charlemagne himself in all the affairs of the Frankish kingdom. The assemblies were convened by his edict. He

initiates the law and completes it. He is advised, but decides the matter according to his own preference. He consults with his dukes and counts, not to derive authority from them—for that he already has—but to obtain information of the real condition of the empire, to the end that he may adjust the clumsy machinery of state to the work to be accomplished. Nor is it proper to suppose that any true public liberty was couched in the national assemblies. They were not a vehicle for the maintenance of popular rights, but for the transmission of royal authority. They were the means which the greatest sovereign of the age adopted for the purpose of reforming society by the introduction of regularity and law in the place of caprice and violence. The government of Charlemagne was absolute, but salutary.

Turning from the general to the local administration of affairs, and passing from the capital into the provinces, we are able to discover the scheme of the Frankish Emperor in practical application. To secure obedience and unity, he recognized in the provincial governments two classes of agents, the one local, the other general; the one native and to the manner born, the other appointed by the king as his resident representatives. In the first class may be enumerated the dukes, counts, vicars, sheriffs, and magistrates—the natural lords and leaders of the political society of the provinces. These were employed by the Emperor as his agents in dispensing authority. Nor did he omit any reasonable means to secure their fidelity and coöperation in maintaining the order and unity of the kingdom. In the second class were included those beneficiaries and vassals of the Emperor who held their lands and properties directly *from him*, and were therefore more immediately dependent upon him than were the native provincial dukes and counts. Politically, the royal vassals were the agents of the government. Their interest, to say nothing of loyalty, inclined them to the support of the throne, and they thus constituted a powerful influence to counteract or suppress local rebellions.[1]

A third class of officers, over and above the former two, were the royal messengers, called the *Missi Regii*, whom the Emperor appointed to travel into every part of his dominions, to find out and punish wrong-doing, to superintend the administration of justice, and especially to inform the sovereign of the actual condition of affairs throughout the empire. The office of these important agents was not only informatory, but administrative. They stood wherever they went for the king in person. They exercised authority in his name, and in general their acts required no confirmation from the royal court.

There was thus extemporized, so to speak, out of the crude materials of Frankish political society, and by the genius of an extraordinary man, a huge monarchy, rude but powerful—a government of adaptation and expedients, rather than a government of constitutional form. The motive of Charlemagne was single. He desired to introduce order into human society, to restore in some measure the symmetry of that social constitution which he saw dimly through the shadows of the past. He thus became a reformer of the heroic type, and laid about him with an energy and persistency that would have been creditable in any, even the greatest, characters of history.

The personal character of the Frankish sovereign may well be illustrated from the memoranda which he left behind him of *Capitularies*, or statutes either actually adopted by the national assemblies or intended to be discussed by those august bodies. In these notes and suggestions of laws we find a strange intermixture of ethics, religion, and politics. Sometimes the royal note-book contains a principle like this: "Covetousness doth consist in desiring that which others possess, and in giving away naught of that which one's self possesseth; according to the Apostle it is the root of all evil." Again the king says briefly: "Hospitality must be practiced." Soon afterwards, however, he adds: "If mendicants be met with, and they labor not with

[1] The relations of the native dukes and the royal beneficiaries in the administrative system of Charlemagne were not dissimilar to those of State and Federal officers in the government of the United States. The local counts and sheriffs represented the State system under our American constitution, while the royal vassals stood in the relation of Federal appointees.

their hands, let none take thought about giving unto them." Much of the Emperor's thought seems to have been given to economic questions, and it is instructive to see this great mind considering various projects for putting a fixed price on provisions. He was jealous of the justice of his administration and the reputation of his court. The royal head-quarters were not to be made an asylum for criminals: "We do will and decree that none of those who serve in our palace shall take leave to receive therein any man who seeketh refuge there and cometh to hide there by reason of theft, homicide, adultery, or any other crime. That if any free man do break through our interdicts, and hide such malefactor in our palace, he shall be bound to carry him on his shoulders to the public quarter, and be there tied to the same stake as the malefactor."

It was in the latter rather than in the earlier part of his reign that Charlemagne became conspicuous as a legislator. Of the sixty-five statutes attributed to him, only thirteen are referable to that part of his reign before his coronation at Rome. The remaining fifty-two are all included between the years 801 and 814. We are thus afforded another example of a military leader who, having conquered a peace with the sword, was anxious to preserve by law what had been so hardly achieved.

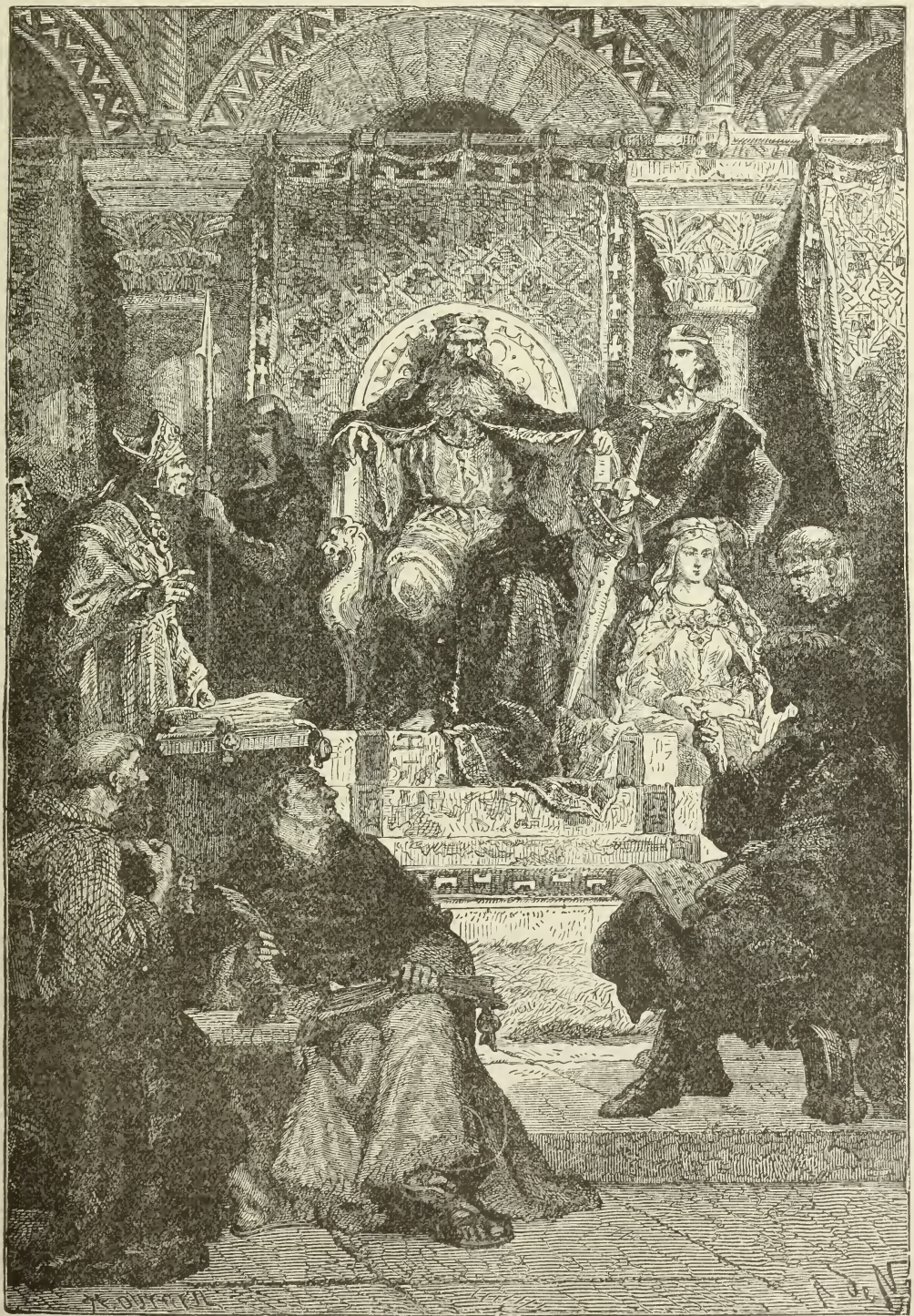
Any sketch of the life and times of Charlemagne would be incomplete if notice were omitted therefrom of his attitude towards learning. Instead of that jealousy which so many of his predecessors and contemporaries manifested towards scholars and philosophers—instead of that contempt which the small rulers of the human race have ever shown for the big-brained, radical thinkers of the passing age—the great Carlovingian took special pains to seek the acquaintance and cultivate the esteem of the learned. Upon scholars and teachers he looked with the greatest favor. He invited them to his court. He made them his counselors. He sought their advice in the gravest emergencies. He bestowed favors upon them, and made no concealment of his wish to be indebted to them for a knowledge of letters and the arts.

In the midst of such surroundings, he found time and opportunity to lay in his own rough and powerful intellect the foundations of exact knowledge. He obtained the rudiments of science. He studied grammar, rhetoric, logic, geometry, astronomy, and even, to a certain extent, the recondite problems of theology. He even, in some measure, assumed the duty of teaching these branches to his children and members of his household, and it is amusing to find in his correspondence many interesting references to such small questions of scholarship. Thus, in a letter to the learned Alcuin, being troubled, forsooth, because he could no longer discover the planet Mars, he writes: "What thinkest thou of this *Mars*, which, last year, being concealed in the sign of Cancer, was intercepted from the sight of men by the light of the sun? Is it the regular course of his revolution? Is it the influence of the sun? Is it a miracle? Could he have been two years about performing the course of a single one?"

Nearly all of the distinguished men of the eighth and ninth centuries were grouped about the court of Charlemagne. These were employed by the Emperor, either as his political advisers or as the instructors of his household. Some were sent to Pepin in Italy to superintend that prince's education, and some to Aquitaine to teach young Louis the rudiments of learning. Those who remained at Aix-la-Chapelle were organized into a body known as the School of the Palace. Over this Charlemagne presided in person. Here questions of scholarship, theories of learning, and speculations of metaphysics were discussed with all the vigorous zeal for which the men and the times were noted. At the head of this group of scholars and philosophers stood the two most distinguished literary men of the age. These were Alcuin, the principal director of the School of the Palace, and Eginhard, who was distinguished as a historian and biographer of his sovereign. Among the other most eminent scholars may be mentioned the bishops Angilbert, Leidrade, Adalhard, Agobard, and Theodulph, who were at the head of the Sees of St. Requier, Lyons, and Orleans. Of all these, Alcuin stood highest in the confidence of the Emperor. To his sovereign he was wont to say: "If your zeal were imitated, perchance one might see arise

in France a new Athens far more glorious than the ancient—the Athens of Christ." Eginhard was made master of the public works, and was also intrusted with the education of Prince Louis.

The School of the Palace had its affecta-



CHARLEMAGNE PRESIDING IN THE SCHOOL OF THE PALACE.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

tions. Antiquity was worshiped and imitated. The names of the ancient philosophers were adopted by the scholars of the court. Alcuin was called Flaccus; Angilbert, Homer; Theodulph, Pindar. Charlemagne himself selected his model out of Israel, and chose to be known as David. But these small vanities and imitations may well be forgiven to men who made life a serious business and with whom public office was never a sinecure.

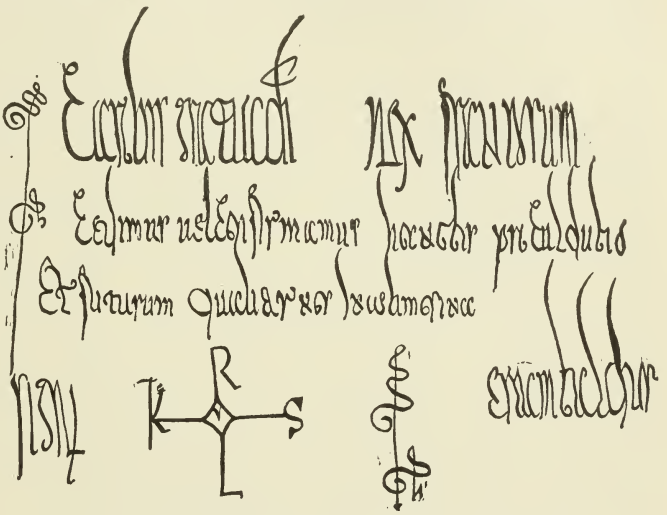
In his habits, manners, and preferences Charlemagne remained essentially German. The old Frankish stock was ever honored by his own and the example of his court. He spoke German, and looked with little favor upon that incipient French which, by the blending of the corrupt Latin of the Gauls with the Frankish dialects, was beginning to prevail as the folk-speech of France. It was at this time that the two great divisions of French, the *Langue d'oc* of the South, soon to be modified into Provençal, and the *Langue d' oil* of the North, which was the real foundation of modern French, took their rise as permanent varieties of human speech. As for Charlemagne and his court, they held stoutly to the rougher tongue of their Frankish fathers.

As the Emperor grew old his activities were somewhat abated. More and more he intrusted to others the management of the affairs of state, and more and more he gave himself to enjoyment, recreation, and religious devotions. He found delight in the warm baths of Aix-la-Chapelle. To these resorts he invited his family, his friends, and many of the nobility of the kingdom. His old fondness for riding and the chase never forsook him. Of milder joys he preferred the exhilaration of music, and to the end that he might be thus inspired and soothed, he brought to his capital the most distinguished musicians of Italy. In the midst of such exercises and amusements he forgot not the near approach of the inevitable hour. Several times he made and unmade or modified his will. He provided with the greatest care not only for the settlement of the affairs of the kingdom, but also for the distribution of his own estate. His property he divided into three major portions. The first two-thirds were given to the twenty-one principal churches of the empire. The remaining third was reserved for himself during life, and was then to be distributed to his family, or bestowed in alms on the poor.

Having attended to his personal affairs, the aged Emperor, in the year 813, set about the settlement of the succession. Three years before this time he had lost by death his second son Pepin, king of Italy, and in 811 his eldest son Charles, whom he had intended as his successor in France, had died. Prince Louis was now summoned by his father to Aix-la-Chapelle, to be publicly recognized as his successor. The principal bishops, abbots, counts, and laic noblemen of the kingdom were ordered to convene and ratify the Emperor's choice. Of what follows, the biographer Eginhard says: "He [the Emperor] invited them to make his son Louis king-emperor; whereto all assented, saying that it was very expedient, and pleasing, also, to the people. On Sunday in the next month, August, 813, Charlemagne repaired, crown on head, with his son Louis, to the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, laid upon the altar another crown, and, after praying, addressed to his son a solemn exhortation respecting all his duties as king towards God and the Church, towards his family and his people, asked him if he were fully resolved to fulfill them, and, at the answer that he was, bade him take the crown that lay upon the altar and place it with his own hands upon his head, which Louis did amidst the acclamation of all present, who cried, 'Long live the Emperor Louis!' Charlemagne then declared his son Emperor jointly with him, and ended the solemnity with these words: 'Blessed be Thou, O Lord God, who hast granted me grace to see with mine own eyes my son seated on my throne!'" The ceremony being completed, the prince returned into his own province, there to await the event which all foresaw as near at hand.

In the beginning of the year 814 the Emperor was taken ill of a fever. The resolute old monarch adopted the usual methods which he had previously used in sickness, but in this instance to no avail. On the seventh day after his attack, having received the communion at the hands of the bishop, he quietly expired, being then in the seventy-first year of his age and the forty-seventh of his remarkable reign.

In so far as the energies of Charlemagne were devoted to the great work of erecting a barrier against barbarism, and of giving to reviving Europe a state of quietude in which the arts of peace might once more flourish, his career was one of the most successful of all history. The barbarians were brought to bay. On the north and east the still half-savage tribes, scarcely improved since the days of Julius Cæsar, were compelled to give over their wandering life and to settle within fixed limits of territory. On the south-west the fiery cohorts of Islam were thrust back into the peninsula of Spain. Nor was it any longer to be supposed that a Mohammedan army would dare to make its appearance north of the Pyrenees. In these respects the services rendered to civilization by the Emperor of the Franks can hardly be overestimated. But if we scrutinize the other great purpose of Charlemagne, namely, the restoration of the Roman Empire of the West, we shall find nothing but the inevitable failure. In this respect the Emperor's political theory was utterly at fault. He apprehended not that the dead is dead, and that the artifice and purpose of men can never avail to restore a system which human society in its growth has left behind. In the west of Europe the civilization of the Græco-Italic race had expired nearly three centuries before Charlemagne became a sovereign; and his grand scheme of restoration, kindled as it was in the flame of his own ambition and fanned by the perpetual encouragement of the Church, could but prove a delusive dream—an idle vision of the impossible.



MANUSCRIPT OF CHARLEMAGNE CONTAINING HIS SIGNATURE.[1]

CHAPTER LXXXII.—SUCCESSORS OF CHARLEMAGNE.

DURING the reign of Charlemagne the Carlovingian race reached its highest glory. None of his successors proved to be his equal in king-craft and valor. From the death of Charlemagne to the overthrow of the Carlovingian dynasty, a period of a hundred and seventy-three years elapsed, and this epoch may in general terms be defined as one of decline and retrogression. The only substantial fact which remained to testify of the grandeur of the times of Charles the Great was the permanent repression of the barbarian migrations. So efficient had been the work accomplished in the last quarter of the eighth century that the territorial foundations of modern France and Germany were laid on an immovable basis. Though the barbarian invasions were renewed or attempted throughout the whole of the Carlovingian ascendency, yet the restless tribes of the North could never again do more than indent the territorial lines which had been drawn on the map of Western Europe by the sword of Charlemagne.

Another general fact to be noted respect-

[1] The signature consists of the cross with the four letters "K L R S" at the ends of the bars.

ing the period upon which we now enter is that to it belong the efforts of the piratical Northmen to obtain a footing within the limits of the more civilized states of the South. During the ninth and tenth centuries no fewer than forty-seven incursions of the Sea-kings into France are recorded. These desperate bands of corsairs were from Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and Ireland; and their murderous forays contributed not a little to check the civilizing forces which had received so great an impetus during the reign of Charlemagne. The formation of North-western Europe was such as specially to favor the movements of the pirates. They penetrated the country by way of the rivers. At first they ascended the Scheldt, and robbed the hamlets on his banks. The Seine furnished the next inlet for the guerrillas of the North Sea, and then the Loire. Before the middle of the ninth century they had ascended the Garonne and sacked his villages. In 845 the city of Saintes was burnt by the sea-robbers; and in the following year Limoges was taken and sacked. Following up their advantages, the piratical craft next appeared in the rivers of Aquitaine, and the city of Bordeaux, after making one successful defense against their assaults, was captured, plundered, and given to the flames. Tours, Rouen, Angers, Orleans, Meaux, Toulouse, Saint Lo, Bayeux, Evreux, Nantes, and Beaubais were sooner or later pillaged by the insatiable Northmen. More, however, will be added in detail with respect to these incursions when we come to consider the times in which they occurred.

Resuming the narrative, we find Louis, the third son of Charlemagne, seated on the throne vacated by his father's death. He is known in history as the *Debonair*, though by his contemporaries he was called the Pious. Perhaps the name of the Weak would have suited him better than either. He was altogether wanting in that physical energy and immoral robustness which had constituted the salient features in the character of his father. It should not be overlooked, however, that in the single matter of moral rectitude, the new sovereign far excelled his predecessor; but his political incapacity rendered his domestic virtues of but small or even negative value.

In the beginning of his reign the new Emperor attempted to institute certain reforms in the manners and habitude of the court. The excesses of the preceding reign had been endured because of the magnificent strength with which they were accompanied. A code of austerity was now substituted in the palace, and throughout the empire some feeble attempts were made to throw off certain abuses which had flourished during the preceding administration. The subjugated, though still sullen Saxons, were restored to a portion of their liberties. Royal messengers were sent into various provinces with authority to mitigate the hardships of the preceding reign. But none of these measures were backed with that degree of administrative energy which was essential to any real reform.

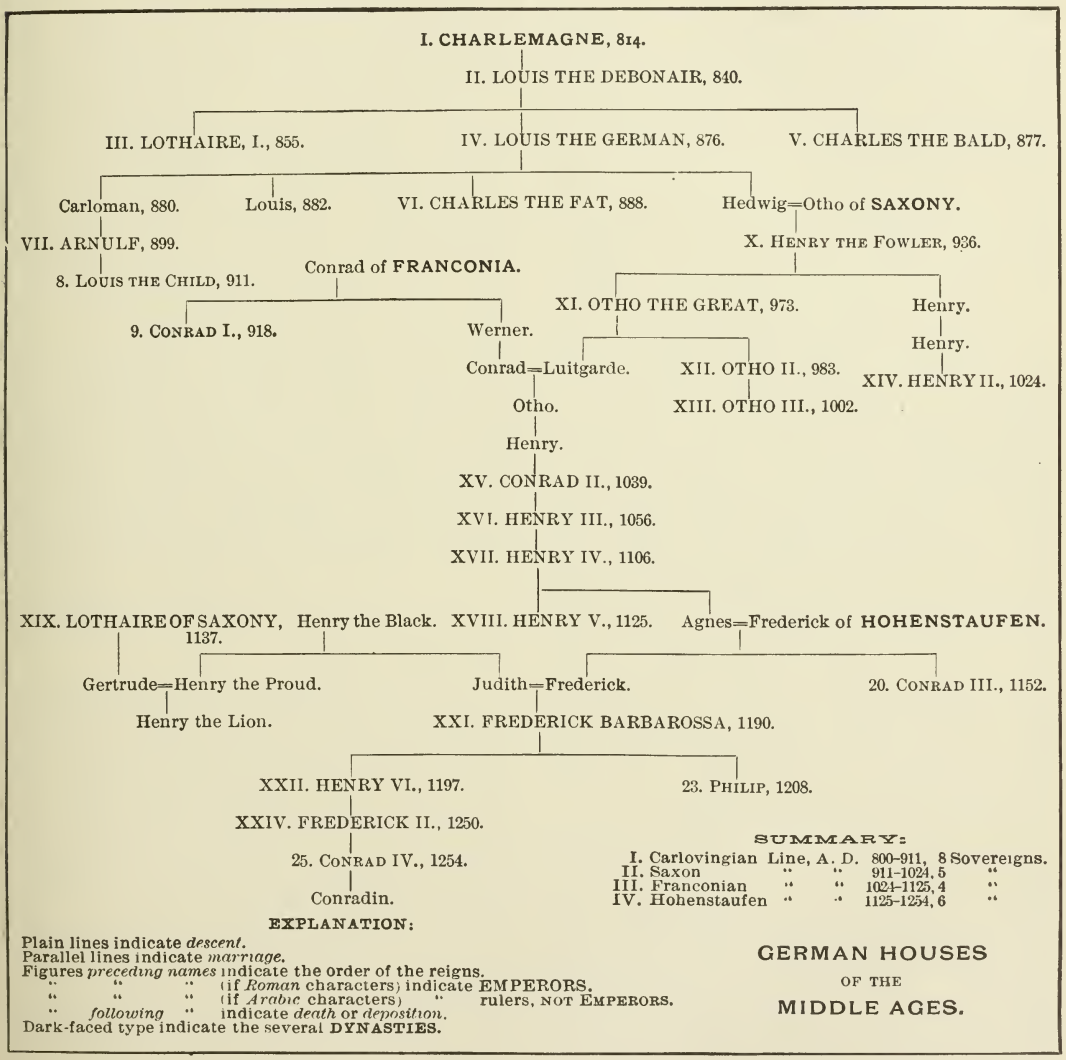
Before his accession to the Imperial throne Louis had already been presented by the queen Hermengarde with three sons, Lothaire, Pepin, and Louis. These princes, at the date of their grandfather's death, were already advancing towards manhood, the elder being nineteen years of age. Three years after coming to Imperial power Louis convened a national assembly at his capital, and announced to that body his purpose of sharing the throne with Lothaire. The measure was coupled with the assertion of the Emperor that he did not by any means purpose to break up the unity of the great kingdom which he had received from his father; but the merest novice in statecraft could not fail to see the inevitable effect of the joint sovereignty thus instituted in the empire.

Coïncident with the elevation of Lothaire to Imperial dignity, the other two sons of the emperor—Pepin and Louis—were crowned as kings, the former receiving Aquitaine, Southern Gaul, and Burgundy; and the latter, the countries beyond the Rhine. The rest of Gaul and Germany, together with Italy, fell to Lothaire, and the subordinate rulers were directed to repair to him from time to time and receive their authority at his hands. During the remainder of his life Louis the Debonair was to retain the home kingdom, having Lothaire as his associate in the government. The two junior sons of the Emperor, youths as they were, repaired to their respective provinces and assumed the duties of

government, the one in Aquitaine, the other in Bavaria. Thus, within five years after the death of Charlemagne, were made the beginnings of the great three-fold division of Western Europe into FRANCE, GERMANY, and ITALY.

At the very commencement of his reign, the weakness and subserviency of Emperor Louis were manifested. Two years after his accession, Pope Stephen IV. was invited to come into France and perform the ceremony of consecration. The Roman pontiffs had already on several occasions performed like service for the Most Christian Kings of France. Charlemagne had been crowned by Leo III., and his sons consecrated at Rome. The example, however, which the great Carlovingian had set on these occasions was replete with dignity and kingly self-assertion. He had shown due deference, but no abasement, in the presence of the Holy Father. But not so with the subservient and pious Louis. As Stephen drew near to Rheims, the Emperor went forth to meet him, and prostrated himself *at full length* before him. There he lay until the Pope stretched forth his hand and lifted up the groveling ruler from the dust.

It was not long until the inherent weakness of the government gave occasion for insurrection. The mountaineers of Vasconia first rose in revolt. Meanwhile Bernard, who, before the death of Charlemagne, had succeeded his father Pepin in the kingdom of



Italy, was loath to see the crown transferred to his cousin Lothaire, more particularly since the latter had no better claim on the throne of Italy than might be found in the caprice of the Emperor Louis. The prince Bernard undertook to maintain his rights by force; but the rebellion received little countenance, even south of the Alps, and Bernard was quietly put aside. The Vascons were also easily reduced to submission. In Brittany, however, a revolt occurred of more serious proportions. The country was still covered with heavy forests, and many facilities of resistance were afforded to an insurgent population. In the year 818, the inhabitants chose for their king one of their chieftains named Morvan. They renounced their allegiance and refused to pay tribute to the Franks.

At the very time when the Emperor Louis was presiding in a national assembly at Aix-la-Chapelle, Count Lambert, governor of Brittany, made his way to the capital, and reported that his province was in a state of revolt and that France was invaded. Thereupon a Frankish monk, named Ditcar, was sent to the Breton king to know his grievances and to command submission. A haughty answer was returned, and the Frankish monarch was obliged to go to war. A battle was fought in the dense woods of Brittany, and the rebels were utterly routed. Morvan was slain, and his bloody head was brought by the slayer to Ditcar for recognition. The revolt was quickly extinguished in blood.

After the death of the Empress Hermengarde, Louis chose for his second wife the princess Judith of Bavaria, daughter of Count Guelf—a family destined to the highest distinction in the subsequent annals of European monarchy. In the year 823, the new Empress presented her lord with a son, who became known among the rulers of France as Charles the Bald. There was thus added to the king's household of heirs another expectant, who, backed by the absorbing passion and brilliant abilities of his mother, was from the first an object of dread to the three princes upon whom the Emperor had already settled the succession.

Nor was it long until good reason was shown for their jealousy. In the year 829 the king, now completely under the influence of Queen Judith, went before a national assembly at Worms and openly annulled the settlement which he had made twelve years previously. He took away from Pepin and Louis the provinces of Burgundy and Alemannia and assigned them to the young prince Charles. This flagrant act led to an immediate revolt on the part of Lothaire, Pepin, and Louis, and to the bitterness of this rebellion were added the disgraceful quarrels which prevailed at the royal court. An ambitious Septimanian nobleman, named Bernard, was advanced to the position of chamberlain of the palace. He soon engaged in an intrigue with Queen Judith which scandalized the court and increased the opposition to Louis and his government. A conspiracy was organized, including many of the chief men of the kingdom. The Empress was seized and shut up in a convent. Louis was obliged to go forth from his capital and give himself up to the insurgents. By them he was deposed from office and the crown confirmed to Lothaire. The old act of 817, by which the distribution of the kingdom among the sons of Hermengarde had been determined, was restored; and the more recent act of Emperor Louis, relative to Prince Charles, was annulled. Thus, by a sudden outburst of popular indignation, the ambitious schemes of Queen Judith were brought to naught.

Soon, however, there was a great revulsion of public feeling in favor of the dishonored king. It was tardily perceived that he had been more sinned against than sinning. The princes Louis and Pepin, moreover, became bitterly jealous on account of the Imperial dignity conferred upon Lothaire. They accordingly went over to their father's side; nor were the ecclesiastics slow to repent of the course which they had recently pursued towards their sovereign. Another national assembly was convened at Nimeguen, and the acts which had been adopted by the former body were abrogated. Louis the Debonair was restored to his rights, and the two princes, Pepin and Louis, were reïnstated in their former rank.

Now it was that the Emperor was obliged to maintain his authority by force. He accordingly mustered an army and marched against his refractory sons. Prince Pepin, of Aquitaine, had been already overthrown by

his brothers Lothaire and Louis, and his kingdom given to Charles the Bald. It was now the father's turn to try the issue of battle with his own offspring. The two armies met at a place called the Field of Red, situated between Colmar and Bâle. But when the battle was about to begin a large part of King Louis's forces abandoned him and went over to Lothaire. The monarch was thus left naked to the mercy of his sons. The name of the Field of Red was changed to the Field of Falsehood.

The victorious princes, however, received their father with the consideration due to his rank, but their filial respect did not extend to his restoration to power. On the contrary, Lothaire convened a national assembly and had himself proclaimed Emperor. In a short time another convention of grandees and bishops was held at Compiégne, and Louis the Debonair was again formally deposed. He was obliged to hear the decree of his own dethronement, in which the charges of incapacity and weakness were openly set forth, read aloud to the multitude. He meekly accepted the situation which had been imposed by his subjects, and retired to the convent of Rheims.

It now appeared that the affairs of the Empire were permanently settled; but though the Emperor Louis was dethroned the party of his supporters was by no means annihilated. In a short time rebellions in his favor occurred in various parts of his kingdom, and the usurping sons found it difficult to retain the power which they had seized by force. The beautiful and ambitious Judith was still at liberty, and her intrigues prevailed to win over many friends to the cause of her dishonored husband. Not a few of the clergy rallied to his support. In the year 834 two national assemblies were held, and the acts of the convention of Compiégne were formally revoked. The Imperial dignity was again conferred on Louis, and the kingdom continued in a ferment of revolt as before.

Four years after this second restoration of the Emperor to power Pepin of Aquitaine died. The problem of the Empire was thus somewhat simplified. In 839 an assembly was called at Worms. The general condition of the dynasty and the distribution of political power again came up for discussion. It was resolved to make a new territorial division of the kingdom. Bavaria and the circumjacent regions were left as before to the Prince Louis, henceforth known as Louis *the German*. The western portion of the Empire was divided into two parts by the Rhone and the Meuse, the eastern division falling by his own choice to Lothaire. The western part was assigned to Charles the Bald. The German, however, was by no means satisfied with the distribution. He took up arms to undo the settlement, and his imbecile father in his old age was obliged once more to attempt the maintenance of peace by war. At the head of his army he set out towards the Rhenish frontier; but on arriving near the city of Mayence he fell sick of a fever and died at the castle of Ingelheim. Thus in the Summer of 840 the question of the settlement of the kingdom was still further simplified by the course of nature.

In his last hours the expiring monarch transmitted the Imperial crown and sword to his son Lothaire. To Louis of Bavaria he sent the assurance of pardon, and to both princes the earnest admonition that the rights of the Queen Judith and the young King Charles the Bald should be faithfully observed.

Of little avail, however, were these charitable injunctions of the dying Emperor. For in the mean time the prince Pepin II., son of the deceased Pepin of Aquitaine, had usurped the government of his father's province. With him Lothaire now entered into a conspiracy for despoiling Charles the Bald of his inheritance. The latter took the alarm, and made an alliance with Louis the German, who, like himself, was imperiled by the ambition of Lothaire. The Empress Judith went on a mission to the Bavarian prince, and the latter, as soon as practicable, sent an army to the aid of Charles. In the next summer after the death of the Debonair the forces of the rival brothers, Charles and Louis on one side, and Lothaire and his nephew Pepin II. on the other, met near the village of Fontenailles, where the destinies of the Carlovingian empire were again to be decided. The two armies are said to have numbered three hundred thousand men. For four days the antagonists maneuvered, dreading to come to battle. In the beginning of the conflict

victory seemed to incline to the banners of Lothaire; but the forces of Charles and Louis rallied from their temporary repulse, and inflicted on their enemy an overwhelming defeat. Hardly ever in the previous history of France had such fearful carnage been witnessed. The overthrow of the old Imperial party was ruinous to the last degree, and well might the aged poet of the court of Charlemagne bewail the irreparable disaster.[1]

Notwithstanding his discomfiture Lothaire made most strenuous efforts to restore his fortunes. He appealed to the Saxons and promised the restoration of paganism if they would espouse his cause. Several of the tribes revolted in his favor; but Louis and Charles were little disposed to lose by negligence the fruits of their great victory. The two princes met in a public assembly on the right bank of the Rhine, between Bâle and Strasbourg. Each came at the head of his army, and there, in the most solemn manner, they renewed their covenant against Lothaire. The alliance thus made was publicly celebrated by the officers and soldiers of the two armies in a series of games, military sports, and joustings, the same being, perhaps, the beginning of those knightly tournaments which became one of the leading features in the social history of the Middle Ages. The two kings themselves, clad in armor, entered the lists, attacked each other, as if in battle, pursued, retreated, and performed feats of fictitious daring.

But neither the league between Louis and Charles nor the royal sports which they instituted for the delight of their soldiers could overawe the courageous Lothaire. In spite of the efforts of the allied princes he made such headway on the side of Saxony that they were obliged to recognize his rights and to consent to a new territorial adjustment. The three brothers met in a conference in the summer of 843, and it was agreed that Italy, Aquitaine, and Bavaria should remain in the hands of their present possessors, and that to Louis should also be given the three cities of Mayence, Worms, and Spires, on the left bank of the Rhine. The eastern part of Gaul, bounded by the Rhine and the Alps and the rivers Meuse, Saône, and Rhone, was assigned to Lothaire. The remainder of the Gaulish territory was given to Charles the Bald, and to him also fell the provinces of Vasconia, Septimania, and the French possessions beyond the Pyrenees.

This settlement of affairs made at Verdun, in the year 843, gave the finishing stroke to the project of restoring the Empire of the West. The name of *Emperor* was still retained and has continued for many centuries as a sort of traditional factor in the politics of Europe. But it was the shadow without the substance. The Empire itself became a myth, into which not even the greatest minds could do more than breathe the breath of a fitful and evanescent vitality.

In the midst of the great civil disturbances to which the Frankish kingdoms were thus subjected the NORTHERN PIRATES came in to reap their abundant harvests of spoil. They made their way at times to the very gates of Paris. The abbeys of St. Germain and St. Denis were captured and sacked. The outer quarters of the city were several times in the hands of the sea-robbers, to whom all treasures, both sacred and profane, were alike. In the year 850 Pepin of Aquitaine made a league with the Northmen and consented to their capture of Toulouse. The marauders went from place to place through the province of Aquitaine, seizing what they liked and destroying what they would. Nor did it appear that either Pepin or Charles the Bald had the courage requisite to scourge the Northmen out of their territories.

One of the most audacious of the piratical leaders was the sea-king HASTINGS. Several times he appeared with his fleet in the rivers and harbors of France. Not satisfied with the spoils of the western coasts, he made his way into the Mediterranean. On the shore of Tuscany he descried a city which he mistook for Rome, but being unable to take the place by assault, he resorted to stratagem.

[1] Angilbert thus utters his anguish over the battle of Fontenailles: "Accursed be this day! Be it unnumbered in the return of the year, but wiped out of all remembrance! Be it unlit by the light of the sun! Be it without either dawn or twilight! Accursed, also, be this night, this awful night, in which fell the brave, the most expert in battle! Eye ne'er hath seen more fearful slaughter: in streams of blood fell Christian men; the linen vestments of the dead did whiten the champaign even as it is whitened by the birds of autumn."

Pretending to repent of his past life, he sent for the Christian bishop, and was baptized as a convert. Soon afterwards he caused the report to be circulated that he was dead, and his followers claimed for him the rights of burial. The body was borne to the cathedral,



MARAUDING EXPEDITION OF THE NORTHMEN.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

but while the priests, with dolorous accent, were chanting his requiem, up sprang the prostrate Hastings, drew his sword, and slew the ecclesiastics right and left. His men, at the signal, joined in the bloody work. The cathedral was plundered, and the robbers made away with their spoils before the stupefied population could realize what was done.

At a later date Hastings and his band ravaged the provinces of Anjou and Brittany. He then sailed up the Seine and appeared before Paris. Chartres was taken, and Charles the Bald was obliged to entrench himself at St. Denis. So great was the terror which the Northmen had spread abroad that the king—though against the advice of many of his barons—entered into negotiations with Hastings, and consented to purchase a peace. It was agreed to cede to the triumphant robber and his followers the county of Chartres, on condition that he would cease from his piracies and become a Christian. It seems that the rapacity of Hastings was at last satisfied, and he accepted the overtures of the Frankish king. But his fellow-chieftain Bioern, not yet satiated with plunder, could not be reconciled. He sailed away with a cargo f booty, was wrecked on the coast of Friesland, and soon afterwards died. There was then a lull in the tempest of northern invasion, and the kingdom of the Franks for a while flowed in the more quiet currents of history.

Three kingdoms issued from the treaty of Verdun—Italy, Germany, and France. Political causes—the accidental circumstance of many sons in the family of Louis the Debonair—had combined with the general facts of geography, language, and race-kinship to divide the descendants of the subjects of Charlemagne into Italians, Germans, and French. The imbecility of the Emperor Louis had cooperated with the tongue of Clovis in the formation of nations; and the jealousy of the queens, Hermengarde and Judith, had made a league with the Alps.

Among the various immediate successors of Charlemagne the most distinguished were Charles the Bald and Lothaire. The former inherited the brilliant faculties of his mother, and added a judgment and will of his own. He maintained about his capital and court something of the culture which had been planted by his great ancestor. Men of learning were again encouraged. Philosophers were patronized. The School of the Palace was reïnstituted; but since the administration of Charles was so clearly the fruit of the planting of Charlemagne, some of the people, not without a flash of semi-barbaric wit, called his learned institution the Palace of the School. As to Lothaire, his energies and ambitions have been sufficiently illustrated in the preceding narrative. If Louis the Debonair had had no other son but him, the Empire founded by the greatest of the Carlovingians might have preserved its unity for a season.

It will now be desirable to note briefly the principal events in the history of the three kingdoms of Italy, Germany, and France, from the middle of the ninth century to the accession of Hugh Capet. Taken altogether, the period is one of the least interesting and instructive in the whole course of Modern History. During its continuance men appear with little heroism, and events are projected on a stage so little dramatic as scarcely to excite a passing interest.

Charles the Bald continued his reign from 850 to 875 with scarcely a notable incident. After the settlement of Hastings at Chartres, the kingdom, though frequently menaced, suffered for the time not much actual injury from the incursions of the Danes. In the year 875 Louis II. of Germany died. For some years that sovereign had borne the Imperial title; for Lothaire had ceased to be Emperor in the year 855. On the death of Louis, Charles the Bald seized the title; but so small had already become the influence of this traditional dignity that the French king was rather weakened than made strong by its assumption. Shortly afterwards a much more important event occurred in the establishment of the hereditary principle among the noble families of France. Hitherto the dukes, counts, and grandees had held and exercised their authority by the royal prerogative. In 876 Charles was obliged to sign a decree by which the tenure of the noble titles of the kingdom, with the landed estates thereunto belonging, was remanded to the law of descent. Thus as early as the last quar-

ter of the ninth century were laid in France the foundations of the feudal system, which was destined in the course of time to obtain the mastery of almost the whole of Western Europe. In the following year, 877, Charles the Bald died in a village at the foot of Mont Cenis; nor was the suspicion wanting that his life was taken by poison administered by his Jewish physician, Sedecias. A fitting epitaph for himself and his reign is furnished in the pungent comment of one of the old French chroniclers: "Fortune in conformity to his humor made him happy in appearance and miserable in reality."

The late king had been exceedingly unfortunate in his family. Of his four sons, namely, Louis, Charles, Lothaire, and Carloman, the eldest two proved to be rebellious and turbulent princes. It was the purpose of the father that Lothaire and Carloman should be devoted to the service of the Church. The thought was uppermost in his mind that his own sins might thus be vicariously expiated. The Prince Lothaire, being weak and lame, submitted to his fate and entered a monastery, but Carloman refused obedience. He broke off from the enforced obligations of the monastic life and fled into Belgium. Here he raised a revolt, put himself at the head of the insurgents, and laid waste the country. The forces of the king were called out against him, and the prince was defeated and taken prisoner. Convicted of violating his religious vows, he was condemned to have his eyes put out; but escaping from confinement, he made his way into Bavaria, and found refuge with his uncle, Louis the German. Charles and Lothaire soon died, and Louis was thus left as the heir expectant of the kingdom and the empire. On the death of his father he quietly ascended the throne, taking the title of Louis II., and receiving the sobriquet of the Stammerer.

The new reign was brief and inauspicious. No event of importance occurred during the two short years in which he held the royal power. He died in 879, leaving two sons, named Louis and Carloman, and a posthumous heir who received the name of Charles. Louis took as his inheritance the kingdom of Neustria, and Carloman obtained the province of Aquitaine. All the rest of the territories recently governed by Charles the Bald, with the exception of Provence and Burgundy, were given up to the sons of Louis the German. The excepted districts were seized by Bozon, Count of Provence, who had married a daughter of the Stammerer. This usurpation was recognized by Pope John VIII., and Bozon was crowned as king. Thus, by a bold and successful, though bloodless, usurpation, were laid the foundations of the little kingdom of Provence, which was destined to flourish for several centuries, and to become the most polite and refined center of culture north of the Pyrenees.

King Louis, like his predecessor, was destined to a brief and inglorious reign. He came to a premature death in the year 882, and was succeeded by the exiled Carloman, who held feebly to the crown for the space of two years. The posthumous Prince Charles, being now but five years of age, was considered by the not over-loyal barons as too young to assume the burdens of the state. They therefore sent a deputation to Bavaria, and tendered the French crown to Charles, the youngest son of Louis the German. This prince had already received the Imperial diadem at the hands of the Pope, and thus, by a concurrence of fortuitous events, all the dominions of Charlemagne, with the exception of the kingdoms of Provence and Aragon, were again united in a single government.

To their new sovereign the French gave the surname of Le Gros, or The Fat; for he was corpulent to the last degree. Nor was he more energetic in mind than in body. More even, perhaps, than his predecessors, did he become the tool of the intriguing courtiers by whom he was surrounded. Neither did the humiliating position into which he was forced arouse his pride, nor the distresses of his people awaken his sympathies.

Now it was that France was destined, more than ever, to feel the scourge of the hands of the Northmen, and to experience the full humiliation arising from the imbecility of a ruler who was incompetent to defend her. The piratical Danes had in the meantime found a leader greater and more warlike than Hastings. The new chieftain bore the name of Rolf, or Rollo, who by native courage and brawn had obtained an easy ascendency over

the imaginations and passions of his turbulent countrymen. It now became his ambition, as well as that of his warriors, to capture the city of Paris and bring the French monarchy in the person of its king to a supple compliance with their wishes. Two armies of Northmen were organized, one led by Rollo in person and the other by his associate chieftain, Siegfried. The latter was to ascend the Seine, and the former, having captured the city of Rouen, was to join him before the towers of Paris. In the emergency that was upon him, Charles the Fat sent for Hastings and employed him as an ambassador to the chief of the Danes. But the interview between the converted and the unconverted Northman ended with the expostulations of the one and the defiance of the other. Hastings returned to the Frankish army, and preparations were renewed for the impending conflict.

At this juncture an episode occurred worthy of note. A certain Count Thibault, who had greatly coveted the estates which were held by Hastings, availed himself of the situation to play upon the fears and credulity of that reformed pirate. The count told his victim that King Charles had purposed his death, and that his only safety lay in flight. Hastings thereupon sold to his informer at a trifling price his town of Chartres, fled to his



THE NORMANS IN THE SEINE.

countrymen, and lapsed into the more congenial pursuits of piracy.

Meanwhile, the Northmen gathered before the walls of Paris.[1] Their fleet consisted of seven hundred huge barks and obstructed the Seine for the distance of two leagues. The forces of Rolf and Siegfried numbered fully thirty thousand men, and every one was a weather-beaten warrior, hardened by every species of exposure, and expert in all the dangers of land and sea. But even this wild and daring host was astonished at the walls and towers of Paris. Everywhere new fortifications had been reared, and a defiant soldiery looked down from the ramparts. Great towers of stone stood here and there, and the solid walls of St. Denis and St. Germain were seen in the distance. Even the dauntless Siegfried forbore for a season to make an assault upon the impregnable bulwarks of the city, but rather sought to gain his end by parley and negotiation.

The city of Paris was at this time held and defended by Count Eudes, eldest son of Robert the Strong, of Anjou. Of him the Danes made the demand of a free passage through the city, and promised, if this were granted, to refrain from all injury and violence. But neither Eudes himself nor the bishop Gozlin, by whom the negotiations were conducted, was silly enough to be entrapped by the wiles of a pirate. So the baffled Danes were obliged to give over their stratagem and resort to open force.

A siege ensued of thirteen months' duration. Eight unsuccessful assaults were made by the Danes. The old Abbe, a monk of St. Germain des Prés, has left on record a poem, recounting the progress and daring exploits of the struggle. The leaders within the city were Eudes and Gozlin. The latter died during the siege, and Count Eudes, quitting the city, made his way to the Emperor Charles, calling for reënforcements. On his return with three battalions of troops, he was obliged to cut his way from the heights of Montmartre through the Danes to the gates of the city. The investment continued until the autumn of 886, when Charles the Fat came with a large army to the succor of the besieged. But it was a fatal succor which he brought to Paris. On his arrival he agread to purchase with a heavy ransom the retreat of the Northmen, who were induced for the winter to retire into Burgundy.

So pusillanimous was this conduct of the king that a diet, convened in the following year on the banks of the Rhine, passed a decree of deposition, and the Imperial dignity was conferred upon Arnulf, a natural son of Carloman, brother of Louis III. At the same time the title of king was conferred on Count Eudes, who had so bravely defended Paris, and the monarch-elect was presently crowned by the archbishop of Sens. Another claim to the crown of France was at the same time advanced by Guy, duke of Spoleto, whose alleged rights were founded on the fact that he was descended from Charlemagne in the female line. The duke hastened over from Italy, and was proclaimed by the bishop of Langres. But the accession of Eudes was already a fact accomplished, and Guy returned to his own place as hastily as he had come.

Meanwhile, Bozon, king of Provence, died and was succeeded by Boso, duke of Arles. At the same time, Count Rodolph was given the title of king in Transjuran Burgundy, and was crowned at St. Maurice. All the while the young Prince Charles, son of Louis the Stammerer, and legitimate heir of the Carlovingian House, was overlooked and well-nigh forgotten. He was, as yet, only a child, and the ambitious dukes and counts, themselves eager to seize some petty crown, were little disposed on the score of loyalty to hunt up and honor the feeble scion of the stock of Charlemagne.

Having retired from his unsuccessful siege of Paris, the chieftain Rollo renewed in Western France his career of cruising and pillaging. It appears, however, that his contact with civilization began to reäct upon his faculties; for he was a man of genius. Before entering upon his French conquests he had already made an expedition into England,

[1] It will be remembered that the outskirts of Paris had been already several times taken and pillaged by the Danish pirates. But the heart of the metropolis, that is, so much of Paris as is situated in the *Ile de la cité*, had not thus far been penetrated by the marauders. It was this center of the city that was now assailed by Rolf and his robbers.

where he conceived a great admiration for the valor and wisdom of King Alfred the Great. It had been noticed that after his capture of Rouen he forbore to destroy the city, but chose rather to restrain his followers, and to repair as far as practicable the injury which



ROLLO BESIEGING PARIS.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

had been done in the capital. Only when he met with obdurate resistance did the old violence of his nature break forth against his foes.

This change in the character and sentiments of the Danish chief led to a corresponding change in the manner of warfare. After the deposition of Charles the Fat, the struggle between King Eudes and Rollo continued with varying fortune. The former gained a great victory over the Danes at Montfaucon, but was in his turn defeated at Vermandois. In the latter conflict the veteran Hastings again appeared as the leader of the Northmen. Rollo, now master of many towns, began to treat the subject populations with kindness and justice. At times he showed himself disposed to forbear from further excursions and maintain the existing status. On one occasion he went over to England, and there renewed his old-time friendship with King Athelstane, who had succeeded Alfred on the throne. So great became the reputation of Rollo for increasing wisdom and humanity that Eudes was obliged to recognize and deal with him as king with king.

In the year 898 the French monarch died, and CHARLES THE SIMPLE, the legitimate Carlovingian prince, now nineteen years of age, was raised to the throne. Rollo and the Danes still held their own in the western parts of France, and it became more and more apparent that their expulsion from the country was a remote, if not impossible, event. In the first years of the tenth century the question of some satisfactory settlement with the Northmen was many times debated in the councils of the king, and Rollo himself was by no means an unwilling hearer of the premonitory rumors of peace. Nevertheless, the great Danish chieftain was not at all disposed to relinquish aught of his advantages.

In the year 911 Charles was advised by his counselors to open negotiations with Rollo with a view to securing the permanent settlement of the question between the two peoples, even by the cession of territory. Franco, archbishop of Rouen, acting on behalf of the king, was authorized to offer the Dane a considerable part of Neustria and the hand of Gisèle, daughter of Charles the Simple, on condition that Rollo would become the king's vassal and embrace Christianity. The Northman regarded this proposition in so favorable a light that he consented to a three months' truce in order that the negotiations might continue. A day was appointed for a conference between Rollo and the French monarch. A meeting was held at St. Clair-sur-Epte, Charles taking his station on one side of the river and the Dane on the other. The king offered to cede Flanders, but this was refused. Nor would the Northman accept only the maritime parts of Neustria. He demanded, also, that those districts of Brittany which had been seized by the French should be added to the cession, and that the dukes of the ceded provinces should become his vassals. To these demands the king at last consented, and a treaty was formed accordingly.[1] The question of a century was settled by the admission of a nation of invaders within the borders of France.

Thus it was that the pacified Northmen ceased to threaten. Having now a country of their own to defend, they troubled their neighbors no longer. The piratical habit was abandoned, and the agricultural life was substituted for predatory warfare.

On the southern border of France, for the last half century, the Saracens had not ceased to trouble. Time and again were the provinces of Aquitaine, Septimania, and Provence invaded by bands of brigands and robbers. The Mohammedan banditti appeared now on the Rhone at Arles, in Camargne, in Dauphiné, Rouergue, and Limousin. Against these incursions the imbecile successors of Charlemagne seemed impotent to defend the people. Each province had to protect itself as best it might. To this end towers and fort-

[1] An amusing tradition has been preserved of the ratification of the terms of this settlement. The Franks insisted that Rollo in token of his vassalage should kiss the foot of Charles, but the Dane indignantly refused. After much parleying it was agreed that the kissing should be done by proxy, and a certain Northman was appointed by Rollo to perform the ceremony; but the warrior so selected was as haughty as his master. Bend the knee he would not. The king stood upright and so did the Dane. At length the warrior stooped down and taking hold of the royal foot lifted it so high and suddenly that Charles fell backwards on the ground. It was fortunate that the ridiculous scene ended in laughter.

resses were built in many parts, and into these, when the cry of the "Saracen" was raised in the country, the people would flee for shelter.

On the whole, however, the disturbance on the southern border was provoking rather than dangerous. The incursions were made by hordes of robbers, who expected to plunder and fly rather than plunder and fight. Nor were the Mohammedans of Spain pressed from behind by other hosts out of Africa, as were the Northmen, driven from their homes by innumerable swarms of Asiatic barbarians. Thus it happened that, while the northern and western frontier of France was broken in and a large part of her territory taken by the audacious Danes, the southern border was preserved from serious infraction.

As to the new province thus ceded by Charles the Simple to Rollo and his countrymen, the same soon became one of the most prosperous districts in France. The great Danish chieftain was recognized as Duke of NORMANDY. Nor should the pen of history here fail to note that William the Conqueror, whose valorous blood has flowed into the veins of all the English kings and queens who have reigned since the Norman conquest of 1066, was himself—though illegitimate—the eighth in regular descent from Rolf, the Danish pirate turned reformer and civilizer.

After the settlement between Charles the Simple and Duke Rollo, the kingdom enjoyed peace for the space of ten years; but in 922 the ever-growing ambition of the French barons led to a revolt against the feeble-minded Charles and in favor of Count Robert, brother of Eudes. Civil war broke out between the rival parties, and Charles, in attempting to maintain his rights, half redeemed his forfeited fame. He took the field in person, met Count Robert in battle and slew him with his own hand. But the cause of the rebellion was taken up by Hugh the Great, son of the slain count, and the king was soon disastrously defeated. Hugh, already Count of Paris, was ambitious to be the maker of kings rather than be king himself. He would fain restore that ancient *régime* in which the Mayor of the Palace stood behind the throne and directed the affairs of the kingdom. Accordingly, after the defeat and flight of Charles the Simple—for the latter with all speed sought refuge with Herbert, count of Vermandois—Hugh brought it about that the French crown should be conferred on Rodolph, duke of Burgundy, to whom his own sister had been given in marriage. So predominant was the influence of the great count that Rodolph's nomination was ratified by the barons, while the deposed Charles was shut up as a prisoner in the Château Thierry. Elgiva, the wife of the dethroned monarch, who was a sister to Athelstane, king of England, escaped with her son Louis and sought protection with her brother.

The status thus fixed by revolution was maintained until 929. In that year Charles the Simple died, his taking-off being ascribed to poison. Rodolph continued to reign until 926; but the real power of the kingdom was wielded by Hugh the Great. Rodolph died childless, and the crown of France was again at the disposal of the great leader, who again refused to claim it for himself. Nor can it be doubted that in his policy Count Hugh was guided by a desire to secure the peace and prosperity of the kingdom. In looking about for a new sovereign he failed not to take note of the absent Prince Louis, who with his mother was still sojourning with his uncle Athelstane, of England. A message was sent to the English court, requesting the exiled queen to return with her son, in order that he might receive the crown of France. As was natural, the sincerity of the count was distrusted, and the queen at first refused to put herself at his mercy. King Athelstane also shared his sister's apprehensions; but the fears of the exiles were at length quieted, and Louis returned with his mother to France. They were received by Hugh with profound respect, and were conducted by him to the cathedral at Rheims where the prince was solemnly crowned with the title of LOUIS IV. Nor did the imaginative French fail to find for their new sovereign an appropriate sobriquet. He was called *D'Outremer*, or the Stranger; for his youth had been passed *beyond the sea*.

It was not long until King Louis showed in the management of public affairs an ability and prudence greater than had been exhibited

by any previous king since the days of Charlemagne. Had his character been as sincere as his sagacity was profound, the greatest good might have been expected to the kingdom; but he was dishonest, and in some respects vicious, to the extent that his great abilities bore little fruit. The foreign affairs of the kingdom, moreover, were now of such a sort as to require the full resources of the state.

In the year 937 France was invaded by the Hungarians, who were with difficulty repelled beyond the border. Two years afterwards the people of Lorraine, who had rebelled against the authority of Otho I. of Germany, made a voluntary transfer of their allegiance to King Louis. That monarch had married Otho's sister Gerberge; but this affinity did not prevent the rival brothers-in-law from going to war. In the struggle that ensued, it was Louis's misfortune to have alienated many of his great counts and barons. In the very beginning of his reign he had attempted to shake off Count Hugh of Paris; but that powerful nobleman was not to be easily disposed of, and the sympathies of the other nobles were naturally attracted to his cause. It thus happened that while King Louis gained the inhabitants of Lorraine and went to war to defend his acquisition, the great vassals of France went over to Otho and proclaimed him king. The war became one between Louis and his own subjects. A battle was fought before Laon, in 941, and the king's army was defeated. Hugh of Paris was on the eve of again becoming master of the situation when Otho, satisfied with the humiliation of his rival, interfered in his behalf and saved him from ruin. The war was brought to an end. The German Emperor received back the province of Lorraine, and then with the aid of the Pope mediated a peace between Louis and his barons.

The next complication in the affairs of France was in respect to the duchy of Normandy. In the recent civil war William Longsword, duke of that province, had taken sides with Count Hugh against the king. But Arnulf, count of Flanders, supported the royal cause. The two nobles were thus brought into antagonism, and after the cessation of hostilities William was assassinated by his enemy. The young Duke Richard fell into the hands of King Louis, who, under the pretense of educating him at the capital, would have taken away his liberty, and perhaps his life. But the boy's governor, Osmond, perceiving what was intended, persuaded his ward to feign illness, and while the king and his officers were off their guard, carried the young duke away from the castle in a truss of hay. He then escaped with his charge, and took the lad for protection to his uncle, the count of Senlis. Soon afterwards this nobleman succeeded in making King Louis himself a prisoner, and obliged him to surrender those places of Normandy which he had unjustly seized. Richard was restored to his dukedom, and by his marriage with Anne, daughter of Hugh the Great, soon became a powerful ruler. Nor was his goodness of character less than his courage was notable. He received the surname of the Fearless, and such were the beauty of his person, the affability of manners and the generosity of his conduct, as to make him at once the favorite of his own people and the praise of foreign tongues. It was one of the caprices of this amiable prince to prepare his own coffin, which was hewn of stone. Until what time it might be used for its ultimate purpose, the sarcophagus was on every Friday filled with wheat and coins, which were distributed to the poor. When about to die, he gave orders that the open coffin should be set under the eaves of the church of Fécamp until the rains should wash his bones clean and white.

The reign of Louis D'Outremer continued until the year 954. While still in the full strength of manhood, he journeyed one day from Laon to Rheims. A vagrant wolf crossed the pathway before him, and the king, spurring after the beast with all his might, was thrown from his horse and killed. He left as his heirs two sons, Lothaire and Charles, the latter being in his infancy. The elder son, now at the age of fourteen, received the crown by the right of succession, and with the consent of the counts and barons. The unfortunate policy of dividing the kingdom among the sons of the deceased monarch—a political method which had prevailed from the times of Louis the Debonair—was now abandoned, never to be revived.

The undivided sovereignty of France was conferred upon LOTHAIRE, and Charles, his younger brother, was left to abide his time.

The education of the new sovereign had been carefully conducted by his mother and her brother, the celebrated St. Bruno. His character, thus formed, was above the standard of the Carlovingian kings; but his ambitions were sometimes ill-directed, and his reign was on the whole less successful than that of his father.

Two years after the succession of Lothaire, Hugh the Great died. He had maintained his ascendency in the affairs of France for nearly half a century, and the hour of his death found him in full favor with the people. He had persisted in the policy of refusing the crown for himself, being content with the duchy of Paris. But this peculiarity of his ambition rather increased than diminished his power. His contemporaries were justified in speaking of his *reign;* for though not bearing the title of king, his authority was regal.

In the year 973 the Emperor Otho the Great died, and bequeathed his rights, kingly and Imperial, to his son Otho II. This transfer of power to a young and inexperienced prince gave opportunity to King Lothaire to reässert his claims to the province of Lorraine. He accordingly raised an army, and without any notification of his intentions to the Germans, marched upon Aix-la-Chapelle, the then capital of the Emperor. The Prince Otho was taken completely by surprise. He was obliged to spring from the dinner-table and speed away, in order to escape from the city. Lothaire captured and pillaged the palace, and then returned to France. Otho, however, soon showed himself worthy of his place. Having raised an army, he proceeded against his cousin to repay the insult which he had received. He marched on Paris, wasting the country as he went; but the Count Hugh Capet, who had succeeded to the authority of his father, Hugh the Great, had put the city in such a state of defense that Otho durst not assault the ramparts. Being unable to effect a conquest and to "repay the visit" of Lothaire, as he had threatened, he contented himself with nonsensical menaces. Having taken possession of the heights of Montmartre, he drew up his army and made them sing a Latin canticle. The performance was like the lowing of a herd of buffaloes, and the *music* reverberated through Paris! It was the first German opera, performed before an audience of French!

Having inflicted this terrible insult upon his foe, Otho marched away towards Germany. Lothaire sallied forth in pursuit, and overtook his cousin's forces on the banks of the Aisne. One division of the army had already crossed to the other side. The river rose in the night, and the French were thus enabled to fall upon and destroy the remaining division with little danger to themselves. In this emergency Otho sent a challenge to Lothaire to meet him in single combat; but the French barons, distrusting the puissance of their king, sacrificed their chivalry to prudence, and induced him to decline the battle.

Having at length fatigued their own capricious ambitions with marching, countermarching, and indecisive conflicts, the two monarchs agreed to a treaty of peace. The province of Lorraine was divided, one part being returned to Otho and the other assigned to Prince Charles, brother of the French king. The latter, in the year 986, died, leaving his crown to his only son, LOUIS V., surnamed the Sluggard. This prince was twenty years of age at the time of his father's death, but so feeble were his faculties that the ministers were obliged to put him under the guardianship of Hugh Capet. It appeared that the drama of a puppet king with the real monarch behind the throne was about to be reënacted. But the French barons were now tired of the ridiculous farce which had been performed at intervals since the days of the *Rois Faineants*, and they determined to have a real king or none. Loyalty to the Carlovingian dynasty was now almost extinguished, and the people—if the word people may be properly applied to the inhabitants of a European state in the tenth century—were ready for a revolution.

The logic of events at this crisis was assisted by the early death of Louis V., who reigned but little more than a year. His brother Charles, duke of Lorraine, was now the sole male survivor in the line of Charlemagne. Such, however, was the insipid character of this prince that he ceased, by his own worth-

lessness, to be a quantity in the problem. The event was ripe for consummation. The nobles looked to Hugh Capet as a king nominated by nature and approved by destiny. A race which had held the throne of France for two hundred and forty-six years, and which had really contributed to history but one great ruler, was now to give place to another, from which were to spring some of the greatest sovereigns of Europe.

Turning, then, to another branch of the Carlovingian House, we find in Germany a list of princes not unlike those of France. It will be remembered that with the death of Louis the Debonair the empire of Charlemagne was divided among his three sons—Lothaire, Louis, and Charles. To the second of these princes was assigned Germany. He made his capital in Bavaria, and reigned until 876. German history may properly be said to begin with the treaty of Verdun in 843. The nature of the struggle among the three sons of the Debonair has already been sufficiently narrated in the history of the French Carlovingians. It will be remembered that, in 869, Charles the Bald and Louis the German divided between them the territory which had fallen to Lothaire II., the line of division running between Verdun and Metz, thence along the Vosges, and terminating at the Rhine, near the city of Bâle. It may also be recalled that the settlement of a succession in the House of the German was attended with as much difficulty as the Debonair had experienced with *his* sons. For Carloman and Louis, the heirs of the Emperor, were already before their father's death engaged in intrigues against each other or their father. It was partly to free himself from the presence of a dangerous aspirant that the Prince Carloman was sent by Louis to make war on the Wends and Slavonians, who were threatening the frontier of the Elbe. The year 875 was marked by another attempt on the part of the rulers of France and Germany to obtain possession of the kingdom of Italy. In this ambition Charles the Bald was more successful than his rival, and Louis, inflamed with jealous anger, prepared to make war on the French king. But in the year 876 he died, being then at the age of seventy-one.

With this event the German kingdom was partitioned among the three sons of the late sovereign, Carloman, Louis the Younger, and Charles the Fat. Hoping to avail himself of the distracted condition of the country, Charles the Bald marched against the German princes, but he was met at Andernach, on the Rhine, and terribly defeated by an army under command of Louis the Younger. The three brothers then peaceably adjusted their own differences. Bavaria, Carinthia, the Danubian provinces, and the half-sovereignty of Bohemia and Moravia were assigned to Carloman. Louis the Younger received all of Central and Northern Germany, while Charles the Fat became king of Suabia.

As soon as this settlement had been effected, Carloman proceeded to seize the kingdom of Italy; but before he could establish his authority he was struck with apoplexy and died, A. D. 880. As soon as he learned of the decease of his brother, Charles the Fat, who had already crossed the Alps with an army, compelled the Lombards to acknowledge his sovereignty, and was crowned by the Pope with the title of Charles III. In Germany Louis the Younger was recognized as the successor of Carloman, and Arnulf, legitimate son of the latter, was made Duke of Carinthia.

This condition of affairs continued until 882, when, by the death of the childless Louis the Younger, all Germany and Italy became united under Charles the Fat. It will be remembered that shortly after this consolidation of power in the East and South, the *French* Louis and Carloman, sons of Charles the Bald, died, leaving the crown of France to the imbecile stripling, Charles the Simple. Nor will it be forgotten that, when the latter intensified the folly of childhood by the absence of intellect, the French nobles offered the sovereignty to Charles the Fat, who by its acceptance became monarch of the reünited empire of Charlemagne.

The story of the invasion of the Northmen, and of the utter incapacity of the Emperor Charles to repel them from his dominions, need not be repeated. Such were his feebleness and timidity that he soon lost all hold upon the confidence of his nobles, in so much that a conspiracy was organized against him,

and in 887 he was driven from the throne, to spend the remaining year of his life on an estate in Suabia.

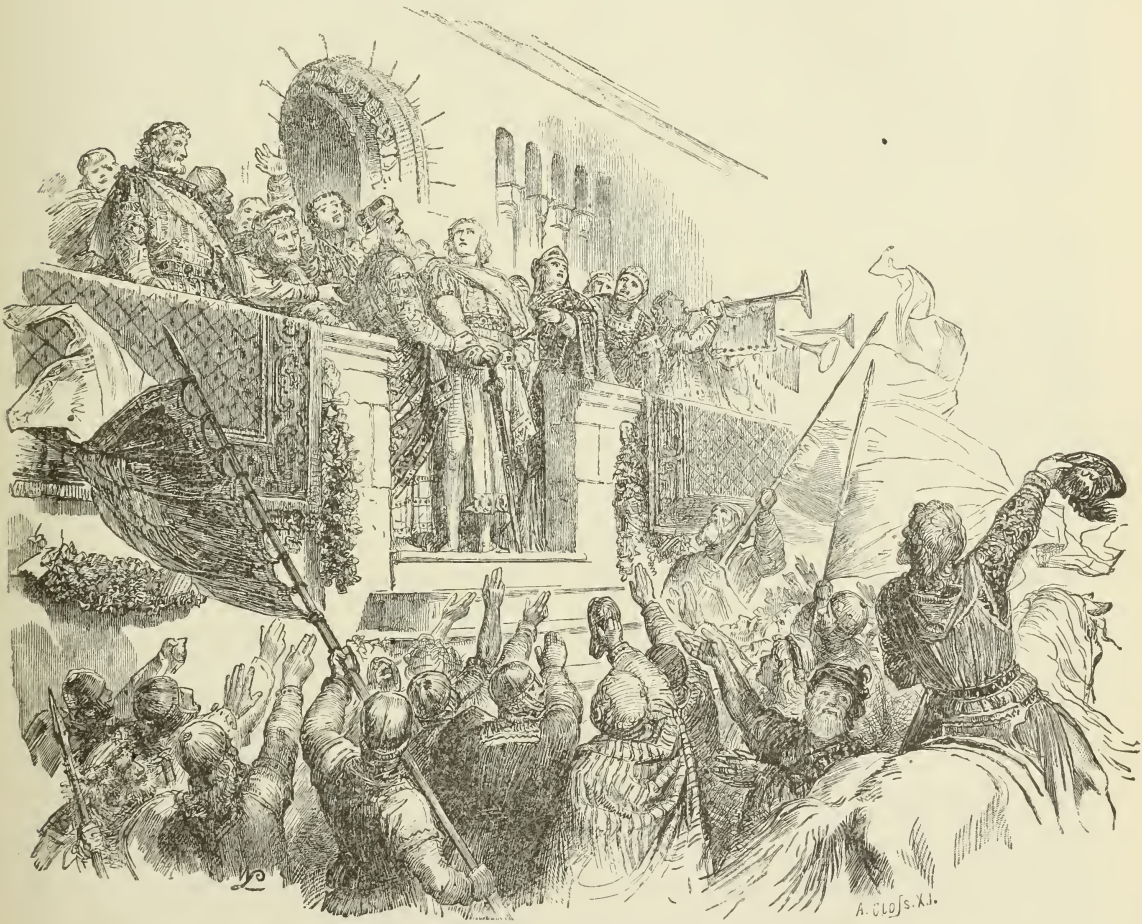
At this crisis nature again asserted her superiority over legitimacy. Duke ARNULF, the bastard grandson of Louis the German, was recognized as the successor of Charles the Fat in Germany. The Frankish dominions, as already narrated, began to be dismembered. The kingdom of Burgundy was founded, with Arles for its capital. In Italy, Berengar, duke of Friuli, seized upon the inheritance of the Carlovingians; while Eastern France and Western Switzerland were given to Duke Conrad, grandson of Louis the Debonair. As for King Arnulf, he adopted the policy of attending strictly to his own dominions. He successfully and finally drove back the Danes from his northern and the Bohemians from his eastern frontiers. Against the latter people he pursued his advantage by making an invasion of their country. Half-barbaric Bohemia was thus ground between the upper and the nether mill-stone. For at this juncture the fierce, blood-drinking Magyars, most savage of the Finnish race, had burst out of Hungary on the east, and were rivaling the hordes of Attila in their devastating course.

Having completed his conquest in Bohemia, Arnulf returned into his own kingdom, and in 894 was called to Italy to assist Berengar against a dangerous rival. But the most important of Arnulf's acts related to the Church. Ambitious to be made Emperor, and therefore eager to secure the support of the popes, the king favored the ecclesiastical body to the last degree. He issued an edict that the civil officers should execute the decrees of the clergy; and to this was added another that those who were excommunicated should forfeit all civil rights. The hitherto but half-avowed purposes of the popes to claim a temporal dominion over the nations, began to be more openly advanced under the stimulus thus afforded by the secular ruler of Germany. In the mean time a series of documents, called the *Isidorian Decretals*, were brought to light and gave still further encouragement to the ambitions of the Roman pontiffs. These celebrated parchments received their name from Bishop Isidorus, of Seville, by whom they were said to have been written. They purported to be a reproduction of the decrees of the ancient councils of the Church, and in them the claims of the popes to be regarded as the vicars of Christ, the vicegerents of God on earth, and the rightful arbiters of all human affairs, whether ecclesiastical or civil, were unequivocally asserted. Upon these claims the Church now planted herself, and looked here and there for the means with which to maintain her position.

King Arnulf soon found his reward. The Pope Formosus was at this time in the power of a Lombard prince, on whose head he had been compelled to place the crown of empire. Under the pretext of liberating His Holiness from bondage, the German king led an army into Italy, set free Formosus, captured Rome, and was himself crowned as Emperor. Here, however, his good fortune came to a sudden end. Shortly after his coronation he was poisoned, and though he lingered for three years before death put a period to his sufferings, he had little further control of public affairs. He died in 899, and was succeeded by his son, known as LOUIS THE CHILD, the last prince of the Carlovingian line in Germany. He occupied the throne from his father's death until the year 910, when he and the German army were defeated in a great battle with the Hungarians. The young king fled from the field of his overthrow, consented to pay tribute as a condition of peace, and died in the following year.

On the extinction of the Carlovingian House in Germany, the crown of that kingdom would, according to the terms of the treaty of Verdun, have descended to Charles the Simple, then on the throne of France. But the German nobles had become too independent to submit themselves again to a Frankish sovereign. They accordingly met in a diet at Forcheim and chose for their king Duke Conrad of Franconia. He belonged by family to the Salian Franks, and thus was established what is known as the SALIAN DYNASTY, instead of the Carlovingian. Pope Stephen III. had threatened to anathematize all who acknowledged allegiance to any Emperor not a descendant of Charlemagne. But King Conrad, fearing him not, accepted the honor conferred by the diet, and was crowned by Hatto, archbishop of Mayence.

The new king of Germany soon showed himself to be a brave and generous ruler. Great was the favor with which he was received by his subjects, and great his abilities in court and field. But the success of his government was by no means equal to his deserving. The Hungarians again invaded the country, and were defeated in a great battle by the Bavarians and Suabians; but the monarch despaired of upholding the kingdom. He accordingly, when near his death, ordered his brother Eberhard to bear the crown and scepter to HENRY OF SAXONY, whom he declared to be the only prince capable of ruling Germany. The ambassadors found their prince expectant netting finches in a valley near the Hartz, from which circumstance they gave him the sobriquet of *the Fowler*. In the



CONRAD ELECTED KING OF GERMANY.

counts, Arnulf, Berthold, and Erchanger, who commanded the king's forces, now set their sovereign at defiance and would fain rule as independent princes. Conrad succeeded in deposing them; but Arnulf fled to the Hungarians and incited them to march again into Germany. The king, thus badgered and distressed, appealed to the Pope for succor; but the latter replied that Conrad should pay tithes. Being wounded in a battle with the Hungarians, the unfortunate year 919 he was, after the old German fashion, lifted upon the shields of the nobles and proclaimed as king. When it came, however, to the ceremony of anointing he refused to accept the rite, the king declaring that he was only a ruler of the people. Thus was a lineal descendant of Wittikind, the old foe of Charlemagne, seated on the throne of Germany.

The new king justified the expectations of his subjects. Though war broke out almost immediately in Suabia, Bavaria, and Lor-

raine, Henry easily succeeded, rather by pacific conduct than by open force, in bringing his rivals to submission. In like manner was settled a difficulty with Charles the Simple, of France, with whom, in the year 921, a treaty was made defining the territorial boundaries of the two kingdoms. Three years afterwards the Hungarians again invaded Conrad's kingdom, and over them he likewise obtained the advantage by a superiority of wit. Having had the good fortune to capture one of the Hungarian chiefs, the king would accept as the condition of his liberation nothing less than a nine years' truce. A breathing-time was thus obtained in which to prepare for the next outbreak of war.

King Henry labored incessantly to bring his army to a better discipline and his people to a better government. In both of these duties he was preëminently successful. The Saxon warriors, hitherto accustomed to fight only on foot, were exercised as horsemen until their skill became equal to that of the best. The frontier of the kingdom on the side of danger was carefully surveyed, and the fortified towns of Quedlinburg, Merseburg, and Meissen were founded within supporting distance of each other. The people were ordered to store within the fortified inclosures one-third of the products of their fields, and regular markets were instituted in order to facilitate the transfer of supplies.

Having now a well-disciplined army, Henry tried the mettle of his soldiers in a campaign against the Slavonians beyond the Elbe. In 928 he conquered the province of Brandenburg, which was destined in after times to expand into the kingdom of Prussia. His conquests in Bohemia were extended to the river Oder; and in 932 Lusatia, or East Saxony, was added to his dominions, thus advancing his frontier line from Stettin, on the Baltic, to Vienna, on the Danube.

Finally, when the nine years' truce with the Hungarians had expired, King Henry, who, in order to secure the truce, had agreed to pay tribute in the interim, sent as his annual contribution to the Hungarian treasury *a mangy dog!* The insult was easily understood, and the Magyars rushed to the conflict with such fury that the king's forces were at first stunned by the shock; but they soon rallied and inflicted one defeat after another on the enemy until, in 933, the contest was decided by a great victory, in which the Hungarian army was well-nigh annihilated.

A short time afterwards Henry made a successful war on Gorm, the king of Denmark. The latter was driven back across the Eider, and Schleswig was annexed to Germany. Having thus conquered a peace throughout his dominions, the king seemed destined to a long and glorious reign; but in the year 935 he fell under a stroke of apoplexy and came to his death. While he lingered, however, he called a diet at Erfurt, and his second son Otho, afterwards known as Otho the Great, was chosen for the succession. Though the king had two other sons, no attempt was made again to divide the kingdom, the unity of which had been achieved only after a century of turmoil.

Henry the Fowler died in the summer of 936. Otho was accepted without opposition, and was crowned with a splendid ceremony in the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle. The dukes of Lorraine, Franconia, Suabia, and Bavaria served as chamberlain, steward, cup-bearer, and marshal at the coronation. Nor was there wanting any circumstance of pomp to this royal spectacle, which so critical a thinker as Bayard Taylor has declared to be "the first national event of a spontaneous character which took place in Germany."

Without the prudence and patience of his father, King Otho equaled that monarch in energy and surpassed him in genius. Great, however, as were his abilities, and distinguished as was his reign, he failed—could but fail—to give unity and nationality to the German people. The various parts of the Teutonic race were still discordant, belligerent. Nor could it be hoped that a German king of the tenth century could do more than hold together by the force of his will and the magic of his sword the as yet heterogeneous parts of his people.

The first duty of Emperor Otho was to repel the Bohemians and Wends, who had made their way into Brandenburg. The wars that ensued were of considerable duration, but victory remained with the Germans. The Hungarians were also defeated in Thuringia and Saxony. But while these successes crowned

the king's arms abroad, a civil feud of serious proportions disturbed the peace of the kingdom. Eberhard and Thankmar, the son of a divorced wife of Henry the Fowler, and therefore half-brother to Otho, conspired with Giselbert, duke of Lorraine, to achieve independence in their respective provinces. The Saxon nobles, also, were offended because of the preëminence of the king's favorite general, Count Hermann, and joined the insubordinate dukes. The situation portended great peril to the king; but the conspirators failed to act in concert, and Otho was victorious. Thankmar was killed and Eberhard obliged to put himself at the mercy of his sovereign. Meanwhile, however, the king's younger brother, Henry, had been tempted into sedition, and the revolt suddenly broke out anew. This time the insurgents were headed by Giselbert, Eberhard, and Prince Henry. Otho again took the field and marched to the Rhine; but while part of his forces were on one side of the river and part on the other, he was attacked by the rebel dukes. For the time it seemed that every thing was lost. But Otho exhibited the greatest heroism; his men rallied to the charge, and the insurgent army was annihilated.

Now it was that the defeated princes sought aid of Louis d'Outremer of France. Nor was the petition refused. A French army penetrated Alsatia. All of the territory west of the Rhine was overrun. The fate of the Emperor again hung in the balance, but his courage was equal to the occasion. Marching to the frontier, he gained the day in several minor engagements, and finally won a great victory in the battle of Andernach. Eberhard was slain and Giselbert drowned in the river. The French fled towards Paris, whither they were pursued by Otho; but the fortifications of the city bade defiance to the Germans. Negotiations were presently opened between the two monarchs, and a definitive treaty was made, by which Lorraine was assigned to the Emperor and the other boundaries reëstablished as before.

Otho again showed his magnanimity by pardoning his brother Henry. The prince was sent to be governor of Lorraine; but unable to defend himself in the position to which he had been assigned, he entered into a plot with the archbishop of Mayence to assassinate the Emperor. But their treason was discovered, and the conspirators, with the exception of Henry, were put to death. The prince himself was thrown into prison; but having at length made his escape, he was a third time pardoned by Otho.

Meanwhile the German dominion was firmly established beyond the Elbe. The Slavonian and Wendic tribes were beaten back into remoter territories. The Emperor himself made an expedition against Harold the Blue-tooth, king of Denmark; and marching to the end's-land of Jutland, threw his spear into the sea as a token of his dominion even to the brine of the North.

In the year 946 Emperor Otho was called upon by Louis, king of France, to assist him in that war which he was then waging with Hugh the Great and the barons. The two monarchs were brothers-in-law, and this affinity, together with the natural interest of the German ruler in seeing the ambitions of the nobles curtailed, led him to accept the invitation. He marched an army of thirty-two thousand men into Normandy; but no great success attended the movements of the allied monarchs, and Count Hugh held out several years before he was brought to submission.

In the mean time, a complication had arisen in Italy which drew the Emperor's attention. After the times of Charlemagne, that unfortunate country had been left to the mercy of the winds. The Saracens, Greeks, Normans, and Hungarians had assailed the Italian coasts at will. Neither the impotent Pope nor the shadowy Roman Emperor beyond the mountains was able to afford relief. In this condition of affairs, Berengar, duke of Friuli, one of those strong and turbulent spirits that arise from the great deep in times of anarchy, had himself proclaimed king of Italy. He demanded in marriage the Princess Adelheid, sister of Conrad of Burgundy. But she refused to accept so rough a lord, and was thrown into prison. She managed from thence to send a message to Otho, who at once conceived the double project of liberating the princess and claiming her for himself. For his English queen, Edith, was now dead.

The Emperor accordingly crossed the Alps

with a large army, defeated Berengar, captured the cities of Verona, Pavia, and Milan, married Adelheid, and assumed the title of king of Italy. Berengar was permitted to retain the crown of Lombardy on condition of surrendering the country from Venice to Istria.

Soon after this event another revolt, headed by the princes Rudolf of Suabia and Conrad of Lorraine, broke out in Italy. For nearly four years the country was plunged into civil war. At length the rebellious princes permitted the Hungarians to pass unopposed through their provinces to the end that the invaders might fall upon the Emperor. This action aroused the Teutonic spirit against the rebels, and the revolt was brought to an end in the year 954.

The Hungarians, however, were not yet conquered. In 955 they returned to the attack, but were defeated by Otho in a great battle near Augsburg. So signal was the overthrow of the barbarians that but few of them escaped to their own country. Nor did they ever afterwards dare to renew the conflict. In a short time Prince Henry of Bavaria died, as did also Rudolf, son of Otho. Civil war came to an end in Germany. In the lull that ensued Otho found opportunity to gratify his ambition by a coronation at Rome. Pope John XII., then a youth but seven years of age, officiated at the ceremony, and the title of *Roman* Emperor was again borne by a prince of Germany.

It was not long, however, until the boy Pope repented of his action and would fain destroy the traditional rights which he had conferred on Otho at the coronation. He sought to stir up the whole world against him. He wrote to the Emperor of the East to aid him in deposing Otho from power. He incited all Italy to revolt, and tried to induce the Hungarians and the Saracens of Corsica to make war on the Germans. The Emperor, however, met the emergency with great boldness. He marched into Italy, captured Rome, deposed the Pope, drove Berengar into exile, reduced the country to quiet, and in 965 returned in triumph to Aix-la-Chapelle.

The ambition of Otho was greatly inflamed by these successes. He began to neglect the real interests of the German people for the fictitious splendors of a court. He demanded as wife for his son Otho the Princess Theophania, daughter of the Emperor of the East; and when the latter was reluctant to comply, the German sovereign attempted to overthrow the Byzantine rule in Italy. Theophania was at length given to the Prince Otho, and was sent to the German capital in the year 972. In the following year the successes of the Emperor were duly celebrated at a great Easter festival in the city of Quedlinburg. No pageant so splendid had been witnessed since the days of Charlemagne. The dukes and counts of the Empire, the kings of Bohemia and Poland, ambassadors from the Emperor of the East, from the Caliph of Cordova, and from the kings of Bulgaria, Russia, Denmark, and Hungaria were present at the fête. Soon afterwards the Emperor, foreseeing his end, retired to Memleben, in Thuringia, and there was presently stricken with apoplexy. He lingered for a brief season, died sitting in his chair, and was buried in Magdeburg.

Having thus traced the history of Germany from the accession of the Carlovingian line to the death of Otho the Great, it will be appropriate to turn to another field of observation. The consolidation of the English Heptarchy and the growth of a regular monarchy on the ruins of the Saxon states of Britain may now well claim our attention. It is only necessary, before concluding the present chapter, to remark that, as will have already been observed by the careful reader, the history of Italy, the third of the Carlovingian kingdoms, during the ninth and tenth centuries, is so intimately involved with that of Germany and France that a separate sketch from the Italian point of view is altogether superfluous. As a matter of fact, Italy had already become—as she was destined to remain—an appanage of the greater states north of the Alps, and her local annals during this, the epoch of her ruin and decay, are devoid alike of interest and instruction. In the following Book the history of France will be resumed with the triumph of the House of Capet, and that of Germany with the accession of Otho II.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.—ALFRED AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

OF the career of Egbert, the powerful king of Wessex, a sketch has already been given in the First Book of the present volume.[1] It will be remembered that in the first quarter of the ninth century this distinguished ruler succeeded in bringing under one sovereignty all the states of the Heptarchy. He disclaimed for himself, however, the title of king of *England*, being content with that of Wessex. The peace of his long reign was by no means undisturbed; for now it was that the Northmen began to prey upon the coasts of England. In the year 832 a band of these audacious pirates captured and ravaged the island of Sheppey. In the next year Dorsetshire suffered a similar fate. The method of the Danes was to fall upon a given coast, rob, devastate, and fly. Attempting to protect his shores, King Egbert was himself at one time in imminent danger of capture. In 834 the Northmen invaded Devonshire, being joined on the expedition by the rebellious people of Land's End. Others of the old Britons espoused the cause of the Danes; but Egbert, equal to the emergency, met the enemy at Hengsdown Hill, and defeated them with great slaughter. So decisive was the victory that for two years the pirates kept aloof; but the career of Egbert was already at an end. He died in the year 836, and was succeeded by Ethelwulf, his oldest surviving son.

At this time might be noticed in the rising monarchy of England the same disposition which has so many times been remarked in the history of Germany and France, to divide among several sons the political power which had been held by the father. Such was the policy of Ethelwulf, who, on coming to the throne, gave up Kent, Sussex, and Essex to be held as a separate kingdom by his son Athelstane. For himself he retained Wessex and Mercia, but the latter soon revolted and became independent. Nor were the Danes slow to perceive the broken-up condition of England. They returned like birds of prey. They took and pillaged London, Rochester, and Canterbury. In 851 a congress of the Saxon Thanes was held at Kingsbury, and measures of defense were planned against the Danes. In the course of the ensuing struggle Barhulf, king of Mercia, was killed. But the West Saxons, led by Ethelwulf, won a great victory over the enemy in Surrey. Athelstane, king of Kent, was hardly less successful in a battle at Sandwich, where he took nine ships from the pirates. The men of Devonshire also gained a victory at Wenbury, and the sea-robbers, thus baffled at every point, turned from the island, which seemed to bristle with Saxon spears, and fell upon the more inviting fields and hamlets of France.

The devout Ethelwulf now found opportunity to make a pilgrimage to Rome. In 853 he crossed the Alps, and was received with honor in the Eternal City. On his return he fell in love—for such is the phrase of man—with Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, and her he took in marriage. In the mean time Athelstane, king of Kent, died, and the king's next oldest son, Ethelbald, engaged in a conspiracy to dethrone his father. The ostensible reason for the treasonable plot was found in the fact that Ethelwulf had had his new French wife crowned as queen in the cathedral of Rheims. He had actually eaten with her at the table! Such insults were not to be borne by Anglo-Saxon patriotism. Thus came it to pass that when Ethelwulf returned with his bride to England, he found his hostile subjects in arms to oppose him. The aged monarch would not go to war to maintain his rights, but agreed to a compromise, by which the western and better portion of Wessex was given up to his rebellious son. In 857 the old king died, and Ethelbald succeeded to his whole dominions.

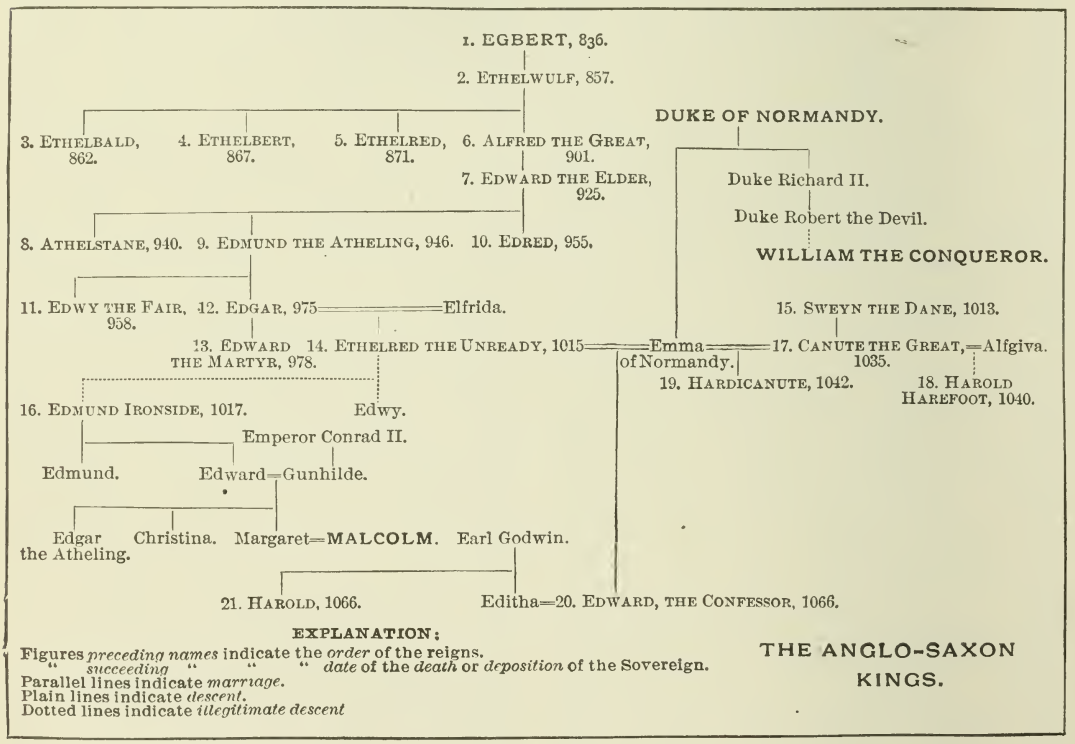
On his succession to the full crown of Wessex, King Ethelbald claimed his father's

[1] See Vol. II., Book Eleventh, p. 448.

widow for his wife, from which it appeared that his antipathy to a French queen did not apply to his own case. The Romish Church, however, was horrified at this forbidden marriage, and soon compelled its abrogation by divorce.[1]

Ethelbald was succeeded in the kingdom by Ethelbert, who, after a short and inglorious reign, died in the year 866. The crown thereupon descended to the third brother, Ethelred, in whose reign the Danes again swarmed in innumerable hosts along the shores of England. They had already invaded Wessex and burned Winchester, which was then the capital. They had established themselves in the Isle of Thanet, from which they now went forth to ravage, plunder, and destroy. Ethelred is said to have fought nine pitched battles with these ferocious marauders. It was in the course of these furious conflicts that the military genius of Prince Alfred, youngest but greatest son of Ethelwulf, began to be displayed. In the hard-fought battle of Ashton, while the pious Ethelred was at his prayers and refused to go into the fight until the mass was over, Alfred threw himself with his West Saxons upon the on-coming Danes, and thus saved the king's cause from ruin. In the battles of Basing and Mereton, which were fought soon afterwards, Ethelred was defeated. In the last-named conflict he received a wound from which he presently died, and in 871 the crown descended without opposition to the popular Prince ALFRED.

The new king was destined to an inheritance of war and glory. Within a month after his succession he was obliged to fight a terrible battle with the Danes. Near night-



fall the field was won by the Saxons; but the pagans, seeing by how few they were pursued, turned and regained as much as they had lost. Nevertheless, so great had been their losses that they were fain to conclude a treaty. Withdrawing from Wessex, the Northmen went to London, and there passed the winter. In the following year they ravaged Lincolnshire, and then, repairing to Derby, took up their quarters at Repton. In 875 Northumbria was overrun by the Danes as far as the friths of Clyde and Forth, where they came into contact with the Scots. Halfdane, leader of this marauding host, di-

[1] For the subsequent career of Queen Judith, see Vol. II., Book Eleventh, p. 449.

vided Northumbria among his followers, who, mingling with the Anglo-Saxons, were, in the course of some generations, united into a single people. Another army of Northmen captured Cambridge, which they fortified and converted into a camp. Having thus overrun the kingdoms of Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia, the Danes again looked to the West Saxons and their king, between whom and themselves a contest was now to be waged for the mastery of England.

The prudent Alfred, having now had the advantages of a three years' truce, had employed the interval in preparations. Especially had his wisdom been revealed in the construction of a fleet, which, though small and rude, may be regarded as the beginning of England's greatness on the sea. Originally the Anglo-Saxons had been as skillful and courageous seamen as the Danes themselves. But in the course of four centuries from the coming of Hengist and Horsa their followers had given over the maritime life, forgotten the management of ships, and degenerated into swineherds and peasants. Not, indeed, that the warlike valor of the race was in any wise abated, but the settled life had superseded the piratical habit, and the mastery of the sea had passed to their kinsmen of the North.

Meanwhile the Danes, breaking from their winter camp at Cambridge, swore by their golden bracelets that they would drive the West Saxons from the land. In Dorsetshire they surprised the castle of Wareham and devastated the surrounding country. Soon afterwards, however, the Danish squadron was attacked and destroyed by Alfred's rude flotilla. The effect was electrical upon both parties, being inspiration to the Saxons and paralysis to the Danes. The latter speedily agreed to make peace and evacuate the kingdom. King Alfred made his enemy swear upon the relics of the saints that they would abstain from further injury. But on the very next night, as the king was journeying with a small band of followers towards Winchester, the oath-breaking pagans fell upon him, and he narrowly escaped with his life. The Danes then retired to Exeter, where they were joined by others of their nation, and the war was renewed with more violence than ever.

It now became the policy of the Northmen to incite the people of Cornwall to revolt. In order to strengthen the insurrection in the West a Danish fleet put to sea from the mouth of the Thames. But Alfred's courageous navy attacked and destroyed the hostile squadron. The army of the king had in the mean time marched against Exeter. Here Guthrun, king of the Danes, was besieged ; but learning that his flotilla had been destroyed, he gladly capitulated, and, giving hostages to Alfred, retired with his army into Mercia.

In these fierce conflicts between Alfred and his antagonist it soon became apparent that the faith of the Danes even when supported by the most solemn oaths, was utterly valueless as a basis of trust or action. No sooner had King Guthrun returned into Mercia than he prepared to renew the war. His maneuvers exhibited such skill as in a civilized ruler would have indicated a chief of diplomacy. He advanced his head-quarters to Gloucester, a position as near as practicable to that of Alfred. At this place his followers rallied in great numbers, and their presence was a source of constant alarm to the kingdom of Wessex.

The time had now come for a new departure by King Guthrun. Hitherto the devastating excursions of the Danes had always been conducted in summer. In winter they shut themselves up in some fortified town and spent the frozen season in drinking and carousing, after the manner of the men of the North. On the first day of January, 878, the king of the Danes issued to his followers a secret order to meet him on horseback at a certain rendezvous. King Alfred was at that time in his capital at Chippenham, little anticipating the impending attack. While he and his Saxons were observing the feast of the Epiphany the Danes suddenly burst through the gates with an overwhelming force, and the king barely saved himself by flight. Accompanied by a small band of faithful followers, he fled into the woods and concealed himself in the somber moorlands of the West. .Chippenham was pillaged by the victorious marauders, who then rode in triumph from one end of Wessex to the other. Some of the inhabitants made their way to the Isle of Wight. Some escaped to the continent. Most of the peas-

antry remained and were reduced to an ignominious servitude by their Danish masters.

In the county of Somerset a heroic band still upheld the banners of the king; but when Alfred came among them he was obliged, for fear of treachery, to hide himself in the fenlands. He found a lurking-place in the forests of Prince's Island, which was then the haunt of wild beasts and the home of outlaws. Here the king was obliged to maintain himself as best he could by fishing and the chase. Sometimes he and his companions would sally forth by night, and, falling secretly upon the Danes, plunder some exposed camp and then return to covert. To this epoch of extreme hardship belongs the story of Alfred's visit to the hut of the swineherd, where he lodged for some time unknown to the peasant and his wife. One day, while the king sat moody by the hearthstone, and the woman of the hovel was baking bread, he noticed not that the loaves were burning. The housewife, at length discovering the ruin of her bread, rushed upon him with angry gesture and exclaimed: "You man! you will not turn the bread you see burning, but you will be glad enough to eat it!'

In this extremity of his fortunes the king was discovered by others of his faithful friends. Many rallied around him as the hope of Saxon England. The islet where they gathered, was fortified, and Alfred began to look forward to an escape from his shameful subjection. His spirit was also strengthened by a vision of St. Cuthbert, who came to him in the guise of a pilgrim, begging alms. With him the king divided his only loaf, and the pilgrim went away; but he returned by night and comforted the king with assurances of success.—Such is a pious tradition of the times.



KING ALFRED IN THE PEASANT'S HUT.

Meanwhile, the men of Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Hampshire took heart against the Danes and flocked to the camp of Alfred, now no longer concealed. The courage of the gathering army was still further kindled by an event in Devon. Hubba, one of the Danish chiefs, had landed with a large force in that province; but the men of Devon rose upon them in great might, slew the king with nine hundred of his followers, and captured their banner, embroidered with the terrible raven of Denmark.

Already the king ventured forth and skirmished with the enemy. Determining to as-

certain the number and resources of the Danes, he adopted the hazardous expedient of going into their camp in disguise. He accordingly clad himself as a minstrel (called *gleeman* by the Anglo-Saxons), and gained an entrance in this garb to the camp of King Guthrun. There he entertained the warriors with ballads and songs; but he carefully noted the condition of the camp, and was delighted to observe the security in which the Danes were resting. He obtained full information of their plans and purposes and then returned to his own retreat in safety.

Believing that the time had come to strike a decisive blow, Alfred now sent word to the warriors of Wessex to rendezvous in Selwood forest. His faithful subjects flocked to the designated spot, knowing not, however, that their king had sent the summons. Great was the joy of the army on the sudden appearance of the beloved Alfred among them. The enthusiam of the Saxons rose to the highest pitch, and the king, perceiving that the auspicious hour had come, marched rapidly upon the Danes at Ethandune. Here a great battle was fought, in which the enemy, taken completely by surprise, was utterly routed. Guthrun, with the remnant of his forces, fled to his fortifications, whither he was immediately pursued and besieged by the Saxons. After a fortnight the supplies of the Danes were exhausted, and Guthrun was obliged to capitulate. Not hoping to drive the enemy out of England, Alfred demanded that the Danes should evacuate all Wessex, and that their king should receive Christian baptism. The enlightened policy of the Saxon king was clearly shown in the conditions which he imposed. Guthrun accepted the terms which were offered, and Alfred, with the consent of his Thanes, made to him a cession of all the eastern part of the island from the Thames to the Humber.[1] The kingdom of North Umbria, lying beyond the Humber, was already under the dominion of the Danes; so that after the treaty their territories, which now took the name of *Danelagh*, extended from the Thames to the Tweed. The policy of Alfred, as it respected the foreigners in England, evidently contemplated their fusion with the Saxons and the consequent production of a single people in the island. At the baptism of the Danish king, his generous conqueror answered for him at the font. He received the name of Athelstan, and in 878 was dismissed to his own territory, loaded with presents.

After this treaty between the Danes and Saxons, the two peoples lived in comparative peace; but this was true only of the Northmen already in the island. Other pagan hordes kept pouring in from Denmark and infesting the shores of Saxon England. It was the epoch when Holland, Belgium, France, and Britain were alternately assailed by the northern pirates, and the success of any of these countries in beating back the marauders was generally an index of the inability of some other to beat them off. Thus when Alfred repelled them from his shores, they redoubled the fury of their assaults in the Low Countries and in France.

In his relations with the English Danes, Alfred exhibited his liberality and prudence. The laws of the two peoples were gradually assimilated. It was agreed that Danish subjects should be regarded as under the protection of Saxon statutes. If an Englishman slew a Dane, he was punished in the same manner and degree as though his victim had been of the homicide's own race. All fines were assessed in the money of both people and were payable in that of either. The intercourse between the Saxon and Danish soldiery was carefully regulated to the end that incursions, reprisals, and retaliations might be avoided.

Now it was that King Alfred began to display his qualities as a civilizer. In his boyhood he had been taken by his father to Rome, and had there imbibed a taste for the culture of the South. He longed to see his own people humanized and refined by the influence of letters. With a view to planting the seeds of learning, he invited Asser, a monk of St. David's, who was then esteemed the greatest philosopher in England, to come to his court, that he might profit by the con-

[1] The language of King Alfred's cession to the Danes is as follows: "Let the bounds of our dominion stretch to the river Thames, and from thence to the water of Lea, even unto the head of the same water; and thence straight unto Bedford, and finally going along by the river Ouse let them end at Watlingstreet."

versations and instructions of one so learned. For a long time Asser remained with the king, reading with him out of the best books and teaching him from the abundance of his lore. The ties between the distinguished monk and his sovereign became as enduring as they were affectionate. The royal mind and the mind of the scholar coöperated to kindle in the fogs of our ancestral island, even in the darkness of a gloomy and violent age, that torch of gentle radiance which shineth in the darkness.



ALFRED THE GREAT.

In the year 886, while the piratical Danes were engaged in the siege of Paris, King Alfred availed himself of the opportunity to rebuild and fortify the city of London. This ancient municipality, the founding of which is said to antedate the Roman conquest, had been burned by the Danes, and the place was reduced almost to a waste. Under the patronage of the king, the city arose from her ashes and soon became more populous than ever. Ethelred, earl of Mercia and son-in-law of the king, was made protector of London, which soon, though on the immediate frontier of Danelagh, became one of the most important cities of the kingdom.

In the mean time the fleet of England had been steadily extending the Saxon dominion on the sea. At the first the king had found it necessary, on account of the inexperience of his own sailors, to employ foreign captains for his flotilla. Many Frieslanders, skillful in the management of vessels, were procured as officers, and the king's squadron, thus manned and commanded, became equal, if not superior, to the fleets of the Danes. In the year 882, and again in 885, decisive victories were gained by the English armament.

By his wisdom in administration and his successes in war, Alfred so strengthened his kingdom that his enemies were kept at bay. For a period of seven years, during which time the attention of the pagans of the North was almost wholly occupied in Flanders and in France, the realms ruled by the king of the West Saxons had peace and plenty. Already in the green pastures of England were seen those flocks and herds which for more than a thousand years have constituted a leading feature of the wealth of the island. But while this prosperity prevailed in the insular kingdom, certain parts of the continent, particularly those which were infested by the Danes, were distressed with a grievous famine. This condition of affairs soon led the Northmen to abandon the regions of starvation for the realms of plenty. The very prosperity of England became a bait to allure once more to her shores the wolfish pirates of the Baltic.

In the year 893, the most formidable fleet of Danes ever thus far seen in English waters appeared off the coast of Romney Marsh. The armament consisted of two hundred and

fifty ships, every vessel being filled with warriors and horses gathered out of Flanders and France. The fleet anchored at the eastern termination of the Wood of Anderida, near the mouth of the river Limine, into which they towed their vessels. The invaders then marched inland and constructed a fortified camp at Appledore. In the same year, the celebrated Hastings, commander-in-chief of the Danish fleet, sailed up the Thames with a squadron of eighty ships and debarked at Milton. Here, also, a strong fortification was constructed. For the Danes had now grown wary of the English king, and acted on the defensive. The aged Guthrun was dead, and his conservative influence was no longer felt in the movements of his countrymen. Every thing conspired to stake once more the fate of England on the issue of battle. In the struggle that ensued, the military skill and valor of King Alfred were fairly weighed against the prowess of the brave and audacious Hastings.

The genius of the king now appeared conspicuous. According to Saxon law, the militia of the kingdom could only be called into the field for the space of forty days. This short period of service seemed an insuperable difficulty in the organization of an army. To remove this embarrassment, the king adopted the plan of organizing his forces into two divisions, whose duties alternated between the home service and the service of the field. He thus succeeded in producing a more permanent and thoroughly disciplined army than had been seen in Britain since the days of the Romans.

Having in this manner prepared himself for the conflict, the king advanced into Kent and secured a position between the two divisions of the Danes. His station was chosen with so much skill and held with so much courage that the two armies of the Northmen could in no way form a junction. From his camp he sent forth small detachments of troops to scour the country in all directions, and cut off supplies from the Danes. The latter were thus brought to the extremity of breaking up their camp and leaving the kingdom. But this movement of Hastings was only a feint.

The Danish army, encamped on the Limine, instead of sailing away, marched rapidly to Alfred's rear. When the king turned about and followed this division of the enemy, Hastings, who had apparently put to sea, returned to Benfleet in Essex. Alfred, however, continued his pursuit of the other army, and overtook them at Farmham, in Surrey. Here a great battle was fought, in which the Saxons were victorious. Those of the Danes who escaped were pursued through Middlesex and Essex across the river Coln into the Isle of Mersey. Here they were besieged by Alfred and compelled to sue for peace. They surrendered on condition of an immediate departure from England.

But before Alfred could enforce the terms of capitulation the men of Danelagh rose in revolt, and created such a diversion that the attention of Alfred was immediately drawn to other parts of his kingdom. A large Danish fleet bore down upon the coast of Devon, and the city of Exeter was besieged. Another armament, equipped by the enemy in Northumbria, sailed around Scotland, and, descending the western coast as far as Bristol Channel, entered that water, and laid siege to a fortified town on the Severn. The king was thus obliged to make all speed from Essex to the West. On reaching Exeter he attacked and overthrew the Danes, driving them pell-mell to their ships. In like manner the Saxons fell upon the enemy at Severn, and obliged the raising of the siege. While these movements were in progress the king's son-in-law, Ethelred, rallied the soldiery of London, attacked the fortified post of the enemy at Benfleet, captured the Danish encampment, and made captives of the wife of Hastings and his two sons. With a generosity unusual, perhaps unequaled in those half-barbaric times, the king ordered the prisoners to be returned to the Danish chieftain. It was an act which would have been expected in vain at the hands of Charlemagne, or even of Otho the Great.

It appears that Hastings had but a feeble appreciation of the chivalrous conduct of his adversary. In a short time he reäppeared with his fleet in the Thames, and then marched to the West. He traversed the country as far as the Severn, and established himself at Buttington. But the Welsh as well as the Saxons were now thoroughly aroused, and with them made a common cause against the

invader. Hastings was surrounded and besieged. Supplies were cut off, and Alfred soon had the pleasure of hearing that the pent-up Danes were reduced to the extremity of filling their insatiable maws with the flesh of their own half-starved horses. The Danish leader, however, knew no such word as despair. Summoning all his resources for the effort, he dashed himself upon the line of the besiegers and succeeded in breaking through. But the desperate exploit cost him the larger part of his forces. With the remainder he retraced his course and reached his fleet on the coast of Essex.

In the following winter Hastings was reënforced by men out of Danelagh. With the opening of spring he made an expedition into the central counties of the kingdom. He gained possession of the town of Chester, fortified of old by the Romans, and here established himself in a position impregnable to assault. So skillful, however, were the maneuvers of Alfred that Hastings in a short time found his supplies cut off, and, dreading a repetition of his experience at Buttington, left Chester and marched into the north of Wales. In that country they were confronted and turned back by an army of Welsh and Saxons. On the retreat the Danes traversed Northumbria, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk, and finally reached their winter quarters in Essex.

In the following year Hastings ascended the river Lea and erected a fortress at Ware. Here he was attacked by the men of London, but the latter were defeated with great losses. Alfred was obliged to protect the people of the city by encamping between it and the position of the Danish army. At this juncture the genius of the king stood him well in hand. Taking possession of the Lea at a point below the town of Ware, he threw up fortifications and then digged three deep and broad canals from the river to the Thames. The waters of the Lea were thus drained into the parent stream, and the Danish fleet, left high and dry, was rendered useless. Perceiving his critical condition, Hastings abandoned every thing, broke from his camp by night, and made for the Severn. Here he took up a strong position at Quatbridge, and having fortified his camp, remained therein during the winter. Meanwhile the men of London made their way to the Lea, seized the stranded fleet, destroyed what ships they could not drag away, and floated the rest down to the city.

It was now evident that the career of Hastings on English soil was well-nigh at an end. His expeditions had been gradually restricted to the poorer districts of the country, and his ill success during the last three years had destroyed his prestige with his own people. While in their winter quarters at Quatbridge, the Danish leaders quarreled, and with the opening of the spring of 897, these restless followers of the raven of Denmark left their fortifications, broke up into small detachments and scattered in all directions. A few who still adhered to the fortunes of Hastings made their way to the eastern coast, where they equipped a small fleet and sailed away to France.

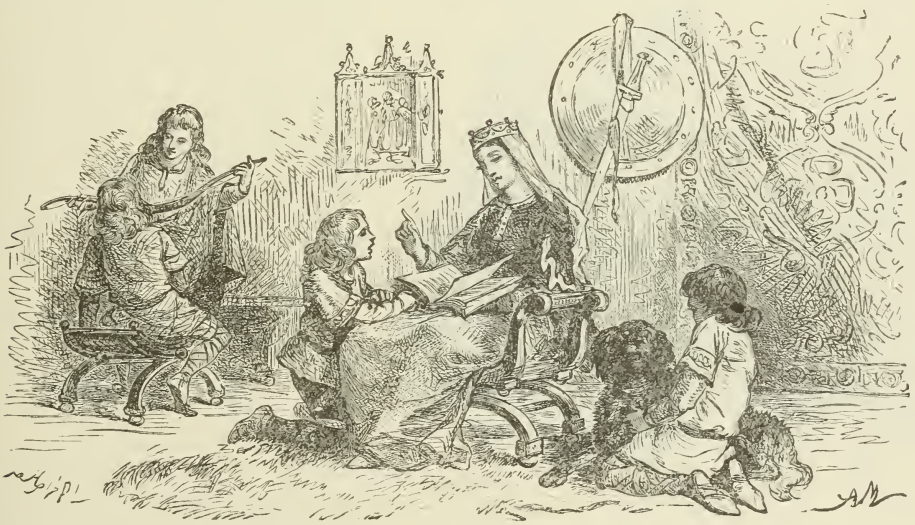
So rapid had been the progress of the Anglo-Saxons in the building and management of ships, that King Alfred's navy was now greatly superior to any which the Danes could bring against him. The form of the English ships had been improved and their size enlarged to almost double the dimensions of the craft of the pirates. The shores of England were now protected by more than a hundred ships, and it was only occasionally that a Danish fleet durst anywhere come to land. The king, moreover, adopted a more severe policy with respect to his enemies, who, the hope of conquest being now abandoned, could be regarded only as robbers. In one instance a severe sea-fight occurred off the Isle of Wight. Two of the enemy's ships with their crews were taken and brought to shore, whereupon the king ordered the last man of them to be hanged. In the following three years, the same severity was shown in the case of twenty other ships captured from the enemy; and this conduct, so at variance with the humane disposition of the king, was justified on the ground that the Danish crews so taken were traitors out of Danelagh and not honorable pagans from abroad.

During the period of the Danish invasions of England, the country suffered besides the calamities of war the ravages of pestilence. The contemporaneous famine on the continent seems not greatly to have distressed the

British Islands. But the horrors of the plague counterbalanced the immunity from famine. Many of the best and noblest Saxons, including not a few of the most powerful Thanes in Wessex, were carried off. At the same time the murrain broke out among the English cattle, so that death in the city was answered by death in the field. It was in the midst of these dangers, distresses, and sorrows that the virtues of the greatest and wisest of the early English kings were tried in the fire and found pure gold.

The career of Alfred was already drawing to a close. His labors in the camp, the field, and the court were as unceasing as those of Charlemagne; but the equable tempered English monarch was a man of far finer fiber and mould than his great Frankish contemporary. In his boyhood Alfred was enfeebled by disease, and about the time of reaching his majority he was attacked by another and painful malady, which afflicted him through life. Even in times of his greatest activity he was seldom free from pain. Soon after the retirement of the Danes from the kingdom, his health began rapidly to decline. In the month of October, 901, the good king, being then in the fifty-third year of his age, died and was buried in the monastery which he had founded at Winchester.

The estimate of the life and work of Alfred the Great can hardly be overdrawn. His goodness of character was acknowledged by his contemporaries and has been confirmed by the judgment of modern times. His genius was equaled by his beneficence, and his wisdom by his success. In his childhood he was carefully trained by his mother. He accompanied his father through France and Italy to Rome. Nor is it doubtful that, though but eight years of age, his mind was deeply impressed with the superiority of the art and refinement of the South. One year of his boyhood was spent in the Eternal City and one in Paris. The active mind of the prince could but have been much occupied with the painful contrast between the colossal structures of stone in the old and the new capital and the poor wooden houses and low, mud huts of his own country.

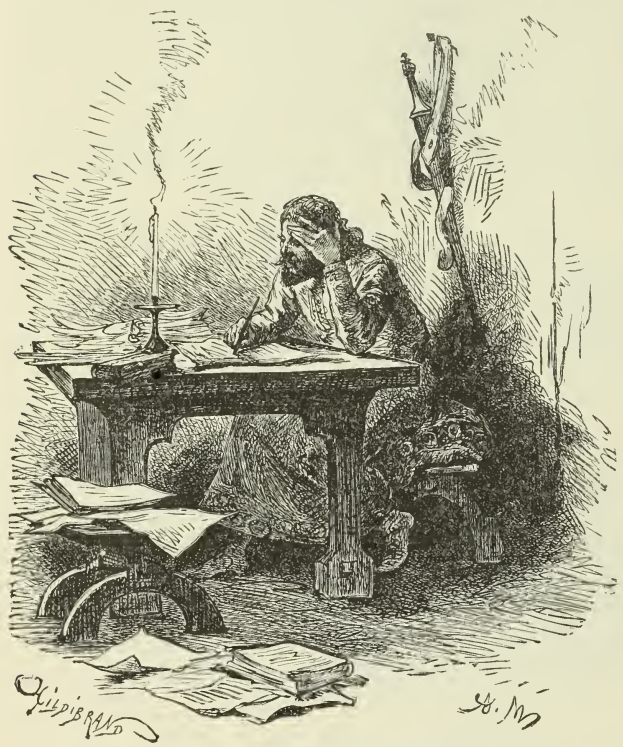


ALFRED'S MOTHER TEACHES HIM THE SAXON SONGS.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

These episodes in the boy-life of the great king, no doubt, did much to inspire within him the love of letters. He conceived the great project of raising his people from barbarism and bringing them to the light. He began this work with the cultivation of his own mind. He listened with delight to the gleemen as they recited in his father's court the wild and warlike ballads of the Anglo-Saxons. He learned his country's songs by heart, and his own poetic genius, even in boyhood, was thus kindled into a flame.

Having mastered his vernacular, the prince then undertook the learning of Latin, the

classic language of his times. He became a skillful translator and sought diligently to improve the taste of his people by rendering the works of the Latin authors into the Anglo-Saxon vernacular. He urged the same work upon the scholars who frequented his court, and on one occasion addressed to the bishops of the kingdom an earnest appeal, in which he recommended that "all good and useful books be translated into the language which we all understand; so that all the youths of England, but more especially those who are of gentle kind and easy circumstances, may be grounded in letters—for they can not profit in any pursuit until they are well able to read English."



ALFRED THE GREAT IN HIS STUDY.
Drawn by A. Maillard.

The king was not by any means content with the culture of his court. He availed himself of every opportunity to sow the seeds of enlightenment in all parts of the kingdom. He conceived the grand project of popular education, and his work in this respect far surpassed that of Charlemagne in France. On his accession to the throne the outlook for English culture was by no means encouraging. The seats of learning had been ravaged by the Danes. The once flourishing schools of Northumberland were either destroyed or had fallen into decay. The ignorance of the English people was amazing for its grossness. At the time of the death of Ethelred there was scarcely a professional teacher in all Wessex, and the Anglo-Saxon language could not boast of a single text-book. In his efforts to organize public schools the king was obliged to send to Mercia for teachers, and even in that kingdom none were found competent for the work except the priests. A few instructors were brought over from France. Bishop Asser, upon whom Alfred most relied in the prosecution of his educational enterprises, was a Welshman. In order to supply the text-books necessary for his people, the king recommended the translation of works already existing in Latin or French; and thus by precept and example he sought to implant in the nascent mind of England the fundamentals of culture and learning.

The reputation of King Alfred as a diligent scholar, no less than a warlike sovereign, is as wide as the fame of the English race. It is a matter of surprise how, amid the arduous duties of government and the dangers and disasters of war, this benign sovereign found time and opportunity for those laudable pursuits in which he so greatly delighted. Nothing but the most methodical division of his time could have enabled him, with the meager facilities at his command, to make so great progress in scholarship and literature.[1]

The greatest of King Alfred's works as an author are his translations of Boëthius's *Consolation of Philosophy* and of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English*. Measured by modern standards, neither of these works would be considered preëminent as a translation. The king sought to reproduce the spirit rather than the letter of the original. The work of Boëthius was rendered by the king at Wood-

[1] The king's daily program of duty and rest was as follows: eight hours for meals, exercise, and sleep; eight hours for the affairs of government; and eight for study and devotion.

stock, in Oxfordshire, and was called by him—from its adaptation to the common affairs of life—the *Handbook* or *Manual*. The rendering of the Ecclesiastical History of the Venerable Bede was a work of the highest importance to the young nationality of England, for the story was of such sort as to affect the still half-barbarous Anglo-Saxons much as Homer's song of ancient Troy may be supposed to have swayed the passions of the old Hellenes.

Time would fail to narrate the swift transformation of England effected by the genius of Alfred the Great. He found his country without a navy and his countrymen ignorant of the management of ships. When he died, the English fleet was the best on the western coast of Europe. By the most unwearied efforts he obtained a fair geographical knowledge, not only of his own country, but also of most of the nearer states and kingdoms of the continent. Whatever could be gathered in the way of information was carefully reduced to writing. Travelers and voyagers were sent abroad for the express purpose of deciding disputed points in geography. On such a mission even so distinguished a person as Swithelm, bishop of Sherburn, was dispatched overland to India! Not less astonishing is the fact that the journey was safely performed, and that the adventurous bishop came happily home, bringing with him gems and spices from the East.

Among the other enterprises of Alfred may be mentioned the better style of building which he introduced; the general prevalence of human comfort which he encouraged; the rebuilding of desolated towns and the founding of others; the construction of fortifications and harbors; the survey of the coasts and rivers of England; the erection of strong towers and castles in different parts of the kingdom; the revision of the Anglo-Saxon laws; the development of the *Witenagemot* into a regular parliament, upon which, jointly with himself, was devolved the care of the state; the institution of a system of police so effective that it was said bracelets of gold might be hung out of doors without the least danger of theft, the establishment of an efficient judiciary; and the general stimulus which he afforded to all kinds of industry in the kingdom. It is not wonderful, in view of the prodigious activities, kindly genius, and generous character of Alfred, that even after the times of William the Conqueror the Norman kings and nobles were accustomed to refer to this illustrious ruler as the chief glory of early England.

On the death of Alfred the Great, in the year 901, the succession was disputed by his son Edward and his nephew Ethelwald, son of that Ethelbald who had preceded Alfred on the throne. Each of the claimants gathered an army; but the forces of Ethelwald were found so much inferior to those of Edward that the former, forbearing to fight, fled into Danelagh, where he was recognized as king. Prince EDWARD then ascended the throne of England, and received the surname of the Elder.

The turbulent Danes had long fretted under the strict law of Alfred, and many restless spirits among the Saxons had chosen the North as the more congenial scene of their lawlessness. All of these malcontent elements of the rising English society combined around the standard of Ethelwald. Between him and Edward, in the year 905, a terrible battle was fought, in which Ethelwald was slain; but the general result was so indecisive that the Danes were enabled to treat on equal terms with the Saxon prince. The project of the complete independence of Danelagh was entertained by the rebels; nor were they without a hope of regaining their ascendency over the whole island. For six years the war continued with varying successes; but in 911 Edward met the Danes on the river Severn, and inflicted on them an overwhelming defeat.

In the mean time a peculiar complication had arisen in the earldom of Mercia. In that country the Princess Ethelfleda, daughter of Alfred the Great and wife of Ethelred, had succeeded her deceased husband in authority. Nor did she hesitate to assert and maintain the independence of her country of her brother Edward's rule. She raised an army and commanded like a warrior. It was evident that her father's spirit was upon her. She made a successful defense against the claims of her brother, and then drove the Danes out of Derby and Leicester. In battle she commanded in person, and even led successful

storming parties against seemingly impregnable fortifications. She conducted an expedition into Wales and made prisoner the wife of the king. After a brilliant career of eight years she died in 920, whereupon the kingdom of Mercia was given up to Edward. This gave the king a great advantage in the North, in so much that all the country between the Thames and the Humber was presently overawed by the Saxon arms. From this vantage ground King Edward made campaigns against the people of Northern Danelagh. He subdued the Welsh and the Scotch. He made successful warfare upon the inhabitants of Strathclyde, Cumbria, and Galloway, thus extending further than ever before the dominions of England in the North.

After a successful reign of twenty-four years Edward died, and in 925 was succeeded by his son ATHELSTANE. The court of this king is represented as having been more brilliant than that of any preceding sovereign. His policy was to carry forward the civilization of England—a work so well begun by his father and grandfather. The great event of the earlier part of his reign was the conquest of Wales, which country at this time became more subjected than hitherto to the authority of the English kings. So marked were the successes of Athelstane in the West that the Welsh were compelled to make payment of heavy tribute, and droves of beeves from the pastures of Wales were now first driven into London and Oxford. A like subjugation of the people was effected in Cornwall, and the warlike tribes beyond the river Tamar were reduced to obedience.

Meanwhile the people of Danelagh, always restive under English rule, had again gathered head for an insurrection. A leader was found in the Prince Olaf, or Aulaf, of Northumbria, who had of late carried on a successful war in Ireland, where he took the city of Dublin, and compelled the Celtic nations of the island to pay tribute. After these exploits the Danish chieftain returned to Northumbria, and sailed up the Humber with a fleet of six hundred and twenty sail. He effected an alliance with Constantine, king of the Scots, and was joined by the men of Strathclyde and Cumbria. The whole North rose in arms and bore down upon King Athelstane, who came forth and met his enemies on the field of Brunnaburg. Here the English gained a glorious victory. Five Danish princes of royal rank and seven earls were slain in this battle. A handful led by Olaf fled into Ireland. Constantine made his way north of the Frith of Forth, wailing out his grief for the death of his son. So decisive was the victory of Athelstane that none durst any longer resist his authority. The consolidation of the kingdoms and peoples of the island was now so complete that Athelstane felt warranted in assuming the title of "King of the English," a dignity which had not been claimed by either Edward or Alfred the Great.

The application of the term England to the growing monarchy is no longer inappropriate. The court of Athelstane was hardly less splendid than that of the later Carlovingians. Several foreign princes, either for observation or safety, made their home for a season with the English monarch. As already narrated, Louis d'Outremer found with his mother a safe retreat in London. Haco, son of King Harold of Norway, also abode with the courtiers of Athelstane. The counts of Brittany and Armorica, driven from their native possessions by the fury of the Danes, waited in England for the subsidence of the storm. Rulers of distant nations sent to the English king many and costly gifts, and the givers sought diligently to ally themselves with the Saxon blood by seeking the sisters of Athelstane in marriage.

In his patronage of letters and art Athelstane emulated the example of his grandfather. The translation of the Bible into Anglo-Saxon—a work which had been well begun in the reign of Alfred—was now diligently promoted, and the rising literature of England had no cause to complain of the want of royal patronage. After a brilliant reign of fifteen years, Athelstane died, and was succeeded in 940 by his brother EDMUND, surnamed the Atheling.

The new king proved to be a prince worthy of his stock. His character, however, showed itself in a fondness for the pursuits of peace rather than the carnage of war. Edmund was compelled, none the less, to lead his people in the long-continued struggle with

the Danes; for the great leader, Olaf, now returned from his retreat in Ireland, and again incited his countrymen to rise against the English. In the struggle that ensued the fortune of war turned in favor of the Danes, who gained several victories over Edmund's forces. The king was obliged at last to consent to a peace on the basis of resigning to the Danes the whole country north of Watlingstreet.

Scarcely, however, had this brief settlement been effected when the Danish leader died, and King Edmund succeeded in regaining the countries of the North. The kingdom of the Scots by this time began to show signs of vitality and progress. With Malcolm, king of that realm, Edmund deemed it expedient to cultivate friendly relations, and the two sovereigns made an alliance against the Danes. The English ruler soon showed his faith by his works. He made an invasion of Cumbria, whose people were in rebellion, and having reduced them to submission, made a present of the province to Malcolm. In the course of his war with the Cumbrians, Edmund made prisoners of the two sons of the king, Dummail, and them, in a manner wholly at variance with the usual clemency of the Anglo-Saxons in victory, he barbarously deprived of their eyes. Nemesis, however, soon brought her retribution for the deed. At the festival of St. Augustine in that year, while the king caroused with his nobles and Thanes, he recognized in the company a noted outlaw named Leof, who had been banished. Edmund ordered his expulsion from the festival, but the bandit stood his ground. The king, already heated with wine, sprang from his seat, seized Leof by his long hair, and attempted to lay him low, but the robber could not be handled. He drew a dagger and stabbed Edmund to the vitals. Thus, in the year 946, the crown of the kingdom was transferred by the sudden death of the king to ELDRED, another son of Edward the Elder.

This prince was already by the ravages of disease a physical wreck, and on account of his debility was nicknamed *Debilis Pedibus*, or Weak Feet. Fortunate it was for the new administration that the resolute Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, was one of the king's counselors, as was also the able Torkatul, chancellor of the kingdom.

On the accession of Eldred, the people of Danelagh, in common with the other inhabitants of the North, took the oath of allegiance to the new king. But it was not long until, incited by Eric, prince of Denmark, they took up arms against the Saxons. By this time the English army had become a veteran soldiery, and the discipline of Eldred's forces triumphed over the audacity of the Danes. Several bloody battles were fought, in which the English were victorious. Northumbria was more completely subjugated than ever before. The title of king was abolished, and the province was incorporated with the other realms of Eldred. It was not long, however, after these marked successes until the king died, without offspring, and left the crown (A. D. 955) to his brother EDWY, a youth but fifteen years of age.

The incapacity of the new sovereign was manifested in one of the first acts of his reign. He appointed his brother Edgar subregulus, or under king, of the old realm of Mercia, thus laying again the foundation for a possible dismemberment of the kingdom. The recent chastisement of the Danes and the generally quiet condition of affairs in the North gave promise of a peaceful reign. It happened, however, that a domestic embroglio arose, almost as ominous as a foreign war. The youthful king became enamored of his cousin Elgiva, whom he might not marry without violation to one of the most deeply seated prejudices of the Church. The prince, however, took the law into his own hands and married the maiden of his choice. Dunstan, already referred to as wielding a powerful influence in the state, set his face against the union. At the nuptial festival, when the monks and bishops, in common with the Thanes, had imbibed wine until they were uproariously drunken, the young king, less intemperate than his courtiers, slipped from the banquet hall and sought the chamber of his queen. His absence was at once remarked by the banqueters, who were deeply offended at their monarch's withdrawal. Dunstan was at once dispatched to bring him back. The monk accordingly broke into the bridal chamber, seized upon Edwy, dragged him from the side of Elgiva, and hurried him back to the banquet. The queen, also, and

her mother were obliged to lend their presence; and when they reached the hall where the revelers were carousing, they were insulted with filthy and disgusting language. This conduct struck fire from the indignant spirit of Edwy, and he determined to be revenged on the indecent churchmen who had disgraced his nuptials.

At this time the English Church was rent with feuds and quarrels over the question of the celibacy of the clergy. Some maintained—and to this class the secular clergymen mostly belonged—that the priests might marry without offense to the divine law; but the monks on the contrary, held that the marriage of a priest was a thing most horrible in the sight of heaven. The leaders of the latter party were Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, and the monk Dunstan. It appears that the king had espoused the opposite doctrine, and this fact added fuel to the quarrel which had broken out at the marriage feast. Dunstan, who had been treasurer of the kingdom during the reign of Eldred, was charged with peculation and driven into exile. He fled into Flanders, and it is said that the king made an unsuccessful attempt to have the monk's eyes put out by the people of Ghent. Archbishop Odo remained in Northumbria. Himself a Dane, he appealed to the people of his race to rise in revolt against the impious Edwy. In order to encourage a civil war, the insurgent party proclaimed Edgar king of the whole country north of the Thames. Dunstan, hearing of the insurrection which had been so successfully begun, returned from his exile.

While these events were taking place, the enemies of the king accomplished his domestic ruin. A company of knights, or more properly bandits, employed by the archbishop of Canterbury, broke into the royal residence, seized the beautiful Elgiva, branded her in the face with a hot iron, and dragging her away, cast her, a disfigured exile, into Ireland. The people of that island had compassion upon her in her misfortunes. They carefully nursed her back to health and beauty—for her wounds healed without scars—and sent her back to England. But the relentless Odo was on the alert. His brigands again seized the unfortunate queen. By them she was barbarously mutilated. The tendons of her limbs were cut; and in a few days the suffering princess expired in agony. This shock was more than the high-spirited Edwy could bear. In a short time, being in despair, he died. Nor is the suspicion wanting that the expiring agonies of the royal heart were hastened to a close by an assassin.

Thus in the year 959 Prince Edgar came to the throne of England. The event, viewed politically, was the triumph of the monkish party, headed by Odo and Dunstan. A relentless warfare was now waged against the married clergymen of the kingdom. They were everywhere expelled from the abbeys, monasteries, cathedrals, and churches. The doctrine of celibacy was enforced with merciless rigor. The monkish party ruled both king and kingdom. The youthful Edgar became a pliant tool in the hands of the old foxes, who were loose in the pastures and gardens of England. In the midst of this progressive retrogression several circumstances conspired to improve the condition of the kingdom. The king had been reared among the Danes, and was by them looked upon as their own prince. His accession to the throne was regarded as a kind of Danish ascendency in the island. This fact contributed greatly to the general peace of the realm. Nor can it be denied that Odo and Dunstan administered the affairs of state with great vigor and ability. The kingdom was more thoroughly consolidated than ever before. The English army was better disciplined, and the fleet was increased to three hundred and sixty sail. The ministers of the king induced him to adopt a policy of journeying in person into all parts of England, making the acquaintance of the people, holding courts, and encouraging enterprise. So great was his reputation that eight kings are said to have rowed his barge in the river Dee.

This actual augmentation of power was reflected in the high-sounding titles which Edgar assumed. He was called Emperor of Albion, King of the English and of all the islands and nations around. It was the good fortune of his reign not to be disturbed by a single war, and from this auspicious circumstance the king received the surname of the Peaceable. His policy was conciliatory. The

Welsh tribute was commuted into three hundred wolf-scalps annually. He called in the worn and mutilated coin of the kingdom, and reïssued a new money in place of the old. Many other beneficent measures attested the progressive character of the times. In his private life, however, the king was any other than a temperate or virtuous ruler. His court was the resort of profligate men and abandoned women. Notwithstanding the fact that the king, as the willing instrument of Odo and Dunstan, enforced the celibacy of the clergy with a rigor never before known among the Anglo-Saxons, he himself failed ingloriously as an exemplar of the domestic canons of the church. He bore the character of a profligate, surrounding himself with concubines and converting the court into a harem. Not satisfied with ordinary flagitiousness, he abducted from the monastery of Wilton a beautiful nun, named Elfreda, and made her his paramour. Notwithstanding this outrageous conduct the monkish chroniclers of the age bestow great praise on Edgar as a virtuous and godly prince! Forsooth it was sufficient that he countenanced them in their doctrines and practices, and supported the profligate race of shaven scribes who lauded his fictitious and sham morality.

The story of Edgar's second marriage is illustrative of the character of the times. Orgar, earl of Devonshire, had a beautiful daughter named Elfrida. The fame of her charms was borne to the ears of the royal voluptuary. Imagining himself already in love with the lily of Devon, he sent thither one of his courtiers named Athelwold to spy out the hidden beauty of the West, and to recite to him her varied attractions. The *courier d'amour* found the princess even as she had been represented, and then, after the manner of men, fell in love with her himself. Concealing the true object of his mission, he sought and obtained the hand of Orgar's daughter in marriage. He then hurried back to his master and reported that the princess of Devon was indeed wealthy, but that her beauty was a myth. The king, however, suspected his spy of lying, and determined to resolve with his own eyes the question of Elfrida's charms. Athelwold was ordered to return to Devon and to make straight a path for the king. The courtier, thus brought into a narrow place, and knowing not what to do, ordered his wife to put on coarse attire and demean herself like a peasant; but she, perceiving that she had taken a courtier when she might have married a king, was not unwilling that her beauty might dazzle the royal vision. It thus happened that the double-dealing Athelwold was hoisted on his own petard. Presently afterwards he was found murdered in the woods, and the ambitious Elfrida was taken by the king. It was not long until Edgar's son by his former wife was also disposed of, and the way thus cleared for the succession of Elfrida's offspring to the throne.

A few years after the perpetration of these crimes King Edgar died, and was succeeded in 975 by his son, called EDWARD THE MARTYR, at that time but fifteen years of age. He it was whose claims were resisted by Elfrida. She advanced the charge that Edward was of illegitimate birth. The right of her own son Ethelred was boldly advanced by the unscrupulous queen, and the two half-brothers were soon arrayed against each other in war. Now it was that the anti-celibate party in the priesthood rallied from obscurity and banishishment, and espousing the cause of Ethelred, sought the restoration of their fortunes. On the other hand, Dunstan, who had now succeeded Odo as archbishop of Canterbury, upheld the claims of Edward. In the struggle that ensued the latter was at first successful; but Elfrida was by no means content to see her son displaced. She made a league with Alfere, the eolderman of Mercia, and organized a conspiracy among the Thanes of the North. For three years the hostile parties faced each other, but did not proceed to the extremity of war. Elfrida and her son, meanwhile, resided at Corfe Castle, in Dorsetshire. On a certain occasion, the king, hunting in this neighborhood, resolved to pay a visit to his half-brother. Elfrida received Edward with smiles at the castle gate, and gave him a cup of wine to drink; but as he was raising the cup to his lips, one of Elfrida's attendants stabbed him in the back. The wounded king put spurs to his horse and fled, but presently fainting and falling from the saddle, he was dragged by one foot through the woods until life was extinct.

This bloody outrage left the boy Ethelred the rightful heir to the throne; rightful, for it appears that in the murder of his half-brother he had no part or sympathy. It is even related that when he wept on account of Edward's death, the furious Elfrida beat him with a torch until he was well-nigh dead himself. The personal innocence of the prince, however, did not shield him from the popular odium engendered by his mother's crimes. Taking advantage of this fact, the able and crafty Dunstan again appeared on the scene, and rallied the monkish party against the throne. He found a claimant to the crown in the Princess Edgitha, daughter of Edgar and that lady whom he had abducted from the nunnery of Wilton. Edgitha, however, had taken the veil and refused to exchange her quiet life for the dangers and passions of the court. The celibate party was therefore obliged to consent that the crown should be worn by the imbecile son of Elfrida, upon whom they vented their spleen by giving him the nickname of the Unready.

The personal character of several of the recent kings, and the crimes and murders which had been committed by rival claimants of the crown and their partisans, no less than the disgraceful church broils of the celibate and anti-celibate parties, had by this time almost extinguished the hearty Saxon loyalty with which the people had regarded the House of Alfred. Why should sturdy Englishmen any longer uphold the degenerate representative of that illustrious family? Meanwhile, in the course of the last half century, the ancient and terrible animosity between the Saxons and the Danes had subsided. Each had come, in a certain measure, to regard the other as countrymen. Affinity of race and language had been supplemented by hundreds and thousands of inter-marriages. It thus happened that the Saxon Thanes and yeomanry of Wessex and the South began to look with favor upon the project of substituting an able Dane for a degenerate Saxon on the throne of England. And while this feeling grew apace in the country south of the Thames, certain general causes, having their roots in the political condition of Norway, Denmark, France, and England, also conduced to a change of dynasty.

For in the mean time Prince SWEYN, son of the king of Denmark, having quarreled with his father, was banished from the kingdom. Such, however, were his talents, ambition, and personal influence, that a large company of warriors and adventurers gathered around his banner and followed his fortunes on the sea. After a few preliminary adventures, the audacious Dane made a descent on England; and though at first the expedition was intended rather to discover the condition of affairs and try the spirit of the people than to undertake a serious conquest, yet it was not long until Sweyn conceived a larger and more alarming enterprise. In the year 981 he fell upon and captured the city of Southampton. From hence he proceeded to Chester and London. These important places were also taken and pillaged. The ominous raven of Denmark was seen now here, now there, as far as the borders of Cornwall. The incompetency of Ethelred to defend his kingdom against these aggressions was painfully manifested. His attention in the great crisis which was upon the country was absorbed with local difficulties and the quarrels of the monks. Alfere of Mercia was now dead, and the earldom had descended to his son, Alfric. Him the king had first banished and then recalled; but the earl nursed his revenge until the day of judgment. That day was now at hand, and Sweyn the Dane was the precursor.

In the year 991 the English were defeated in a great battle fought in East Anglia. Alarmed at the situation of affairs, Ethelred had recourse to the fatal expedient of purchasing a peace. The payment of ten thousand pounds of silver procured the temporary retirement of the enemy from the country. In a short time, however, the Saxon Witenagemot adopted measures for the enlargement and better equipment of the fleet, and the English soon found themselves again masters of the sea. But the command of the squadron was given to Alfric, who now found ample opportunity to be revenged. As soon as an engagement with the Danes could be brought about he went over with a large part of the fleet to the enemy. Ethelred was reduced to the miserable expedient of seizing Alfric's son and putting out his eyes.

In the year 993 all of ancient Danelagh was overrun by the native insurgents combined with foreign marauders. Meanwhile, the king of Denmark was slain, and Sweyn ascended the throne. He formed an alliance with Olaf of Norway, and in the following year the two monarchs made a formidable descent upon the southern coasts of England. Ethelred was again obliged to buy off his assailants, who now exacted sixteen thousand pounds as the price of peace. The miserable and now priest-ridden spirit of the Saxons found some solace in a clause of the treaty which required the victors to be baptized. To this the Danes readily assented. To them it was no more than a plunge in the water. Sweyn himself had already several times received the rite at the hands of the zealous priests, anxious for the welfare of his barbaric soul. One of the other leaders made a boast that he *had been washed twenty times!* In the case of Olaf, however, it appears that a genuine conversion from paganism was effected. At any rate he honestly observed his oath not to trouble the English further.

The same could not be said of his countrymen, who took only to break the oath. From 998 to 1001 the country was constantly vexed with Danish incursions. Meanwhile, the military resources of the kingdom, under the puerile management of Ethelred and his council, rapidly declined until the only available means of preventing the ascendency of the Danes was the gold of the treasury. On one occasion as much as twenty-four thousand pounds was paid to secure the departure of the enemy. This tremendous burden was lifted by a tax, known as the *Dane-geld*, which was levied upon the Saxon yeomanry.

While this deplorable state of affairs existed at home, Ethelred managed to embroil the kingdom in foreign complications. He quarreled with Richard II., duke of Normandy, and the two princes were proceeding to war when the Pope commanded the peace. Ethelred then sought the hand of the Princess Emma, sister of the Norman duke, and by this marriage of the English king with her who was known as the Flower of Normandy was laid the foundation of that claim which, in 1066, led to the conquest of the British Isles by William the Conqueror.

The general condition of the Danes and Saxons in England and their relations with each other, living in many parts intermingled as a common people, have been already described. In the North the Danish population was generally predominant; in the South, the Saxon. In the central districts the two peoples were mixed together. The situation was such as in case of treachery to expose the victims of a plot to the greatest hardships.

It appears that King Ethelred was as perfidious as he was weak. The situation of the Danes seems to have suggested to him the horrible project of exterminating them by a wholesale massacre! It can not be denied that the foreigners and their descendants in the island had behaved with great harshness towards the native population. The severity and outrage peculiar to the early years of the Danish domination had, however, at length given place to a milder, more tolerable condition of affairs. Quiet and orderly habits had at length become prevalent among the grandsons of those old pirates who had made England red with the light of their burnings. This state of his people, however, seems to have had no effect upon the bloody mind of Ethelred and the scarcely less perfidious spirit of his Saxon subjects.

In the latter part of the year 1002 the king sent out secret orders into all the cities and towns, appointing a day and hour in which the Saxons should everywhere fall upon and destroy the Danes. The time set for the great atrocity was the feast of St. Brice, namely, the 13th of November. With a horrid precision the murderous scheme was carried out. At the appointed hour the unsuspecting Danes in every town and hamlet were attacked and cut down by their neighbors. No mercy was shown to any. All ages and conditions were hewed down together. Even Gunhilda, sister of King Sweyn, herself a Christian and married to an English earl of Danish descent, was obliged to look on while her husband and child were put to death, and was herself then murdered. No wonder, when the news of this bloody work was carried to Denmark, the heart of Sweyn grew hot within him, and he resolved to visit on the treacherous English such a vengeance as should never be forgotten.

A Danish armament was now fitted out by far greater than any that had ever been seen off the coasts of England. An army of chosen warriors, all in the prime of life, was embarked, and the squadron set sail for its destination. The first landing was effected near the city of Exeter. That place was soon taken and plundered. The work of vengeance was now begun in earnest. In every town through which the invading army passed the Danes compelled the Saxons to furnish them a feast. As soon as the warriors had eaten their fill they slew their hosts and set fire to the houses. When at last a Saxon army of nearly equal strength was brought out to stay this desolating inroad, it was commanded by that same Alfric of Mercia who had already betrayed an English fleet into the hands of the enemy. How or why he had again been restored to the king's favor does not appear. At any rate, when a battle was imminent, the traitor got in his work by feigning sickness until what time King Sweyn succeeded in securing his booty and made his way unmolested to the coast. In the year 1004 England was reduced to famine, and the Danes, not liking the prospect of starvation in a foreign island, sailed away to the Baltic.

In the mean time that train of events was carried forward which portended the establishment of the Norman ascendency in England. Ethelred had hoped, by his marriage with the Princess Emma, to obtain an alliance with the Normans against the Danes. In his emergency he appealed to Duke Richard for help. The latter heeded his call, but only in such a way as to promote the interests of his country. Those Normans who came over to the island for the ostensible purpose of taking up Ethelred's cause against the northern invaders were more concerned about the establishment of their master's influence in England than about the chastisement of the Danes. In the mean time the king's conduct towards his wife had been such as to give mortal offense to her womanly pride. She laid her cause before her brother, the duke, and found in him a ready listener to the story of her wrongs. A violent quarrel broke out between him and Ethelred. The latter was on the eve of invading Normandy, and was only hindered in his purpose by the distracted condition of the kingdom. The duke, upon his part, seized upon all the English in his realm, killed some, and cast the rest into prison. Thus was engendered between England and Normandy a state of hostility which was not likely to be appeased, except by the conquest of one of the countries by the other.

While these events were in progress King Sweyn again returned into England, further to appease his vengeance on the murderers of his countrymen. The Witenagemot, knowing the warrior with whom they had to deal, and thoroughly distrusting their own sovereign, adopted the usual expedient of purchasing a peace. But the triumphant Sweyn now demanded thirty thousand pounds as the price of his forbearance. This enormous sum was raised and paid; but the people began at last to see that the spoliation of the country was as dreadful under the policy adopted by the king as if the land were left a prey to the Danes.

In 1008, only two years after the former levy, another assessment was made upon the lands of the kingdom. The object in this instance was to rebuild the English fleet; but after this work was accomplished the squadron was soon broken up by the dissensions and treachery of the commanders. A certain courtier named Edric had obtained such an ascendency over Ethelred's mind that he virtually ruled the kingdom. Bithric, a brother of this magnate, was also in high favor. The latter made a conspiracy against Earl Wulfnoth, who was obliged to save himself by flight. He took with him, however, twenty ships of the English navy, and when pursued by Bithric, with eighty vessels, had the good fortune to see his enemy's squadron wrecked in a storm. The remainder of the English armament was dispersed by mismanagement or accident, and the kingdom was thus left naked to her enemies.

As soon as it was known in Denmark that the preparations for defending the island had come to naught, a large fleet was equipped and an army put on board, under command of a leader named Thurkill. For three years this host ravaged England at will. The kingdom had no peace or security except such as was afforded by brief truces purchased from the Danes. During this period the adherents

of Ethelred's government fell away until he was left without supporters. As for himself, he still pursued the policy of quieting the enemy with bribes. It is said that he paid to Thurkill the sum of forty-eight thousand pounds. By this means the Danish leader was induced to consent to a peace, and even to ally himself with Ethelred. It appears, however, that his motives were treacherous, and that he was really acting in concert with Sweyn, who now contemplated the complete subjugation of England. Presently Thurkill quarreled with Ethelred, and undertook a new expedition; but the Danish king now appeared on the scene, and avowed his purpose of reducing both Thurkill and the Saxon monarch to submission. With the appearance of Sweyn on the Humber the people of Danelagh rose and joined his banners. Most of the army of Thurkill did the same. The central counties of England quietly submitted. Oxford and Winchester opened their gates to receive him. Ethelred meanwhile took refuge in London, and here the valor of the citizens kept the Danes at bay for a season. All the West soon submitted to the Danish king.

Seeing that the rest of the kingdom had fallen away, the Londoners at length gave up the contest, and Ethelred fled with his family and sought protection at the court of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Normandy. In the beginning of the year 1013 Sweyn was acknowledged as the king of England; but a few weeks afterwards he died at the town of Gainsborough. Thereupon the Saxon Thanes reässerted themselves, and invited Ethelred, after his six weeks' banishment, to return to the throne. The Danish party meanwhile proclaimed the Prince CANUTE, son of King Sweyn, as monarch of the country. Civil war again broke out, and for a season there was a reign of bloodshed and burning.

At length, completely despairing of relief at the hands of their unready sovereign, the Saxon nobles set aside the claims of Ethelred and his legitimate children, and selected for their king his natural son, the warlike EDMUND, surnamed Ironside. It was the misfortune of this valorous prince to receive at the hands of his supporters an already exhausted country. Nevertheless he did as much as courage might to retrieve the fortunes of Saxon England. Twice he attempted to relieve the beleaguered city of London. He fought with the enemy five pitched battles, but the Danes were generally victorious. As a last desperate measure of defense he challenged Canute to mortal combat. The latter, however, durst not meet his stalwart antagonist in personal battle, but proposed instead the division of the kingdom between them. The proposition was accepted; Edmund Ironside ruled over the South, and Canute received the rest of the island.

This settlement, however, was of only two months' duration. Within that time after the treaty the Saxon monarch died, and in 1017 the whole kingdom passed under the dominion of Canute. This distinguished ruler began his reign with measures of conciliation, but his course in this respect was more politic than sincere. The House of Ethelred was bitterly persecuted, and many of that family and its Saxon adherents were hunted down and slain. Edward and Edmund, the infant sons of Edmund Ironside, were seized and sent to Sweden. The king of that country, having compassion upon their misfortunes, sent them to distant Hungary, where Edmund died. The Prince Edward, however, married the daughter of the Emperor of Germany, of which union were born Edgar Atheling, Christina, and Margaret. The last named was married to Malcolm, king of Scotland, and thus through a Scottish House the blood of King Alfred was transmitted to aftertimes.

Meanwhile the warrior King Canute was menaced by a specter out of Normandy. In that country the two princes, Edward and Alfred, sons of Ethelred and Emma, were supported by Duke Richard, their uncle. The latter demanded of the Danish king that the rights of his nephews should be respected; and when this demand was treated with contempt, the Norman duke offered his sister, the widowed Emma, to the Dane in marriage. It appears that Duke Richard, the widow herself, and Canute were equally anxious to consummate this unnatural union. Nor was it with a view to securing the rights of her sons so much as again becoming queen of England that the Flower of Normandy went up gladly to the bed of the royal Danish ruffian by whom her former husband had been destroyed.

As for the exiled princes, to them no further thought was given. They grew up in Normandy, forgot the language of their father, and ceased to be regarded in the realm over which they might have reigned.

Thus it happened that the crowns of England, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway were combined on the head of Canute. In the northern kingdoms, however, his claims were much disputed, and he was involved in several foreign wars. The last of his expeditions was undertaken in the year 1017 against Duncan, king of Cumbria. The war lasted for two years; nor could the Cumbrians and Scots be subdued until the king's resources were strained to the utmost. After this conflict in the North was brought to a successful conclusion, the kingdom enjoyed an interval of peace more beneficent in its results than any epoch since the times of Alfred the Great.

The despotic CANUTE relaxed the rigor of his reign. His revengeful nature found no further cause of offense, and in his old age, forgetting to be cruel, he sought comfort for his soul in a pilgrimage to Rome. In the year 1030 he assumed the pilgrim's garb and journeyed to the Eternal City. Returning from his holy visit, he went into Denmark, where he tarried for some time. From that country he sent his commands to England by the abbot of Tavistock, and thus maintained his authority over his English realms.



CANUTE REBUKING HIS COURTIERS.

Of King Canute tradition has fondly repeated a famous incident. At the height of his power, struck one day with remorseful reflections on the brevity and follies of human greatness, and disgusted with the excessive flatteries of the sycophants about the court, he ordered them to bear him down to the seashore in his chair of state. Having seated himself in the very edge of the surf as the tide came roaring in he demanded to know of his courtiers whether the sea would obey him and stand back. After the manner of liars, they answered that the great deep would shrink at his gesture of command. The king then sat silently awaiting the issue, while the tide rolled in around him. "Ocean," said he, "the land and the sea are mine. Presume not to wet the edge of my robe." The surf rose higher and the king was obliged to wade dripping from the waters. Thereupon he turned and rebuked the fawning flatterers, whose ill-timed adulation had magnified the greatness of the weak.

In the year 1035 Canute died, and was buried at Winchester. He left to the realm another disputed succession; for the claims of HARDICANUTE, his son by the widow of Ethelred, were disputed by his two illegitimate sons, named Sweyn and Harold. As to these two princes, the scandal of the time declared that they were not of the royal blood at all. It was said that Alfgiva, the mistress of Canute, had imposed on him two bantlings not his own; the gossip of the times was perhaps a true interpretation of the facts. Nevertheless, the credulous Canute recognized Sweyn and Harold as joint heirs with Hardicanute, and purposed to divide his kingdom among them. He accordingly provided that England should fall to HAROLD, Denmark to Hardicanute, and Norway to Sweyn. When the king died, two of his sons, Hardicanute and Sweyn, were in the north of Europe, only Harold being in England. The claims of Hardicanute to the English crown were ardently supported by the old Saxon party in the island, for he was the son of the widow of Ethelred, and therefore allied to the royal family. In the Danelagh, however, the people recognized Harold. Civil war was again imminent, and was only obviated by the interference of the Witenagemot, which body convened at Oxford and divided the realm between the rival claimants. Harold should have the country north of the Thames, with London for his capital, and Hardicanute should rule the South.

The latter prince, being still in Denmark, sent his mother, Emma, as regent of England. With her the powerful Earl Godwin was to share the authority during the absence of the king. Harold, however, perceiving the weakness of the situation, resolved to usurp his brother's throne, and the condition of affairs in the southern kingdom favored such an enterprise.

Meanwhile Prince Edward, son of Ethelred and Emma, still residing in Normandy, advanced his claims to the crown once worn by his father. Hearing of the death of Canute, he set sail for England and landed at Southampton. From his mother's friends he had expected a cordial reception and support; but that unscrupulous lady was now engaged in an intrigue to secure the succession for her son Hardicanute. Edward was obliged to beat a hasty retreat from the island. Soon afterwards both of the sons of Ethelred were invited by a treacherous letter, purporting to have been written by their mother, to return to England and claim their inheritance. Edward was wary of the invitation, but the young Alfred, attended by six hundred followers, accepted his mother's call, and landed opposite to Canterbury. Here he was met by the powerful Earl Godwin, who swore allegiance to the prince and began to conduct him inland. When the party had advanced as far as Guildford, while Alfred and his friends were sleeping unarmed at night, they were suddenly assailed and massacred by the barbarous soldiers of King Harold. The eyes of the prince were torn out, and he died in agony. The ruler of England had thus put out of the way another of his possible rivals. Nor was it long until he secured for himself the full title of the King of England. He received the surname of Harefoot. Of his reign there is little to be recorded other than the quarrels of the clergy and the intrigues of the Saxon and Danish parties to obtain an ascendency in the affairs of state.

After a reign of four years, Harold died and in 1040 was succeeded by his half-brother, Hardicanute. It was the happy fortune of this prince to be acceptable to both the English factions—to the Saxons, because he was the son of Emma; to the Danes, because he was the son of Canute. As for the prince, he favored his father's people. He chose his courtiers from among his countrymen of the North, and his army and navy were Danish. During the early years of his reign there were several insurrections, chiefly traceable to the king's partiality for men of his own race. For his predecessor, however, he manifested such contempt that the Saxons were delighted. The body of Harold was digged from the grave, insulted, decapitated, and thrown into the river. In his tastes the king manifested all the gluttonous excesses of his people. Four times a day he feasted, and then held a carousal at night. Meanwhile, the affairs of government were managed by Earl Godwin and the queen-mother Emma. At length, after a reign of nearly two years, in the midst of a revel by night, Hardicanute, al-

ready drunken, fell down dead on the floor of his banquet-hall.

After his foolish attempt to secure the throne of England, the Prince Edward had retired to Normandy, and there devoted himself to more congenial pursuits. Fain would he have become a holy man and retired from the world. With the death of Hardicanute, however, a plain way was opened before his feet, and in 1042 he ascended the throne of England. The Danes had now no descendant of Canute to advance against Edward's claims, and many of their nobles retired from the island. Even Earl Godwin forebore to oppose the accession of EDWARD, who received the surname of the Confessor, and began a prosperous but not untroubled reign.

One of the first acts of the new sovereign was to accept in marriage the daughter of Godwin. It is believed that the stern father-in-law himself dictated this union with a view to increasing his own power in the kingdom. This circumstance may in part account for the fact that in no long time the report went abroad that King Edward treated his wife with great harshness. As to his mother, the royal severity was mingled with scorn. Perhaps the treatment was not unmerited; for the belief was prevalent that the death of the Prince Alfred might be traced to a plot having its seat in the bosom of Emma.

In the year 1043 an attempt was made by Magnus, king of Denmark, to restore the fortunes of his House in England. A Danish fleet once more appeared off the coast; but the Saxons were now prepared to receive their enemy, and the latter deemed it prudent to retire to the Baltic. The Saxon monarchy had now come to rest on so firm a basis that an overthrow was no longer to be feared at the hands of buccaneers and marauders.

Notwithstanding the general quiet of Edward's reign, his authority over his subjects had in it an element of feebleness. The great Earl Godwin and the other Thanes and nobles of the kingdom had so augmented their power as to make their ruler a king by sufferance. By them most of the lands of the kingdom had been appropriated. By them courts were held, judges appointed, and levies made of troops and money. The combined power of this nascent, feudal nobility was greater than that of the monarch, and but for their jealousies and quarrels, they might have at any time compassed his dethronement.

Another element of weakness specially to be noted in the government of Edward was his preference for the Normans. He could but see that those polite gentlemen of Rouen, in whose society he had passed the greater part of his life, were greatly superior in manners and culture to even the most refined of his rough, untutored countrymen. He preferred the language and dress of his adopted country to those of his native land. The royal predilection in these regards furnished a sufficient motive for constant communication with the gay court of Rouen. Many scholarly and courtly Normans came over to Edward's capital, and brought with them the sunlight of Normandy. For these ample provision was made by the king, and it was not long before this dawning Norman ascendency was felt in all parts of the kingdom.

However agreeable this state of affairs may have been to the king himself, it was gall and wormwood to the Saxons. The already overgrown power of Earl Godwin was thus greatly increased; for he was regarded as the leader of the native nobility against the Norman innovations. In 1044, however, a circumstance occurred which for a while greatly injured the earl's popularity and power. His oldest son, bearing the famous name of Sweyn, proved to be a brigand and adventurer. Contemptuous of all law and sanctity, he violated an abbess and was banished from the kingdom. He improved his exile by becoming a terrible pirate, which vocation he plied until what time his father procured for him a pardon from the king. In the delay incident to such a business Sweyn became impatient and laid the blame upon his cousin Beorn, then residing at the court. Him, on returning to England, he first conciliated and then murdered. But his father's influence was able to secure a second pardon, and Sweyn was restored to his estates.

In the year 1051 Count Eustace, of Boulogne, who, by his marriage with the Lady Goda, daughter of Ethelred, became brother-in-law to the king, paid a visit to Edward and his court. Here he found every thing conformed to the style and manner of Nor-

mandy. It was not wonderful that he conceived for the Saxons a sentiment of profound contempt. On departing after his sojourn the count, with his retainers, entered the town of Dover, and there became embroiled in a bloody riot with the inhabitants. Eustace thereupon returned to the capital and laid his grievances before the king. The latter ordered Earl Godwin to proceed forthwith to the punishment of those who had insulted his Norman brother-in-law.

Instead of doing as he was bid the earl espoused the cause of the men of Dover, and told the king plainly that the Normans were they who deserved the punishment. Edward thereupon summoned Godwin himself before his foreign court at Gloucester, there to answer for his contumacious conduct. Incensed at this summons, the earl took up arms. At this time the whole country south of the Thames was under his sway. His eldest son, Harold, appeared on the scene. This young prince and his brother Sweyn, as well as their father, led large bands of armed men to Gloucester, and demanded that Count Eustace should be given up. The king, in this crisis, sought to gain time by negotiation. Meanwhile Siward, earl of Northumbria, and Leofric, earl of Mercia, who were rivals of Godwin, came to the rescue of Edward. The two armies came face to face; but it was now discovered that the fierce animosity so long existing between the Saxons of the South and the Anglo-Danes of the North had so far died away that the angry leaders could not precipitate a battle. Godwin and the king were obliged, by a popular sentiment, to make peace and to refer their difficulties to the Witenagemot for settlement. But before the time of the meeting of that body the tide had so turned against Godwin that he was unable to sustain his cause, and he was banished. Together with his wife and three of his sons, he set sail for Flanders, where he was cordially received by Baldwin, count of that province. The princes Harold and Leofwin escaped from the western coast and made their way to Ireland.

Having thus freed himself from the presence of the male members of the House of Godwin, the king next turned his anger upon his wife Editha, who, as will be remembered, was a daughter of the banished earl. From her Edward took away her estates and jewels, and then, when she was completely broken in spirit, confined her in the monastery of Wherwell.

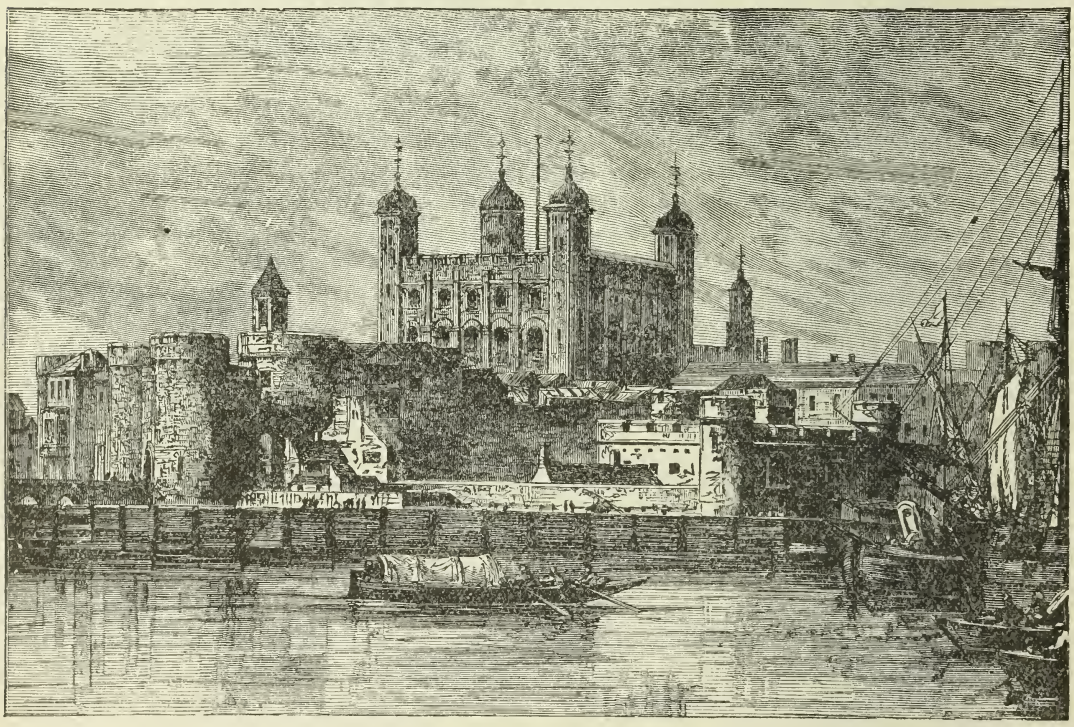
Thus, for the time, was the Saxon party overthrown and scattered. Relieved of the presence of his most formidable opponents, Edward gave free rein to his preference for the people and institutions of Normandy. The Norman nobles came over in great numbers, and settled at his court. Even Prince William, the illegitimate son of Duke Robert, availed himself of the opportunity to tarry for a season with Edward and his friends. Nor is it doubtful that this ambitious aspirant, who was destined to play so important a part in the history of mediæval England, was already, on the occasion of his visit, looking to the possibilities of the future. King Edward was childless, and it was said that he was under a sort of monastic vow to remain so. The Norman rage, already prevalent in the upper circles of English politics, pointed even now to a not remote contingency of a Norman dynasty in the island. The Prince William was cousin to the reigning king, and the circumstance of his being the son of a tanner's daughter had little weight, so long as he was also the son of the Duke of Normandy. He was received by Edward with every mark of esteem and preference. He was taken into the private counsels of the king, and it is hardly to be doubted that then and there it was understood that after Edward's death the crown of England should descend to William.

Meanwhile, however, the great Earl Godwin, now exiled in Flanders, was neither idle nor despairing. In 1052 he got together a powerful fleet and boldly returned to England. Landing on the southern coast, he was cordially welcomed by the Saxons, who everywhere rose in his favor. Harold and Leofwin returned from Ireland and joined his standard. Presently the earl's fleet sailed up the Thames, and on approaching London was reënforced by many of the men and ships of Edward. Godwin behaved with much moderation, merely demanding a revocation of the edict of exile against himself and family and a redress of grievances. This the king obstinately refused. But the crisis in the royal household soon be-

came so threatening that the monarch was obliged to consent to negotiations. Then it was that the Norman favorites of the court of Edward suddenly took to flight. No longer were the fogs of London or its spectral Tower congenial to the elegant Messieurs of Rouen. Some took refuge in castles along the coast, but the greater part fled to Normandy.

To complete what revolution had already accomplished, the Witenagemot assembled and passed a sentence of outlawry against the Normans. Godwin and his sons were legally with the king. In the midst of the banquet, while the carousal was at its height, the earl was struck with apoplexy, and fell dying from his seat. In a few days he expired, and his estates and title descended to Prince Harold, best and bravest of his sons.

Many circumstances now conspired to turn the attention and expectancy of the kingdom to the son of Godwin. Siward, the earl of Northumbria, died; his eldest son, Osberne, was slain in battle with the Scots, and the younger was too immature to succeed to his



THE TOWER OF LONDON.

restored to their estates. Queen Editha was taken from the monastery and brought back in triumph to London. Only Sweyn, the brigand, was excluded from the pardon. Finding that the blood-stains of his crimes could not be washed away, the bandit son of Godwin made the most of the situation by putting on a pilgrim's garb and walking barefoot to Jerusalem!

By this counter-revolution the Saxon party again became dominant in the kingdom. Godwin, however, did not long survive his triumph. Having regained a kind of enforced favor at the court, he feasted one day

father's titles. Meanwhile the thoughts of the king were turned more and more from this world to the next, and he resolved as a measure preparatory to his exit to make a pilgrimage to Rome. The Witenagemot, seeing their childless king about to depart, recalled his pious thoughts to the fact that no succession had been provided in case of his death. This emergency in the state brought out from long obscurity the Prince Edward Atheling, son of Edmund Ironside, and set him forth as heir expectant of the crown. Edward was sent for, and brought with many acclamations to London. Shortly after his arrival, however,

he suddenly sickened and died, and the suspicion was blown abroad that the means of his taking-off was poison, and the cause the jealousy of Harold. Be this as it may, the problem of the succession was reduced to this: whether Harold, as the representative of the Saxon party but of no blood kinship to the former kings of England, should succeed Edward on the throne, or whether the crown, after the demise of Edward, should descend to William of Normandy.

Now are we come to the complications which immediately preceded the establishment of a Norman dynasty in the British Islands. King Edward is *said* to have made a will in which he bequeathed his crown to Duke William, his cousin. It is *said* that this will was executed before the recall of Edward the Atheling. It is *said* that the nature of this instrument was kept a profound secret for years, and that Harold remained in ignorance of the scheme which had been concocted to thwart his ambition. It is *said*, on the other hand, that the king's will was not made until 1065, the year before his death; and that Harold, instead of being kept in ignorance of its contents, was himself dispatched by the king to reveal the provisions of the instrument to Duke William. Certain it is that Prince Harold found his way—whether by accident or design does not appear—to the Norman court; that he was wrecked at the mouth of the river Somme; that he was seized by the Count of Ponthieu; that he was imprisoned in the castle of Beaurain; and that he appealed in his distress to Duke William for help. The latter quickly saw his advantage. He demanded that Harold should be released and sent to Rouen. In order to secure this result he gave to the Count of Pouthieu a large sum of money and a fine estate. It was not long until he had Harold in his power, but the crafty Norman preferred to gain his end by policy rather than violence. He made known to Harold, who now perceived the extreme peril of his situation, his purpose of claiming the crown of England in accordance with a long-standing pledge made to himself by Edward the Confessor.

Harold was dumfounded and — helpless. He was in the power of his great rival. William proceeded to extort from his guest a promise that the latter would promote his scheme for the assumption of the English crown. He induced the prince to promise that in the event of Edward's death he would aid him in obtaining the kingdom. Albeit the promise was given with mental reservation; but what could Harold do, being in the clutches of his rival? To make assurance doubly sure, William contrived that Harold should swear to fulfill his pledges. Nor was either the moral character of the Norman duke or the spirit of the age above resorting to a ridiculous subterfuge in order to give additional sanctity to the oath. A meeting was appointed for the ceremony. William sat in his chair of state and the Norman nobles were ranged around according to their rank. When Harold appeared the Duke arose and said, "Earl Harold, I require you, before this noble assembly, to confirm, by oath, the promises you have made me—to wit: to assist me in obtaining the kingdom of England, after King Edward's death, to marry my daughter Adele, and to send me your sister, that I may give her in marriage to one of mine." The prince had no alternative but to swear. He laid his hand upon the Bible and took the oath, being in evident trepidation. Then, at a signal from the duke, the cloth which covered a table was jerked aside, and there was revealed a box filled with the bones of saints and martyrs. Over this terrible heap of osteology, the son of Godwin had sworn away his own right to the throne of England!

Prince Harold, thus duped and overreached, was permitted to depart. He returned to England loaded with presents and accompanied by Haco, one of the Saxon nobles whom Godwin had given as a hostage to Edward the Confessor, and by him had been sent for safe keeping to his cousin, William of Normandy. The other hostage was detained at Rouen as a guaranty for the fulfillment of Harold's oath.

On his return to his own country, the English prince, though humiliated, was received with honor. He became again the recognized head of the Saxon party, by whom he was openly upheld for the succession. The event was now at hand which was to determine the value of his claims. The childless Edward came to his death-bed. It is said

that, in his last hours, he renewed in the presence of his nobles and attendants the provision of his will by which the crown was to descend to William of Normandy. "Ye know right well, my lords," said he, "that I have bequeathed my kingdom to the Duke of Normandy; and are there not those here who have plighted oaths to secure William's succession?" Again it is said that in the last scene the dying king named Prince Harold as his successor. Be that as it may, Edward died in January of 1066, and the question of the succession remained to be decided by the rival claimants to the crown.

We are now in the day-break of the Norman conquest of England. That great event will be fully narrated in the succeeding Book. Here for the present we pause. The narrative will be resumed at the proper place, beginning with the death of Edward the Confessor and the consequent struggle of Harold and William for the English crown.




MAP XI.
FEUDAL EUROPE.
By A. von Steinwehr.
From Thalheimer's Mediæval and Modern History, by permission.
Scale of Miles.
0 50 100 200 300
Abbreviations:
Kdm. = Kingdom
Dm. = Dukedom
Pr. = Principality
M. = Margraviate
Co. = Countship
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Kdm. of NORWAY
Kdm. of SWEDEN
Kdm. of DENMARK
Kdm. of IRELAND
SCOTLAND
ENGLAND
London
Edinburgh
Dublin
Tonsberg
Upsala
Roeskilde
Lund
Ladoga
FINNISH or TCHUDISH NATIONS
Wessians
Novgorod
Esthland
Slovenes
Polotsanians
Lithuanians
Samlanders
Courland
Slonensians
Prussia
Pomerania
Dantzic
Kdm. of POLAND
Bugians
Wolhynia
Kiev
Cracow
Plotsk
Thorn
Volga R.
Oka R.
Don R.
Dwina R.
Niemen R.
Vistula R.
Warthe R.
Tripet R.
Dniester R.
Bug R.
Pruth R.
Mordvines
Tcheremissians
Volgar
Chazars
Alani
Sea of Azov
Kuban R.
Caucasus Mts.
Georgia
Chersonesus
Cazaria
BLACK SEA
Wallachians
Moldavia
Hungarian Tartars
Kdm. of HUNGARY
Buda
Segedin
Munkacz
Carpathian Mts.
Prague
Bohemia
Dm. Bavaria
Dm. Franconia
Dm. Saxony
Dm. Lorraine
Dm. Upper Lorraine
Dm. Lower Lorraine
Dm. Carinthia
Dm. Slavonia
Dm. Bosnia
Dm. Francia
Dm. Aquitaine
Dm. Brittany
Dm. Normandy
Dm. Burgundy
Dm. Alemania
Dm. Flanders
Dm. Reggio
Dm. Orleans
Dm. Chalon
Dm. Besançon
Dm. Basle
Dm. Ratisbon
Dm. Ulm
Dm. Muhldorf
Dm. Salzburg
Dm. Vienna
Dm. Strasbourg
Dm. Metz
Dm. Toul
Dm. Worms
Dm. Mentz
Dm. Cologne
Dm. Aix
Dm. Coblentz
Dm. Ghent
Dm. Utrecht
Dm. Bremen
Dm. Lubeck
Dm. Hamburg
Dm. Brandenburg
Dm. Brunswick
Dm. Magdeburg
Dm. Ytern
Co. Flanders
Co. Champania
Co. Toulouse
Co. Barcelona
Co. Gerona
Co. Urgel
Co. Roussillon
Co. Narbonne
Co. Cahors
Co. Auvergne
Co. Clermont
Co. Lyons
Co. Geneva
Co. Vienne
Co. Turin
Co. Milan
Co. Verona
Co. Venice
Co. Istria
Co. Spoleto
Co. Benevento
Co. Capua
Co. Gaeta
Co. Naples
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Co. Tuscany
Co. Canossa
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Co. Caesarea
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Co. Bona
Co. Malta
Co. Palermo
Co. Messina
Co. Syracuse
Co. Squillace
Co. Calabria
Co. Sardinia
Co. Corsica
Co. Minorca
Co. Majorca
Co. Valencia
Co. Balearic Is.
Co. Cyprus
Co. Rhodes
Co. Candia or Crete
Co. Tripoli
Co. Damascus
Co. Tyre
Co. Sidon
Co. Antioch
Co. Palmyra
Co. Aleppo
Co. Mosul
Co. Armenia
Co. Trebizond
Co. Constantinople
Co. Adrianople
Co. Thessalonica
Co. Athens
Co. Corinth
Co. Sparta
Co. Patras
Co. Peloponnesus
Co. Nicopolis
Co. Durazzo
Co. Amona
Co. Larissa
Co. Brusa
Co. Angora
Co. Sebastia
Co. Miletus
Co. Smyrna
Co. Myra
Co. Seleucia
Co. Tium
Co. Paphlagonia
Co. Armeniacum
Co. Comitur
Co. Mesopotamia
Co. Euphrates R.
Co. Tigris R.
Co. Douro R.
Co. Guadiana R.
Co. Rhone R.
Co. Saone R.
Co. Meuse R.
Co. Rhine R.
Co. Seine R.
Co. Loire R.
Co. Garonne R.
Co. Tagus R.
Co. Ebro R.
Co. Danube R.
Co. Drave R.
Co. Save R.
Co. Theiss R.
Co. Aluta R.
Co. Prut R.
Co. Elbe R.
Co. Oder R.
Co. Main R.
Co. Moldau R.
Co. Inn R.
Co. Lech R.
Co. Isere R.
Co. Durance R.
Co. Aude R.
Co. Adige R.
Co. Po R.
Co. Arno R.
Co. Tiber R.
Co. Volturno R.
Co. Ofanto R.
Co. Sangro R.
Co. Pescara R.
Co. Tronto R.
Co. Metauro R.
Co. Rubicon R.
Co. Reno R.
Co. Panaro R.
Co. Secchia R.
Co. Taro R.
Co. Trebbia R.
Co. Ticino R.
Co. Sesia R.
Co. Dora R.
Co. Orco R.
Co. Stura R.
Co. Tanaro R.
Co. Bormida R.
Co. Scrivia R.
Co. Lambro R.
Co. Adda R.
Co. Oglio R.
Co. Mincio R.
Co. Brenta R.
Co. Piave R.
Co. Tagliamento R.
Co. Isonzo R.
Co. Save R.
Co. Kulpa R.
Co. Unna R.
Co. Verbas R.
Co. Narenta R.
Co. Drin R.
Co. Vardar R.
Co. Struma R.
Co. Maritza R.
Co. Hebrus R.
Co. Nestus R.
Co. Strymon R.
Co. Axius R.
Co. Peneus R.
Co. Achelous R.
Co. Halys R.
Co. Sangarius R.
Co. Orontes R.
Co. Jordan R.
Co. Nile R.
Co. Asia
Co. Magrat
State of the Fatimides
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Sea of Marmora
Sea of Azov
Gulf of Venice
Gulf of Lyons
Gulf of Genoa
Gulf of Tarentum
Gulf of Corinth
Gulf of Salonica
Gulf of Adramyti
Gulf of Satalia
Gulf of Scanderoon
Gulf of Sidra
Gulf of Cabes
Gulf of Tunis
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Prov. of Thrace
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Prov. of Arabia
Prov. of Egypt
Prov. of Africa
Prov. of Numidia
Prov. of Mauritania
Prov. of Tripolis
Prov. of Cyrenaica
Prov. of Libya
Prov. of Sicily
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Prov. of Gaul
Prov. of Britain
Prov. of Germania
Prov. of Pannonia
Prov. of Dacia
Prov. of Moesia
Prov. of Dalmatia
Prov. of Illyricum
Prov. of Epirus
Prov. of Achaia
Prov. of Crete
Prov. of Cyprus
Prov. of Rhodes
Prov. of Lycia
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Prov. of Isauria
Prov. of Lycaonia
Prov. of Galatia
Prov. of Bithynia
Prov. of Pontus
Prov. of Armenia
Prov. of Mesopotamia
Prov. of Assyria
Prov. of Babylonia
Prov. of Susiana
Prov. of Persia
Prov. of Media
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Prov. of Hyrcania
Prov. of Bactria
Prov. of Sogdiana
Prov. of Scythia
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Prov. of Achaia
Prov. of Epirus
Prov. of Illyricum
Prov. of Dalmatia
Prov. of Moesia
Prov. of Dacia
Prov. of Pannon



Book Fourteenth.

The Feudal Ascendency.

Chapter LXXXIV.—Feudalism Proper.

ABOUT the close of the ninth century the still half-barbaric society of Western Europe began to be transformed into a new condition. The movement was apparently retrograde. The unity which had been attained in several states and kingdoms began to be broken up, and the people seemed to prefer a return to tribal independence. General government, in a measure, disappeared, and was replaced by local institutions. Gradually this process went on, now in France and Germany, and finally in England, until the whole face of society was changed. By the close of the eleventh century the great governments which had been established by such rulers as Charlemagne and Alfred the Great were seen no longer. But in their stead had risen a multitude of dukedoms, counties, and petty dependencies, dotting the whole face of the country, and bound together—if bound at all—by ties which had been voluntarily assumed and might generally be renounced at will. The state of society which thus supervened, and which prevailed throughout the greater part of Europe, from the epoch of the Carlovingians to the times of the Crusades, is known as the Feudal System, and will now claim our attention.

The social condition which thus presents itself for analysis and review is, perhaps, the most difficult to grasp and understand of all the aspects in human history. Why it was that the political power, seemingly so well established by Charlemagne and others, should suddenly be loosened in all its bonds and fall back as if into the very chaos from which it had emerged, is a problem which has occupied the attention of the greatest thinkers and perplexed the pen of history. Certain it is that the fact existed, and that in the times of which we speak, when all human expectancy would have looked in the other direction and predicted the growth and development of great states out of the energetic materials of barbarism, a sudden collapse and decline appeared in the affairs of the Western nations, and a subtle social chemistry, seizing upon the elements of society, resolved them into the primitive condition. It is the first duty of the

historian to explain, if he may, the causes which led to the establishment of Feudalism on the ruins of the barbarian monarchy.

First among these causes may be mentioned *the spirit of national independence* which prevailed among the tribes of the North. It was in the very nature of barbarism that it despised restraint. While the Græco-Italic peoples rejoiced in citizenship and took pride in political and social organization, the Teutones looked with disfavor upon both. To the imagination of the northern warrior strength and honor resided in himself. Distinction was not derived, but inherent. Courage and all the manly virtues were not drawn from the state, but were personal and peculiar to him who possessed them. Under these feelings and beliefs a type of character was produced hitherto unknown in Europe. During the epoch of barbarism the natural impulses of the northern peoples were nurtured into full strength. The migratory habit encouraged freedom and discouraged association. Fixed territorial limits are necessary to the idea of a state. The barbarians had no established territories. They were driven from their homes by other tribes more savage than themselves. For a while they raged around the borders of the Roman Empire, and then burst through. Now it was that the necessity of combination was forced upon them. In order to battle successfully with the Romans they must have union, leadership. Great was the importance which the German kings attained by means of war. The tribes came to understand that safety and success lay in the direction of union and subordination. Very hard was this lesson to be learned. How restless, how sullen, how terrible with suppressed anger was the German warrior under the restraints of military command and civil authority! His logic of the situation was that he would suffer the ills of obedience until the enemies of his nation were overthrown, and *then* he would teach a lesson to those who were despoiling him of his rights. The recovery of his freedom was merely postponed. He looked forward to the time when he should break the bonds of that galling restraint under which necessity had placed him, and regain the glorious license which his fathers had enjoyed in the forests of Germany.

It was with sentiments such as these that the Frankish tribes bowed to the scepter of Charlemagne. The greatness of his personal will had much to do with their temporary subordination. While this constrained order existed, a new element was introduced into the problem, which tended at once to stimulate and to discourage the idea of personal and local independence. The barbarians obtained a fixed residence on the soil. Territorial boundaries were marked out by the sword of Charlemagne. The tribes ceased to jostle upon each other and to migrate from place to place. As it related to foreign enemies, this fact made the personal virtues of barbarian dukes and counts of less value and importance than hitherto; but as it related to the king, the attainment of local fixedness was unfavorable to his prerogatives. To the German chiefs a monarch was desirable in the emergencies of war, but distasteful in the safety and security of peace.

The first cause, then, of the institution of Feudalism was the revival of the sense of personal right and importance among the Frankish nobles, leading them to claim and achieve local independence of their sovereign. This was the beginning of the universal break-up of political society. The great duke declared his independence of the king; the count, of the duke; the lord, of the count; the petty vassal, of the lord; and so on, until the social fabric was dissolved into its elements.

The next general cause of the social disintegration of Europe in the tenth and eleventh centuries may be discovered in *the religious and philosophical beliefs* which had superseded those of paganism. Christianity everywhere supplanted the mythology of the North. The monks and priests, perceiving that the barbarians were creatures of sense, converted them by means of shows and spectacles. The mystic concepts of the Christian system were interpreted literally to the barbarian imagination. The figurative sense of the Scriptures was entirely lost upon the pagans who now accepted the new faith for the old. With them the history, prophecy, and ethics of the Biblical record were received as the literal account of the things done and to be done in the scheme of the salvation of man. All the

ferocious honesty of the barbarian nature became pledged to the absolute fulfillment of the law and the prophecies.

Among the prophetic utterances relating to the future, and indeed above them all, was that ominous prediction which foretold the end of the world. The earth and all that therein dwells were to pass away in a catastrophe of fire. The universe was to be rolled up as a scroll. As soon as the thousand years from the birth of Christ should be fulfilled, a consuming flame should wrap the world, and a throne of judgment should be set in heaven. The *Dies Iræ*, that terrible crisis in the destinies of mankind, should suddenly flash up through the ashes of nature; and the cowering ghosts of men, flocking in spectral shoals from the four quarters of the burnt-up ball, should bow before the inexorable Judge and receive the everlasting sentence of their doom.

The effect of this prophecy, accepted by the barbarians in all its literal horror, was destructive of all hope and fatal to all progress. As the end drew nigh, all general interests ceased. Human life became an individual concern. Each must save himself in the hour of catastrophe. The king with his council, the peasant with his flocks, must both alike erelong suffer the pangs of the transforming fire.

In the shadow of this awful foreboding the race of man sat dumb. The brilliant activities of former times gave place to dolor and gloom. A belief in the impotence and decadence of man became universal. The vision of the old world, glorious afar off, full of great cities, splendid works of art, and marching armies, was dimly seen in recollection—a beautiful dream of the delusive past. As for the world which now lay doomed under the curse, it was ready by its sins and crimes for its imminent perdition. These gloomy thoughts sank deeper and deeper into the hearts of the deluded millions, and they sat in dumb despair awaiting the day of fate.

It was impossible under such a system of belief that any great human interests should flourish. That which the mind of man conceives of as real becomes in some sense reality. Mankind have bowed to specters more than they have bowed to facts. In the tenth century, all classes of people from the king to the serf were haunted with the belief that the world was soon to be destroyed, and this belief acted as a paralysis upon all the energies and aspirations of the people. What was the Empire of Charlemagne—so reasoned the monks and fanatics—since the *Dies Iræ* was at hand? Why should any fabric of human greatness and folly be longer maintained in the shadow of the impending catastrophe? With such a cataclysm just before, the mass-book was better than a constitution, and an ascension robe more important than the robe of a king.

Added to these general influences were many special circumstances which contributed to the political disintegration of Western Europe. Among the principal of these may be mentioned THE PERSONAL CHARACTER OF THE LATER CARLOVINGIANS. Nearly all of these sovereigns were, as individuals, contemptible. With the exception of D'Outremer and two or three others, not a single one of the descendants of Charlemagne had the courage and talents requisite in a king. Most of them were imbeciles and blockheads—a second race of *Faineants* of the same grade with the Do-nothings of the old Merovingians. One of the Carlovingian neuters was the Simple, and another was the Fat. One was the Stammerer, another the Child. It was impossible that the old Frankish warriors and their descendants should look with favor upon this degenerate line of royalty. Here a duke and there a count came to understand the simple lesson that nature makes the great men and society the manikins. That artificial loyalty and absurd devotion to factitious greatness, which had done so much of old to support the gilded thrones of the East, found no place in the breasts of the nobles of the Middle Ages. For a while they looked on with disdain while the ridiculous farce was enacted, and then turned their backs upon the pageant of the court and struck for independence. As soon as the swords of a few of the bolder lords had cleft a passage through the royal harness and freed themselves from the domination of some kingly simpleton, the less courageous were inspired to do the same. Provinces fell away. Counties became independent. Personal ties, voluntarily assumed,

took the place of imposed authority, and government gave way to—Feudalism. The Empire of Charlemagne was made into three, then into four, and then into seven kingdoms. Each of these in its turn was divided into great fiefs, of which there were in the aggregate, at the end of the ninth century, twenty-nine in France alone, and at the close of the tenth, no fewer than *fifty-five!* Over each of these some duke, count, or viscount established himself in almost independent sovereignty. He held his own courts, issued his own edicts, and in many instances coined his own money. He sublet his fief to his vassals, and exacted of them taxes, fealty, and homage. From the times of Charles the Bald, 877, the greater nobles of France claimed and exercised the right of transmitting their estates to their sons, according to their pleasure. Landed property became the basis of all the dignities of the state. The crown and prerogatives of the king fluctuated between real facts and myths. Though the constitution of the kingdom still gave to the nominal monarch the right to distribute benefices to his nobles, the hereditary principle in the noble houses themselves had really gained the upper hand, to the extent of substituting the law of descent for the royal prerogative. Thus it was that the Feudal system was substituted for the greater fact of nationality in France, Germany, and finally in England.

The word feudal, thus used to define the state of society which prevailed in Europe from the tenth to the twelfth century of our era, is derived from the Low Latin *feodum*, and more remotely from the German word *vieh*, meaning cattle, or, more generally, goods, money, or property. In other words, the thing defined was the *property* system, as contradistinguished from the political system which it supplanted. In its broader sense, feudalism was a type of social organization based on the ownership of land. In the nature of the case the system implied several things:

First, that the lands of the state should be concentrated in the hands of a few;

Secondly, that political rights should be made dependent on landed rights; and—

Thirdly, that all public relations should be deduced from the private relations of those who held them.

It will readily be seen from this general outline of the system that in its essential nature feudalism reversed the old theory of society by putting the Man before the State. Nor will the close connection of the system, historically considered, with the primitive institutions of Germany fail to be noted by any one accustomed to trace out the sequence of events. The real transformation of the society of ancient Germany into that of Mediæval Europe reached no further than this—that the political organization from being *personal* in the former became *territorial* in the latter. In the language of another, *land* became the sacramental tie of all public relations. The poor man depended on the rich, not as his chosen patron, but as the owner of the land which he must cultivate, the lord of the court to which he must bring his suit and service, and in war the leader whom he was bound to follow.

It is only by a stretch of language that the word *system* can be applied to the feudal state of Europe. Theoretical writers have been pleased to see in the European king of the eleventh century the suzerain or head of graduated orders ranged around this central figure, and sloping down in all directions until they rested on serfs and peasants. Nor is this view of the situation wholly devoid of truth. But, like so many other theories of human affairs, it is constructed out of imagination rather than out of the facts. True it is that during the prevalence of feudalism the king was, in general terms, the suzerain or sovereign of all the nobles of the kingdom. In this sense he was the head of the system. But the feudal scheme was much more irregular and broken than what is here implied. Many of the dukes and marquises held their lands in entire independence of the king. Even lords of lower rank sometimes possessed estates for which they paid no tax and did no homage to any superior. In hundreds of instances one duke or count held his lands of another, and it not infrequently happened that while the nobleman A held certain lands of the nobleman B, the latter also held certain other lands of the nobleman A. At one season of the year A did homage to B as a pledge of the renewal of his fealty and service, and then in like manner would B do homage to A. The king himself held estates in many parts of the king-

dom, and these he let to his vassals without much respect to their rank. Lords of low as well as lords of high degree were thus bound directly to the king, so that the supposition of a graduated order ranged around the sovereign would be no adequate representation of the fact. In truth, during the prevalence of the feudal system the whole structure of society was bound and rebound with ties and cross-ties, without either the appearance or intention of regularity or systematic gradation.

The conditions on which feudal lands were held in the Middle Ages are well understood. They were, in general, three in number—homage, taxation, and military service. The act of homage was intended to indicate the submission of a vassal to his lord. It could be received by the lord only, in person. When the relation of dependence was sought or enforced, the person about to become a vassal presented himself to his liege with uncovered head, and prayed that he might be allowed to enter into the feudal relation with him. The request being granted, the vassal took off his sword and spurs, ungirt his belt, knelt before his lord, placed his own two hands in his, and said: "I become your man from this day forth, of life and limb, and will hold faith to you for the lands I claim to hold of you." The oath of fealty was then administered, and the ceremony of investiture followed. If the homage had been done on the lands received by the vassal, the lord gave to him a handful of earth or a stone in token of the transfer of right; and if the ceremony was performed off the estate referred to, the superior generally gave to the vassal a bit of turf taken from the estate.

As already said, feudal rights were generally hereditary. On the death of a vassal the estate fell to his eldest son. But the latter must immediately repair to the manor and repeat the act of homage done by his father. It was possible for an infant to do homage by proxy. But in this instance the act must be repeated as soon as the vassal had reached his majority.

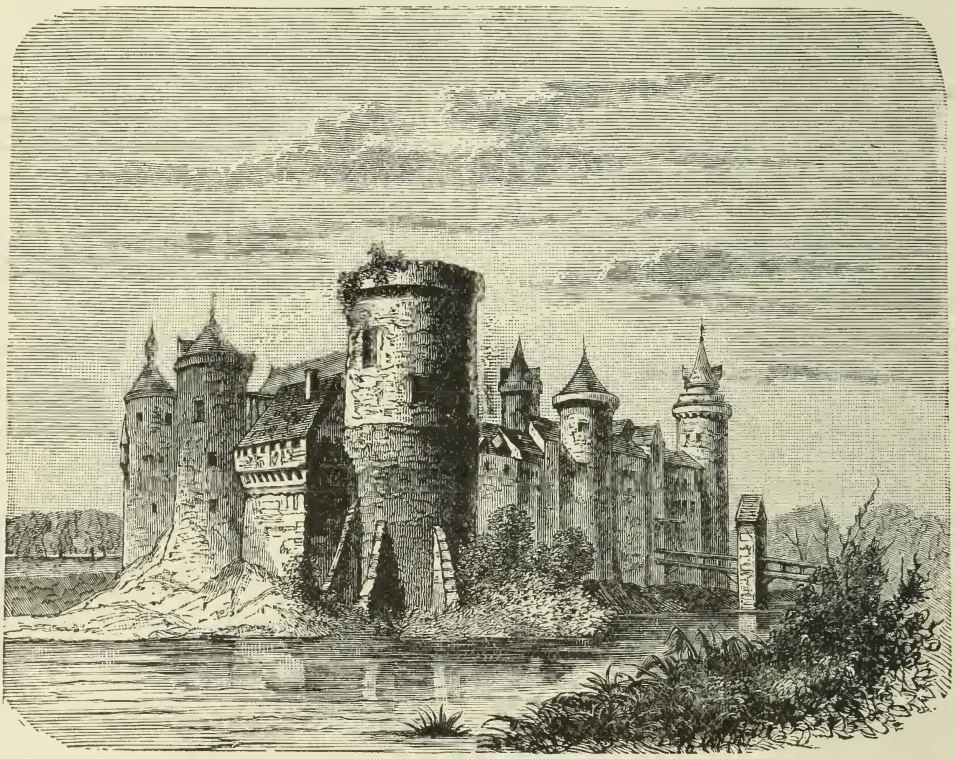
As to the taxes imposed by a suzerain upon his vassal, the same might be discharged either in money or in the products of the estate. In the case of the king and the greater nobles, money was generally exacted; for the royal chamberlains preferred to purchase provisions for the king's household from the mediæval market. But in the case of the lords of low degree, who dwelt perhaps upon the estates cultivated by their vassals and serfs, their suzerains might well choose to accept the annual stipend in products of the land. Ever and anon, the peasants and villagers were seen gathering from the fields and hamlets the tithes belonging to the master and conveying the same in rude carts to the store-house of the baronial castle.

Most of all, however, did vassalage depend upon the condition of military service. The vassal was solemnly bound to rally at the call of his lord, to accompany him in all his enterprises of war, and to fight his battles to the death. The Middle Age was in some sense a camp as wide as Western Europe. As a rule the peasant must bring from his hamlet the armor and supplies necessary for the campaign. Woe to the wight who failed to arm himself for the fray. Sometimes the expedition was long and full of hardships. Generally it was undertaken at the caprice or whim of the suzerain, who, tired of the gluttony of peace, sought instinctively the noble sport of slaughter. What cared the well-fatted king, the duke, the marquis for the butchery of the low-born serfs and cattle whom they drove into the fight? It was enough that some petty spite, engendered of kingly malice, or some bitter jealousy born in the kingly bed, should be propitiated with the base blood of serfs.

It can not be doubted that Feudalism was a necessity of the social condition of Europe in the tenth century. The universality of its adoption would of itself be a sufficient proof that the system sprang naturally and inevitably out of the existing condition of political society. With the cessation of barbarism, the feudal principle began to assert itself. It sprang up, as if from the soil. Wherever a given situation was present, there the feudal tenure prevailed more and more until the whole social machinery of Western Europe was conformed to a common type of action. Every existing institution adopted the feudal form. Monks hated it. Kings dreaded it. Both embraced it. Even the Church put off her imperial habit and donned the garments

of Feudalism. Cathedrals and monasteries took on the relation of sovereigns and vassals. One city became the suzerain of another. The king himself was only a feudal lord of larger growth. Not only landed estates, but rights, prerogatives, privileges—the surplice fees of the Church, the revenues derived from the baptismal rite, the privilege of fishing in a given river or of cutting wood in a given forest—all were conceded by the superior to the inferior after the feudal manner. The system took complete possession of society, and organization of the family, the household, the estate of a feudal baron of the Middle Ages.

He was himself a warrior. He was ignorant, brave, and gloriously brutal. He came as the leader of a band out of the North. At the time of his appearing the inhabitants of the country were those half-Romanized Celts, who in the cities and towns had wholly, and in the country districts partly, substituted the Latin language and institutions for the primitive usages of their fathers. These once warlike peoples, long subject to the iron scepter



FEUDAL CASTLE AT ROUEN.

constrained every other institution to accept its form, if not its spirit.

Looking more closely into the social condition of Feudal Europe, we find much of interest and instruction. Modern times have been and are still largely influenced by conditions which were native to the soil of Feudalism. The family of to-day is essentially feudal in its character and sentiments, and the nature of land-ownership in most of the states of the West is derived from the same origin. From these considerations it may be interesting to sketch in outline the peculiar of Rome, had become tame and timid. They were trodden under foot by the mighty warriors of the German woods. The work of subjugation was quickly and easily accomplished. A powerful barbarism sat down with crushing weight upon the abject Celtic peasantry of Western Europe.

The leader of this conquering band was now destined to become a feudal lord. He settled in the country which he had conquered. He chose for himself an estate with a limit proportionate to his power and ambition. The inhabitants of these lands—vil-

lagers, farmers, shepherds, peasants—cowered in terror at the sight of his naked sword. Resist him, they durst not. He entered and took possession, and it was astonishing to see the Celtic serfs gathering around him for protection! They huddled around his dreadful plume, preferring his savage domination to a probable conquest by another still more terrible and cruel.

The first work of the incipient baron was to create for himself a permanent residence. To this end he selected some solitary spot, a high hill, an almost inaccessible crag, or defensible position by the water side, and there laid the foundations of his castle. With the aid of his companions and the subject peasants, he reared the huge walls of stone. The battlements and towers appeared. A deep moat was drawn around, and draw-bridge and portcullis completed what part of the defenses had been omitted by nature. Within were capacious and high chambers, finished in imperishable oak. Within the stone-girt inclosure were stables, kennels, and store-houses. Nothing was wanting to complete the isolation, solitude, and defensibility of the massive pile in which the warrior chief now took up his abode.

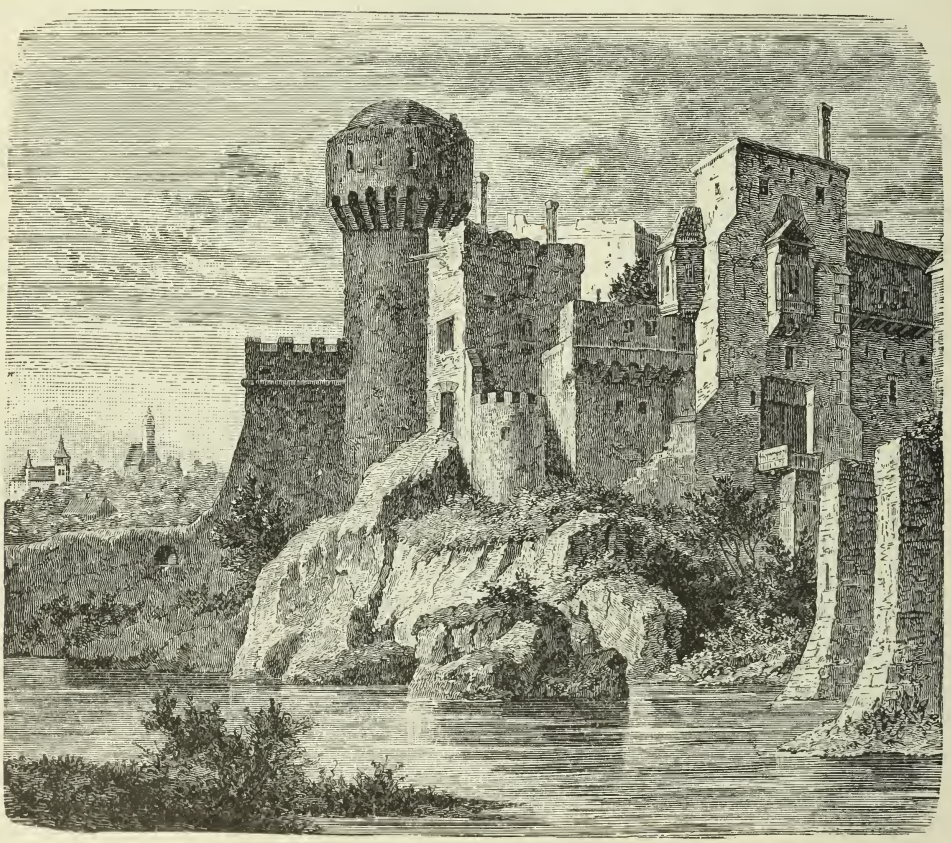
With him into his castle came his family. This consisted, first of all, of his German wife and children. Them he held in all the love and honor of barbaric tenderness. Besides these, there were generally in the baron's household a number of dependent kinsmen—some feeble uncle or indifferent cousin, who had been unable to conquer an estate for himself, and who preferred the safety of hanging on, rather than the dangerous glory of independence. The same disposition was shown by many other freemen who chose to associate themselves with the master and to obey his commands in return for a safe abode in his castle. Thus was created about the new baronial lord a body of retainers, who constituted a principal element in the feudal society.—Such was the small, isolated family or community which constituted the nucleus of power in the new system which had taken possession of Europe.

At the foot of the hill on which stood the castle of the lord were clustered the village and hamlets of the serfs and peasants. They drew near to their master as to a rock of safety. They dreaded him, feared him, respected him, hated him—for who ever loved a master? They huddled together and looked up at the height; it was inaccessible. They accepted their lot; and then began that weary career of toil, servility, and despair through which the peasantry of Europe has held its suffering way even to the present hour.

At the first there were few ties existent between the master and his servants. Perhaps the first real bond which came to unite them in interest and feeling was the tie of a common religion. The Christian priest insinuated himself into the new situation. For a while the castle wall kept him at bay, and he was obliged to content himself with a residence among the peasants of the village. To them he ministered in holy things. He baptized their children, solemnized their marriages, soothed them in affliction, and ministered consolation at the grave. It was from these benevolent ministrations that the Christian priest of the Middle Ages gained and held so powerful an ascendency over the peasant mind of Europe. But with the baron in the castle the expositor of religion was far less successful. The manners and sentiments of the early feudal family were pagan rather than Christian. It was not to be expected that the baronial chief, who had thrown off all restraint, who held his estates in his own rights and contemned even the prerogatives of the king, would patiently give up his soul to the management of a priest. To be sure, the baron became nominally a Christian; but his instincts, opinions, and manners were not much curbed by the restraints of the faith which he professed. He held the priest aloof or tolerated his interference as a necessary evil.

If we look into the sentiments and feelings of the feudal family, we shall observe several traits of marked importance. In the first place, the situation was such as to encourage in the possessor of a fief the idea of his own personal greatness and his vast superiority to those around him. No other condition of man ever so powerfully conduced to engender pride and a sense of personal consequence as did the institution of Feudalism. The baron saw himself lifted vastly above the common herd. He saw himself deferred to, feared,

obeyed, approached with awe and obsequiousness. He appeared to himself as the source and fountain of authority and honor. His importance was not derived, but inherent. He had conquered his estate with the sword. He had built his castle without permission even of the king. His greatness belonged to himself alone, or, at most, to his family. To his son he looked as his successor, and instilled in him the same lessons of haughty self-assertion which he himself had learned



FEUDAL CASTLE OF HUNYADI JANOS IN TRANSYLVANIA.

first in war and afterwards on his baronial estate.

As to the feudal family, it was unlike any other presented in history. It was not a tribe after the patriarchic fashion—a gray and venerable sage, father, grandfather, and great-grandfather of the shepherds who gathered around his tents; nor was it a clan after the manner of the primitive society of Scotland—a chief living apart from his followers and pursuing a different life, leading his men in war and commanding them in peace: but it was a system in which the chieftain was the father of a family proper, set in an inacessible position above a subject people, between whom and himself (for they were not of the same race) there existed no ties of kinship or friendly feeling and few bonds of common interest.

The situation of the feudal family was such as to bring into play and develop the domestic and chivalrous sentiment in a measure unequaled in any other social institution of the world. The members of the family, placed as they were in complete isolation, *must* hold each other in love and honor. With each nightfall the draw-bridge was thrown up, and all the household gathered in the banqueting-hall and around the baronial hearth. Wine and laughter and song ruled the hours of the gloomy night. There hung the arms of the master and the trophies which he had gathered in war. There the baron's beautiful daughter took part in her brother's games and listened with them to the

warrior father's epic recital of the deeds done in the fire of his youth. The mother, too, was in the midst of the scene, still strong-limbed and glorious after the battles of many an expedition and the victorious struggles of maternity. It was not strange that WOMAN here and now became the idol of a nascent civilization, honored, adored, worshiped as she had never been before. The sentiment of *Ideal Love* gained here an ascendency over the mind of man, and about his life began to be woven those magic cords of chivalrous devotion which he has gladly and nobly worn for nearly a thousand years. May many another thousand be added to the past before those strong and tender cords shall be broken and the soul of man, so hardly emerged from the old fenlands and sloughs of lust, be remanded again to the level of brutality and the horrid styes of animalism!

Another circumstance to be noted in connection with the feudal institution was the growth therein of the principle of inheritance. The baronial lord naturally looked around to discover some means or expedient whereby to preserve in its integrity the estate which he had won by the sword. The suggestion of substituting the law of descent for the law of conquest arose naturally in his mind; and since the division of an estate among several sons would have destroyed the very system which it was intended to conserve, the principle of primogeniture came in as the inevitable concomitant of the law of inheritance. The complication arose with respect to the younger sons of the feudal family. What should be done in the case of him who had the misfortune not to be the first-born of the household? The only solution of the difficulty seemed to rest in the fact that the younger son, if born to the inheritance of valor and ambition, might go forth and conquer an estate of his own. The world was wide. Many provinces still lay in the waste of half-savagery. He who would and could, might take and keep a domain of his own. Missing this opportunity of conquest, the only alternative remaining to the younger scion of feudalism was either to win the only daughter of some sonless baron or to become the hanger-on of an elder brother.

As it respected the small community of serfs, the government of the feudal lord was arbitrary and tyrannical. The peasants were regarded as destitute of rights. All the powers and prerogatives which modern society has delegated to the magistrate were exercised and abused at will by the baronial master. He made the law and executed it. He levied and collected taxes. He inflicted punishment and treated his tenants as slaves.

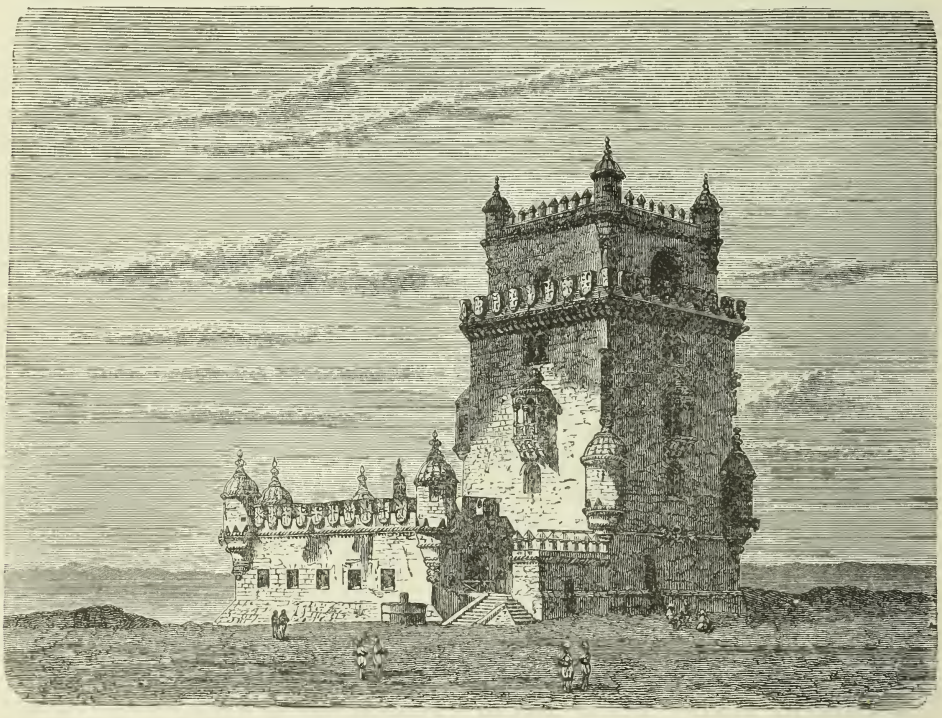
There was thus established over the peasantry of Mediæval Europe a tyranny the most galling, as it has been the most persistent, known in the annals of mankind. The most bitter hardship of the system lay in the fact that the despotism of the feudal baron was *personal*. He did not pretend to derive his authority from the consent of the governed. Neither the concession of the king nor the permission of heaven was recognized as a necessary antecedent of his authority. He ruled in his own right. It was man over man—the most odious of all the species of tyranny. Hence has arisen and continued throughout Western Europe the deep-seated aversion or positive hatred of the peasant classes for the system of feudal domination. Nor can it well be doubted that the day will come when this aversion of the subject for the ruling classes in European society will result in substituting everywhere the government of reason and consent for the government of personal will.

The feudal family, as described in the preceding paragraphs, constituted a part of a general society. The face of Europe was dotted with castles. Though the isolation of each was complete, the common origin and character of all produced a like situation on the face of Europe. The people in all parts became divided into lords and vassals. Ties, first of kinship and afterwards of political interest, were gradually established between the possessors of fiefs. Obligations of service and counter-service stretched from castle to castle, from province to province, from state to state. The new social condition which had gradually oozed out of barbarism became organic, was converted into a system. True it is that these ties and obligations, mutually and voluntarily imposed upon each other and their serfs by the feudal lords, never became constitutional, never were de-

veloped into statutory forms. But they existed. Man was bound to man. The one conceded rights, the other rendered service. Ideas and sentiments hitherto unknown sprang up and prevailed. Honor and loyalty came in as the sanctions of human conduct which hitherto had had no guaranty but violence. The principles of fidelity were substituted for the argument of force, and personal devotion took the place of written statutes and maxims of the crown.

As it respected the feudal baron and his family, it can hardly be denied that this peculiar system which took possession of Europe was beneficial—salutary. The character of the lord and his household grew and expanded under the stimulus of the institution which he had created. The baronial castle became the seat of sentiment and affection. Here the wandering minstrel, that forlorn, idealistic spirit, drifting up and down the ways and byways of half-barbaric Europe, found a resting-place at night. Here he was entertained by the amused lord and his household. Here that long-haired harper of the dawn sang the first songs and ballads of the new era by and by to break upon the world. It was the twitter of the adventurous bird in the gray light of the early morning. Albeit the untutored baron and his sons and daughters wist not that in the general destinies of the world they were entertaining the wierd precursor of the mighty bards of the future.

Not so, however, respecting the intellectual development of the serfs. To them the system was wormwood and despair. They must toil and give to another. They must patiently endure the brutal treatment and exactions of the lords. They must live without ambition and die without encomium. They must transmit their hard estate to a household of squalid wretches like themselves. They must consent without a murmur to half-starvation of the body and total starvation of the mind. They must accept a life with no tradition except the memory of hardship, with no fruition except the sour bread of poverty, and with no prospect except a gloomy mass of shadow and cloud out of which shot two tongues of fire, the one in the shape of a sword and the other in the shape of a lash.



FEUDAL CASTLE OF BELEM, PORTUGAL.

The great system which has thus been sketched in outline gained possession of almost the entire social fabric of Western Europe.

France became feudal. As early as the treaty of Verdun in 843 two princes divided the Frankish lands with Charles the Bald. The king of Aquitaine took his portion of the territories, and the Duke of Brittany did likewise. The action of Charles in 876, in recognizing the hereditary rights of his lords, has already been narrated in the preceding Book.[1] By the end of the ninth century, twenty-nine great fiefs had been established in Carlovingian France, and in the century following the number was increased to fifty-five. During the tenth century the disruptive tendency in society everywhere displayed itself in full force. The ties between the great dukes and lords on the one side and the king on the other were either greatly weakened or wholly abrogated. But little was wanting to the complete independence of the petty states into which the kingdom was resolved. In process of time the only obligation recognized by the lords and nobles was the insignificant act of fealty performed by them in the presence of a shadowy king.

In Germany, also, the break-up under the successors of Charlemagne lacked little of completeness. Here Feudalism as a system became a definite political form, which in some parts has remained with few changes unto the present day. In the first place, Saxony and Bavaria asserted their independence. The Suabian and Saxon dukes became suzerains and united the interests of their subjects with their own. Feudal government—that graduated system of jurisdiction in which every lord judged, taxed, and commanded the class of persons next below him—was substituted for that legal system which had been established by Charlemagne.

In England there were symptoms of an indigenous Feudalism as early as the time of Alfred the Great. Under Canute the Great all Britain was divided into four great earldoms. East Anglia was given to Thurkill; Mercia, to Eadric; Northumbria, to Eric; while West Saxony was reserved by Canute. Whether the system thus fairly inaugurated in Danish England would have come to full flower and fruitage under the auspices of the Saxons and the Northmen, can only be determined by conjecture. At the time of the Norman Conquest, the institutions of the island were in a semi-feudalized condition. With the coming of William the Conqueror, the native tendencies were suddenly arrested. He introduced into England a great central administration, to which the country had hitherto been a stranger. He took the lands of the kingdom in his own right, and became the lord-paramount of all England. The administrative functions of the old Saxon and Danish earls were transferred to the sheriffs of the king. Vainly did the native barons resist the encroachments upon their rights. They were overpowered and put down by the arm of one more powerful than themselves. Norman nobles were insinuated into the places of the expelled Danish and Saxon proprietors, and the new order was established, which has remained the basis of land tenure, and, in some sense, of the general constitution of England, to the present day.

Having thus drawn an outline of the feudal system itself—having considered that peculiar institution in its origin, growth, and tendencies, and noted the sentiments and ideas which sprang naturally from the bosom of that society, forecasting, here and there, the influences which the system might be expected to exert on the destinies of modern times—we will now proceed to sketch the social and political progress of the various states of Europe over which Feudalism asserted its sway.

[1] See Book Thirteenth, pp. 544, 545.

CHAPTER LXXXV.—FEUDAL FRANCE.



OUIS V. of France died childless. With him the French Carlovingians became extinct. Even before his death that once illustrious line of kings had sunk to a level with the earth. The blood of Charlemagne no more asserted itself as a living force in the state. For many years the powerful HUGH ÇAPET, son of Hugh the Great, had wielded the power of the kingdom. Louis the Sluggard was no more than putty in his hands. Now that the puppet king was dead, now that only a distant collateral and discredited representative might claim the crown, the issue was squarely made whether Hugh would himself accept an election to the throne or allow the choice to fall upon another.

As soon as King Louis was dead the French nobles assembled at Senlis. The tide of public opinion ran strongly in the direction of the choice of Hugh Capet. A feeble effort was made by the remaining descendant of the Carlovingians, Duke Charles of Lower Lorraine, to obtain the royal power for himself; but his claims were treated with contempt. In June of 987 the grandees reässembled at Senlis and proceeded to an election. Count Hugh was present among them and addressed the assembly. The nobles were of one opinion as to him who should be raised to the seat of Charlemagne. Hugh Capet was unanimously elected, and on the following day was crowned king of the Gauls, the Bretons, the Normans, the Aquitainians, the Goths, the Spaniards, and the Basques. Thus, in the year 987, the Capetian line was substituted for the Carlovingian on the throne of France.

One of the first cares of the new king was to establish the succession. He proposed to the nobles that to secure the stability of the kingdom his son Robert should be associated with himself in the royal power. At first the proposal was met with opposition. In the recent interval between the death of the Sluggard and the election of Hugh it had been urged by the champions of the latter that the hereditary principle ought not to prevail over fitness in the choice of a king of France. Now there was a manifest disposition on the part of the supporters of the king to reverse the late rule of action and restore the law of descent. After some debates Duke Robert was solemnly crowned in the basilica of Sainte-Croix, and associated with his father in the government.

The election of Hugh Capet to the throne of France was the substitution of a feudal kingdom in the place of the constitutional monarchy established by Charlemagne. King Hugh was the greatest feudal chieftain of his times. He was duke of the country called France, and count of the city of Paris. His coronation as king of the French was a public recognition of the fact that the Imperialistic claims of the Carlovingians had given place to Feudalism as the essential principle of the state. The very nobles who had elected Hugh to the throne forbare not presently to assert their independence of it. A certain Adelbert, who had participated in the recent royal election, fell into an altercation with his sovereign, and hot words passed between them. "Who made thee Count?" demanded the king of his vassal. And the vassal replied with the equally pertinent question, "*Who made thee King?*" The incident is illustrative of the fact that feudal insubordination had already triumphed over monarchical prerogative.

Duke Charles of Lorraine made a spasmodic and inglorious attempt to regain the throne of his fathers. The struggle was vain, being in the face of fate. A new order had taken possession not only of France, but of all Western Europe. In the year 992 the Duke Charles died, and his family fell into still greater obscurity than ever. King Hugh, meanwhile, entered upon his reign with wisdom and moderation, and the throne was soon securely established in his House. From the very first, however, it was evident that the

incipient struggle was on between the independent claims of the feudal baron and the assertion of kingly authority. It was the beginning of a conflict which was to continue for centuries, and which was finally to be decided in favor of the crown by the triumph of Louis XI. over Charles the Bold.

The reign of Hugh Capet was of nine years' duration. He administered the affairs of state wisely and well. He had the advantage of continuing the policy which he himself had instituted during his uncrowned career before the death of the Sluggard. Under his auspices the civilization of France, destined to remain under the direction of his matters. It happened that Robert and his queen were cousins in the fourth degree, and this relationship was, according to the canons of the church, an insuperable obstacle to marriage. Pope Gregory V. issued an edict ordering an immediate divorce under pain of excommunication. But the twain clung together even under the dire anathema of Rome.

They remained in the palace, abandoned by their friends, destitute, suffering, starving; for none durst bring them food or minister to their necessities. The whole kingdom was placed under an interdict. Still the law of love prevailed in the royal bosom. At length the queen became a mother, but her child



ELECTION OF HUGH CAPET.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

House for eight hundred years, began to move forward with rapid strides, and the kingdom soon surpassed in refinement and culture any other state north of the Alps. In 996 Hugh Capet died, and was quietly succeeded by his son ROBERT, already king-elect of France.

The new sovereign of the now feudal kingdom entered upon a long, obscure, and inglorious reign. No regular annals of the period are in existence, and the partial records which have been preserved are confused and contradictory. In the year before his accession to the throne the king had taken in marriage Bertha, the widow of Eudes, count of Chartres, for whom he had long cherished a romantic affection. The Church of Rome, however, was little given to romancing in such was born dead. Thereupon the monks proclaimed that it was the curse of God upon the kingly pair for their unholy marriage. They circulated the report that the dead child was a monstrous deformity, having no semblance to the offspring of man. Terror now seized upon the mind of King Robert, and he consented to divorce the queen. Bertha was sent in her sorrow to a convent, and there passed the remainder of her life as a nun.

In abilities and energy Robert, who now received the surname of the Pious, was greatly inferior to his father. He paved his way with good intentions, but the superstructure of his reign was reared of weakness and folly. The king mixed an amiable disposition and kindly designs with foolish misconcep-

tions and chimerical projects. It is said that his charities were so administered as to encourage idleness rather than to relieve the needy. His mildness in the exercise of authority was understood as a license by the vicious, and his religious sentiments were so shallow as to be satisfied with forms and ceremonies.

After the divorce of Bertha, King Robert married the Princess Constance of Provence. Very unlike his former queen was the vain and insolent woman whom he now took to the throne. She would have her own way in the palace. She brought with her to Paris a retinue of her gay and delightful friends from the South. Their bright dresses flashed in the eyes of the sedate courtiers with whom the king had surrounded himself. Their free and joyous manners were horrifying to the pious Robert; but to the queen all this was life. She filled the palace with minstrels and troubadours. She contrived exciting sports and amusements, and made the monk-shadowed hall ring with the high glee of jocularity. The despairing king sought refuge with his priests. He assisted them in the church services. He went on lonesome pilgrimages to the shrines of the saints. He sought the companionship of filthy beggars, and was in the habit of *washing their feet* as a token of his humility.

The reign of Robert the Pious is noteworthy in French history as the time when the first flush of the crusading fever was felt in Western Europe. At the very time when Queen Constance was holding high revel with her troubadours in the palace at Paris, and the disconsolate king was wandering here and there in search of some balm for his dyspeptic spirit, vague rumors floated westward and the east wind began to whisper the story of outrage done by the sacrilegious Saracens at the tomb of Christ. It was said that the holy places of Jerusalem were defiled by Infidel dogs, who spurned with the foot of contempt the lowly Christians of Palestine. It was the peculiarity of this premonitory excitement, which, after smouldering for nearly a century, was destined to wrap all Europe in its flames, that the wrath of the Western Christians was at first directed against the Jews. It was said that these people, still hating Christ and his followers, had instigated the outrages which had been committed by the Mohammedans in Palestine. They had carried on a secret correspondence with the Infidels of the East, and had suggested the extermination of the Asiatic Christians. Pope Sylvester II., though now in his old age, vehemently proclaimed the duty of Europe to destroy the perfidous Jews and proceed against the defilers of holy Jerusalem. The time, however, had not yet come when such an appeal could fire the multitudes and fling them headlong into Asia.

In the year 1002 Robert became embroiled with the princes of Burgundy. Duke Henry of that province, uncle of the French king, died and left no children; but after his death his step-son Otho came in and claimed the dukedom. King Robert also laid claim to Burgundy as the nephew of Duke Henry. But the king was not fitted, either by disposition or experience, for a conflict which must be decided by force of arms. He accordingly called in his great vassal, the Duke of Normandy, to aid him against the Burgundian usurper. The latter in the mean time raised an army, advanced to meet his foe, and took possession of the abbey of St. Germain, near the city of Auxerre. The army of French and Normans came on from the west, and were about to attack the Burgundians at the abbey when a priest came forth and warned the king not to incur the anger of God by assaulting his earthly sanctuary. At that moment a thick mist arose up from the river. It was the spirit of St. Germain himself come from the deeps to reënforce the appeal of his priest!

The pious King Robert could not stand before such an apparition from the unseen world. He and his army turned and fled. The rebel Otho was left master of the situation. In 1003 the king made a second abortive attempt to reduce the Burgundian to submission. The campaign ended with as little success as before, and Otho continued to rule the province for a period of eleven years. At the end of that time he made a voluntary submission to the king, whose vassal he became, with the title of Count of Burgundy.

King Robert held the throne of France until the year 1031. His eldest son Hugh

was recognized as his successor, and was crowned as the expectant heir while still a child. But this prince died six years before the death of his father. Eudes, the second son of Robert, was an idiot; so Henry, the third son, was chosen for the succession, though this act was done against the violent opposition of Queen Constance, who desired that the crown should be bestowed upon her favorite, the Prince Robert, youngest of the four brothers. In the year 1031, King Robert, being then in his sixtieth year and the thirty-fourth of his reign, was attacked with a fever while on his return from a pilgrimage. He died at the town of Melun, and was succeeded by Prince HENRY.

No sooner was the new king seated on the throne than the partial and implacable queen-mother stirred up a revolt against him. So great was her influence in the court and capital, and so critical became the aspect, that Henry fled from Paris and sought the protection of Robert the Magnificent, the reigning Duke of Normandy. That country had recently been the scene of tumult, intrigue, and crime. The Duke Richard II. had died in 1027, and was succeeded by his son, Richard III. With him his brother Robert, ambitious to gain the duchy for himself, raised a quarrel, and the two princes took up arms to decide the controversy. Richard at first gained the advantage, and Robert was besieged in the castle of Falaise. The latter, finding himself pent up, resorted to treachery. Pretending to desire reconciliation, he opened the gates to his brother and invited him and his nobles to a banquet. Thereupon Richard sickened and died, the probable cause being poison.

An accusation was brought against Robert, and he was excommunicated by his brother, Archbishop Mauger, of Rouen. Presently afterwards, however, the sentence was removed, and he gained the title not only of Duke of Normandy, but also of the Magnificent. To him King Henry now appealed as to a protector against the malice of his delightful mother. Robert at once espoused the cause of the royal appellant, marched on Paris, brought the queen-mother to obedience, and shut her up in a convent. There she had leisure to recall the pleasures of youth, and to hear again in dreams the thrumming of mediæval guitars in the hands of her troubadours.

As a reward for service rendered, King Henry gave to his friend, Duke Robert, the provinces of Pontoise and Gisors. These were annexed to Normandy. At the same time he appeased the ambition of his own brother Robert by bestowing on him the crown of Burgundy. Shortly afterwards the Duke Magnificent discovered an alarming balance against his soul in the ledger of conscience. He dreamed of the treacherous banquet at Falaise, and saw his brother's face in the shadows. Fain would he abandon the splendor which he had so foully won, and regain the favor of heaven by a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. But what of the succession to the dukedom? He had no children save one and he was—illegitimate. Robert had been enamored of the daughter of a tanner! Feudalism would hardly recognize the offspring of so base a union. But Nature had set on the brow of the youth the seal of genius. The father was anxious to have him acknowledged as his successor. At last the reluctant barons consented. They came into the presence of the bastard boy and swore allegiance to him who was presently to become WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR! Then the penitent Robert, in pilgrim's garb, wended his way to the holy places of the East, and died in Palestine.

No sooner was Duke William acknowledged as the rightful ruler of Normandy than he began to display the great qualities of ambition and daring for which he was so greatly distinguished. The Norman nobles became proud of their young suzerain, and the bishops blinked the story of his birth. Meanwhile, King Henry of France, surprised at seeing thus to bud from the bosom of a tanner's daughter a plant which seemed likely to overshadow the realm, bitterly repented the part which he had taken in favor of Robert and his base-born son. He accordingly conspired with Archbishop Mauger, uncle of the aspiring duke, to reverse the order of events and transfer the Norman duchy to another. But William was so firmly established in the respect and affections of his subjects that the plot against him came to naught. Nature went forth to victory, and legitimacy sat mouthing.

King Henry occupied the throne of France from 1033 to 1060. His reign, on the whole, was weak, if not contemptible. Three times was he married. The first two unions were with queens who brought him no children; but in the third marriage he took to the palace the Russian princess Anne, daughter of the czar, and by her he had three sons. This third marriage of the king with the daughter of a royal House then scarcely known in Western Europe was an event the motives of which it would be difficult to discover. But such was the wifely and the queenly character of the foreign princess thus oddly introduced into the palace of the Capets that all cavil against the king's caprice was quieted. The three sons born to King Henry were PHILIP, who succeeded him; Robert, who died in childhood; and Hugh, who became count of Vermandois.

Now it was that the disk of Feudalism grew large and bright. At the same time the sun of royalty waned, as if to its setting. The splendor of the king's court was actually eclipsed by the superior brightness of the courts of many of his vassals. The great counts of Toulouse, Flanders, and Anjou outshone their king in magnificence, and were fully his equals in the field. The Count of Champagne and Blois, half-brother to King Henry, maintained a court in rivalry to that of Paris. He even set up a pretension of royalty, and in 1037 fought a bloody battle with the Emperor Conrad of Germany. He claimed from that monarch the territories which had belonged to Conrad the Pacific; but the count was slain in battle, and his claims were thus blown away. The elder of his two sons was permitted to inherit the earldom of Champagne, and the younger became Count of Blois.

The reign of King Henry, however undistinguished in itself, was a noted epoch for two considerations. The first was the formal effort which was now put forth by the Romish See to reform the abuses of the Church, and the second was the growth and development of CHIVALRY. For a long time ecclesiastical affairs, especially in France, had been sinking deeper and deeper into confusion and disgrace. The conduct of the Gallic clergy had been such as to cover the cause of religion with reproach and shame.

It will be remembered that the celibate party had, in the great struggle of the ninth century, won the day over the supporters of a married clergy. For a generation or two the celibate monks rejoiced in their victory; but by and by they began themselves to be restless under the system which they had succeeded in enforcing. Many of them broke their vows and left the monasteries. The Church was greatly scandalized. Other abuses added to the disgraces of the organization. Benefices were frequently sold to the highest bidder. Even the Papal crown itself had been so disposed of. The folly of the earthly kingdoms in permitting children and boys to occupy thrones was witnessed also at Rome, where Benedict IX., a stripling but ten years of age was raised to the seat of St. Peter. The more serious and sincere ecclesiastics felt keenly the shame consequent upon these corruptions. The cry of reform was raised. The conscience of Germany was deeply stirred at the existing condition of affairs. In the year 1049 the celebrated Bruno was chosen Pope, under the auspices of Henry III. The new dignitary was a man of sanctity and learning. Under the name of Leo IX. he undertook a renovation of the Church. He passed over into France, and convened a great council at Rheims. Here the prelates of the kingdom were summoned, and a more rigorous enforcement of the canonical and moral law was made against those who had been guilty of cirme.

As a further measure of reform in the Church, St. Bruno instituted the order of Carthusian monks, the same being a branch of the Benedictines, already established. A wild and solitary spot near the city of Grenoble, in the department of La Chartreuse, was chosen as the site of the first monastery. The observances of the new order were austere and penitential in the last degree. Nor was it long until the Carthusians gained a reputation for benevolence and sanctity above that of any contemporary establishment. Their monasteries soon appeared in various parts of France, Germany, and England. One branch of the brotherhood was established in the Thermæ of Diocletian at Rome. Great was the industry displayed by the shorn brothers of Chartreuse in the works peculiar to the monastic life.

Another feature of the religious history of these times was the spread of various heresies. The doctrines of the Church were denied or assailed by many of the clergy. Persecutions for opinion's sake were already frequent. Sects of fanatics, anxious by some extraordinary method and discipline of life to merit the special favor of heaven, arose in different parts of the country. Of these, the characteristics were some almost intolerable form of penance, or unusual rigor of restraint upon the natural appetites. It was the peculiar tenet of one of the heretical sects to fast to the last extreme, with total abstinence from all animal food. Under this severe self-denial the devotees of the community were presently wasted until they were more like wan specters than men of flesh and blood. To be so reduced in body was regarded as the highest evidence of sanctity, and the haggard visage was thought to be the only countenance worthy the name of Christian.

Turning from these peculiar aspects of the religious history of the eleventh century, we note the rise of CHIVALRY. This institution, like Feudalism, of which it was a concomitant development, grew naturally out of the social condition of Western Europe. As early as the days of Tacitus the sentiment of honor was noticeable as a characteristic of German life. Under a system where the man was every thing and the state was little it was necessary to the very existence of tribal society that truth and devotion should prevail over the intriguing and treacherous spirit. In such a state trust was an antecedent of action.

When the Frankish tribes gained possession of Gaul, and, giving over the wandering life, fixed their residence on the soil, they began almost from the very first to cultivate those sentiments which they had come to regard as the best traits of German character. When the Frankish youths were first presented with the weapons which they were to wear in manhood, they were made to take an oath that they would be brave, valiant, and honorable soldiers. Even in those early times the worst stigma which could be affixed to the tribal name was a dishonorable act on the part of its chief. Such were the fundamental facts upon which the chivalrous institutions of the Middle Ages were founded.

In the beginning of the eleventh century, Frankish society having then taken on a definite form and Feudalism having become the basis of the state, the Church discovered in the chivalrous sentiments of the Franks the means of giving a new impulse to religion. Many of the pious nobles who had been actual warriors by profession were induced to become ideal soldiers of the Cross. They consecrated their swords to the cause of virtue, truth, and religion. They took upon them vows to defend the innocent and uphold the weak. They became the sworn foes of oppression, the enemies of wrong-doing wherever and whenever found. The old warlike impulses thus found a vent, and the restless energies of the barbarian character, still present in the descendants of the Teutones, flowed in a newer and broader channel. Just at the time when the consciousness of Western Europe was reviving from its long, barbaric sleep, just at the time when the human imagination began to paint an aureole about the gross head of the feudal chieftain, Chivalry came with its refinement of thought and generosity of action to add new radiance to the morning of civilization.

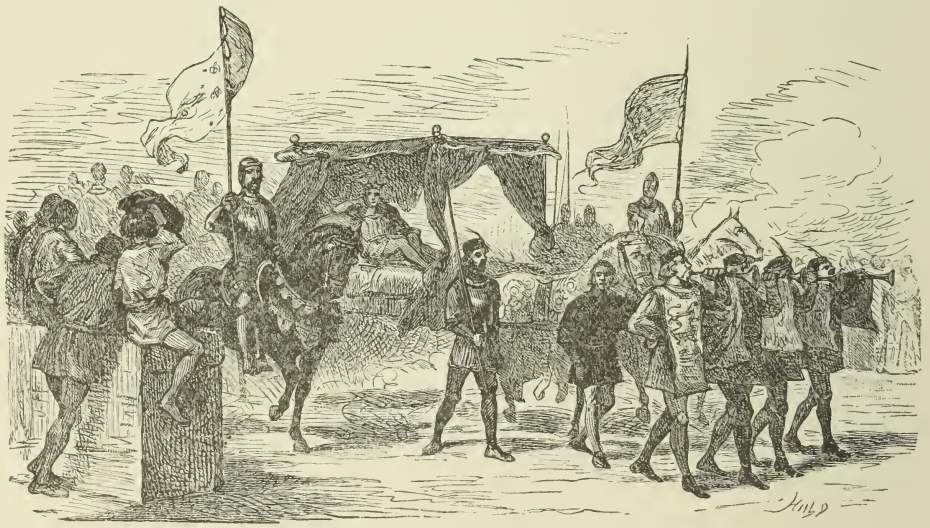
The noble principles and high ideals which thus began to gain an ascendency in mediæval society soon became organic in an institution. An Order of Knighthood was established as the conservator of the new heroism of nascent Europe. Laws and regulations were adopted and a discipline established for the better development of chivalrous sentiments and the proper direction of knightly ardor. The order opened its portals to none but men of noble birth. The vulgar peasantry was absolutely excluded. What dreams of heroism and generosity, of honor, virtue, and truth, of the rescue of the helpless and the defense of the weak, could agitate the unimaginative brains of ignoble serfs? So reasoned and queried the suzerain, the royal warrior, the baronial lord and his aspiring sons, riding forth to tournament or going abroad in search of heroic and adventurous excitement.

The ceremonial of knighthood was interesting and elaborate. The aspirant to knightly honors, after a period of probation, came at length to the day when he was to be admitted among the noble order. The candi-

date was first carefully bathed, in order that he might be presented pure before the ministrants. After the washing he was clothed in a white tunic, over which in a later part of the ceremony was placed a crimson vest. Finally he was encased in a coat-of-mail. His waist was bound with a belt. Spurs were affixed to his boots and a sword girt at his side. The various parts of his dress and armor had a speculative significance as well as an actual use. The white tunic was symbolical of the new life which the knight had vowed to lead. The red vest, symbol of blood, indicated that his business was war. His armor, which was of a sable hue, was to remind him of the blackness of death. His belt signified that he was girt with chastity, and his spurs that he should fly to the rescue of the innocent. When the ceremony of clothing the initiate was completed, he knelt before the officiating knight, who thereupon struck him a blow on the shoulder with the side of his sword, and exclaimed: "In the name of God, St. Michael, and St. George, I dub thee knight. Be brave, bold, and loyal. Rise, Sir!" For Sir was the knightly title.

Great was the popularity immediately attained by the chivalrous orders. The one overmastering ambition of the noble youth of Europe was to be admitted to knighthood. To this end the sons of the feudal lords were carefully bred and trained. The scions of the noble Houses were put for preparatory discipline into the halls of the most eminent knights. There they did service and took lessons of the master, imbibing his courtly manners and emulating his chivalrous deeds. The sentiment of heroic adventure became the one absorbing passion of Feudal Europe, and the armor of the returning knight, coming home victorious over the enemies of truth and chastity, was regarded as the most honorable emblem of the age.

Nor should failure here be made to mention the part which woman naturally assumed under the chivalric *régime* which now prevailed instead of the barbaric rule of the past.



A KING GOING TO TOURNAMENT.

She was the radiant and adored goddess of the chivalrous age. To her, in some sort, the whole system was directed. Weaker than man, her protection, from being an instinctive sentiment, became the open and avowed duty of the knight. Religion said that the knight should be true to God; humanity, that he should be true to woman. The times were still full of violence. Lawless passions still sought to be gratified at the expense of virtue, unable to defend itself against the strong. The feudal situation was such as to encourage the sentiment of ennobling love. Woman was secluded from base familiarity. She grew up in the castle halls. The baron's daughter was rarely seen abroad. From her father's castle to the castle of her possible

lover was the space of fifty, perhaps a hundred, miles. It was hill country, dark woods, and deep rivers—hills without a roadway, woods infested with brigands and robbers, and rivers without a bridge. Her lover must come to her at peril of his life. She had never seen him; he had never seen her. They had only dreamed and imagined each other's loyalty and devotion. Their fathers, perhaps, were friends—old-time companions in the perils and hardships of war. Perhaps



KNIGHTS'-ERRANT.

they were enemies! May be between them yawned a chasm which had been rent open by the deadly feuds of a hundred years. The young baron saw the divinity of his life afar. He must blow his bugle outside of the moat. The warder must announce a stranger and let down the drawbridge if he was welcome. Up must be flung the portcullis, and in must ride the aspiring lover, who would fain behold and worship the goddess of his dreams. Meanwhile she, after the manner of her sex, looked down into the court from her high and narrow window and saw *him* dismount from his caparisoned steed, fling the reigns to a groom, and walk, in full and shining armor, into the echoing hall of her father's castle. It was the beginning of that great romance which for a thousand years has been the dream of the human heart, gilding the gloom of action and adorning the coarseness of life with the beauty and tenderness of ideal love.

The institution of chivalry, thus established in the beginning of the eleventh century, spread rapidly throughout the western part of Europe. Knighthood in France became the dominant aspect of society. In a short time a class of champions known as knights-errant became prevalent, and the representatives of this Order might be seen in almost every part of the country. In Spain the business of the knight was more serious and less ideal. There the Moors were to be confronted. There the banner of the Cross was to be lifted against that of the Crescent. There in a thousand private encounters and deadly personal battles the metal of the Christian sword was to be tested against that

of the Mohammedan. It thus happened that the sentiment of hatred and contempt of Infidels prevailed over nobler motives in the chivalry of Spain. Of all the countries of Europe, insular and practical England was least favorable to the reception of knighthood. The knightly branch of the military service was less important to the English kings than were those sturdy yeoman archers, whose long bows of yew were so terrible to the enemy. In the succeeding Book, the influence of the chivalrous orders will again demand our attention as one of the leading impulses of the Crusades. It was in those marvelous movements of Europe to the East that the knightly spirit of the West found its broadest and most congenial field of activity.

After his death in the year 1060, King Henry was succeeded on the throne of France by his son Philip I. This prince was a mere child, being but seven years of age at the time of his accession. The late king had taken the precaution to appoint as regent Earl Baldwin of Flanders during the minority of Philip. In 1067 the protector died, and the young king was left to his own resources and responsibilities.

The domestic relations of the new prince were no more fortunate than those of his father. Two years after the death of the regent, Philip took in marriage the Princess Bertha, daughter of the Count of Holland. Six years afterwards she brought to her lord a son, who was destined to succeed him with the title of Louis the Fat. After twenty years of married life, the king made the convenient discovery that he and the queen were within the prohibited degrees of kinship. He therefore put her away by divorce, and she went into banishment at Montreuil-sur-Mer. Nor was it long until the nature of the king's conscientious scruples were amply revealed. He had conceived a violent passion for the beautiful Bertrade, fourth wife of his vassal, the Count of Anjou.

But no sooner was Queen Bertha disposed of than the king set out for Tours, made known his so-called love for Bertrade, who presently left her consort and joined her alleged lover at Orleans. The bishops and priests were properly shocked at these proceedings on the part of their sovereign. Scarcely could the king discover one of the clergy sufficiently bold and unscrupulous to perform the marriage ceremony. The whole Church of France was up in arms against it. The Pope promptly joined his authority with that of the Gallican bishops who refused to recognize the validity of the union. Then followed a desperate struggle between papal and kingly prerogative. One excommunication after another was launched at the heads of the king and his few adherents, but all to no avail. He kept his queen and mocked at the Holy Father's authority. Philip's spirit rose with the persecution against him. The priests refused to perform religious services in any town where he was sojourning, and when he departed from a town the bells rang a peal of joy for his departure. Thereupon he was accustomed to say with a laugh to her who was the cause of the insult, "Dost hear, my love, how they are ringing us out?"

This social disturbance in the king's house soon distracted the affairs of the whole realm. The kingdom was put under an interdict by the Pope. For twelve years France lay smitten with the awful displeasure of the Holy See. Not until the First Crusade had drawn the attention of both Church and king to the more serious question of expelling the Infidels from Palestine did Philip finally yield to the dictation of the Church. In the year 1104, in a great convocation of the bishops at Paris, the king went humbly before the body, confessed his sin, renounced his wife, and promised to expiate his crime with meek and penitential works. In like manner, Bertrade yielded to the inevitable and took the oath of renunciation and future obedience. Nevertheless, it is more than probable that both king and queen, in abjuring their past lives, swore falsely even on the Gospel. A short time afterwards the audacious twain were living as before, and publicly journeying together from place to place in the kingdom.

It appears, however, that King Philip was not wholly engrossed with his vices. In the early part of his reign he drew his sword in a war with Robert, duke of Friesland, who had seized upon the duchy of Holland. But the event soon showed that the king of the French was by no means a match for Count Robert and his northern warriors. A peace was ac-

cordingly made, on terms altogether favorable to the Duke of Friesland. Robert stipulated that the young king should accept in marriage his daughter Bertha. For she was that Bertha who has already been mentioned as the first wife of Philip.

It was already the daybreak of the Crusades. The reader will readily recall that part of the narrative in the Second Book of the present Volume wherein an account is given of the more friendly relations which were gradually established between the Christians and Mohammedans in the East. Nor is it likely that the old flames of animosity would have burst out anew if the mild-mannered Saracens of the East had remained in possession of the Holy Sepulcher. It was needed that the prejudice of race should be added to the prejudice of religion before the ancient fires could be rekindled. But this missing condition necessary to wrap all Europe in a conflagration was presently supplied in the conquest of Palestine by the Seljukian Turks. In the latter part of the eleventh century these fierce barbarians, themselves the followers of the Prophet, but a very different people from the refined and philosophical Arabs who controlled the destinies of Islam in the South and the West, gained possession of the city of Jerusalem, and began a career of violence and persecution which was almost as repugnant to the Saracens as to the Christians themselves. What should be said of the despicable wretches who, without compunction or fear, converted the churches of the city of David and Christ into cow-houses and stables?

The news of what was done in Palestine created the greatest indignation and rage. The Christian pilgrims, who escaped from the atrocities of the Infidels in Asia, returning, spread the story of the sacrilegious crimes done by Turks on the followers of Christ. It will be remembered that at this juncture of affairs the Empire of Constantinople trembled to its base. The menacing Turks were even then at the threshold. The Emperor Michael VII., distrusting his own ability to save the Greek Empire from destruction, sent a hurried embassy to Pope Gregory VII., imploring his aid against the common enemy. The Holy Father thereupon dispatched letters to the various Christian states of Europe, calling loudly upon them to rally to the standard of the imperiled Cross. Meanwhile a certain Peter, a devout monk of Picardy, had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. There he had been maltreated and abused according to the manner of the conscienceless Turks. The monk saw with indignation and shame his countrymen and brethren insulted and spit upon in the same manner as himself. Going to the Christian patriarch of Jerusalem, he laid before him the story of his wrongs. But the patriarch was unable to redress his grievances. He told Peter, moreover, that the Greek Emperor was as impotent as himself to protect the pilgrims from the fury of the malignant Turks. The monk thereupon returned to Italy and flung himself before the successor of St. Peter, beseeching him to rally all Christendom against the defilers of the tomb of Christ.

Meanwhile the Church of the West was rent with a violent schism. In 1088 Gregory VII. was succeeded on the papal throne by a Benedictine monk named Otho de Lagny, who took the title of Urban II. But Henry IV., Emperor of Germany, refused to recognize him, and put up Clement III. as antipope. The latter was presently expelled by the Romans, and he and Henry were excommunicated by Urban. In 1091 the Emperor marched an army to Rome, restored the antipope, and obliged the Pope to fly into Apulia. Two years later, however, Urban regained the papal crown, and in 1095 called a great council at Piacenza. There were present at the assembly two hundred bishops, three thousand of the inferior clergy, and thirty thousand laymen. While this great convocation was busy with the affairs of the Church ambassadors arrived from Alexius Comnenus, Emperor of the East, who joined his voice with that of Peter of Picardy in imploring the aid of Western Europe against the Turks. Urban lent a willing ear to the appeal, and called upon the Christian princes to draw their swords against the Infidels. The agitation spread everywhere. The council of Piacenza adjourned, and the bishops returned to their several countries, fired with the rising spirit of crusaders. Before the end of the same year—namely, in November of 1095—Pope Urban II. called

another great council at Clermont, in Auvergne, and there the first formal step was taken for the rescue of the Holy Land from the Turks.—Here, then, we pause in the feudal history of France to sketch the course of events in the surrounding states before entering upon the history of that tumultuous movement called the Crusades.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.—FEUDAL GERMANY.

THE course of German history has already been traced from the division of the Carlovingian empire to the death of Otho the Great, in the year 973. That distinguished sovereign was succeeded on the throne by his son OTHO II., surnamed the Red. The prince who thus came into the kingly and Imperial dignity was at the time of his accession but seventeen years of age. It was the first fate of his reign to fall under the regency of his mother, Adelheid, who exhibited great abilities during the minority of her son. But Theophania, the wife of Otho, became inflamed with jealousy on account of the ascendency of her mother-in-law, and the latter was presently obliged to descend from her preëminence and retire into Burgundy.

In the first years of the reign of Otho the Emperor's cousin, Henry of Bavaria, headed a revolutionary movement against the crown, with a view of securing the independence of his own state. The revolt made considerable progress, and Henry was crowned at Ratisbon; but the tide presently turned against him, and in 976 he was overthrown in battle. The ambitious purpose of the barbarians was brought to naught, and they had the chagrin to see their country united with the province of Suabia. By this union of the two German states, effected in the last quarter of the tenth century, were laid the foundations of the modern kingdom and empire of AUSTRIA.

The next complication demanding the attention of Otho arose on the frontier of Bohemia and Denmark. With both of these states he went to war and was so successful as to maintain the boundaries established by his father. But while the Emperor's energies were thus absorbed in the North-east, Lothaire, king of France, seized the favoring opportunity to possess himself of the lower province of Lorraine. In the summer of 978, he succeeded in capturing Aix-la-Chapelle and thus established himself in the ancient capital of Charlemagne. Great was the wrath which these events excited throughout Germany. An army of sixty thousand men was raised; and Otho, turning upon the Franks, drove them back more rapidly than they had come. The Emperor pursued the retreating Lothaire to Paris and besieged him in his own capital. Then it was that the German army, encamped on Montmartre, performed an exquisite piece of bravado by bellowing the Latin litany in the ears of the Parisians.[1] After a war of two years' duration, a personal interview was had between Otho and Lothaire, and their difficulties were settled by the restoration of Lorraine to Germany.

The next trouble in which the Empire was involved was on the side of Italy. The Eternal City had for some time been the scene of turmoil and confusion. In the year 891 Otho found it necessary to go to Rome in order to quiet the disturbances in the government. While engaged in this duty he had personal interviews with Conrad, duke of Burgundy, and the great count, Hugh Capet of France. His mother, the ex-empress Adelheid, also met him at Pavia, and the two were reconciled. At this time the coasts of Italy were assailed by both the Greeks and the Saracens. It was necessary for Otho, in virtue of his Imperial title, to defend the South against the ravages of her enemies. Notwithstanding the fierce animosities existing between the Greeks and the Saracens, an alliance was made between them for the purpose of resisting the

[1] See Book Thirteenth, p. 552.

German Emperor. For one year a desultory war was carried on between the belligerents of Italy; but in the summer of 982, a great and decisive battle was fought on the coast of Calabria. The army of Otho was utterly routed by the Saracens, and he himself only escaped destruction by flinging himself into the sea and swimming to a ship. The vessel was found to be a galley of the Greeks, but Otho induced the captain to put him ashore at Rossano, where he was joined by the Empress. Thence the Imperial pair made their escape into Northern Italy, and in the following year Otho summoned the Diet of the Empire to meet him at Verona.

The call was obeyed with alacrity. The princes assembled from most of the states of Western Europe, and the Diet was the most imposing deliberative body which had been convened for centuries. The kings of Hungary and Bohemia sat side by side with the dukes of Saxony, France, and Bavaria. One of the first duties devolving on the assembly was the establishment of the succession. The choice fell naturally on the Emperor's son, then a child but three years of age, afterwards to be known as Otho III. Great preparations were then made for prosecuting the war with the Saracens. The national spirit of the Germans was thoroughly aroused, and the energies of the Empire were bent to the destruction of the Mohammedan buccaneers in the Mediterranean. But before the preparations for the conflict could be completed the Emperor Otho fell sick and died, being then in the twenty-eighth year of his age and the tenth of his reign.

The ministers at Aix-la-Chapelle were engaged in the coronation of Otho III.—following in that matter the decree of the Diet at Verona—at the time when the news came of his father's death. The establishment of a regency became an immediate necessity, and a violent dispute arose between the queen-mother, Theophania, and the queen-grandmother, Adelheid, as to which should have the guardianship of the Imperial scion. Duke Henry of Bavaria also came forward, and claimed the regency, being actuated thereto by the ill-disguised motive of obtaining the crown for himself. The German princes, however, were not at all disposed to favor this ambitious project, and the vision of the aspiring Henry was soon reduced to his own dukedom of Bavaria. The regency went to Adelheid and Theophania, the latter exercising authority in the name of her son in Germany, and the former doing likewise in Italy. In both countries these royal women wielded their authority with prudence and success. After eight years Theophania died, and the now aged Adelheid became sole regent of the Empire. Choosing the dukes of Saxony, Suabia, Bavaria, and Tuscany as members of her council, she continued for three years longer to sway the Imperial scepter, and was then succeeded by her grandson, who, on reaching the age of sixteen, took into his own hands the reins of government.

In this period of thirteen years since the death of Otho II. the Empire was almost constantly menaced with war. The Wends in Brandenburg again revolted and fell upon the German settlements beyond the Elbe. Nor, for the time, was any effective aid rendered by the Imperial army to the people of this exposed frontier. The Saxons themselves, however, proved equal to the emergency, and the Wendish revolt was suppressed after a severe and bloody struggle. Nor were the relations of the Empire on the side of France more peaceable than in the Northeast. Though open hostilities were not resorted to, the sentiment of war prevailed during the whole minority of Otho III. This was the epoch in French history when the House of Charlemagne was in the slow agonies of extinction. Duke Charles, last of that degenerate line, was setting up his feeble and ridiculous claim to the crown of the kingdom, while the great Hugh Capet was quietly taking to himself the royal dignity, with the ample consent of the nobles and people of France.

Little was the German Empire benefited by the transfer of the scepter from the withered but virtuous hand of Adelheid to that of her facile and capricious grandson. Though the education of Otho III. had by no means been neglected, his instruction had been Greek rather than German. Like many another upstart stripling, he preferred his foreign to his native culture. He affected to be—and perhaps was—ashamed of his Saxon

lineage, and was fool enough to style himself a Greek by birth and a Roman by right of rule. Albeit but little good might be expected to flow from the Imperial scepter while wielded by a prince so fantastic in disposition and absurd in his royal mannerisms.

In accordance with his theory of regarding himself as a Roman rather than a German Emperor, young Otho made all speed to the Eternal City to receive his crown at the hands of the Holy Father. The papal chair was at that time occupied by Pope John XVI., whom Otho had recently aided in a struggle with a certain Roman noble named Crescentius, who had endeavored to usurp the government of the city. The Pope, however, died while the Emperor was *en route* into Italy; and the latter found it necessary to create his own creator by appointing to the papacy his cousin Bruno, who took the seat of St. Peter with the title of Gregory V. By him Otho was crowned a few days after his arrival in the city. How, indeed, could the Pope do otherwise, when he himself had been raised up for that especial duty?

It soon appeared that the Pope had the worst of the bargain. When the ceremony of coronation was done, and Otho had retired from Italy, Crescentius rose against the Pope, expelled him from power, and set up a new creature of his own. On arriving in Germany Otho found that the Wends of Prussia were again in insurrection, and that his northern frontier had been broken in by the Danes. Notwithstanding this alarming condition of affairs, the Emperor left his own country to defend herself against her enemies, and hastily recrossing the Alps, fell upon the enemies of Gregory. The rival Pope was seized and barbarously mutilated. Crescentius was taken and beheaded, and Gregory reïnstated in the papacy. The triumph of the latter, however, was of short duration. He died in 999, and his place was taken by Gerbert of Rheims, whom Otho now raised to the papal chair, with the title of Sylvester II.

The new pontiff had been the teacher of the Emperor in boyhood, and was greatly esteemed for his learning, though not at all for his piety. Indeed, the Pope's scholarship, especially in matters of science, was such as to gain for him the bad fame of being a magician. It was held by the people that he practiced the Black Art and was the servant of his master, the Devil. Already were discoverable the symptoms of an outbreak between the calm-spirited, benevolent founders of science and the ignorant zeal of bigoted credulity.

For three years Otho III. remained in Germany, occupying his time with the religious pageants of the city and cultivating the acquaintance of the celebrities of the Church. In A. D. 1000 he returned to Germany, where his aunt, the Princess Matilda, had held rule during his absence in the South. Here his attention was at once absorbed with the religious affairs of the Empire. One of the most serious questions of the times was the setting up of an independent Church by the Poles. These people, under the lead of the Archbishop of Magdeburg, demanded and obtained from the Emperor the separation of their diocese from that of the Empire. The concessions made by Otho in this respect were so many and important that the authority of the German Empire over the rising kingdom of Poland was presently denied.

During the negotiations of Otho with the Poles, he turned aside from the principal business in hand to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Adalbert at Prague. Afterwards he made a journey to Aix-la-Chapelle, and there gratified his morbid fancy by entering the sepulcher of Charlemagne. It was one of the dreams of Otho that he should become the restorer of the Roman Empire of the West. That, too, had been the delusive vision which flitted before the fancy of the greatest Carlovingian. Now the German prince entered the gloomy vault where the body of Charlemagne had lain for nearly two hundred years, believing that the spectral lips would speak to him and teach him how his object might be accomplished.

It was not long until the condition of affairs in Italy again demanded the presence of the Emperor. Sylvester was not much more kindly received by the Romans than had been his predecessor. A strong party of the Italican clergy openly denounced the scandalous proceeding of Otho in the appointment of the last two Popes. In the year 1001 the Emperor returned to Rome and established his

court on the Aventine. But his presence was illy brooked by the insurgent people. Moved partly by his unpleasant surroundings and partly by curiosity, Otho slipped out of the city by night and made a visit to Venice. On his return to Rome, however, he found the gates closed against him. Enraged at this inhospitable reception, he gathered a force and began a siege of the city. But before he could make any impression upon the defenses he sickened and died, being at that time in the sixth year of his reign and the twenty-third of his age. His body was taken in charge by his followers, who cut their way through the Roman insurgents, bore their lifeless burden across the Alps, and buried it in the royal tomb at Aix-la-Chapelle.

In the following year, A. D. 1003, Sylvester II. died, and the papal seat was seized upon by the counts of Tusculum. By them an effort was now made to apply the hereditary principle to the Holy See, and to establish a papal succession in their own family. One of the counts, then a youth but seventeen years of age, was raised to the pontifical dignity with the title of John XVII., and in the course of the following nine years he was succeeded by three others as immature as himself. Thus, while the Imperial crown of Germany, so ably and honorably worn by Otho the Great, descended to a fantastic stripling incapable of any great and serious enterprise, the papal tiara in like manner declined from the broad brow of Leo VII. to rest on the ridiculous heads of the boyish incompetents, John XVIII. and Sergius IV. Such was the waning and eclipse of the magnificent dream of Charlemagne to reëstablish the ancient empire in state and Church.

At the death of Otho III. the Imperial crown was claimed by three of the German princes. The choice fell at length upon the late Emperor's cousin, Duke Henry of Bavaria, great grandson of Henry the Fowler. The election of this prince was seriously opposed by the dukes of Saxony, Suabia, and Lorraine; and for a season the Empire was threatened with disruption. But in due time the refractory electors submitted, and the authority of Henry was recognized throughout Germany. Not so, however, in the South. The disposition to regard Italy as a separate kingdom was more and more manifest, and the Italians were quick to perceive the difference between a powerful sovereign like Otho the Great and the present wearer of the Imperial crown.

During the greater part of his reign Henry II. was vexed with the complication of his affairs south of the Alps. But a more pressing demand was made upon the military resources of Germany in repelling the aggressions of the Poles. For Boleslau, the reigning Duke of Poland, a brave and warlike prince, undertook to unite Bohemia and all the Slavonic countries eastward of the Elbe into an independent kingdom. The German territories in this region were thus about to be wrested away from the parent state and absorbed in a foreign dominion. The first sixteen years of Henry II.'s reign were almost wholly consumed in warfare with the Poles. One bloody campaign after another was waged, until at last, in 1018, peace was concluded by the acceptance of a dependent relation on the part of Poland. But to compensate for this humble position as a tributary of the German Empire, the Saxon province of Meissen was forced into a like relation of dependence upon the Polish duchy.

While these events had been in progress beyond the Elbe the Wends had again revolted and obtained the mastery of Northern Prussia. In that region the authority of the Empire was overthrown and paganism established on the ruins of the Church. In the mean time Arduin, duke of Ivrea, had once more induced the Lombards to throw off their allegiance. Independence was declared and the duke was chosen king. As early as 1006 Henry II. was obliged to lead an army across the mountains in order to restore quiet to Italy. Proceeding against Pavia he laid siege to that city, which was presently taken and burned. Believing the insurrection at an end the king returned into Germany. But no sooner were the Alps between him and Arduin than the latter again came to the front as the leader of the revolution. Pope Benedict VIII., the third of the boy pontiffs of the Tusculan dynasty, was so hard pressed by the insurgents that he fled to Germany, and besought Henry to aid him in recovering the chair of St. Peter. In 1013 the king con-

ducted the Holy *Father* back to Italy, retook Pavia, and marching on Rome reïnstated Benedict in the papacy. Then it was that Henry himself received at the hands of the grateful pontiff the honor of the Imperial crown.

While the Polish war still continued in the Northeast the western frontier on the side of Flanders, Luxemburg, and Lorraine were troubled with rebellions. Indeed, in all parts of the Empire the same tendency towards disintegration and the achievement of local independence, which we have observed in the contemporaneous history of Feudal France, was manifest. At this time a violent quarrel broke out between Rudolph III., king of Burgundy, and his nobles, on account of the disposition which he was about to make of the crown. In looking forward to his exit he bequeathed the kingdom to his nephew, who was none other than the reigning Emperor. Burgundy was thus about to pass under the German scepter, and to prevent this catastrophe the Burgundians went to war. The armies of Henry II. marched rapidly to the rescue and the country was conquered after two arduous campaigns.

The year 1020 was signalized by the dedication of the great cathedral of Bamberg. Upon this structure the Emperor had for many years lavished his treasure. The Pope made a journey from Rome in order to be present and direct the ceremonies of consecration. His Holiness availed himself of the opportunities of the German court again to implore the interference of Henry in the affairs of Italy. The southern part of that country was now overrun and held by the Greeks. The city of Capua had been taken by them, and could not be recovered by the Italians. The Emperor hesitated not to respond to the call. In the following year he led a large army across the Alps, and expelled the Greeks from the whole peninsula, except a few places on the coast of Bruttium. The campaign, however, was almost as disastrous to the Germans as to the enemy whom they defeated. A pestilence broke out, and the army of Henry was well-nigh destroyed before it could escape from the country.

The remaining three years of the reign of the Emperor Henry were spent in settling the affairs of Germany. On every side the kingly prerogative was assailed by the dukes and counts struggling after the manner of feudal lords to become independent of their suzerain. The development of a feeling of nationality was thus counterchecked by the sentiment of local independence. In spite of the strenuous efforts of Henry II. he was obliged to witness the constant disintegration of the Empire. The spirit of the times had so changed since the death of Otho the Great that not even the greatest genius and industry could suffice to check the forces of localism and hold the state in one. In the year 1024 the Emperor died and was buried in his cathedral at Bamberg. With him expired the Saxon line of sovereigns which had begun with Conrad I. in 918.

It thus became necessary for the German nobles to elect a new sovereign in the place of Henry II. For this purpose a great assembly was held on the Rhine, near the city of Mayence. This had now become the border line between the Germans and the Franks. About sixty thousand persons came to the assembly. Two great camps were formed, the one on the eastern, the other on the western bank of the river. The candidates for the Imperial crown were two cousins, both named Conrad, and both supported by a powerful following. At length, after five days of discussion not unmixed with intrigue, the choice fell on Conrad of Suabia, the elder and more popular of the candidates, and he at once received the crown in the cathedral of Mayence. The election had turned largely upon the facts that Conrad was a man of great abilities, and that he had married the Princess Gisela of Suabia. By her—for she was already experienced in the matter of government—the new Emperor was greatly aided in conducting the affairs of state. Nor was any serious opposition manifested to the assumption of royal power by one so worthy to wield the scepter.

It was the peculiarity of mediæval times that a change of dynasty generally furnished the occasion for the revolt of malcontent peoples. The accession of Conrad II. proved to be no exception to the rule. First of all, the Lombards threw off the German yoke. They fell upon the city of Pavia and destroyed the Imperial palace. At the same time Rudolph of

Burgundy, who, as will be remembered, had designed to give his kingdom to Henry II., now changed his mind and resisted the claims of Conrad. In Poland, also, King Boleslau annulled the existing treaty and refused any longer to recognize the tributary relation of the kingdom. Just at the time, however, when the Empire seemed to totter, the Polish king died, and while his sons were engaged in a violent quarrel about the succession Conrad found opportunity to reëstablish his sovereignty over the country. In Burgundy also the childless Rudolph III. was presently obliged to yield to the logic of events and acknowledge Conrad as his successor. With Canute the Great of England the Emperor made a treaty by which the Eider was established as his boundary on the side of Denmark.

Having thus effected a settlement of the affairs north of the Alps, Conrad next turned his attention to the insurgent Lombards. He led an army across the mountains, and early in 1026 entered the valley of the Po. Finding Pavia in the hands of the rebels, the king proceeded to Milan, where he received, at the hands of the nobles, the iron crown of Lombardy. In the course of a single year all Northern Italy yielded to his sway. In the following spring he continued his course to Rome, where he was welcomed by Pope John XIX., one of the Tusculan pontiffs, being now but twelve years of age. At the hands of this sage father of the Holy See, Conrad received the golden crown of Empire. Canute of England and Rudolph of Burgundy were present on the occasion, which was signalized by the betrothal of Gunhilde, daughter of Canute, to Prince Henry, son of the Emperor.

In the mean time the adventurous Normans had made their way into Southern Italy, and had there succeeded in expelling from the country the Greeks and the Saracens. After their manner they took possession for themselves, and a new Normandy was about to be established in the South. Conrad found it necessary to stretch out the Imperial scepter towards the Mediterranean. But the Normans, though they readily assumed the relation of vassals to the crown, refused to leave the provinces which they had conquered. Thus did the blood of the northern races assert itself as far as the strait of Messina.

During the absence of the Emperor in Italy, an alarming condition of affairs had supervened in Germany. Duke Ernest II., of Suabia, step-son of Conrad, raised the standard of revolt and laid claim to the crown of Burgundy. On reaching the paternal kingdom the Emperor marched against the insurgents, defeated Ernest and threw him into prison. The prayers of Gisela, the rebel prince's mother, at length prevailed to secure him his liberation. But he failed to keep faith with the crown, united himself with Count Werner of Kyburg, became an outlaw in the Black Forest, and was soon afterwards killed in a battle with the Imperial troops. Such, however, had been the daring career which the rebellious prince had run that he became a popular hero, and his exploits were sung in the ballads and recited in the traditions of a story-loving people. Duke Ernest was the Robin Hood of Germany.

The affairs of Poland, after an epoch of turbulence subsequent to the death of Boleslau, at length fell to a calm. The Poles again asserted their independence of the German crown, and Conrad invaded the country to reëstablish his authority. But the expedition ended in disaster. The Imperial army was utterly defeated and forced back to the river Elbe. By this time a war had broken out between Count Albert of Austria and King Stephen of Hungary. The latter had succeeded in inducing his people to abandon paganism, and had himself, in the year 1000, been baptized by Pope Sylvester II.; but his piety, which afterwards gained for him the appellation of *Saint*, did not save him from the lust of war. Count Albert appealed to the Emperor for aid, and the Hungarians were obliged to consent to a treaty of peace dictated by the conquerors. A settlement having been reached on the Danubian frontier, Conrad found opportunity to renew the war with the Poles. In this, also, he was successful, and Poland again became tributary to the Empire. In 1032 Rudolph of Burgundy fulfilled the promise which he had made by sending his crown and scepter to the Emperor. Hereupon, Count Odo of Champagne, who as the next relative to Rudolph, claimed the duchy of Burgundy, and raised a revolt in the southern part of that province.



BAPTISM OF SAINT STEPHEN BY POPE SYLVESTER II.
From the painting by Benczur Gyula, in the National Museum, Pesth.

The insurrection was of sufficient importance to demand the presence of an Imperial army. But Count Odo was overthrown, and Conrad was crowned king of Burgundy. Thus, in the early part of the eleventh century was the valley of the Rhone, including about the half of Switzerland, incorporated with the Empire. The union, however, extended no further than the establishment of a political bond, and not to the institutions, language, and social customs of the Burgundians, who continued as they had been, essentially French.

In Italy a movement was now begun which in its result was one of the most important in the Middle Ages. The Imperial sway over the Italian peoples was nominal rather than real. It afforded but little protection to society and had in itself no element of stability. In order to continue, it had to be constantly reëstablished by force. To be sure, the papal power never failed to uphold the authority of the Emperors; for by this means the Popes were in turn enabled in every time of need to call forth the secular sword in defense of their interests.

Many of the Italian nobles and patriots, however, perceived the hollowness of this factitious system of government. A few of the bolder spirits grew restless under a foreign domination which claimed every thing and gave nothing. Chief among these brave spirits was Heribert, archbishop of Milan. In the year 1037 he induced the people of his city to throw off the Imperial yoke and assert their independence. The insurrection was organized under the leadership of Heribert, who staked all on the cast of the die. He was deposed by the Emperor and excommunicated by the Pope. But he defied them both, and prepared the defense of Milan. The fortifications of the city were so strengthened that Conrad's army was obliged to desist from the siege, and the virtual independence of Milan was achieved. Such was the beginning of that movement which, in the following century, led to the emancipation of the cities and the establishment of the petty but vigorous Republics of the Middle Ages.

The career of Conrad II. was already drawing to a close. Two years after the revolt of Milan he died at the city of Utrecht, and was succeeded by his son HENRY III. The latter, now twenty-three years of age, was a prince of the highest promise. In talents and accomplishments he was equally preeminent, and the condition of the Empire at the time of his accession was such as to furnish a fair opportunity for the display of his abilities. In Germany Proper there was a general peace. The Bohemians and Hungarians, however, again rose against the crown and attempted to gain their independence. In two arduous campaigns Henry overthrew the armies of the insurgent states and restored his authority. Duke Casimir, of Poland, and Peter, king of Hungary, were both compelled to acknowledge their dependence upon the Imperial crown. The Russian Czar attempted to ally his fortunes with those of the Empire. He offered his daughter to Henry after the death of Queen Gunhilde, but the princess was declined by the Emperor in favor of Agnes of Poitiers, who became his second queen.

A cursory view of the social condition of Germany in the middle of the eleventh century would reveal a gloomy and forbidding prospect. The resources of the state were wasted in almost continual warfare. Following hard after this fact stalked ever the specters of pestilence and famine. The ministers of the state and the dignitaries of the Church were, for the most part, ignorant, mercenary, corrupt. The general administration of the Church, under the auspices of the boy Popes of Tusculum, had sunk to the lowest level. The prostitution of the Italian clergy to the basest of motives and practices had led to a similar defilement throughout all Christendom. The year A. D. 1000 had passed without the fiery catastrophe, and the End of the World seemed to be indefinitely postponed. Reäcting from the abject despair of the preceding century, the leaders of the age entered upon a career of defiance and criminal bravado; and though the End of the World was no longer to be dreaded, the End of Humanity seemed nigh at hand. Disappointed superstition substituted the gulf of depravity for the abyss of fear.

It will not have escaped the attention of any careful student of history that the human race has in itself in the last hour of its despair the power of sudden recovery. Just

at the time when the last embers of hope are expiring in the ashes of bitterness and gloom, a sudden breeze, as if blown up from the pavilion of the unseen world, touches the dying coals, kindles them into a feeble jet, the jet into a flame, the flame into a conflagration. The epoch of revival succeeds the epoch of hopelessness, and man, inflamed with new ambition, begins again the confident battles of existence.

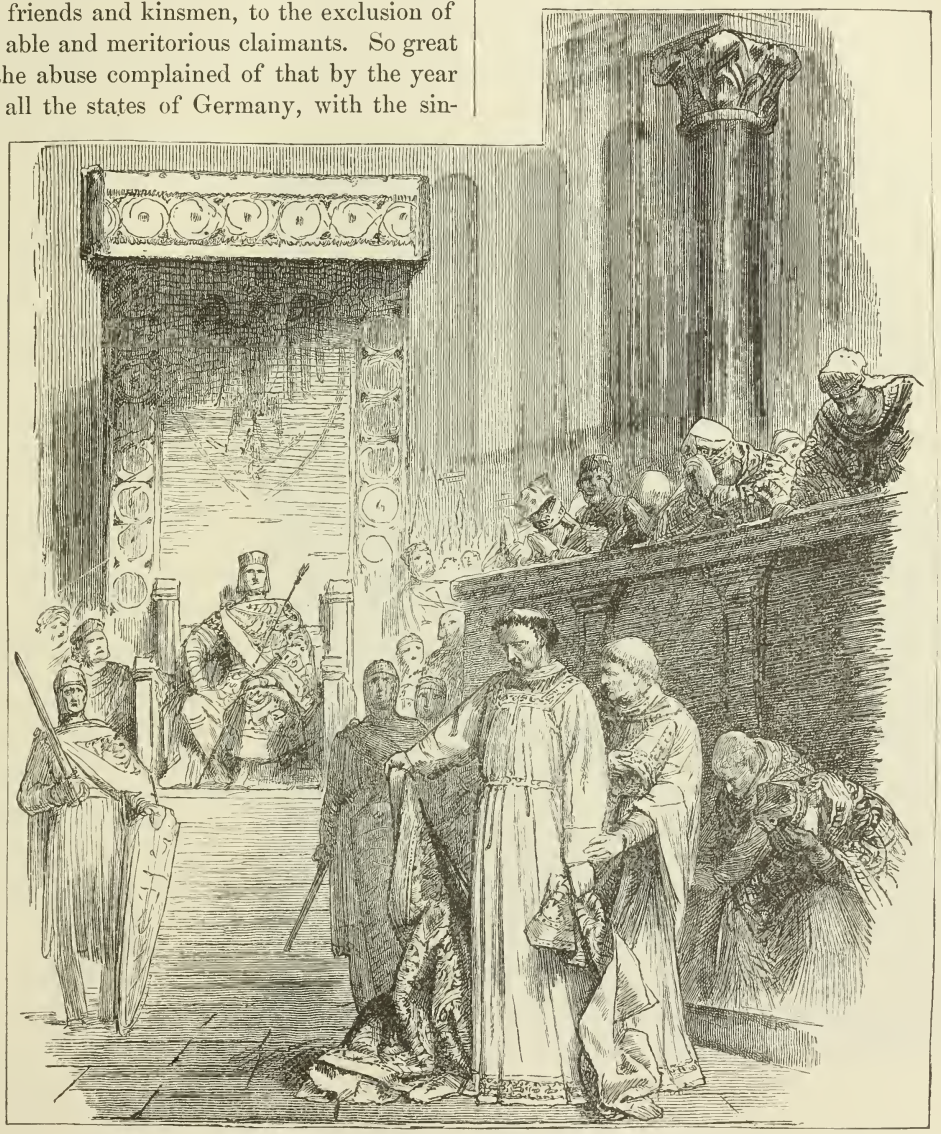
In the midst of this violent and pestilential century, the first throb of one of these revivals of humanity was felt in Southern Europe. The occasion for the reäction against the crime and despair of the age was found in the scandalous corruption of the Church, and the first movement of reform had the same origin with the abuse which demanded it. The Burgundian monks of Cluny, led by their abbot, Odilo, began to inveigh against the vices of the time, especially against the remorseless methods of mediæval warfare. They proclaimed a dogma which became known as the Truce of God, by which all combats, whether public or private, were forbidden from the evening of each Wednesday until the morning of the following Monday. The larger part of the week was thus absolutely reserved for the duties of peace. Private feuds and public battles were so impeded by the perpetual recurrence of the truce that the baffled spirit of retaliation and revenge could hardly any longer be gratified. The new doctrine was received with great favor. The monks who had originated the measure became known as the Congregation of Cluny, and many pious ecclesiastics in different and distant parts sought to join themselves with the peaceful brotherhood. Not a few of the secular princes favored the beneficent measure, and the Emperor Henry III. called a diet of the German nobles for the express purpose of enforcing the observance of the truce.

One reform led to another. At this epoch the crime of simony, or the practice of selling the offices and dignity of the Church, was scandalously prevalent. Unscrupulous aspirants, all the way from the common priesthood to the papacy, were wont to buy the coveted preferment. The largest bribe won the contest over the greatest merit. The Congregation of Cluny attacked this abuse with great vigor, but with less success than had attended their efforts in combating the merciless methods of war. Henry III. again lent his aid in the effort at reform. He took pains to favor the appointment of such priests only as were moral and intelligent. He interfered in the affairs of the Holy See. Three rival Popes were at this time contending for the seat of St. Peter. Each of these had excommunicated the other two, together with their followers. There was good reason why the Emperor should cross the Alps and attempt the restitution of order and decency in the papal state. Accordingly, in 1046, Henry made his way into Lombardy, and thence to the old Etruscan city of Sutri, where a great synod was held to consider and reconcile the difficulties of the Church. It was voted that all three of the alleged Popes should be deposed, and that the tiara should be placed on the head of the Bishop of Bamberg. This choice, however, so evidently made out of deference to the Emperor, was very distasteful to the real reformers, and the dislike for Clement II.—for such was the title of the new pontiff—was greatly increased when the Holy Father, on the same day of his own coronation, conferred the Imperial crown on Henry. The growing republican spirit of Italy was vexed and offended by this ill-concealed bargain struck by the Pope and the Emperor in the very center of the reformatory movement. The temporary backset given to the work acted as a stimulus to the democratic spirit already rife in Venice and Milan.

It was at this time that the Italican clergy and people, who had hitherto been an actual factor in the election of the Popes, were remanded to the background. The right of choice fell into the hands of the bishops, and they, receiving their appointment from the Emperor, were certain to follow his lead and preference in the selection of a pontiff. Between the years 1047 and 1055 no fewer than four Popes were successively raised to the papal dignity at the dictation of Henry III.

Near the close of his reign the Emperor again visited Italy, and reädjusted the affairs of the Norman principalities in the southern parts of the peninsula. While absent on this mission the home kingdom was seriously disturbed with outbreaks and dissensions. The three counts—Godfrey of Lorraine, Baldwin

of Flanders, and Dietrich of Holland—all threw off the Imperial sway and asserted their independence. The occasion of this alarming outbreak was the persistent folly of Henry in filling the offices of the Empire with his personal friends and kinsmen, to the exclusion of more able and meritorious claimants. So great was the abuse complained of that by the year 1051 all the states of Germany, with the single exception of Saxony, were governed by the personal friends and relatives of the Emperor. But the stubborn monarch was not to be put from his purpose by opposition. He plunged into a four years' bloody war with the rebellious dukes. He called to his aid his creature, Pope Leo IX., who excommunicated the insurgents. He procured the assistance of the English and Danish fleets in his conflict with Baldwin of Flanders, and sent a powerful army against Godfrey of Lorraine. But no decided successes were achieved by the Imperial arms, and the insurrectionary states could not be quieted.



HENRY III. PRESIDING AT THE SYNOD OF SUTRI.

During the progress of the war Duke Bernhard of Saxony, who was *not* a favorite of the Emperor, held himself and his countrymen in a sort of unfriendly neutrality. With a view to counteract this antagonism Henry III. appointed one of his friends, named Adelbert, as archbishop of Bremen. At the same time he built for himself the royal castle of Goslar, at the foot of the Hartz, to the end that

he might have a residence on the Saxon border.

While these events were taking place north of the Alps, Italy was again rent with a civil commotion. In 1054 Pope Leo IX. undertook the conduct of a campaign against the Normans. The result was the defeat of his forces and the capture of himself by the enemy. His Holiness, however, was treated



FORCES OF LEO IX. DEPARTING FROM ROME.

with the greatest respect by his warlike captors. Themselves under the dominion of the Feudal spirit, they hesitated not to acknowledge themselves the vassals of their prisoner: this, too, with no regard to the fact that they were already the vassals of the Emperor. The latter must now regain or lose his dominion in the South. He accordingly set out for Italy to reässert his claims. Arriving in Lombardy, he summoned a diet and held a review of the Italian army at Piacenza. Just afterwards the problem was simplified by the death of Leo IX. and by the Imperial appointment of Victor II. as his successor. Now it was that the powerful hand, first shadowy and then real, of the celebrated Hildebrand of Savona, an austere monk of Cluny, began to be visible behind the throne and miter of St. Peter. It was soon discovered that both Leo and Victor had been but clay in the hands of the great monkish potter, who moulded them to his will.

As to Henry III., the end was now at hand. In the fall of 1056, while residing at the castle of Goslar, he was visited by the Pope; but the latter was unable to raise the broken spirits of the aged and troubled monarch. Already in his last illness, his exit was hastened by the news of a disaster which his army had received at the hands of the Slavonians. The curtain fell, and the scepter was left to the Emperor's son, already crowned as king of Germany, and afterwards to receive the Imperial title of Henry IV.

Being yet in his minority the young prince was placed under the regency of his mother, the Empress Agnes, of Poitiers. The latter devoted herself assiduously to the care of the state, and for a while affairs went better than during the reign of her husband. The hostile provinces of Flanders and Lorraine were again brought to a peaceful acknowledgment of the Imperial sway. It was not long, however, until the old favorites of the deceased king regained their ascendency, and the reform was brought to an end. The feudal lords scarcely any longer heeded the Imperial mandate, but each pursued his own way towards local independence. In Italy especially they asserted themselves in affairs of Church and

state, and demanded the old-time right of nominating the Pope. This claim was resisted by the Empress, who in 1058 raised Nicholas II. to the throne. In a short time the new pontiff surprised the queen-regent by abandonding the interests of the Empire and casting in his lot with the Norman barons and new-born republican cities of Italy. In the home kingdom, also, the feudal broils were perpetually renewed. A conspiracy was made to destroy Prince Henry and change the dynasty. When the first plot was foiled, a second was formed under the lead of Hanno, archbishop of Cologne. The purpose now was to wrest Henry IV. from his mother, drive her into retirement, and transfer the regency to some prince who was able to exercise Imperial authority. Hanno succeeded in enticing young Henry on board his vessel at Kaiserswerth. Here the royal lad, then but twelve years of age, was seized by the conspirators and forcibly carried away. Shortly afterwards a meeting of the princes was held, and the young king was placed under the guardianship of Hanno.

The severity of his protector soon alienated both Henry and the nobles of the Empire. A counter revolution deprived Hanno of the guardianship, and the same was transferred to Adelbert of Bremen. The latter held the troublesome distinction until 1065, when the prince, then reaching the age of fifteen, was invested with the sword of manhood. Taking the government upon himself, Henry reluctantly accepted Hanno as his chief counselor, the latter being forced upon him by the princes of Cologne and others affiliated with them.

At the age of seventeen the young king took for his wife the Italian princess, Bertha. But in the course of three years he wearied of his choice and sought to be divorced. The Archbishop of Mayence gave his sanction; but Hildebrand, now the chancellor of Pope Alexander II., induced the pontiff to deny the king's wishes, and Henry was obliged to yield. His humiliation over the failure of the project was compensated by the death of the old enemy of his House, Godfrey of Lorraine. About the same time another foe, Duke Otho of Bavaria, was seized by the king's party and deprived of his duchy. Both these events tended powerfully to establish Henry in the Empire, but the tendency was somewhat neutralized by the hostile attitude of Magnus of Saxony. The Saxons had never been patient under the rule of the Franconian Emperors, and circumstances now favored a general revolt of the nation. The people, under the leadership of the deposed Duke of Bavaria, rose to the number of sixty thousand, marched upon the castle of Harzburg, and demanded of Henry the dismissal of his counselors and a reform of the government. This the king refused, and was thereupon besieged in his castle.

When the situation became critical, he escaped from Harzburg and fled almost without a following. Not until he reached the Rhine was there any general uprising in his favor. The cities in this region, however, had grown restive under the domination of the bishops, and were eager to begin a revolution by receiving the fugitive Emperor. His fortunes were thus stayed by a powerful support, but he was presently obliged to make peace with the Saxons, who dictated their own terms of settlement. They even proceeded to the extreme of demolishing the Emperor's castle and church at Harzburg, where the bones of his father were buried. This flagrant abuse of victory soon turned the tide in favor of Henry, who rallied a large army, entered the country of the Saxons, and inflicted on them an overwhelming defeat. Thus at length were all parts of the Empire reduced to submission, and the throne of Henry IV. seemed more firmly established than that of any former Emperor of the German race.

Now it was, however, that the great monk Hildebrand, after having moulded the policy of the papacy during four successive pontificates, himself assumed the tiara, and, with the title of Gregory VII., took the seat of St. Peter. He was without doubt the greatest genius of his age, and the work of his far-reaching intellect in establishing a new order throughout christendom has continued to be felt for more than eight hundred years. Coming to the papal throne in 1073, he at once set about recasting the whole policy and form of the papal Church. At the first the Bishop of Rome had neither claimed nor exercised any special preëminence over the other

prelates of the Christian world. From the sixth to the eleventh century the Pope had claimed to be, and was, the nominal head of christendom; but the office was still regarded as subordinate in all secular matters to the kings and emperors of Europe. It remained for Gregory VII. to conceive the stupendous scheme of raising the papal scepter above all powers and dominions of the earth. The project was no less in its design than the establishment of a colossal religious empire, to which all kingdoms, peoples, and tribes should do a willing obeisance. In carrying out this prodigious design Gregory conceived that the first steps necessary were certain reforms in the Church itself. He began by espousing the doctrine of a celibate clergy. He resolved that every priest of christendom should belong wholly to the Church, and should know no tie of earthly kinship or affection. The struggle which had been begun in the times of Charlemagne for the obliteration of a married priesthood was renewed in all Western Europe. In the mean time the spread of the monastic orders, all of which were celibate, had greatly strengthened the cause of an unmarried priesthood. In 1074 the law of celibacy was proclaimed as a fundamental principle of the Romish hierarchy, and from that day forth the power and influence of the opposing party in the Church began to wane until it was finally extinguished in the fourteenth century.



GREGORY VII.—(HILDEBRAND.)

In the next place, Gregory turned his attention to the crime of simony. The proclamation of the celibacy of the priesthood was quickly followed by another denouncing the sale of the offices of the Church. It was declared that henceforth the bishops, instead of being invested with the insignia of office by the secular princes, whom they paid for the preferment, should receive the ring and crosier only from the hands of the Pope. Without a moment's hesitation Gregory sent orders to Henry IV. to enforce the reform throughout the Empire. Henry was at this time wearing the Imperial crown. He was Emperor of the West—successor of Cæsar and Charlemagne. To be thus addressed by a *Pope*—a creature until now made and unmade by an Imperial edict—seemed not only a reversal of the whole order of human authority, but also a flagrant insult done to the greatest potentate in the world.

In the height of his indignation the Emperor called a synod at Worms, and, with the aid of the bishops, at once proceeded to depose the Pope from office. Word was sent to the malcontent elements in Rome, advising that the arrogant monk of Savona be driven from the city; but before the message was received Gregory, though environed with foes and threatened with an insurrection of the Normans in the South, had suppressed the rising tumult, enforced order throughout the states of the Church, and now stood ready to measure swords with the Emperor. Against

that potentate he hurled the bolt of excommunication.

It was now Henry's time to act on the defensive. He issued a summons for a national Diet, but the lukewarm princes hesitated to come to his aid. After a year of endeavor, the assembly at last was held at Mayence in 1076. But the nobles would not permit the Emperor to be present. He was obliged to send a messenger and to signify his willingness to yield the whole question at issue between himself and the Pope to the body for decision. In the following year the assembly reconvened at Augsburg, and Gregory rather than Henry was invited to be present. The latter, now greatly alarmed at the situation, at once set out for Italy, in the hope of settling the controversy by a personal interview with the Pope. On arriving in Lombardy he found the people in insurrection and might easily have led them in triumph against his great enemy. The latter, indeed, seeing the peril to which he was then exposed, took counsel of his prudence, and though already on his way to meet the German Diet, he turned aside to find safety in a castle of Canossa in the Apennines.

Henry, however, was far from availing himself of the possible advantage. Instead of warlike menace and flourish of the sword, he humbly clad himself in sackcloth, went barefoot to the gate of the castle of Canossa, and sought admittance as a penitent. There for three days in the snow and sleet, the successor of Cæsar was allowed to stand waiting before the gate. At last being admitted he flung himself before the triumphant Gregory, promised present submission and future obedience, and was lifted up with the kiss of reconciliation.[1]

The pardon bestowed by the Pope on the penitent king turned many of the princes against the powerful pontiff; for they had hoped to see the Emperor deposed and destroyed. Many now went over to the Imperial interest, and the Empire was rent with strife. The anti-imperial party in Germany proclaimed King Rudolph of Suabia as Henry's successor, and the Emperor was supported by the Lombards. For two years a fierce civil war left its ravages on battle-field and in city, until 1080, Rudolph fell in the conflict, and the power of Henry was completely re-established.

The victor now remembered the Pope as the cause of all his griefs. With a large army he crossed the mountains and received the iron crown at the hands of the nobles of Lombardy. The Countess Matilda of Tuscany, to whom belonged the castle of Canossa, exerted herself to the utmost, but in vain, to prevent the progress of the invaders. Rome was besieged by the German army, and Gregory was obliged to take refuge in the castle of St. Angelo. In his extremity he issued an edict, releasing from a previous ban Robert Guiscard, the Norman suzerain of Southern Italy, who was now besought by the Pope to come to the rescue and aid in the expulsion of the Germans from Italy. Guiscard hereupon led an army of thirty thousand men, mostly Saracens out of Sardinia and Corsica, to the Eternal City, and the Emperor was obliged to retire before them. The Pope gained his release by the aid of the Normans, but his allies proved to be almost as much to be dreaded as the enemy from beyond the Alps. The city of Rome, the greater part of which had already been destroyed by the Germans during the siege, was now assailed by the friendly Saracens, who burned what remained, sluicing the streets with blood and carrying away thousands of the inhabitants into slavery. So complete was the devastation of the City of the Ages that the Pope durst not remain with the desperate brigands who now prowled around her ashes, but chose to retire with the Saracens as far as Salerno. There in 1085 the greatest of the Popes of Rome expired in exile.

The death of Gregory VII. was the signal of a papal schism. The Emperor made haste to reässert his old prerogative by the appointment of a new Pope, who came to the papal seat with the title of Clement III. The Norman nobles of Italy, however, acting in con-

[1] This humiliation of Henry was in a measure atoned for by the papacy a few years afterwards when Gregory's successor, Calixtus II., was compelled at the Diet of Worms to surrender to Henry V. the right of investiture. In 1122 Calixtus openly laid down before the imperial throne the symbols of his temporal authority, reserving for himself only the ring and crosier as the signs of his spiritual dominion.

junction with the bishops of France, set up an anti-Pope in the person of Urban II. Between the rival pontiffs, who hurled at each other the most direful anathemas, a fierce warfare broke out, and continued with all the insane madness which religious bigotry and ambition could inspire. From the date of Gregory's death until the outbreak of the Crusades, the relentless struggle was unabated and Western Christendom was convulsed with the shock.

As for the Emperor, he seized the opportunity afforded by the warfare of the rival Popes to resume his duties as the secular ruler of the German Empire. Trouble and disaster, however, attended the latter years of his reign. The Prince Conrad, eldest son of the king and heir expectant to the crown, became rebellious and usurped the throne of Lombardy. His usurpation was acknowledged by Urban II., and it appeared for a while that Conrad would be able to maintain himself against his father. Gradually, however, his supporters fell away, and he himself was seized and thrown into prison.

The king now looked anxiously to his younger son Henry as his successor in the Imperial dignity. But the enemies of the Emperor, instigated and encouraged by the emissaries of Urban II., succeeded in alienating the younger prince from his father, as they had already done in the case of Conrad. Thus in distraction and gloom the reign of Henry IV. dragged on apace, while the first clarion of the Crusades waked the slumbering echoes in the valleys of Western Europe.



ABÉLARD AND HÉLOÏSE.

Peter the Hermit came back from Palestine telling the story of his wrongs. The people of the European states, wearied of the broils of the secular princes, disgusted with papal intrigues, and despairing of national unity under the shadow of Feudalism, rose as one

man at the bugle-call and drew their swords for the rescue of the holy places of the East. Peter called aloud to the anti-Pope Urban, and Urban called to christendom. In March of 1095 a great assembly was held at Piacenza, and the cause of outraged Palestine was eloquently pleaded by the Pope and the envoys from Constantinople. Thence was issued the summons for the great Council of Clermont, which assembled in November of the same year, and before which august body of French, Italian, and German potentates, the wild cry of *Dieu le Veut*[1] was raised by the fanatic multitudes. In the presence of the new and burning enthusiasm, the old feuds of kings, Popes, and princes were forgotten, and all christendom eagerly lifted the banner of the Cross.

The present chapter may be appropriately concluded with a reference to the interesting mediæval episode of the philosopher ABÉLARD. This distinguished and unfortunate scholar was born at Nantes, in 1079. His childhood was precocious. At the age of sixteen he became the pupil of William de Champeaux. Before reaching his majority, he was already considered one of the most eminent disputators of his times. De Champeaux became bitterly jealous of his pupil, and at the age of twenty-two Abélard opened a school of philosophy of his own at Melun, near Paris. This establishment was soon in great repute. In scholastic debates with De Champeaux, Abélard came off victorious. Now it was that Héloïse, the beautiful daughter of the canon Fulbert, was put under charge of the young philosopher as a pupil. Soon they loved. The story is known to all the world—the most pathetic of the Middle Ages. The bigotry of the times drove the master into the monastery of Saint Denis and threw the veil over the despairing Héloïse in the nunnery of Argenteuil. The catastrophe, however, was the virtual beginning of the ascendency of Abélard over the philosophical opinions of his times; nor can it well be doubted that his mind was the most versatile and brilliant of the benighted epoch in which he lived.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.—FEUDAL ENGLAND.

ON the fifth day of January, 1066, died Edward the Confessor. For four and twenty years he had swayed the scepter of England, but now there was an end. The race of Cerdic and Alfred the Great expired with the childless king, and over his silent clay was written *defunctus est* in the abbey of Westminster. To his honor be it said that, living in a warlike age and beset with many enemies, King Edward preferred the pursuits of peace, and would fain have brought her blessing to all the hamlets of England.

As soon as the body of the late monarch was properly interred, the Prince Harold, son of the great Earl Godwin, was proclaimed king in a grand assembly at London. The crowning immediately followed, the ceremony being performed by Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury. No doubt, as the coronation oath was administered, the memory of that *other* oath which the prince had taken over the bones of the saints in the presence of William the Norman came unbidden to his mind; but he cast all upon the die of the present, and the bones of the martyrs were remanded to the past.

In all the southern counties of England the accession of Harold was hailed with joyful acclamations. In him the people saw a Saxon king and the possible founder of a new Saxon dynasty. He thus became the representative of the old national spirit and the hope of those who longed to see the country freed from foreign domination. Not without prudence and sound policy did the new sovereign begin his reign. He sought to win and to deserve the affections of the people. Oner-

[1] "God wills it"—the cry of the first Crusaders on assuming the Cross.

ous taxes were abolished, and the wages of all those who were in the royal service were raised to a higher figure. Meanwhile Harold sought to strengthen himself in the esteem of the Church by a careful observance of the duties of religion.

In secular affairs the king, first of all, expelled from the court the whole swarm of Norman favorites. But while this policy was rigorously pursued with respect to the foreigners, they were not driven from the country or robbed of their estates. Many of the Normans, however, fled from England and returned with all speed to their own country. They it was who brought to Duke William the news of the death of Edward the Confessor and the usurpation of the throne by Harold, the son of Godwin.

Tradition has recorded that William, when he first received the intelligence, was hunting in the wood of Rouen, and that his countenance and manner were at once changed to an expression of great concern and indignation. He affected to regard the act of Harold as the grossest and most outrageous perjury. Notwithstanding his wrath William deemed it prudent to conciliate his enemies, actual and possible, with a show of moderation. He at once dispatched ambassadors to Harold with the following message: "William, duke of the Normans, warns thee of the oath thou hast sworn him with thy mouth and with thy hand on good and holy relics." To this message, which had all the superficial semblance of soundness, King Harold responded with sterling speech: "It is true that I made an oath to William, but I made it under the influence of force. I promised what did not belong to me, and engaged to do what I never could do; for my royalty does not belong to me, nor can I dispose of it without the consent of my country. In the like manner I can not, without the consent of my country, espouse a foreign wife. As for my sister, whom the duke claims in order that he may marry her to one of his chiefs, she has been dead some time. Will he that I send him her corpse?"

There was no mistaking the nature of these negotiations. England was to be invaded by the Normans. Duke William, however, took pains to send over another embassy, again pressing his claims and reminding Harold of his oath. Threats and recriminations followed, and then preparations for war. According to the constitution of Normandy it was necessary for William to have the consent of his barons, and this was not obtained without much difficulty. The Norman vassals held that their Feudal oath did not bind them to follow and serve their lord beyond the sea, but only in the defense of his own realms. A national assembly was called at Lillebonne, and a stormy debate had well-nigh ended in riot and insurrection; but William, by patience and self-restraint, finally succeeded in bringing the refractory nobles to his support. A great force of knights, chiefs, and foot-soldiers flocked to his standard. At this fortunate crisis in the duke's affairs a legate arrived from the Pope, bringing a bull expressing the approval of the Holy Father. Hereupon a new impetus was given to the enterprise. Under the sanction of religion the oath-breaking Harold was to be punished and his kingdom given to another. A consecrated banner and a ring containing one of the hairs of St. Peter were sent from Rome to the ambitious prince, who, thus encouraged, made no concealment of his intentions soon to be king of England.

During the early spring and summer of 1066 all the seaports of Normandy rang with the clamor of preparation. Ships were built and equipped, sailors enlisted, armor forged, supplies brought into the store-houses. Meanwhile a similar but less energetic scene was displayed across the channel. Harold, hearing the notes of preparation from the other side, braced his sinews for the struggle. He sent over spies to ascertain the nature and extent of William's armament; but when one of these was brought into the duke's presence he showed him every thing, and bade him say to King Harold not to trouble himself about the Norman's strength, as he should see and feel it before the end of the year.

It was now the misfortune of the English king to be attacked by a domestic foe. His own brother Tostig, formerly earl of Northumbria, but now an exile in Flanders, succeeded in raising abroad a squadron with which he made a descent on the Isle of Wight. Driven back by the king's fleet, Tostig next

ravaged the coast of Lincolnshire and then sailed up the Humber. Expelled from thence, he made his way first to the coast of Scotland and then to Denmark, where he besought the king to join him in an invasion of England, Failing in this enterprise Tostig renewed his



LANDING OF THE CONQUEROR.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

offer to Hardrada, king of Norway, who accepted the invitation and swooped down on the English coast with two hundred ships of war. Under the conduct of the rebel Saxon the Norwegians effected a landing at Riccall and marched directly on York. This city fell into the hands of the enemy, and here the king of Norway established his head-quarters.

Thus while the threatening note was borne across the channel from Normandy the clamor of present war sounded in the ears of the distracted Harold. Nevertheless he girt himself bravely for the contest. He marched boldly forth and confronted the Norwegians at Stamford Bridge. Here a bloody battle was fought, in which King Hardrada and nearly every one of his chiefs were slain. The victory of the Saxons was complete and overwhelming.

No sooner, however, was one of the great foes of Harold destroyed than the other appeared in sight. Only three days after the overthrow of the Norwegians the squadron of Duke William anchored on the coast. A landing was effected on the shore of Sussex, at a place called Bulverhithe. Archers, horsemen, and spearmen came on shore without opposition. William was the last man to leave his ship. Tradition has recorded that when his foot touched the sand he slipped and fell; but with unfailing presence of mind he sprang up as though the accident had been by design and showed his two hands filled with the soil of England. "Here," cried he aloud to his men, "I have taken seisin of this land with my hands and by the splendor of God, as far as it extends, it is mine—it is yours!"

In the mean time King Harold was advancing to his station on the field of HASTINGS, near the Fair Light Downs. On his way thither he stopped at London and sent out a fleet of seven hundred vessels to blockade the fleet of William and prevent his escape from the island. The Norman duke had now reached Hastings, and the time was at hand when the question between him and the Saxon king must be decided.

The prudent William before hazarding a battle sent another message to Harold. "Go and tell Harold," said he, "that if he will keep his old bargain with me I will leave him all the country beyond the river Humber, and will give his brother Gurth all the lands of his father, Earl Godwin; but if he obstinately refuse what I offer him thou wilt tell him before all his people that he is perjured and a liar; that he and all those who shall support him are excommunicated by the Pope, and that I carry a bull to that effect."

Notwithstanding this terrible threat the English chiefs stood firmly to the cause of their king. William had in the mean time fortified his camp and stood ready for the shock. Harold came on with great intrepidity; nor could he be prevented by the expostulations of his friends from taking the personal responsibility and peril of battle. On the night of the 13th of October the two armies lay face to face in their respective camps at Hastings. The English were uproarious and confident of victory. They had recently overwhelmed the Norwegians and now in like manner they would beat down the adventurers of Normandy. They danced and sang and drained their horn-cups brimming with ale until late at night, and then in the heavy English fashion flung themselves to rest. On the other side the Normans were looking carefully to their armor, examining the harness of their horses, and joining in the litanies which were chanted by the priests.

With the coming of morning, both armies were marshaled forth for battle. Duke William, having arranged his forces in three columns, made a brief and spirited address, in which he recited the cruelties and treachery of the foe and promised the rewards of victory. A Norman giant, named Taillefer, rode in front of the ranks, brandishing his sword and singing the old heroic ballads of Normandy. The army took up the chorus, and the enthusiasm of battle spread like a flame among the knightly ranks.[1] The opposing English had fortified with trenches and palisades the high ground on which they were encamped. The two kings, equally courageous, commanded their respective armies in person, and each sought to be foremost in the fight. At the first, the assaults of the Norman bowmen and crossbowmen produced little effect on the English lines; and even the

[1] It was on this occasion that the Normans sang the *Song of Roland*, the hero of Roncesvalles.

charge of William's cavalry was bravely met and repelled. The English battle-axes cut the lances of the knights and cleft both horse and rider. At one time the report was spread that William was slain, and his followers fell into dismay and confusion. But the prince reäppeared unhurt, threw up his visor that he might be seen, and rallied his men to the charge. From nine o'clock in the forenoon until three in the afternoon the battle raged with fury. At the last, after many maneuvers, Duke William resorted to a stratagem. English were made to believe themselves victorious, but were again turned upon and routed. The lines of Harold's encampment were broken through. Then the fight raged briefly around the standard of England, which was finally cut down and supplanted by the banner of Normandy. Harold's two brothers were slain in the struggle. The English were turned into a rout, but ever and anon they made a stand in that disastrous twilight of Saxon England. Victory declared for William. King Harold himself was killed by a



BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

He ordered his knights to charge and then to turn and fly. The English, deceived by the pretended retreat of the foe, broke from their lines to pursue the flying Normans. The latter, being strongly reïnforced, turned suddenly about at a signal and fell upon their scattered pursuers. The disordered English were encompassed and cut down by thousands. The chieftains wielded their battle-axes with terrible effect, but were ridden down and slain.

In another part of the field the Normans adopted the same stratagem and were again successful. Even a third time the imprudent random arrow, which, piercing his left eye, entered his brain. Nearly one-half of his soldiers were either killed or wounded. Of William's army, more than a fourth perished in the battle, and the jubilation of Norman triumph sounded like a spasmodic cry over the dead bodies of three thousand Norman knights. Sorrowful was the sight of Queen Edith searching among the slain for the body of her lord. At such a price was the oath made good which Prince Harold had unwittingly taken over the bones of the saints.

The immediate result of the battle of

Hastings was to transfer one-fourth of the kingdom to William the Norman. As soon as it was clear that the victory was his, the Conqueror set up the consecrated banner which had been sent him by the Pope, and his soldiers proceeded in sight of that sacred emblem to despoil the Saxon dead. William vowed to erect an abbey on the very spot where the banner of Saxon England had been struck down, and in a short time the monastery of St. Martin was filled with monks to celebrate masses for the repose of the souls of the slain knights of Normandy.

In was still necessary that William should make haste slowly in the further reduction of the kingdom. More than two months elapsed before he reached the city of London. In the interval he beat along the coast, hoping that the people would make a voluntary submission; but in this he was disappointed. Finding that moderation was of little avail with the stubborn Saxons, he continued the conquest by the capture of Romney and Dover. While at the latter place he was strongly reïnforced with recruits from Normandy. Thus strengthened, the Conqueror left the coast and marched direct to London. The defeat of Hastings had broken the spirit of resistance, and little opposition was manifested to his progress. Nevertheless, the Witenagemot assembled in the capital, and the uppermost question related to the succession rather than submission to the Normans.

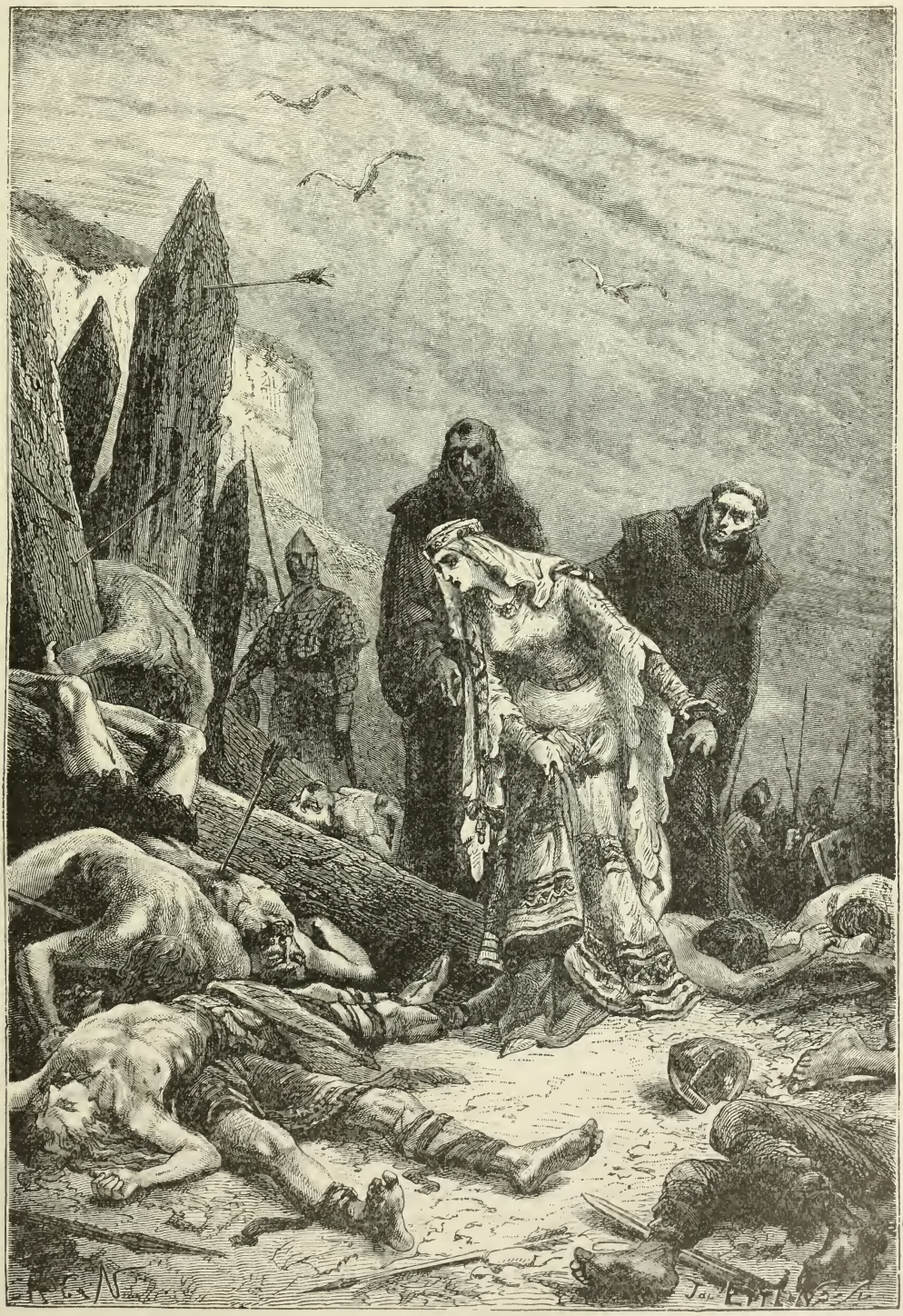
After much discussion, it was decided to confer the crown on Edgar the Atheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside, who had previously been set aside on account of the spurious descent of his ancestor. This measure, however, was carried by the old Saxon or National party, in the face of the strenuous opposition of the Norman faction, supported as it was by most of the clergy, who trembled at the thought of excommunication. The fact that Prince Edgar himself was devoid of all kingly qualities added strength to the Norman cause and discouraged the national movement.

Such was the condition of affairs when William appeared before the city. Finding himself debarred, he burned Southwark and ravaged the surrounding country. The people of Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, and Berkshire were made to realize all the terrors of war. In a short time communication was cut off between the city and the country and the shadow of famine began to hang over Westminster Abbey. The earls, Edwin and Morcar, to whom the defense had been intrusted, withdrew towards the Humber, taking with them the forces of Northumbria and Mercia. Their retirement from London was the signal of submission. An embassy, headed by "King" Edgar himself and Archbishop Stigand of Canterbury, went forth to Berkhampstead, and there presented themselves to the Conqueror. The submission was formal and complete. Edgar for himself renounced the throne, and Stigand for the Church took the oath of loyalty. The politic William made a pretense of reluctance in accepting the crown of England; but his feeble remonstrance was drowned in the acclaim of his nobles and courtiers. As soon as the embassy had completed its work, the Normans set out for the capital, conducted by the distinguished envoys. In a short time the Conqueror established himself in the city and preparations were completed for the coronation.

The Abbey of Westminster was chosen as the place for the ceremony. Attended by two hundred and sixty of his nobles, the duke rode between files of soldiers that lined the approaches, and presented himself before the altar. When in reply to the question addressed to those present by Aldred, archbishop of York, whether they would accept William of Normandy as their lawful king, they all set up a shout. Those Normans outside the Abbey, hearing the noise and conjecturing that some act of treachery had been committed against their prince, began to set fire to the houses of the English and to kill all who fell in their way. Others rushed into the Abbey as if to rescue William, and the ceremony was interrupted in the midst of universal turmoil. For a while it appeared that both parties, each misunderstanding the other, would, in the wildness of their frenzy, raze the city to the ground. But Archbishop Aldred continued and completed the duty of coronation, and the first of the Norman kings of England arose from before the altar, crowned with the crown of Alfred.

Thus, in the latter part of the year 1066, was the Norman dynasty established in Eng-

land. The policy adopted by Edward the Confessor, combining with the general laws of causation, had triumphed over the old national spirit and made predominant the language and institutions of a foreign race. The new sovereign fixed his court at Barking, and



EDITH DISCOVERS THE BODY OF HAROLD.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

in accordance with his coronation oath that he would treat the English people as well as the best of their native kings had done, began the administration of the government with as much mildness as the age was fitted to receive. It can not be doubted that the English thanes and great earls, who made their submission to the king, gained from his hands a generous consideration. To them were confirmed their estates and honors, and the work of confiscation began only with those who were rebellious or disloyal. The domains of Harold and his brother, as well as those of less distinguished leaders and chiefs, were seized by William and conferred on his Norman nobles. Though these acts might well be defended as strictly in accordance with the usages of war and conquest, they failed not to sow the seeds of bitterness and revenge, which for centuries together grew rank and poisonous in the soil of England.

Prominent among those Saxons who received the favor of William was the royal cipher, Edgar Atheling. Without the ability to accomplish serious harm in the state, this nominal prince of the old *régime* was still regarded with affection by the adherents of the lost cause. For this reason rather than on account of personal esteem, he was reconfirmed by the king in the earldom of Oxford, which had been conferred on him at the accession of Harold.

In furtherance of his policy William presently set forth from Barking to visit the various districts of the kingdom. His progress was half-civil, half-military, and wholly royal. For he would fain impress the English with a new idea of kingly pomp and greatness. At every place he failed not, as far as practicable, to display a generous condescension. In all of his intercourse he took care, by a prudent restraint of temper and courteous demeanor towards the Saxon Thanes, to conciliate their esteem and favor. In his edicts he carefully regarded the old Anglo-Saxon laws, and in the administration of justice did not unduly incline to the interests of his own countrymen. In some instances he even went beyond the letter of his promise, and showed a positive favor to the native interests and institutions of the Island. He enlarged the privileges of the corporation of London, and made himself the patron of English commerce and agriculture.

While in this conciliatory way the Conqueror diligently sought to gain the trust and even the affection of his Saxon subjects, he at the same time took every care to fortify his power with bulwarks and defenses. Now it was that those wonderful feudal towers and castles, which still survive in moss-grown majesty, rose, as if by magic, as the impregnable fortresses of Norman domination. On every side the Saxon thanes and peasants beheld arising these huge structures of stone, and sighed with vain regrets or mutterings of revenge at this everlasting menace to the old liberties and institutions of the Teutonic race.

The Normans also understood the situation. They appreciated the necessity of laying deep and strong the immovable buttresses of their dominion. Well they knew the vigor, the fecundity, and warlike valor of the Anglo-Saxon people. Well did they forecast the impending struggle of the races, and wisely did they prepare for the maintenance of the power which they had gained and established by conquest.

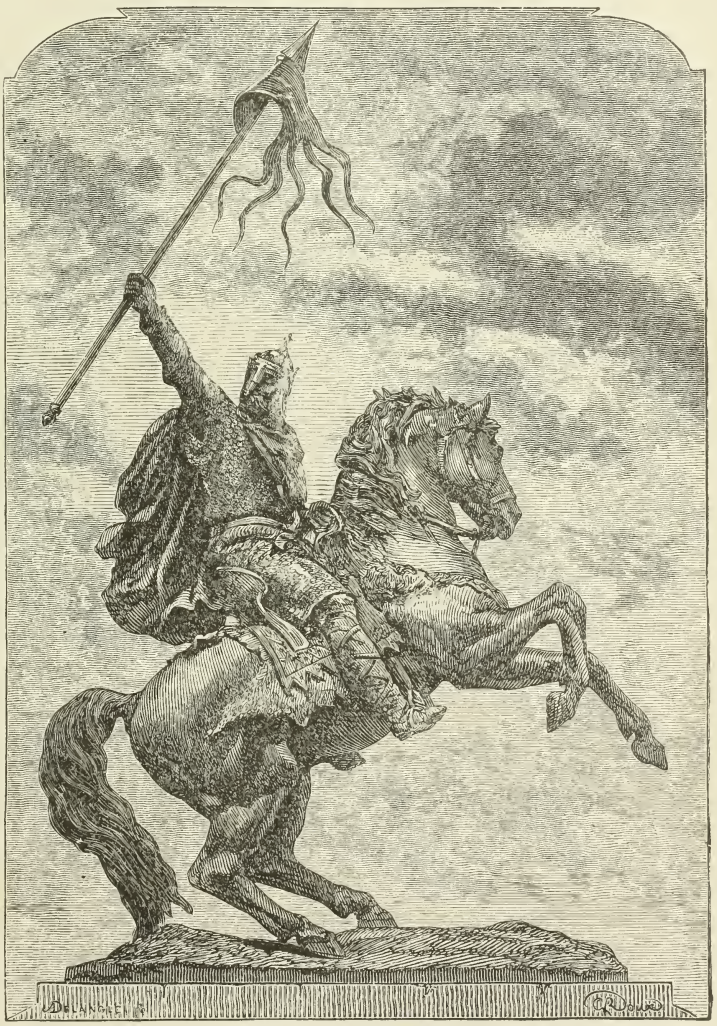
One of the greatest difficulties which King William had to meet and overcome was found in the rapacity of his followers. The great host of Norman lords and bishops who had followed him from the continent constantly clamored for the spoils of the kingdom. The foreign ecclesiastics were even more greedy than the secular lords, and could hardly be restrained from the instantaneous seizure of the cathedrals and abbeys of England. Many of the hardships under which the Saxons were presently made to groan must be traced to the insatiable demands of William's followers, rather than to the personal wishes of the king to inflict injuries on his Saxon subjects. Even from the first year of the Conquest the suppressed rebellion in the heart of native England was sprinkled with vitriol by another circumstance in the conduct of their oppressors. The Norman lords began to woo and win the women of the Saxon thanes. The rich clothing, burnished armor, and gaudy equipage of the courtly foreign lords flashed in the eyes of the English maidens with a dazzling brightness. What should be the brawn and sinews of the native boor, with his broad

shoulders, florid face, and uncut flaxen hair, compared with the elegant limbs, graceful dignity, and condescending smile of the gay and polished knight of Rouen? Even the widows of valiant Saxon thanes, who had fallen on the field of Hastings, proved to be not over-difficult to win by the splendid foreigners. Love fanned by admiration prevailed over patriotism fanned by memory.

The Conquest of England was, as yet, by no means completed. All the West lay unsubdued. In the south-eastern part of the island the conquerors had firmly established themselves in the country. In the spring of 1067 King William went over to Normandy, leaving his half-brother Odo as regent during his absence. It has been conjectured by Hume that the motive of the Conqueror in going abroad at this juncture was found in the belief that as soon as his absence was known the Saxons would break into revolt, and thus furnish him a valid excuse for completing the subjugation of the Island and confiscating the estates of the Thanes. For he was greatly harassed by the Norman nobles to supply them with lands and titles, as he had promised at the beginning of the Conquest. The character of Odo, who was arbitrary, impolitic, and reckless, moreover conduced to the result which William anticipated.

At Rouen the victorious king was received with great *éclat*. To his friends at home he distributed many rich presents, and gave a glowing account of the country which he had subdued. Nor did he hesitate to exhibit to the people and the foreign ambassadors at his court living specimens of the race that had yielded to his arms; for as a precautionary measure he had taken with him on his return a number of the Saxon thanes.

Meanwhile affairs in England were rapidly approaching a crisis. The tyranny of Odo and his counselors began to press heavily upon



WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

the subject race. Their rapacity sought gratification in pillage and robbery. Not only the peasants, but people of the highest rank, were made the victims of outrage and spoliation. In vain did they cry out for justice and revenge upon the noble brigands who had ruined their homes. The complaints of the sufferers were met with insult and mockery.

Not long could the Saxon blood be expected

to brook the contumely of a haughty master. Insurrections broke out in various parts, and woe to the luckless Norman knight who was caught outside the walls of his castle. Soon there was concert of action among the insurgents, and the foreign dominion was menaced with destruction in the first year of its existence. The Saxon plotters sent word to Count Eustace of Boulogne to come over and be their leader; for he was known to be a bitter foe to King William. The count accepted the call and landed with a chosen band near the castle of Dover. Here he was joined by the rebel Saxons of Kent, and an imprudent and disastrous attack was made on the castle. The assailants were beaten back by the garrison, who sallied forth from the gates and drove the rash men of Kent headlong over the cliffs. Count Eustace fled to the coast and thence across the sea.

Among those who soon after his landing in the previous year did obeisance to the Conqueror was Thane Edric the Forester, of the river Severn. He had been sincere in his protestations, but was soon provoked into hostility by the cruelty and injustice of the rapacious Normans. With two of the princes of Wales he made an alliance, and the Norman garrison that held the city of Hereford was quickly pent up within the fortifications. All the country round about was overrun by the insurgents, and for the time it appeared that there only wanted a national leader to rally the Saxons as one man and expel their oppressors from the island.

At this juncture the two sons of Harold came over from Ireland with a fleet of sixty ships, and made a spasmodic attempt to regain the crown of their father. But they were received with little favor, even by their own countrymen. Attacking the city of Bristol, they were repulsed and driven to their ships, pursued by the Saxons. The two princes then made their way back to the safe obscurity of Ireland.

Meanwhile the spirit of discontent and rebellion grew rife throughout the country. One message after another was sent to King William, urging his immediate return to England. But, either not sharing the alarm of his own countrymen in the island or desirous that the Saxons should still further provoke him to war, he tarried at Rouen for the space of eight months, and then, in December of 1067, returned to London. On arriving at his capital, he at once resorted to his old policy of favor and blandishment to the Saxon chiefs. At the Christmas festival he received them with all the kingly courtesy which he was able to command. He promised the people of London a restitution and observance of the old laws of the Anglo-Saxons; and then, as soon as confidence was somewhat restored, proceeded to levy a burdensome tax upon his subjects.

The spring of 1068 witnessed the outbreak of a rebellion in Devonshire. The people of Exeter fortified their city and made ready to defend it to the last. So great was the popular exasperation that the crews of some Norman ships, which were wrecked on the coast, were butchered after the worst manner of savagery. Against the insurgents of Devonshire, King William led out his army in person. Approaching the city of Exeter he demanded submission, but was met with refusal and defiance. A siege ensued of eighteen days' duration, and then Exeter fell into the hands of the Conqueror. A strong castle was built in the captured town and garrisoned with Norman soldiers.

During the summer of this year the sons of Godwin made a second absurd attempt to create a rising in the West. Several landings were effected on the shores of Devon and Cornwall, but the leaders were met with the same aversion as in the previous year. Finding neither support nor sympathy, they again abandoned their native land and took refuge in Denmark.

After the conquest of Devon, King William quickly added that of Somerset and Gloucester. The city of Oxford was taken and fortified. In every district subdued by his arms, the lands were confiscated and apportioned to his followers. New castles were built and occupied by Norman lords. Meanwhile every ship from Rouen brought another company of hungry nobles to demand a share in the spoils of England. The enforced consideration which William had hitherto compelled his followers to show to the Saxons was soon no longer observed. After the garrulous manner of his tribe, the old chronicler Holin-

shed thus describes the afflictions of his people in the early years of William the Conqueror:

"He [the king] took away from divers of the nobility, and others of the better sort, all their livings, and gave the same to his Normans. Moreover, he raised great taxes and subsidies through the realms; nor in any thing regarded the English nobility, so that they who before thought themselves to be made forever by bringing a stranger into the realm, did now see themselves trodden under foot, to be despised, and to be mocked on all sides, in so much that many of them were constrained (as it were, for a further testimony of servitude and bondage) to shave their beards, to round their hair, and to frame themselves, as well in apparel as in service and diet at their tables, after the Norman manner, very strange and far differing from the ancient customs and old usages of their country. Others, utterly refusing to sustain such an intolerable yoke of thralldom as was daily laid upon them by the Normans, chose rather to leave all, both goods and lands, and, after the manner of outlaws, got them to the woods with their wives, children, and servants, meaning from thenceforth to live upon the spoils of the country adjoining, and to take whatsoever come next to hand. Whereupon it came to pass within a while that no man might travel in safety from his own house or town to his next neighbor's, and every quiet and honest man's house became, as it were, a hold and fortress, furnished for defense with bows and arrows, bills, pole-axes, swords, clubs, and staves and other weapons, the doors being kept locked and strongly bolted in the night season, as it had been in time of open war and amongst public enemies. Prayers were said also by the master of the house, as though they had been in the midst of the seas in some stormy tempest; and when the windows and doors should be shut in or closed they used to say *Benedicite*, and others to answer *Dominus*, in like sort as the priest and his penitent were wont to do at confession in the church."

It was in the midst of such conditions as these that the deep-seated and long-enduring hatred of the Normans was laid in the heart of Saxon England. Ever and evermore the chasm seemed to widen between the hostile races. Now came the great earl, Edwin of Mercia, who, under promise of receiving the king's daughter in marriage, had supported his cause, claiming the hand of the Norman maiden. He was refused and insulted. Thereupon he left London with a burning heart, called his brother Morcar to his aid, and raised the standard of war in the north of England. The rebel princes took their stand beyond the Humber. Around their banners rallied the Saxo-Danish patriots of Yorkshire and Northumbria. In their wrath they took an oath that nevermore would they sleep beneath the roof until they had taken an ample revenge upon the perfidious and cruel Normans. But the warlike and energetic William was little alarmed by the menace of such a rebellion. Putting himself at the head of his army he marched rapidly from Oxford to Warwick, from Warwick to Leicester, from Leicester to Derby and Nottingham, from Nottingham to Lincoln, from Lincoln to the Humber. Near the confluence of the Ouse he met and completely routed the forces of the rebel earls. Hosts of the English fell in the battle and the remnant fled for refuge within the fortifications of York. Thither they were pursued by William and his soldiers, who broke through the gates, captured the city, and put the people to the sword. A citadel of great strength was built within the conquered town and garrisoned with five hundred warriors and knights. The city of York became henceforth the stronghold of the Normans in the North.

In the second and third years after the Conquest, the country was agitated through its whole extent by outbreaks and uprising of the Saxons. By degrees the English nobles, who had thus far upheld the Conqueror's cause, became alienated and took sides with their own countrymen. As to the Saxon peasants, they groaned and writhed under the oppression of their masters and seized every opportunity, fair or foul, to wreak their vengeance on the hated foreigners. While the Norman throne was thus threatened with muttering earthquakes in the sea-bed of Saxon humanity, the nobles and knights, not a few, who as soldiers of fortune had followed his banner into England, began to desert the Conqueror's service for some more promising field of spoil. In spite of all his smiles and

allurements, the king's own brother-in-law, Earl Tilleuil of Hastings Castle, and the powerful Hugh de Grantmesnil, earl of Norfolk, quitted England and retired into Normandy. So serious was the situation that the king deemed it expedient to send his queen, Matilda, back to Rouen. For himself, however, he was as undaunted as ever. To fill the places made vacant by defection and desertion, he sent invitations into all the countries of Western Europe, offering the brilliant rewards of conquest to those who would join his standard. Nor was the call without an answer. Bands of rovers, wandering knights, soldiers in ill-repute, and refugee noblemen came flocking to the prey.

The year 1069 was mostly occupied with military operations in the North. The city of York was besieged by the insurgent population, and was only relieved by the approach of William with an army. A second fortress and garrison were established in the city, which was thus rendered impregnable. As soon as the outposts were secure, a campaign was undertaken against the rebels of Durham. The expedition was led by Robert de Comine, who marched into the enemy's country and entered Durham with little opposition. During the night, however, the English lighted signal-fires on the neighboring heights and gathered from all directions. At day-break on the following morning they burst into the town, fired the houses, fell upon the Normans, and slaughtered them without mercy. Of Robert's forces only two men escaped to tell the tale of destruction.

Encouraged by their great success, the Northumbrians immediately dispatched ambassadors to the king of Denmark, urging him to make an invasion of England. At the same time they sent overtures to Malcolm, king of the Scots, representing to him the advantages of an alliance against the Normans. At the court of the Scottish monarch Edgar Atheling had found a refuge, and *his* claims to the crown of England were not forgotten in the general movement. The sons of King Harold, also, were abroad and were regarded by some as a possibility of the future. But the very multiplicity of interests in the attempted combination against the Normans prevented unity of action and forbade success.

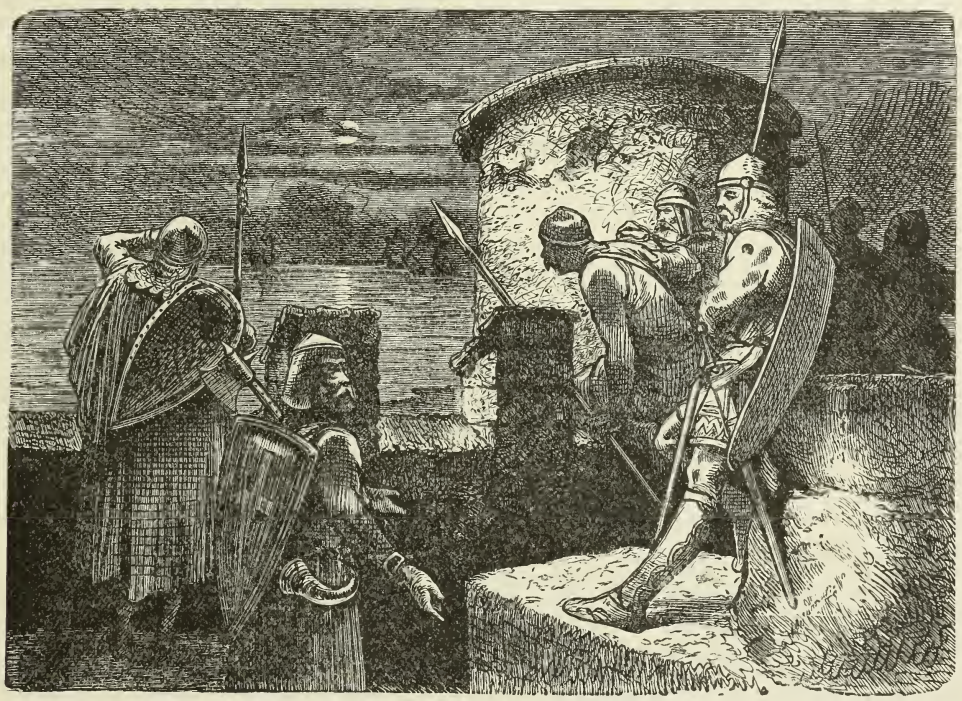
By and by a Danish fleet of two hundred and forty ships, commanded by the sons of the Danish king, was sent to aid the Northumbrians and Scots against the Conqueror. The squadron first appeared off Dover and then sailing northward entered the Humber. A landing was effected at the mouth of the Ouse, and the army of Danes, reïnforced by their English allies, marched directly on York. The Normans were driven into the fortifications, and were cut off from all communication with the country. For eight days the assailants beat around the ramparts. Finally a fire broke out, and the city was wrapped in flames. In order to escape a more horrid death, the Normans rushed forth, sword in hand, and met their fate on the spears of the infuriated Northumbrians and Danes. The slaughter degenerated into a massacre, and of the three thousand men composing the garrison only a few escaped with their lives. The smouldering ashes of York steamed with the blood of Normandy.

King William was hunting in the forest of Dean when the terrible news came to him of the butchery of his Yorkshire army. Flaming with rage, he burst out with his usual oath, "by the splendor of God," that he would leave not a Northumbrian alive. As a preparatory measure, he at once relaxed his severity towards the Saxons of South England, and resumed his old rôle of cajoling them with bountiful promises. At the same time he managed by shrewd diplomacy to induce the king of Denmark to withdraw his army from England. As to the Saxons, however, they were not any longer to be lulled with soothing words. When with the opening of the following spring, the Conqueror, at the head of a powerful army began his march against the Northumbrians, the sullen and vengeful English rose behind him with torch and pike and pole-axe to satiate their desperate anger in the wake of his campaign. But the persistent William was not to be distracted from his purpose. The son of a tanner's daughter had in his mind's eye the vision of burnt-up York and the bleaching bones of his Norman knights.

Now was it the turn of the men of the North to quake with well-grounded apprehension. In the hour of need the Danish fleet

sailed down the Humber and disappeared. The Northumbrians were left naked to the sword of the Conqueror. He fell upon them a short distance from York, and only a few escaped his vengeance. Edgar Atheling fled from the apparition and returned to the court of Malcolm. Perhaps no district was ever before smitten with such a besom as that which now swept across the fields and hamlets of Northumbria. The Norman army broke up into bands and slew and burnt and ravaged until the well-nigh insatiable thirst for bloody vengeance was appeased. The old chronicler, William of Malmsbury, declares that, "from York to Durham not an inhabited village remained. Fire, slaughter, and desolation made a vast wilderness there, which continues to this day."[1] Oderic Vitalis estimates the number of victims of this murderous expedition at a hundred thousand souls.

From this time forth the policy of conciliation was flung aside by the Conqueror of England. It now became his avowed purpose to seize all the landed estates of the kingdom. Nor satisfied with this enormous spoliation, he next proceeded to seize the movable property of his English subjects. The wealthy Saxons had generally adopted the plan of depositing their treasures in the monasteries, believing that these sacred precincts would remain inviolate. The commissioners of the king, however, soon broke into the holy places of England, and robbed with as much freedom as if they had been ravaging a vulgar village. A regular system of apportionment was adopted, by which the lands of England were divided out to the Norman lords.—Thus were the first seven years after the invasion consumed in perpetual insurrections, brutal punishments, confiscation, robbery, and ruin throughout the realm of England.



DANISH WARRIORS ON THE HUMBER.
Drawn by F. W. Heine.

In the year 1074 William was obliged by the condition of his continental affairs to return for a season to Normandy. The county of Maine, on the borders of his paternal kingdom, had been bequeathed to the Conqueror before his departure for England. About two years after the devastation of Northumbria, Count Foulque of Anjou instigated the people of Maine to rise against William and expel his magistrates from the country.

[1] About the year A. D. 1150.

With a shrewd understanding of the situation, William, in departing for the continent, took with him only an *English* army, leaving all his *Norman* forces behind him. With these troops he made his way into Maine, and soon drove the insurgents into a bitter repentance for their folly.

While engaged in suppressing this rebellion, William received intelligence of a still more alarming outbreak in England. This time it was the Norman barons themselves, who had conspired to overthrow their master. The office of prime counselor of the kingdom was now held by Roger Fitz-Osborn, who was also Earl of Hereford. This distinguished young lord had, during the Conqueror's absence, paid his court to the daughter of Ralph de Gaël, earl of Norfolk; and her he was about to take in marriage. The rumor of the intended union was borne to the Conqueror, who for some reason sent back a message forbidding the marriage. This interference was bitterly resented by Fitz-Osborn and his prospective father-in-law. Without regard to the interdict, the marriage was celebrated, and the leading Norman barons were present at the feast. While heated with wine, a sudden disloyalty broke out among them, Normans as they were, and a conspiracy was made to destroy William and redivide the realm into the three old kingdoms of Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria. The earls of Waltheof and Norwich entered into the plot with Fitz-Osborn and De Gaël, and the drunken revel ended in an insane insurrection. Waltheof, however, as soon as he was sober, washed his hands of the disloyal business. Fitz-Osborn was confronted on the Severn by a loyal army sent out by Archbishop Lanfranc, primate of the kingdom; and the insurgents under the Earl of Norfolk were beaten down by a force commanded by Odo, bishop of Bayeux. Nor was it long until the whole rebellion was brought to naught. William returned from the continent, and the conspirators were punished, some with mutilation, some with imprisonment, and some with death.

It was now the fate of the Conqueror to be touched in a still more vital part by the treason of his son Robert, duke of Maine. This prince had been honored by his father before the departure of the latter for his conquest of England. William had induced his Norman barons to do the act of fealty to Robert as their future sovereign. On coming to man's estate, the duke, without regard to his father's wishes, would fain assume the government in his own right. Hearing of the rebellious conduct of his son, the Conqueror addressed to him a brief but comprehensive letter. "My son," said he, "I wot not to throw off my clothes till I go to bed." This figurative expression was easily understood by the youth, who openly demanded the fulfillment of the king's promise to make him duke of Normandy. "Sire," said Robert, in an interview with his father, "I came here to claim my right, and not to listen to sermons. I heard plenty of them, and tedious ones, too, when I was learning my grammar." Hereupon the estrangement broke into hostility. Robert fled into foreign parts, but was presently received and supported by Philip of France, who was glad to find so sharp a weapon wherewith to hew away some of the greatness of his rival William. The rebel prince was established in the castle of Gerberay, on the borders of Normandy, and supplied with French soldiers, with whom he made predatory forays into his father's duchy. King William in great wrath crossed the channel with an English army and laid siege to the castle where Robert had made his stand. Here it was that the famous incident occurred in which the king was brought within a single stroke of losing both his crown and his life.

On a certain day, when the usual desultory fighting was going on in the vicinity of the castle, Duke Robert, who had sallied forth, met and engaged in deadly conflict with a stalwart Norman knight, whom he had the good fortune to unhorse and hurl to the ground. Springing from his horse and drawing his sword, the duke was about to dispatch his fallen foeman when the latter cried out for help. It was the voice of William the Conqueror, about to perish under the sword of his son. The latter, however, was suddenly touched with chivalrous and filial devotion. He threw himself on his knees before the prostrate form of his father, craved a hurried pardon, assisted the wounded William

into the saddle, and permitted him to ride away to his own camp.

After this heroic episode, so illustrative of the temper of the Middle Ages, strenuous efforts were made by William's friends and counselors to effect a reconciliation between



DUKE ROBERT RECOGNIZES HIS FATHER.
Drawn by L. P. Leyendecker.

him and his son. At first the mortified and angry king, still weak from the wound which Robert had inflicted, would hear to nothing but submission and punishment. At length, however, his wrath subsided and he accepted of the prodigal's repentance. But it soon appeared that the Conqueror had little sympathy with his eldest born, and no confidence in the sincerity of his purposes. A second quarrel soon ensued, and the prince was again driven forth, never to see his father more. His two brothers, William and Henry, by a more dutiful conduct retained their father's affection and were destined, each in his turn, to occupy the throne of England.

The year 1080 was marked by another insurrection at Durham. The duty of governing the warlike population of Northumbria had been intrusted to Walcher, of Lorraine, a valorous bishop of the Church. His rule was arbitrary and oppressive. The English who appealed to him for redress of grievances were treated with injustice and disdain. Liulf, one of the noblest natives of Northumbria, having been robbed by some of the bishop's retainers, and appealing to that dignitary for redress, was repelled and presently assassinated. Enraged at this crime against their race the English in the neighborhood of Durham made a conspiracy by night and came in great numbers, petitioning Walcher to render up the murderers of Liulf. Each of the yeomen had a short sword hidden under his garment. The bishop perceiving that a tumult was threatened retired into the church, which was soon surrounded by an angry multitude. The building was fired, and Walcher and his satellites were obliged to come forth and be killed in preference to being burned to death. The murderers of Liulf were slain with the rest.

Fearful was the vengeance taken on the Northumbrians for their savage deed. Odo, bishop of Bayeux, half-brother to King William, was sent with a large army against the people of Durham. This savage prelate proceeded, without the slightest attempt to discriminate between the guilty and the innocent, to smite the whole district with fire and sword. Beheadings, mutilations, and burnings were witnessed on every hand, until the bishop's thirst for blood was fully glutted. Soon afterwards Odo entered into an intrigue to make himself the successor of Pope Gregory VII., and for this was brought under the displeasure of the king. The bishop was taken before a council and his plot was fully exposed by William, who had his half-brother arrested, carried into Normandy, and imprisoned in the dungeon of a castle.

The years 1083–84 were filled with alarm on account of the threatening movement of the Danes. In that country King Sueno and his son Harold had both died, leaving the crown to the illegitimate Canute, who did not hesitate to lay claim to England as the successor of Canute the Great. An issue was thus made up between one royal bastard who coveted and another who held the English throne. Canute began his work by making a league with Olaf the Peaceful, king of Norway. With them, also, was united Robert, earl of Flanders, Canute's father-in-law, who promised to furnish six hundred ships to aid in the expulsion of the Normans from England. It was proposed to bear down on the Island with an armament of a thousand sail. When the squadron was about to depart one distracting circumstance after another arose, and treachery followed treachery until the enterprise was completely frustrated. The movements of his northern enemies, however, had sufficed for the space of two years to keep the Conqueror in a state of anxiety and alarm, and to lay upon the English people such grievous burdens as they had rarely borne before. For William, by taxes, levies, and contributions seized upon a large part of the resources of the kingdom in his preparations to meet and repel the Danes.

About the year 1080 was undertaken one of the most memorable of the works of William the Conqueror. This was the great survey of the kingdom of England, the results of which were recorded in the famous work known as Domesday Book, which has ever since remained the basis of land tenure in those parts of the Island to which it applied. The king's justiciaries, or agents, traversed the entire kingdom and gathered the required information from the sheriffs, lords, priests, reeves, bailiffs, and villeins of each district. Thus was made out in detail a complete record of the bishops, churches, monasteries, manors,

tenants in chief, and under tenants of the realm; and to this were added the name of each place, the name of the holder, the extent of the holding, the wood, the meadow, the pasture, the mills, the ponds, the live stock, the total appraisement, the number of villeins and freemen, and the property of each. Upon the whole estate three estimates were made by the jurors; first, as the same had existed in the time of Edward the Confessor; secondly, as the property was when granted by William to his vassals; and thirdly, as it now stood after the lapse of thirteen years.

The vast mass of details thus gathered by the king's officers was digested at Winchester and carefully recorded, the first part in a great vellum folio of three hundred and eighty-two double column pages, and the second part in a quarto of four hundred and fifty pages. The first volume contains the description of the estates in the counties of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Southampton, Berks, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall, Middlesex, Hereford, Bucks, Oxford, Gloucester, Worcester, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Bedford, Northampton, Leicester, Warwick, Stafford, Salop, Cheshire, Derby, Notts, York, and Lincoln. The second exhibits the record for the counties of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, together with additional surveys for Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. The two volumes were named respectively the Great and Little Domesday, and were at first carried about with the king and the great seal of England. Afterwards they were deposited in the vault of the chapel of the cathedral of *Domus Dei.*[1]

So carefully was the great survey executed and so accurately were its results recorded that the authority of Domesday Book as an ultimate appeal in matters affecting the land titles of England has never been called in question. For a while the invaluable record was kept at Westminster, where it was deposited under three locks and keys in charge of the auditor and chamberlain of the exchequer. In 1696 it was transferred to the Chapter House. At the present day it lies securely in a strong glass case in the Office of Public Records, and may there be consulted by any without payment of a fee.

Like many another monarch the conqueror of England was unfortunate in his children. The story of Duke Robert's rebellion and downfall has already been told. Duke Richard, the second born, after wearing through the years of his youth the scandal, perhaps the slander, of illegitimacy went hunting in New Forest and was gored to death by a stag. The third son William, and Henry the fourth, as they grew to manhood, became estranged, jealous, and quarrelsome. Fortunately, however, both the youths were possessed of kingly abilities, though neither gave promise of the preëminent genius displayed by their father.

One of the worst acts of King William in his old age was the seizure and conversion of Hampshire into a hunting park. In season, when the man-hunt abated, the royal appetite, famished with abstinence from blood, was best appeased with the slaughter of beasts. The favorite residence of the king was the city of Winchester. Desirous that his hunting park should be at no great distance from his capital William, without scruples, took possession of all the southwestern part of Hampshire from Salisbury to the sea, a distance of thirty miles. The district thus chosen contained no fewer than one hundred and eight manors, villages, and hamlets, all of which were demolished and swept away that the native woods might grow again for the sport of royal hunters. Thus before the close of the reign of the Conqueror was established New Forest Park, in which three princes of his own blood were destined to die by violence. From this time dated the beginning of those game-laws and forest-laws which have been the bane of the people of England unto the present day. "For," saith ever the English noble lord, "are not my hares and foxes worth more than the base churls who would destroy them?"

In the year 1086, the king called together a great assemblage of his nobles and fiefholders to receive again their homage before departing to the continent. The great and lesser men of the realm, to the number of sixty thousand, assembled at Winchester and

[1] It has been disputed whether the name of *Domesday* Book is a corruption of the name of the cathedral *Domus Dei*, or whether it is properly *Doomsday* Book, that is, the Book of the Day of *Doom*. The latter seems to be the better spelling and etymology.

renewed their oath of allegiance. Shortly afterwards William crossed the channel into Normandy and opened negotiations with Philip of France for the possession of the territory between the rivers Epte and Oise. The situation portended war, and a coarse joke perpetrated by the French king at William's expense was a spark in the magazine. At this juncture, however, the Conqueror fell sick, and his vengeance was delayed till the following year. But as soon as the summer of 1087 had ripened the harvests and made heavy the purple vineyards of France, the now aged William took horse at the head of his army and began an invasion of the disputed territory.

The objective point of the warlike expedition was the city of Mantes, capital of the coveted district, and thither the Conqueror made his way, destroying every thing in his path. Mantes was besieged, taken, and burned. Just as the city, wrapped in the consuming flame, was sinking into ashes, the Conqueror, eager to be in at the death, spurred forward his horse till the charger, plunging his fore feet into the hot embers of the rampart, reared backwards and threw the now corpulent king with great violence upon the pommel of the saddle. His body was ruptured, and it was evident that a fatal injury had been received. The wounded king was taken first to Rouen and thence to the monastery of St. Gervas, just outside the walls of the city. There for six weeks the king of England lingered on the border of that realm where the smoke of burning towns is never seen. As death drew nigh, the invincible spirit of the man relaxed. The better memories and purposes of his life revived, and he would fain in some measure make amends for his sins and crimes. His last days were marked by several acts of benevolence and magnaminity. He issued an edict releasing from confinement all the surviving state prisoners whom he had shut up in dungeons. He attempted to quiet the voices within him by contributing large sums for the endowment of churches and monasteries. He even remembered the rebellious Robert, and in his last hours conferred on him the duchy of Maine. As to the crown of England, he made no attempt to establish the succession, expressing, however, the ardent wish that his son Prince William might obtain and hold that great inheritance. To Henry he gave five thousand pounds of silver, with the admonition that, as it respected political power, he should patiently abide his time. On the morning of the 9th of September, 1087, the great king was for a moment aroused from his stupor by the sound of bells, and then, after a stormy and victorious career, and almost in sight of the spot of his birth, the son of the tanner's daughter of Rouen lay still and pulseless.

Unto his dying day William the Conqueror was followed by the curses of Englishmen. So hostile to him and his House were the native populations of the Island that Prince William Rufus, knowing the temper of the nation, deemed it expedient to secure by silent haste and subtlety the throne vacated by his father's death. He quickly left Normandy and reached Winchester in advance of the news of the decease of the king. There he confided the momentous intelligence to the primate Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. Him he induced to become the champion of his cause. A council of barons and prelates was hastily summoned, and the form of an election was had, in which, though not without opposition, the choice fell on Rufus. Such was the expedition with which every thing was done, that, on the seventeenth day after the Conqueror's death, the king-elect was duly crowned by Archbishop Lanfranc.

The first act of the new sovereign exhibited at once his own quality and the temper of the age. He issued orders that all the *English* nobles recently liberated from prison by his father should again be seized and incarcerated. The Norman prisoners of state, however, were, with singular partiality, confirmed in the honors and possessions to which they had been recently restored.

Meanwhile Duke Robert, surnamed *Courte-Heuse*, or Short-Hose, eldest son of the Conqueror, now for many years an exile in France and Germany, hearing of his father's death, made all speed into Normandy and claimed the dukedom. He was received with great joy by the prelates of Rouen, who, fortified by the dying decision of King William, gladly

bestowed the coronet on his son. As for Prince Henry, he took the five thousand pounds bequeathed him by the late king, and going into a reluctant retirement, set the jealous eye of discontent on both his brothers.

The disposition of WILLIAM RUFUS and his brothers was little conducive to friendly relations among them. Both Robert and the king were turbulent spirits, and it was hardly probable under the circumstances that they would not soon come to blows. The situation was such as greatly to embarrass the vassals of the two princes. Many of the nobles had estates both in England and in Normandy. All such held a divided allegiance to William and Robert, and it became their interest either to preserve the peace or else to dethrone either the duke or the king. In a short time an alarming conspiracy was made in England with a view to unseating William and the placing of Robert on the throne. The chief manipulator of the plot was Bishop Odo, half-uncle of Robert, who found in him a ready and able servant. The Duke of Normandy, for his part, promised to send over an army to the support of his confederates.

The conspiracy gathered head in Kent and Durham, and in the West. In these parts the revolt broke out with violence. But there was little concert of action, and the insurrection made slow headway against the established order. The army of Duke Robert was delayed until a fleet of English privateers — first, perhaps, of their kind in modern times—put to sea and cut off the Norman squadron in detail. Since the movement against the king proceeded exclusively from his *Norman* subjects, the English rallied to his banner. In order to encourage this movement of the natives against his insurgent countrymen, he called together the few Anglo-Saxon chiefs who had survived through twenty years of warfare, and to them made pledges favorable to their countrymen. It thus happened, by a strange turn in the political affairs of the kingdom, that the old English stock revived somewhat in the favor of the royal House. So, when the old Saxon proclamation was issued—"Let every man who is not a man of nothing, whether he live in burgh or out of burgh, leave his home and come,"—fully thirty thousand sturdy yeoman mustered at the call.

The king at the head of his forces marched against Bishop Odo, who had fortified himself in Rochester Castle. From thence the rebels were presently driven into Pevensey, where after seven weeks they were overthrown and scattered. Odo was taken prisoner, and in order to save his life agreed to give up Rochester Castle to the king and to leave England forever. At this time, however, the castle was held by Eustace, earl of Boulogne, who making a pretense of wrath and acting in collusion with Odo, seized that prelate and drew him within the walls. The defense was begun anew, and was finally brought to a close by disease and famine rather than by assault. When the castle was at last obliged



BURIAL OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

to yield, the enraged English franklins would fain have destroyed the whole company of insurgents. But the Normans in the army of Rufus had many friends among the rebels, and the king was induced to grant terms of capitulation on condition that the prisoners would all leave the kingdom. After a season of desultory warfare, the movement in favor of Duke Robert lost its force and came to nothing.

The temper of the king and the spirit of the age now demanded retaliation. The supporters of William in England determined to make war on Robert Short-Hose in his own duchy. The condition of affairs in Normandy favored such an enterprise. The duke, always more courageous than prudent, had, after his father's death, managed things so badly that his nobles became disloyal and the duchy fell into anarchy. In his distress Robert made overtures to the king of France, who, promising his aid, marched an army to the frontier of Normandy, but lent no practical assistance to his ally. A counter insurrection favorable to King William now broke out in the duchy and was with difficulty suppressed. Meanwhile William Rufus occupied his time with preparations, and in the beginning of 1091 crossed over with an English army into Normandy. When the issue between the two brothers was about to come to the arbitrament of battle, the king of France came forward as a mediator, and a treaty of peace was concluded at Caën. The terms were very favorable to the English king, who obtained large possessions of his brother's realm, together with the reversion of the whole duchy in case Duke Robert should die first.

This settlement was, of course, exceedingly distasteful to Prince Henry, who still lay in his covert awaiting the death or downfall of his brothers. So much was he angered on account of the treaty that he broke into open revolt. He defended himself briefly in his castles and then retired to the almost impregnable rock and fortress of St. Michael, off the coast. Here he was besieged by the forces of William and Robert, and was at last obliged to capitulate. All his possessions were taken away, and he was then permitted to retire into Brittany, accompanied by one knight, three squires, and one chaplain.

After the settlement of his affairs on the continent, William Rufus was for a while engaged in a war with Malcolm Caënmore, king of Scotland. The latter had been the aggressor during the absence of Rufus from his kingdom. When William returned, he fell upon the Scottish army, then in Northumberland, and inflicted on the enemy a signal defeat, in which both Malcolm and his son were slain.

In the year 1093, the non-compliance of Rufus with the terms of the treaty of Caën led to a renewal of hostilities between him and Duke Robert. The French king came to the rescue of the latter, but William succeeded in bribing him to retire into his own country. Robert was thus left alone to struggle with his more powerful brother. Nor is it doubtful that the English king would soon have wrested from Robert the whole duchy of Normandy had not the affairs of his own realm demanded his immediate return from the continent.

For the people of Wales had now risen against the Norman dominion, and the revolt soon became one of the most alarming that had occurred for many years. The insurgents first fell upon and captured the castle of Montgomery and then overran Cheshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire, and the isle of Anglesea. On reaching his kingdom, Rufus at once marched into the rebellious district, but could not bring the Welsh mountaineers to a general battle. The enemy kept to the hills and forests, whence they sallied forth in sudden destructive attacks upon the royal forces. For two years the king with his heavy Norman cavalry continued an unsuccessful warfare on his rebellious subjects; but he was unable to reduce them to submission, and was at last obliged to content himself with the erection of a chain of castles along the frontier. In these he established garrisons and then turned aside to put down an insurrection in the North, which was headed by Robert Mowbray, earl of Northumberland.

In 1096 the English king found himself free once more to resume operations against Normandy. In the preceding autumn, however, an event had occurred which, in a most unexpected manner, decided the whole question at issue. The Council of Clermont was

called by Urban II., and all Western Europe had taken fire at the recital of the outrages done to the Christians in the East. Duke Robert was among the first to catch the enthusiasm and draw his sword. What was the maintenance and development of his province of Normandy compared with the glory of smiting the infidel Turk who sat cross-legged on the tomb of Christ? But the coffers of the fiery Robert were empty. In order to raise the means necessary to equip a band of Norman Crusaders, he proposed to his brother Rufus to sell to him for a period of five years the duchy of Normandy for the sum of ten thousand pounds. The offer was quickly accepted, and William in order to raise the money was constrained to resort to such cruel exactions as were, by the old chroniclers, compared to flaying the people alive. But the ten thousand pounds were raised and paid into the treasury of Robert, who gladly accepted the opportunity thus afforded of exchanging an actual earthly kingdom for the prospect of a heavenly.

In entering upon the possession of Normandy thus acquired, William Rufus was well received by his subjects. The people of Maine, however, were not at all disposed to accept the change of masters. Under the leadership of their chief nobleman, the Baron of La Fleche, they rose in hot rebellion, and it was only after a serious conflict that the king succeeded in reducing them to submission. Once and again the presence of William was demanded in Maine to overawe the disaffected inhabitants. In the last of his expeditions in that province the king received a wound, which induced him to return to England. On reaching home he found that the crusading fever had already begun to spread in the Island. Several of his noblemen, imitating the example of Duke Robert, preferred to mortgage or sell their estates in order to gain the means to join in the universal campaign against the Infidels. Means were thus afforded the king of greatly extending his territorial possessions. But while engaged in this work his career was brought to a sudden and tragic end.

In the summer of the year 1100, William, according to his wont, sought the excitement of the chase in the great hunting park of New Forest. He was accompanied by several of his nobles. Among the rest was Sir Walter de Poix, better known by his English name of Sir Walter Tyrrel. The cavalcade was gay and boisterous, and feasted and drank under the great trees of Malwood-keep. When the company in high spirits were about to begin the hunt, a messenger came running to the king, saying that one of the monks of St. Peter's at Gloucester had dreamt a dream of horrid portent respecting the sudden death of the king. "Give him a hundred pence," said Rufus, "and bid him dream of better fortune to our person. Do they think I am one of those fools that give up their pleasure or their business because an old woman happens to dream or to sneeze. To horse, Walter de Poix!"

Hereupon the reckless king with his boon companions dashed into the woods and began the chase. Towards evening a hart sprang up between Rufus and the thicket where Sir Walter was for the moment standing. The king drew his bow to shoot; but the string snapped, and his arrow went wide of the mark. He raised his hand as if to shade his eyes while watching the hart and called aloud to his companion, "In the name of the devil, shoot, Walter, shoot!" Sir Walter at once let fly his arrow, but the fatal shaft, glancing against the side of an oak, struck William in the left breast and pierced him to the heart. He fell from his horse and expired without a word. Nor has authentic history ever been able to decide whether the bolt that sped him to his death was, according to common tradition, winged by accident or whether it was purposely sent on its deadly mission either by Sir Walter himself or by some secret foe of the king ambushed in the thicket. At any rate, the childless William Rufus died with an arrow-head in his breast in the depth of New Forest hunting-ground, and the popular superstition was confirmed that that great Park created aforetime by the destruction of so many Anglo-Saxon hamlets and churches, was destined many times to be wet with the blood of the royal tyrants whose wanton passions were therein excited and gratified.

The history of Feudal England has thus been traced from the beginning of the Nor-

man Ascendency in the times of Edward the Confessor, through the great crisis of the Conquest, down to the death of William Rufus and the accession, in the summer of 1100, of Henry I., the remaining son of the Conqueror. On the continent, as will readily



DEATH OF WILLIAM RUFUS.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

be recalled, the people of the various states were already in universal commotion from the preaching of the First Crusade. In insular England the excitement was by no means so great; nor was English society thoroughly aroused until in the succeeding reigns of Stephen, Henry Plantagenet, and Richard I. This fact would indicate the continuance of the present narrative down to the time when the Lion Heart lifted his battle-axe against the Infidels; but the date of the Council of Clermont (A. D. 1095) has already been fixed upon as the limit of the present Book and the beginning of the next. Here, then, we pause in the narrative of English affairs, with the purpose of resuming the same hereafter with the accession of Henry, surnamed Beauclerc, to the throne of England.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.—MOHAMMEDAN STATES AND NORTHERN KINGDOMS.

LET us again, for a brief season, follow the yellow Crescent of Islam, waning in the West, fulling in the East. The history of the Mohammedan power has been given in the preceding Book from the time of the Prophet to the age of decline in the Caliphate of Damascus during the reign of Merwan II. The latter, who was the fourteenth and last of the Ommiyad Dynasty, held the throne till the year 750, when a contest broke out between him and ABUL ABBAS, which ended in the overthrow of Merwan and the setting up of the Abbasside Caliph. Abul Abbas claimed to be a lineal descendant of Mohammed's uncle Abbas, and for this reason the name *Abbassidæ* was given to the House.

Not only was Merwan overthrown by his enemy, but the Ommiyades were presently afterwards assembled with treacherous intent, and all but two of them were murdered. The two survivors escaped, the one into Arabia and the other into Spain. The Arab Ommiyad became the head of a line of local rulers who continued in power until the sixteenth century, and he who came to Spain laid the foundation of the Caliphate of Cordova.

Having secured the throne of Damascus, Abul Abbas began a reign of great severity. The fugitive Merwan was pursued into Egypt and barbarously put to death. The victorious Caliph earned for himself the name of Al-Saffah, or the Blood-shedder. So complete was the destruction of his enemies that in all the East none durst raise the hand against him. The new dynasty was firmly established from Mauritania to the borders of Persia.



DESTRUCTION OF THE OMMIYADES.
Drawn by F. Lix.

Spain secured her independence, but the remainder of the Mohammedan states fell to the Abbassides.

After a reign of four years' duration Abul Abbas died, and was succeeded on the throne by his brother AL-MANSOUR. The sovereignty

was also claimed by his uncle Abdallah, by whom the destruction of the Ommiyades had been accomplished. Abdallah took up arms to maintain his cause, but Abu Moslem, the lieutenant of Al-Mansour, went forth against the insurgents, and they were completely defeated. Abu Moslem, however, soon afterwards incurred the anger of his master, and was deprived of his eyes for refusing to accept the governorship of Egypt. Like his predecessor, Al-Mansour marked his reign with merciless cruelty. In the year 758, a heretical sect, called the Ravendites, whose principal tenet was the old Egyptian doctrine of metempsychosis, became powerful at the city of Cufa, the then capital of the Eastern Caliphate. They fell into violent quarrels and riots with the orthodox Mohammedans, and thus came under the extreme displeasure of the Caliph. After much violence and bloodshed, Al-Mansour determined to punish the city and people by removing the capital to another place. He accordingly selected a site on the Tigris, once occupied by the Assyrian kings, and there founded the new city of Baghdad, which was destined to remain for more than four centuries the capital of the Mohammedan kingdoms in the East.

In the year 762–63 the seat of government was transferred, and Al-Mansour began his reign of twenty-one years with beautifying his palace and drawing to his court the art and learning of his countrymen. It was not long, however, until he was obliged to go to war. The descendants of Ali, son of Abu Taleb, raised the standard of revolt and attempted to recover the Caliphate. The armies of Al-Mansour, however, gained the victory over the enemies of their master, and Asia Minor and Armenia, in which the insurrection had made most headway, were reduced to submission. But in the West the revolt held on its way and could not be suppressed. Distance and the intervening Mediterranean favored the rebellion in Spain to the extent of securing the independence of that province, which could never be regained by the Eastern Caliphs.

But more important than the wars of Al-Mansour were his efforts to set up a higher standard of literary culture than had hitherto been known among the Mohammedans. The old anti-literary dispositions of Islam were made to yield to a more reasonable view of human culture and refinement. The arts and humanities embalmed in the works of the Greeks were revealed by translation to the wondering philosophers of the Tigris, who were stimulated and encouraged in their work by the liberal patronage of the Caliph.

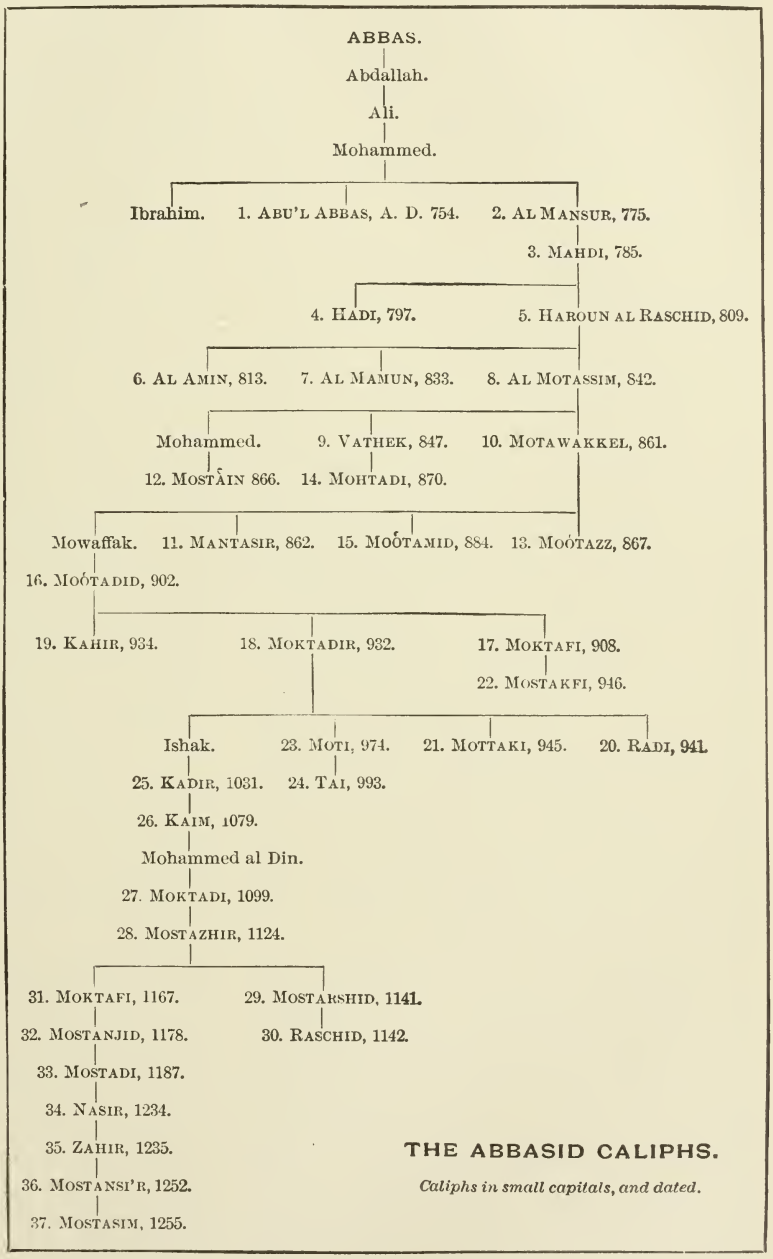
After a successful and distinguished reign of twenty-one years Al-Mansour died, and was succeeded by his son Mahdi, who held the throne for a period of ten years. Perhaps the most distinguished part of his reign related to the slave Khaizeran, by whom he became the father of the celebrated Haroun Al-Rashid, most distinguished of all the Caliphs of the East. The young prince became his father's chief military leader. He commanded an army of ninety-five thousand men in an expedition against the Byzantine Empire, then ruled by the Empress Irene. With his well-nigh invincible soldiers, he marched through Asia Minor, overthrew the Greek general, Nicetas, in battle, reached the Bosphorus, and in the year 781 gained possession of the heights of Scutari, opposite Constantinople. Such was the alarm of the Empress and her council that she was glad to purchase the retirement of the Mohammedans by the payment of an annual tribute of seventy thousand pieces of gold.

While the fame of these exploits was filling all the realms of Islam with the name of the slave-woman's son, his elder brother Hadi was busily engaged in a conspiracy to destroy both his reputation and his life. Nor was the bitterness of Hadi at all appeased when, in 785, the father Mahdi died and left him heir to the Caliphate. No sooner had he reached this position than, fired with increasing jealousy, he issued orders for the execution of Haroun; and the edict was prevented from fulfillment only by the death of Hadi, who came to an end within a year from his accession. When this event occurred, Al-Rashid came into peaceable possession of the throne. His character and abilities far surpassed those of any preceding Caliph. With his accession came the golden era of Mohammedanism. In his dealings with the different nations under his dominion, he fully merited his honorable sobriquet of the Just. He selected his min-

isters from the different states of the Empire, and thus united in his government the claims and sympathies of all. Among those who were thus brought into his administration were Tahya and his son Jaffar, two of the ancient fire-worshiping priesthood of Persia. By their influence the people whom they represented were greatly advanced in the favor of the Caliphate, and even the religious system of Zoroäster, which had waned almost to extinction, was permitted to burn more brightly while its representatives remained in power.

In his foreign relations, Haroun Al-Rashid busied himself in strengthening his frontiers on the side of the Byzantine Empire. While thus engaged, a disgraceful war broke out between religious factions in Syria. The general Musa was sent by Al-Rashid into this region, and the leaders of the rival parties were captured and taken to Baghdad. An end was thus made of the Syrian dissensions, and Jaffar was appointed governor of that province, including Egypt.

It was at this time that the powerful family of the Barmecides became predominant in the affairs of the Caliphate. The head of this family, Khaled ben Barmek, had been the tutor of Haroun Al-Rashid in his youth. It was his son, Tahya, who became prime minister in 786. Twenty-five members of the family held important offices in the different provinces of the Empire. For fifteen years, their ascendency remained unshaken; but at last in 803, a circumstance occurred which added fuel to the already increasing jealousy of Al-Rashid and led to the downfall of the Barmecides. The minister Jaffar, grandson of Khaled ben Barmek, made love to Abassa, sister of the Caliph; and when the lover represented to Haroun that his affection for the princess was purely platonic, it was agreed that he might marry her. In course of time, however, Abassa presented her singular lord with



an heir, greatly to the chagrin of the Caliph. So hot was his rage that he caused Jaffar to be beheaded. Tahya and Fadhl were chained and thrown into a dungeon, where they died. Nearly all the other members of the family suffered deposition, confiscation of property, and imprisonment. The influence of the House was thus suddenly thrown off. But the memory of Al-Rashid suffered not a little from the gratification of his passion against those whom he had no cause of hating other than jealousy.

In the same year with the downfall of the Barmecides, Nicephorus, having then succeeded Irene on the throne of the Byzantine Empire, made a sudden show of old-time virtue by refusing payment of the annual tribute agreed to by his predecessor. Not only did he decline longer to continue the stipend, but he sent an embassy to Al-Rashid, demanding a restitution of all the sums previously paid by Irene. Thereupon the Caliph, flaming with rage, returned the following perspicuous but undiplomatic message: "In the name of the Most Merciful God, Haroun Al-Rashid, commander of the Faithful, to Nicephorus the Roman dog. I have read thy letter, O thou son of an unbelieving mother. Thou shalt not hear, thou shalt behold my reply." Nor was this threatening manifesto without an immediate fulfillment. The Caliph put himself at the head of his army, wasted a large part of Asia Minor, besieged the city of Heraclia, and quickly obliged Nicephorus to resume the payment of tribute.

The Emperor was not yet satisfied, and soon violated his agreement. In 806 Haroun Al-Rashid returned with a hundred and thirty-five thousand men, overtook Nicephorus in Phrygia, and defeated him with a loss of forty thousand of his troops. Still the Greek Emperor was not satisfied. Two years later, he again refused to pay the stipulated tribute, and Al-Rashid came upon him with an army twice as great as previously. He ravaged Asia Minor to the borders of the Ægean, and then taking to his fleet, overran the islands of Rhodes, Cyprus, and Crete. The tribute was reïmposed on more humiliating terms than ever. But hardly had the Mohammedans retired from their expedition before the perfidious Greek Emperor once more broke off his engagement and took up arms. Haroun renewed the war with the greatest fury, swearing that he never would treat again with such an oath-breaking enemy as Nicephorus. But before his vengeance on the Greek could wreak a bloody satisfaction, a revolt broke out in Khorassan, and Al-Rashid was recalled from the West to overawe the insurgents. Before reaching the revolted province, however, he fell sick and died, leaving behind a reputation for ambition, prudence, and wisdom unequaled by any of his predecessors in the Caliphate. He had a breadth of apprehension which would have been creditable in a sovereign of modern times. He cultivated the acquaintance of the great rulers of his age. He corresponded with Charlemagne, and in the year 807 sent to that monarch a water-clock, an elephant, and the keys of the Holy Sepulcher. Nine times did Al-Rashid make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Above all his contemporaries, he sought to encourage the development of literature and art. About his court were gathered the greatest geniuses of Islam, and legend and poetry have woven about his name the imperishable garland of the *Arabian Nights*.

On the death of Al-Rashid, in the year 809, the succession was contested by his two sons, Al-Amin and Al-Mamoun. The former obtained the throne and held it for four years. But his brother grew in favor and power, and when in 813 the issue came to be settled by the sword, Al-Amin was killed and Al-Mamoun took the Caliphate. He entered upon his administration by adopting the policy of his father, especially as it related to the encouragement of learning. The chief towns of the East were made the seats of academic instruction and philosophy. Many important works were translated from the Greek and the Sanskrit. From the Hindus were obtained the rudiments of the mathematical sciences, especially those of arithmetic and algebra. Ancient Chaldæa gave to the inquisitive scholars of the age her wealth of star-lore; while the elements of logic, natural history, and the Aristotelian system of philosophy were brought in from the Archipelago and Constantinople.

As a warrior Al-Mamoun was less distinguished. In his country, as in the West, a

disruptive force began to appear in the government, and many of the provinces, remote from the center of the Empire, regained their independence. Indeed, near the close of his reign, the disintegration became alarming; and when the government passed by his death, in the year 833, to his brother AL-MOTASSEM, the Empire seemed on the verge of dissolution. The latter sovereign received the name of the Octonary, for he had fought *eight* victorious battles with the enemies of Islam.[1] His reign, however, is chiefly notable for the fact that at this time the Seljukian Turks began to be a powerful element both in the armies and government of the Caliphate. The Seljuk soldiers surpassed in courage and vigor any others who ranged themselves under the Crescent. During the siege of Amorium, in Phrygia, in the year 838, in which the army of the Emperor Theophilus was environed by the Mohammedans, it was the Turkish cavalry that dealt the most terrible blows to the Greeks. Thirty thousand of the Christians were taken captive and reduced to slavery, and other thirty thousand were slaughtered on the field. From this time forth, the Turks were received into the capital. They became the guards of the Caliph's palace, and it was not long until they held the same relation to the government as did the prætorian cohort six hundred years before to the Imperial household in Rome. It was estimated that by the middle of the ninth century there were fully fifty thousand Turks in Baghdad.

This new and dangerous patronage of the Caliphate bestowed on a race of lawless foreigners, warlike, restless, and audacious, became in a short time the bane of the Mohammedan countries. Even during the reign of Motassem, who was the Edward Confessor of the East, the quarrels of his Turkish guards with the native inhabitants of Baghdad produced so great turbulence and rioting in the city that the Emperor was constrained to retire with his favorites to Samara on the Tigris, about forty miles distant from the capital and there establish a new royal residence. The Caliph MOTAWAKKEL, next after VATHEK, son of Motassem, still further encouraged the Turkish ascendency until the guards, having come to prefer the Prince MONTASSER, son of the Caliph, murdered their master and set up the youth in his stead. The latter enjoyed or suffered the fruits of his crime no more than six months, when the same power that had created, destroyed him, and set up his brother MOSTAIN, who reigned until 866. From this time until the close of the century, four other obscure Caliphs—MOTAZ, MOHTADI, MOTAMMED and MOTADHED—succeeded each other in rapid succession in the Caliphate. The following century was occupied with nine additional reigns, being those of Moktafi I., Moktader, Kaher, Khadi, Mottaki, Mostakfi, Mothi, Tai, and Kader. Except in a special history of the Eastern Caliphate, but little interest would be added to the general annals of mankind by reciting in detail the bloody and criminal progress of events on the Tigris and in Asia Minor.

In the following—the tenth—century the ascendency of the Seljukian Turks became more and more pronounced, and their intolerable domination was felt and resented almost equally by the more quiet Mohammedans of the south-west districts of the Caliphate and by the Christians who, especially in the Holy Land, were subjected to every humiliation and barbarity which the Seljuks could well invent. This circumstance, viewed from the Asiatic standpoint, was the antecedent condition of that fierce turmoil of excitement and wrath which spread through Western Europe in the latter half of the eleventh century and broke out in the wild flame of the Crusades.

Meanwhile the Crescent still floated over Spain. For in the great proscription of the Ommiyades a royal youth, named ABDERRAHMAN, son of Merwan II., escaped the rage of the Abbassides and fled into Western Africa. From thence he made his way into Spain, where, on the coast of Andalusia, he was saluted with the acclamations of the people. He was hailed by all parties as the lineal descendant and rightful successor of the great Ommiyah, and therefore entitled to reign over the western followers of the Prophet. After

[1] According to the Arab chroniclers, Motassem was an exceedingly eight-fold sovereign. He was the eighth of the Abbassides. He reigned eight years, eight months, and eight days. He left eight sons, eight daughters, eight thousand slaves, and eight millions of gold.

a brief struggle with the contending factions, under the leadership of rival emirs, he was elevated to the throne of Cordova, and thus, in 756, was established the Ommiyad dynasty in the Western Caliphate.

While these movements were taking place south of the Pyrenees, the Mohammedans were gradually expelled from their foothold in the North and driven back into Spain. The triumph of the Franks, however, was as advantageous to the Mohammedans as to themselves. A mountain barrier was established between the two races, and the Islamites were left on the southern slope to concentrate their energies and develop into nationality.

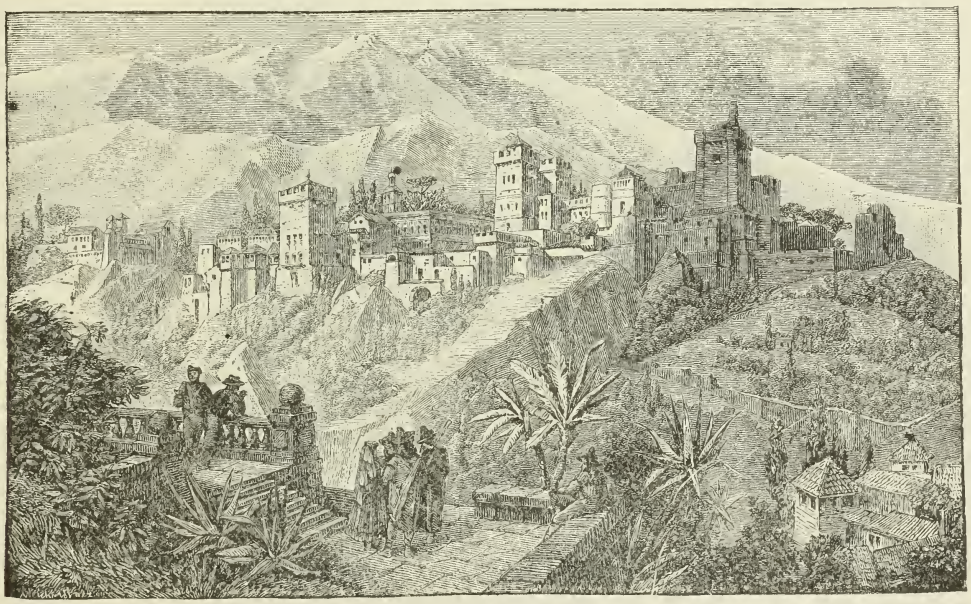
At first the head of the Eastern Caliphate relished not the idea of the independence of Spain. On the contrary, it was determined to make a strenuous effort to subject the Caliphate of Cordova to the scepter of Baghdad. One of the Abbasside lieutenants was sent into Spain with a fleet and army, but was overthrown in battle and slain by Abderrahman. The Caliph Al-Mansour at length came to understand that it was best for his rival to be left undisturbed in the West, lest his dangerous energies should be turned against himself. By the time of the accession of Charlemagne, the Caliphate of Cordova had already grown so much in solidity and strength as to become a formidable power with which to contend, even to the king of the Franks. The meager success, or positive unsuccess, of Charlemagne's expedition against Saragossa has already been narrated in the preceding Book.

Much of the glory of the Arabian civilization in Spain must be referred to the greatness of Abderrahman and his reign. To him the city of Cordova was indebted for the most magnificent of her mosques, of which structure the Caliph himself was the designer. He also it was who planted the first palm-tree in Cordova, and from that original all the palms of Spain are said to be descended. His immediate successors were HASHEM I., AL-HAKEM I., and ABDERRAHMAN II., whose reign extended to the year 852. The greatest of the House after the founder was ABDERRAHMAM III., who in the beginning of the tenth century occupied the throne for forty-nine years. The whole Ommiyad Dynasty in Spain embraced the reigns of twenty-two Caliphs and extended to the year 1031, when Hashem III. was deposed by a revolution having its origin in the army. During this time Spain, under the patronage of the Mohammedans, made greater progress in civilization than at any period before or since. Agriculture and commerce were promoted. Science and art flourished, and institutions of learning were established, the fame of which extended from Ireland to Constantinople, and drew within their walls a host of students from almost every country in Europe. It was from this source that the fundamentals of scholarship were deduced by the uncultured Christians north of the Apennines and the Alps. The language and customs of the Moors became predominant in the peninsula, and during the latter half of the eighth and the whole of the ninth century there was little disposition to dispute the excellence of the Mohammedan institutions which spread and flourished under the patronage of the Cordovan Caliphs.

In the course of time, however, the relative power of the Cross and the Crescent in Spain began to be reversed. About the beginning of the eleventh century, the dissensions and strife which prevailed in the Caliphate of Cordova gave opportunity for the growth of the Christian states in the north-western part of the peninsula. Here, in the mountainous district of Oviedo, under Pelayo and Alfonso I., the dominion of the Cross was considerably extended. Portions of Leon and Castile were added to Oviedo by conquest, and thus was planted the kingdom of Asturias. Under Ordono II. the kingly residence was transferred to Leon, and that city henceforth gave the name to the Christian kingdom. Meanwhile, on the Upper Ebro and Pisuerga, arose the kingdom of Castile. In this region there had always been preserved a remnant of independence, even since the days of the Mohammedan conquest. Until the year 961 Castile was in some sense a dependency of Leon. At that date Fernando Gonzales appeared, and the people of Castile, under his leadership, gained and kept their freedom. In 1037 Ferdinand I. reunited the kingdoms of Leon and Castile, and the combined states soon became the most powerful in Spain.

While these events were in progress north

of the strait of Gibraltar a new line of Caliphs was established in Africa. This dynasty is known as the African Fatimites; for the founder of the house was a certain Abu, claiming to be the son of Obeidallah, a descendant of Fatima. The dynasty was founded in the year 909 and continued during the reigns of fourteen Caliphs to the death of Adhed in 1171. But the Fatimites of Africa did not display the energies which were exhibited by their contemporaries at Baghdad and Cordova, and civilization, which made such rapid progress in Spain, was as much as ever retarded in the states south of the Mediterranean.



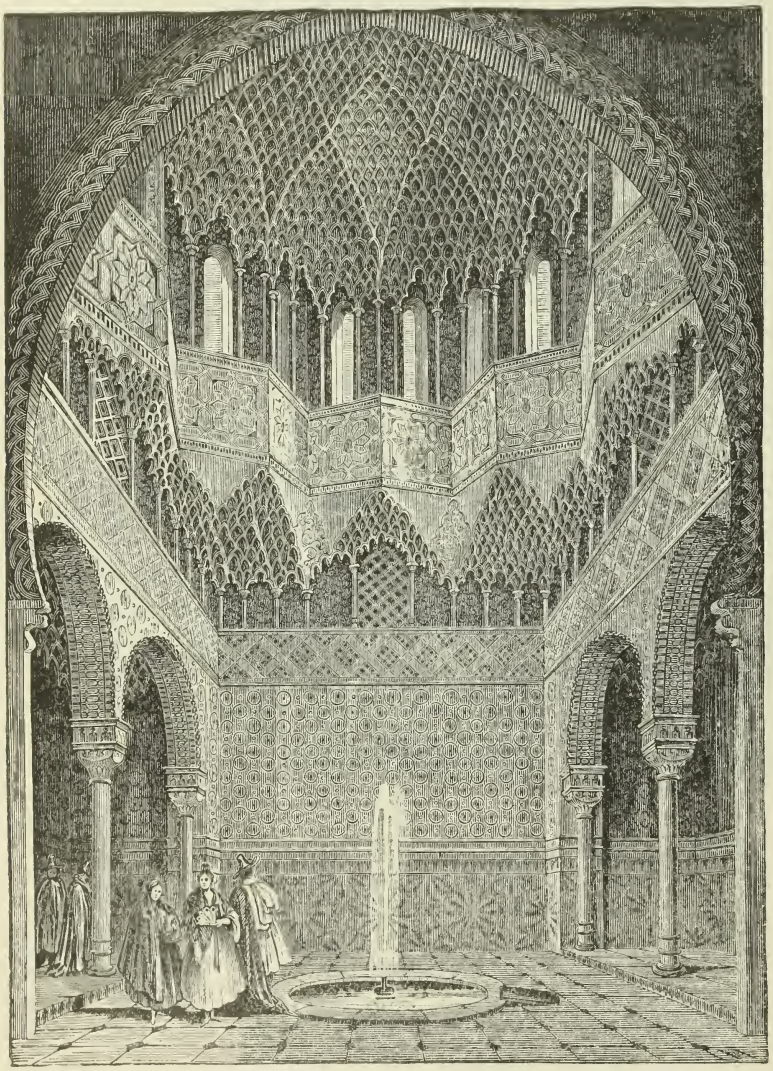
THE ALHAMBRA.

Of the three or four divisions of the Mohammedan power during the Middle Ages the most splendid and luxurious was the Caliphate of Baghdad; the most progressive, the kingdom of Cordova. In the latter realm it was intellectual culture and architectural grandeur that demanded the applause of the age; while in the East a certain Oriental magnificence attracted the attention of travelers and historians. In their capital on the Tigris the Abbassides soon forgot the temperate life and austere manners of the early apostles of Islam. They were attracted rather by the splendor of the Persian kings. As early as the reign of Al-Mansour the court of the Caliphate was given up to luxury. That monarch is said to have left behind him a treasure of thirty million pounds sterling, and this vast sum was consumed in a few years on the vices and ambitions of his successors. His son Mahdi is said to have squandered six million dinars of gold during a single pilgrimage to Mecca. His camels were laden with packages of snow gathered from the mountains of Armenia, and the natives of Mecca were astonished to see the white and cooling crystals dissolving in the wines or sprinkled on the fruits of the royal worshipers. Al-Mamoun is said to have given away two million four hundred dinars of gold "before he drew his foot from the stirrup." On the occasion of the marriage of that prince a thousand pearls of largest size were showered on the head of the bride. In the times of Moktader the army of the Caliphate numbered a hundred and sixty thousand men. The officers were arrayed in splendid apparel. Their belts were ornamented with gems and gold. Seven thousand ennuchs and seven hundred doorkeepers were a part of the governmental retinue. On the Tigris might be seen superbly decorated boats floating like gilded swans. In the palace were thirty-eight thousand pieces of tapestry. Among the ornaments of the royal house was a tree wrought of gold and

silver with eighteen spreading branches. On these were placed a variety of artificial song-birds, which were made to twitter their native notes.

Though less gorgeous in their displays than the Abbasside monarchs, the Caliphs of Cordova displayed with not a little pomp the regal glories of Ommiyah. Abderrahman III. built near the capital the splendid palace and gardens of Zehra. Twenty-five years was the magnificent structure a-building, and three millions of pounds were consumed in the work. The most skillful sculptors and architects of the age were brought to Cordova to the end that the palace might want nothing in splendor. Within the hall of audience was incrusted with gold and pearls, and the great basin in the center was surrounded with life-like effigies of birds and beasts.

Not less was the magnificence displayed in the famous residence of the Moorish kings at Granada. This celebrated structure, known as the ALHAMBRA, has (though partly in ruins) remained to our day one of the wonders of the modern world. In its structure nothing that could contribute to the security and gratification of man or woman seems to have been omitted. The grandest apartment was known as the Hall of Lions, for in the midst was a great marble and alabaster fountain supported by lions and ornamented with arabesques. In the Hall of Abencerrages the ceiling was of cedar inlaid with mother-of-pearl, ivory, and silver. The coloring was exquisite and beautiful, and even at the present day, after the lapse of more than five hundred years, the brilliant tints flash down upon the beholder as though they were the work of the highest art of yesterday.

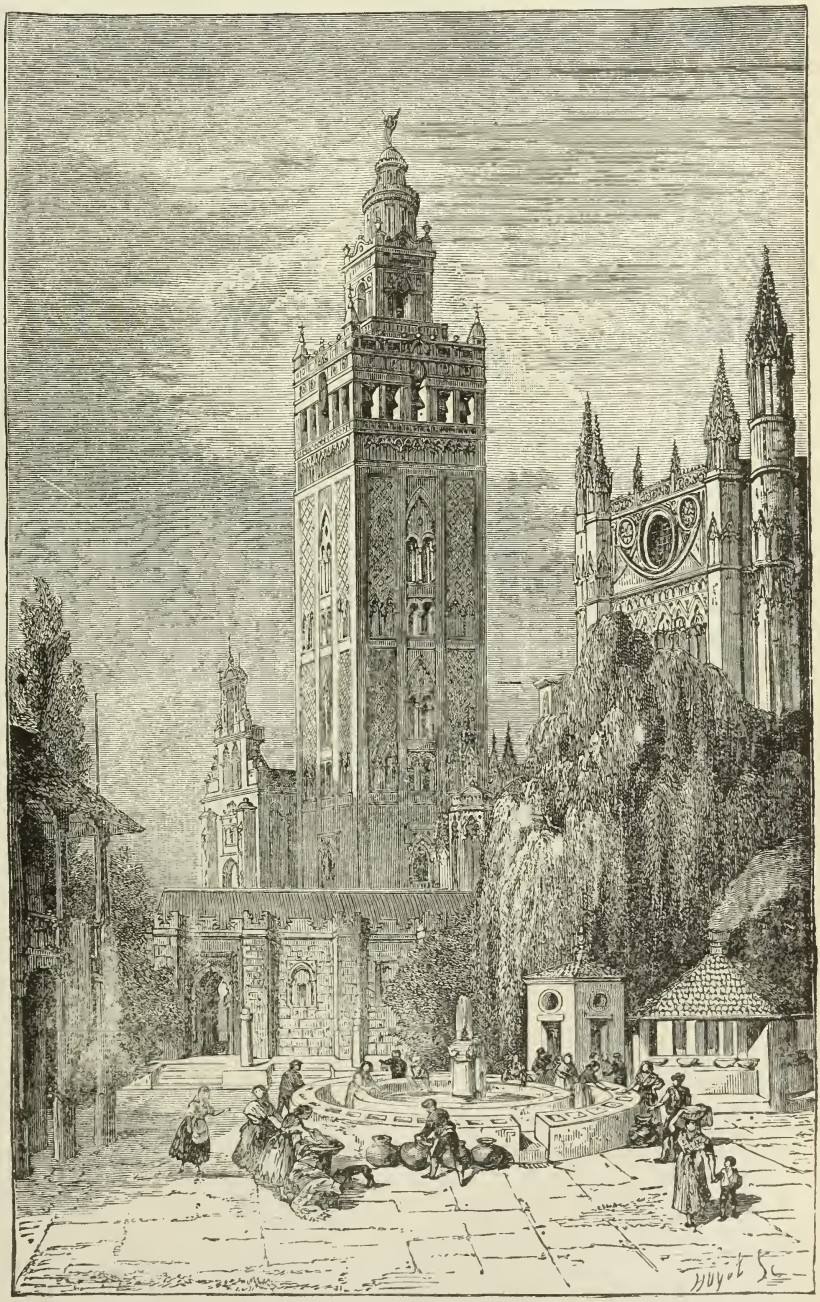


HALL OF THE ABENCERRAGES, ALHAMBRA.

In other parts of the Caliphate the glories of Mohammedan civilization were displayed in almost equal splendor. For more than five centuries the city of Seville revealed in her progress and adornments the energies and genius of Islam. The population rose to three hundred thousand souls. Perhaps no tower in all the Moslem empires surpassed in grandeur the GIRALDA of Seville, from whose summit the muezzin was wont to call to prayer the followers of the Prophet. This noble

structure was two hundred and fifty feet in height, and illustrated the beauties of arabesque architecture in its best estate. Of the other edifices of the city the most noted was the famous Moorish castle called the ALCAZAR, which was the residence of the prince of the city, and was in many respects equal in architectural excellence to the Alhambra itself.

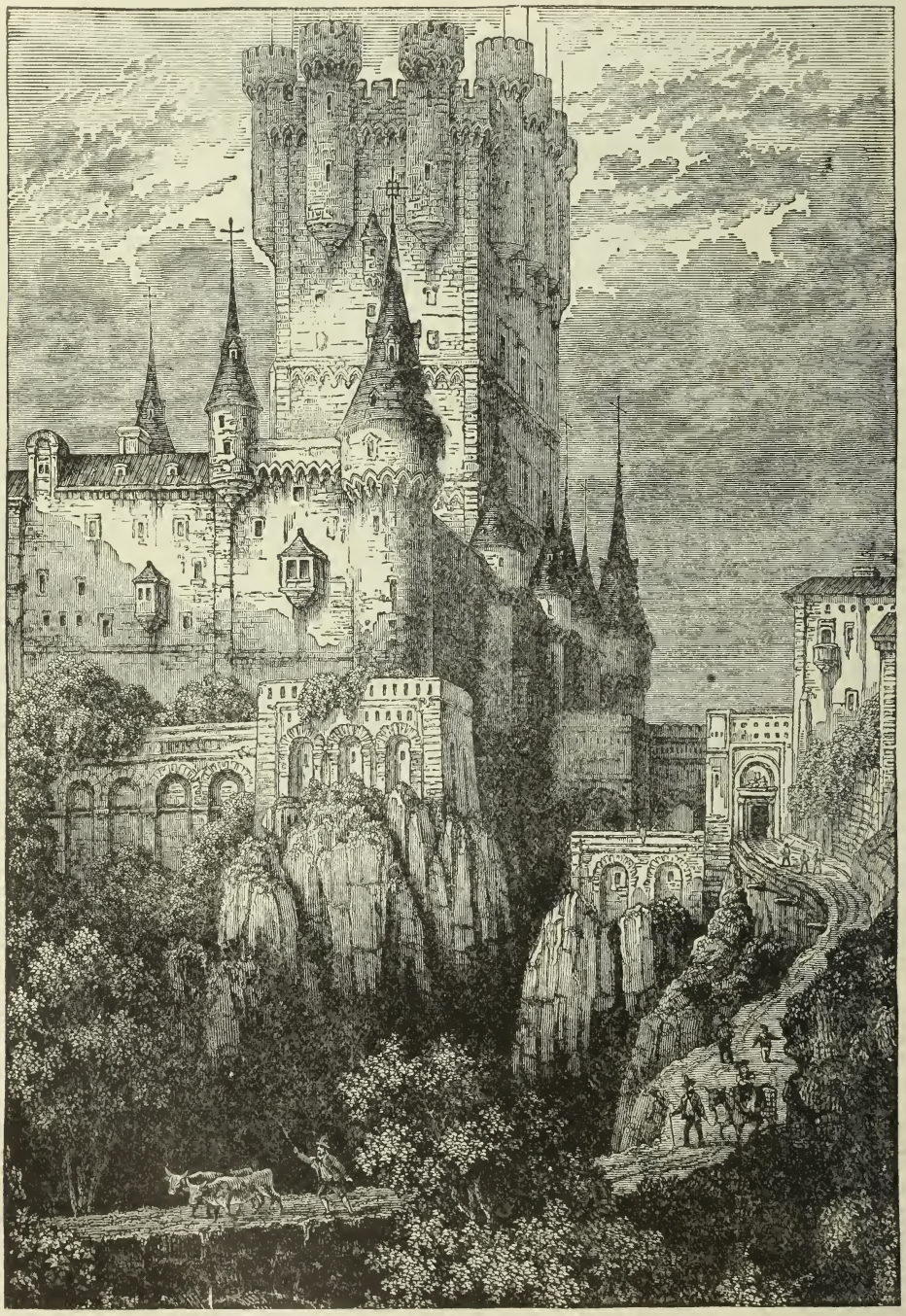
While the greater part of Spain was thus dominated by the Moors, the Christians still maintained their hold in the north-western part of the peninsula. The kings of Leon and Castile, during the eleventh century made some valorous attempts to advance their frontiers and to reëstablish the Cross. Of these sovereigns the most distinguished were Sancho II. and his brother Alphonso. To this epoch belonged the exploits of the hero, RODRIGO DIAZ, commonly known as the CID, the most valorous Christian warrior of his time. In the country below the Pyrenees he was, for a season, a sort of Richard Lion Heart, whose battle-axe was well-nigh as terrible to the Moors as was that of Plantagenet in Palestine. He made war in the name of his sovereign against the Arab governors of Spain, and marked his way with havoc. He overthrew the Kadi of Valencia, took the province for his own, and, if tradition may be believed, gave orders that his captive adversary should suffer death by fire. Scarcely less famous was his wife, the Princess Donna Ximena, who accompanied him on his expeditions, and was, after his death, his successor in the palace of Valencia.



THE GIRALDA OF SEVILLE.

Such in brief is a sketch in outline of the character and progress of the Mohammedan

states during the Middle Ages. Let us now, before beginning a history of the Crusades, consider in a few brief paragraphs the rise and early development of the kingdoms of Northern Europe.



THE ALCAZAR OF SEVILLE.

Among the earliest of the Northern states to make some progress toward the civilized condition was the peninsular and insular kingdom of DENMARK. The earliest of the population of this region appear to have been the Cimbri, who held the country as early as the close of the second century. This race, however, was afterwards overrun by the Goths, who gained possession of Jutland shortly after

the downfall of the Western Empire of the Romans. The great Gothic chieftain Skiold, son of Woden, led his countrymen on this invasion, and became the first king of the country. Denmark remained under Gothic auspices through the sixth and seventh centuries, and



THE CID ORDERS THE EXECUTION OF THE KADI.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

it was during this period that the national character was differentiated from that of the other Teutonic tribes. The people became *Danes*, the fathers of the Northmen who in the ninth century, jostled from their native seats by the fierce and long-continued wars waged by Charlemagne upon the Northern nations, took to the sea in their pagan barges, became pirates and hunters of men, and made all Western Europe red by night with the glare of their burnings. They fell upon England and gained possession of the island, proving themselves the equals, if not the superiors, of the warlike Anglo-Saxons. In the ninth century the different states of Denmark were consolidated into a single monarchy. In the year 1000 Norway was added to the kingdom, and in 1013 the greater part of England was gained by the conquests of Sweyn. Three years afterwards Canute the Great reigned over the entire Island, as well as his paternal kingdom. It was at this epoch that Christianity was carried by the missionaries to the Danes, who were finally induced to abandon paganism.

About the time of the political separation of England and Denmark in 1042 the influence of the latter kingdom among the Northern nations somewhat declined. Gradually the Feudal system made its way to the North, and the political power of Denmark underwent the same process of dissolution by which Germany, France, and England were transformed into a new condition. The Danish barons quarreled with their sovereign, went to war, and gained the same sort of independence which the nobles of the South attained under the Capetian kings. Not until 1387 did Queen Margaret, called the Semiramis of the North, arise, and, by the union of Denmark and Norway, restore the old-time prerogatives of the crown. As the widow of Haco, daughter of Waldemar III., and descendant of Canute the Great, she claimed the triple crown of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; and these three powers were united under her sway by the Treaty of Calmar in 1397.

The kingdom of Norway has the same mythical origin with that of Denmark. Prior to the seventh century, the history of the country rests wholly on myth and tradition. The first kings were reputed to be the descendants of Woden, the first of the line bearing the name of Sœming. After him came Nor, out of Finland, and established himself on the site of the modern city of Drontheim. From this foothold, gained in the fourth century, he made war upon the neighboring tribes and reduced them to submission. Not, however, until the middle of the ninth century do we come to the actual dawn of Norwegian history. The great Harold Harfager, or the Fair Hair, came to the throne and reduced the petty chieftains of the country to submission. Love was the impelling motive of his conquests. For the beautiful Gyda, daughter of the Earl of Hardaland, vowed to wed him not until he had make himself king of all Norway. The Norse noblemen whom he overthrew took to sea and found in the exhilarating pursuits of piracy an oblivion for their losses. After Harfager, his son Haco, surnamed the Good, who had been educated at the court of Athelstane, king of England, reigned in his father's stead. Under his patronage the Christian monks traversed Norway, and the strongholds of paganism yielded under the influence of their teachings. Olaf I. came to the throne in the year 995, and continued the work begun by the monks. Pagan temples were destroyed, and churches built on their ashes.

This king also laid the foundations of Drontheim, which soon became the most flourishing of the Norwegian cities. Under Olaf, Denmark and Norway were involved in war. The king of the latter country was killed in battle, and Norway was overrun by the Swedes and Danes. In 1015 King Olaf II. signalized his zeal for the new faith by a bitter persecution of the pagans. Thirteen years later, Canute the Great landed on the Norwegian coast, dethroned and defeated Olaf, and was himself chosen king of the country. In 1030 the deposed king attempted to regain the throne, but was overthrown and slain in the battle of Stikklestad. The national cause, however, was revived by Magnus I., son of Olaf II., who succeeded in driving Sweyn, the successor of Canute, out of the kingdom. In 1047 Harold III., surnamed Hardrada, made an invasion of England, where he captured York, but was afterwards defeated and killed in the battle of Stamford Bridge. During the reign of his grandson Magnus III. (1093–

1103), the Isle of Man, the Shetlands, the Orkneys, and the Hebrides were overrun by the Danes. Ireland was invaded, and there Magnus was slain in battle. His son Sigurd I. became the Scandinavian hero of the Crusades, and his exploits against the Moors in Spain, as well as in Palestine, were the subject of many an epic ballad of the North.

Of the primitive history of SWEDEN but few authentic scraps have been preserved. Tradition relates that, when Woden with an army of Swedes entered the country, he found it already in possession of the Goths, who had previously expelled the Lapps and Finns. At the first Woden ruled over only the central portion, but under his successors the remainder was conquered before the eighth century. As early as 829, Ansgar, a monk of Corbie, visited Sweden, and made the first converts to Christianity. Paganism, however, held its ground for more than a century, and it was not until the reign of Olaf Skotkonung that a regular bishopric was established at Skara.

When the Swedes took possession of the land to which they gave their name, the Goths were permitted to remain in the country. No union, however, was for many centuries effected between the two races, and innumerable feuds and frequent civil wars fill up the annals of the times. It was not until the accession of Waldemar, in the year 1250, that a political union was accomplished between the hostile peoples.

The authentic history of RUSSIA begins at a period somewhat later than that of the Scandinavian nations. There is a sense, however, in which the statement may be reversed, for the tribes inhabiting the vast region now included under the name of Russia were better known to the Greeks and Romans than were those of the Baltic provinces. The names Scythian and Sarmatian are sufficiently familiar as the tribal epithets by which the peoples of the great north-eastern steppes were designated.

During the great ethnic movements of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries Russia was the principal field on which and over which the powerful nations of Goths, Alans, Huns, Avars, and Bulgarians marshaled their hosts for the subjugation of the West. At a later period the *Slavonic* tribes first appeared on the scene—unless, indeed, these were the descendants of the ancient Sarmatians. Their first impact was upon the Finns, whom they drove from their native seats. Many, however, remained, and were blended with the dominant Slavs. From this union and amalgamation sprang the modern Russians.

Soon after the Slavic tribes gained the ascendency they founded the towns of Novgorod and Kiev, which became the capitals of the two divisions of the country. In the course of a century the former principality was invaded by the Rus out of the North, and both Slavs and Finns were reduced to a tributary relation. Several times the Slavic tribes revolted; but finally, despairing of success, they invited the great Rus prince, RURIC, to come to Novgorod and be their king. In the year 862 he came with his brothers Sinaf and Truver, and then and there was founded the Russian Empire.



RURIC THE GREAT.

From this time until nearly the middle of the eleventh century the family of Ruric occupied the throne. On the death of the great

chieftain, in 879, the succession passed to his cousin Oleg, who reigned for twenty-three years. During this time the principality of Kiev was conquered and added to that of Novgorod. The Khazars between the Dnieper and the Caspian were also subdued, and the Magyars were driven out of Russia in the direction of Hungary. Oleg next made war on the Byzantine Empire, and pressed upon the Greeks with such force that in 911 the Emperor was obliged to consent



VLADIMIR.

to a peace in every way advantageous to the Rus.

After the death of Oleg, in the following year, Igor, son of Ruric, came to the throne, and reigned for thirty-three years. His career was that of a warrior. He first put down a revolt of the Drevlians on the Pripet, and then vanquished the Petchenegs, who had their seats on the shores of the Black Sea. Afterwards, in 941, he engaged in a war with the Greek Emperor, but was less successful than his predecessor. In a second conflict with the Drevlians he was defeated and slain, and the crown passed to his son Sviatoslav, under the regency of Olga, his mother. This princess became a convert to Christianity, and the new faith gained a footing at Kiev.

The Emperor, however, remained a pagan, and devoted himself to war. He made campaigns against the same nations that had felt the sword of his father and grandfather. The Bulgarians also were at one time his enemies, and were defeated in battle. While returning from an unsuccessful expedition against the Greeks of Constantinople Sviatoslav was attacked and killed by the Petchenegs, through whose country he was passing. On his death, in 972. the Empire, which was now extended to the sea of Azov, was divided among his three sons, Yaropolk, Oleg, and Vladimir. The first received Kiev, the second the country of the Drevlians, and the third Novgorod. The brothers soon quarreled and went to war. Oleg was slain and Vladimir fled. Yaropolk gained possession of the whole country, but Vladimir gathered the Rus tribes to his standard, returned against his brother, put him to death, and secured the Empire for himself. He then conquered Red Russia, Lithuania, and Livonia. He became a Christian, married the sister of the Greek Emperor, and received the title of the Great. Under his influence and example Russia turned from paganism to Christianity. Churches rose on every hand; schools were founded, and new cities gave token that the night of barbarism was lifting from the great power of the North.

Vladimir left twelve sons to contend for the crown. On his death civil war broke out among them, and several of the claimants were slain. At length Sviatopolk, son of Yaropolk, himself an adopted son of Vladimir, hewed his way to the throne over the bodies of three of his foster brothers. Yaroslav, one of the surviving sons of the late Emperor, allied himself with Henry II. of Germany and returned to the contest. The struggle continued until 1019, when a decisive battle was fought, in which Sviatopolk was signally defeated. He fled from the field and died on his way to Poland. After this crisis the Empire was divided between Yaroslav and Metislav, but the latter presently died, and the former became sole ruler of Russia.

To this epoch belong the beginnings of art

and learning in the Northern Empire. The works of the Greeks began to be translated into Slavic. Learned institutions were founded in various cities, and scholars were patronized and honored. The Russian customs and usages were compiled into a code of laws, and amicable relations were established with foreign states. Three of the daughters of Yaroslav were taken in marriage by the kings of Norway, Hungary, and France—a clear recognition of the rank of the new Russian Empire among the kingdoms of the earth.

In the year 1051 Yaroslav established the succession on his son Izaslav, but portions of the Empire were to go to the three brothers of the heir expectant. They were to acknowledge the eldest as their sovereign. In the same year the Emperor died, and the four brothers took the inheritance. The result was that the unity of the Empire was broken. Each of the rulers became independent; the feudal principle came in, and Russia was reduced to a confederation. Thus weakened, the frontiers were successfully assailed by the Poles, Lithuanians, Danes, and Teutonic barons. Such was the condition of affairs when Europe forgot her own turmoils and sorrows in a common animosity against the Infidels of the East.

In close ethnic affinity with the Russians were the primitive Slavic tribes of POLAND. Of these peoples the most numerous and powerful were the Polans, who ultimately gave a name to the amalgamated race. The mythical hero of this branch of European population was Prince Lech, brother to Rus and Czech, so that tradition as well as history associates the Poles and the Russians. Another fabulous leader was Krakus, the reputed founder of Cracow. The first historical ruler of Poland was Ziemowit, who was elected king in 860.

But the annals of the first century of Poland are very obscure, and it is not until 962 that we reach the solid ground of authenticity with the accession of Miecislas I. This prince took in marriage a Bohemian princess, by whom he was induced to become a Christian and to urge upon his people the abandonment of paganism. In common with so many other rulers of his times he adopted the fatal policy of dividing his kingdom among his sons. Civil wars and turmoils ensued until what time Boleslas, the eldest of the claimants, subdued his brothers and regained the sovereignty of all Poland. He received the surname of the Brave, and vindicated his title by successful wars beyond the Oder, the Dneister, and the Carpathian mountains. His right to reign was acknowledged by the Emperor Otho III., but at a later date he engaged in war with Otho's successor, Henry II. Afterwards he was called into Russia as arbi-



YAROSLAV.

ter between Novgorod and Kiev. In the civil administration he was still more successful than in war. He encouraged the industrial and commercial enterprises of the kingdom and promoted the cause of learning. He held his turbulent subjects with a strong hand and administered justice with impartiality. He assumed the state of a king, and had himself crowned by the Christian bishops. On his death, in the year 1025, the Polish crown descended peaceably to his son Miecislas II., whose brief reign was followed by the regency of his widow Rixa; for the Prince Casimir, her son, was not yet old enough to assume

the duties of the government. The regency went badly, but when Casimir arrived at the regal age he took upon himself the crown and gained the sobriquet of the Restorer.

In the year 1058 the Polish king died, and was succeeded by his son Boleslas II., who reigned for twenty-three years. Soon after his accession he became involved in a war with the Bohemians, over whom he gained a decisive victory. Afterwards he was summoned into Hungary to decide a dispute relative to the crown of that country, and a like mission to Kiev was successfully accomplished. Ruturning from that city he acquired in his own government the reputation of a tyrant. At last he filled the cup of public indignation by slaying St. Stanislas, bishop of Cracow, who had reprimanded him for some of his acts. He was driven from the throne, and in 1081 died in exile. His half-imbecile brother, Ladislas Herman, succeeded to the crown of Poland, wore it for a season, and then abdicated to accept the less dangerous distinction of a dukedom.—Such was the condition of Polish affairs when Urban II., pursuing the policy of Gregory the Great, summoned the council of Clermont and exhorted all Christendom to lift the Cross against the Crescent.



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Painted by Gustave Dore. Etched by G. Y. Turner.

SALADIN.

Book Fifteenth.

THE CRUSADES.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.—THE UPRISING OF EUROPE.

THAT great movement of mediæval society known as the CRUSADES was *the first European event.* That is, the agitation involved all Europe, territorially, socially, religiously, politically. Hitherto the various enterprises which had filled the annals of the West since the subversion of the Roman Empire had lacked the general character. They had been local—peculiar to some particular state or nation. At last the time arrived when every people west of the Bosphorus was moved by a common sentiment, impelled to action by a common motive. As far as the Cross was adored, as far as the Crescent was hated, so far was the proclamation heeded which called all christendom to unsheath the avenging sword against the Infidels.

Not only were the Crusades a European event—the first of modern times—but they were the first *national* event in the several states of the West. The condition of Europe during the Feudal Ascendency has already been delineated. Continental unity had been a delusive dream of Charlemagne. National unity was a vision, a hope, rather than a reality. Europe parted into kingdoms; kingdoms, into dukedoms; dukedoms, into counties; counties, into petty fiefs. The dissolution was universal. Common interests ceased. Anything that might properly be defined as national or European was impossible. The break-up was to the very bottom of the social fabric.

Even in the darkest age of the world there is something in the nature of man which revives, expands, develops. So it was in the time of the feudal dissolution of society. Humanity made sufficient progress to demand a common interest. Only the cause, the occasion, was wanting to call together the discordant and belligerent elements and unite them in a universal enterprise.

An outrage—a series of outrages—done to the religious sentiment of Europe furnished the opportunity and motive of action. Mutual hatred had long existed between the Christians and the Mohammedans. The latter aforetime had done incalculable damage to the prospects of the Cross. All that the missionaries and evangelists had accomplished in Arabia, Abyssinia, Egypt, and Northern

Africa, had been eradicated by the followers of the Prophet. The triumphant Crescent was carried into Spain, and the Christian kingdom of the Visigoths went down before it. The system of Christianity seemed on the verge of extinction. Only Martel and his line of battle-axes stood between the tottering Cross and apparent doom.

When at last the tide rolled back and the Pyrenees became the *Thus far* to Islam, a deep-seated resentment took possession of the mind of Barbarian Europe. An instinct of revenge postponed lay deep in the sea-bed of European purpose. The West said in her heart, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay." When with the coming of the eleventh century the prophetic *Dies Iræ* went by, and the Christians came to see that the drama of the world was not yet ended, the recollection of the old feud with the Mohammedans came back with redoubled violence. Europe—she that trembled under the shadow of impending fate—found time and occasion to gratify her passions and animosities as of old.

All ages and peoples have had their scapegoats. The meanness and barbaric gloom of human nature have always found something which they might rend and tear with popular approval. The eleventh century discovered its common enemy in the Infidel Turk. In him were concentrated all the objective conditions of hatred. To destroy him and eradicate his stock from the earth was the one work worthy of the praise of man and the favor of heaven.

The thoughtful reader of the preceding pages will already have discovered the antecedent conditions or causes of the Crusades. The most general of these was the long-suspended reäction of Christian Europe against Mohammedan Asia. In the eighth century Islam struck the West a staggering blow. As a result of the conquests of Taric and Abdalrahman, Spain was severed from her natural affinities and brought into relations with the Asiatic states. The Spanish Crescent continued for centuries a flaunting menace to the followers of Christ. The movement of the Mohammedans westward through Africa and northward into Europe in the eighth century was answered by the counter-movement of the Christians eastward through Europe and into Asia in the eleventh. The sword of the living Godfrey was crossed with that of the dead Taric.

The more immediate and specific causes of the uprising of the Christians against the Infidels were to be found in the condition of affairs in the Holy Land. About the year 1050 the great sultan Togrul Beg, grandson of that Seljuk who gave his name to one division of the Turkish race, came out of the Northeast, overran Khorassan and other provinces of Persia, and in 1055 took possession of Bhagdad. His apparition, however, was that of a revolutionist rather than a conqueror. He and his followers were already disciples of Islam, and on assuming authority in the Eastern Caliphate he took the usual title of Commander of the Faithful. In 1063 he died and was succeeded by his equally famous nephew Alp Arslan, or the Valiant Lion. He continued the warlike policy of his predecessor, drove back the Byzantine Greeks, and captured the Emperor, Romanus Diogenes. He carried his victoriôus arms from Antioch to the Black Sea, and then turning about planned an expedition against Turkestan, the native seat of his race. Having crossed the Oxus and taken the first fortress in his route, he was assassinated by the governor of the town. The sultanate passed to his son Malek Shah, who transferred the capital of the East to Ispahan. Renewing the unfinished enterprise of his father and grandfather, he extended the Seljukian dominion from the borders of China to the Bosphorus.

In the course of these triumphant campaigns of the Seljuks they came upon Palestine. This province was at the time an appanage of the Caliphate of Cairo, now under the rule of those wild-mannered African Fatimites, successors of Abu Obsidallah. About the year 1076 Jerusalem was taken by the Turks, and the Fatimite governors were obliged to retire into Egypt. The Holy City fell under the dominion of the viceroys of Malek Shah, who instituted a high revel of violence and outrage against both Christians and Arabs.

For many years the fanatic religious sentiment of the West had prescribed a pilgrimage to some holy place as the best balm for an inflamed conscience. The morbid soul of


MAP XII.
CHRISTIAN KINGDOMS
IN THE EAST.
By A. von Steinwehr.
From Thalheimer's Mediæval and Modern History, by permission.
Scale
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 Mls.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ARABIA
EGYPT
KDM. CYPRUS
KDM. ARMENIA
KDM. CONIA
KDM. EDESSA
KDM. ANTIOCH
KDM. TRIPOLIS
KDM. JERUSALEM
Smyrna
I. Samos
Aidin
R. Mæander
Mendres R.
Milasa
Mughla
Isbarta
Buldur
Iconium
L. Tuz
Mt. Hassan
Beischer
Eregli
Mt. Kara
Karaman
Jaxartes R.
Geremi R.
Makry
Elmaly
Attalia
Ermenek
Mut
Selencia or Selefkeh
C. Chelidonia
Celindria
I. Rhodes
I. Karpatho
Tarsus
Adana
Jihun or Pyramus R.
Sihun R.
Manistra
Amanus Mts.
Antitaurus Mts.
Taurus Mts.
Merash
Rum Kaleh
Aintab
Malatia
Diarbekr
Euphrates R.
Samosata
Edessa
Harran
Membidsh (Hierapolis)
Iskandrium or Alexandrette
Ifrin R.
Antioch
Aleppo
Orontes R.
Rakka
Belik R.
Laodicaea
Afrin R.
Apamea
Hamath
Ishmaelites
Tortosa (Tartus)
Emessa (Ems)
Tripolis (Tarabulus)
Nicosia
Famagusta
Limisso
Lebanon Mts.
Anti-Lebanon Mts.
Baalbek
Beirut
Damascus
Sidon
Ghutah
Leontes R.
Tyre
Mt. Hermon
Banias
Acre
Nazareth
Tiberias
Mt. Hauran
Baisan
Gerasa
Naplus or Nabulus
Jaffa or Joppe
Jordan R.
Mt. Gilead
Azotus
Jericho (Er Riha)
Ascalon
Bethlehem
JERUSALEM
Gaza
Hebron
Dead Sea
Rosette or Rashid
Alexandria
Damietta or Damiat
Massourah
El Arish

the Western Frank saw in the sandal-shoon and scallop-shell of the pilgrim the emblems and passport of a better life. He who had sinned, he who had consumed his youth in lawlessness and passion, he who had in his manhood done some bloody deed for which he was haunted by specters, he who had forgotten the ties of kindred and stopped his ears to the entreaties of the weak, must ere the twilight faded into darkness find peace and reconciliation by throwing off the insignia of human power and folly and going barefoot to the holy places of the East. And what other spot so sacred, so meritorious, as the scene of the crucifixion and burial of Christ?

Pilgrimages abounded. The paths of Asia Minor were thronged with those who made their way to and from the Holy Sepulcher. Around that Tomb of tombs knelt the devout believers from every state of christendom. Jerusalem was the Mecca of Europe. What, therefore, was the horror of the followers of Christ when the news was borne abroad that the Seljuk dogs, who had supplanted the Fatimites in the Holy City, were spurning and spitting upon the lowly at the very tomb of their Lord?—Such was the condition of affairs in Palestine as the eleventh gloomy century of our era drew to its dreary close.

Great was the terror inspired in the Byzantine emperors by the conquests of the Turks. Alp Arslan had waved his defiant banners almost in sight of Constantinople. The degenerate successors of the Cæsars quaked in their capital. In their agitation they looked abroad for help. Could they induce the barbarous West to come to their rescue? Would the successor of St. Peter heed their cry? Perhaps if the Pope were allured with the prospect of gaining an unquestioned recognition as the head of christendom—even of Eastern christendom—he would call the Italians, the Franks, the Germans, to the defense of the capital of the East. Such were the sentiments which moved the Greek Emperor to send an embassy to Gregory VII., and to implore that ambitious potentate to rally the armies of Europe against the Infidels.

Meanwhile the pious monk of Savona, Peter of Picardy, came home from Palestine, reciting with fervid and pathetic eloquence the story of the intolerable outrages to which the Christian pilgrims were subjected. He himself had received brutal insults at the hands of the savage Turks. Into his ears the venerable patriarch of Jerusalem had poured a tale of horror. Christ was put to shame. His name was blasphemed. His lowly children were beaten, mocked, trampled under foot by the base and bloody-minded followers of the false Prophet. Under this recital Europe began to quake with the premonitory shudder of the great upheaval. In this condition of affairs the Greek Emperor saw the prospect of rescue and support. Urban II. saw the way open by which he was to confound his enemies and carry forward the ambitious plans of his great predecessor. The secular rulers of Europe saw an opportunity to recover from the feudal barons the lost prerogatives of royalty. The priests and bishops saw the promotion and glory of the Church; and the ignorant zealot saw in the gore of the Moslems smeared on sword-blade and Cross the element of purification and peace.

The council of Piacenza, held in the summer of 1095, was quickly followed by that of Clermont. Meanwhile Peter the Hermit had gone from town to town, from church to church, preaching the holy war. France took fire. The feudal settlements were all ablaze. Lord, retainer, and peasant all caught the spirit of the inflammatory appeal. Crowds followed at the Hermit's heels. They bowed down and kissed the hem of his garment. They plucked hairs as precious mementos *from the mane of his mule!* His fame spread throughout the continent, and even in insular England the barons of William Rufus shared the excitement of their friends in Normandy.

When the time came for the great council convened by the Pope, Clermont was like a vast camp. Three hundred bishops were present. Thousands of priests flocked to the assembly. Multitudes gathered from all the surrounding states. Pope Urban braved the cold and fatigue of a journey across the Alps, and came in person to preside over the council. Princes, prelates, and ambassadors thronged to the scene, and caught the common spirit. The messages from Alexius, Emperor of the East, were read to the multitude. The Pope was warned of the peril to Constantinople, and of

the incalculable loss to Christendom if that city should fall into the hands of the Turks. The secular princes were exhorted to rise for the sake of the Cross, for the sake of the rich rewards which the Emperor was able to bestow, and for the sake of Greek women whose charms would be freely yielded to those who became their champions against the infidel dogs of Asia.

On the tenth day of the council the meeting was held in the great square of Clermont. The Pope, accompanied by the cardinals and Peter the Hermit, ascended a throne and made a pathetic address to the people. His Holiness said:

"Christian warriors, rejoice! for you who without ceasing seek vain pretext for war have to-day found true ones. You are not now called to avenge the injuries of men, but injuries offered to God. It is not now a town or castle that will reward your valor, but the wealth of Asia, and a land flowing with milk and honey. If you triumph over your foes the kingdoms of the East will be your heritage. If you are conquered you will have the glory of dying where Christ died. This is the time to prove that you are animated by a true courage, and to expiate so many violences committed in the bosom of peace. When Christ summons you to his defense let no base affections detain you at home. Listen to nothing but the groans of Jerusalem, and remember that the Lord has said, 'He that will not take up his cross and follow me, is unworthy of me.' Gird your swords to your thighs, ye men of might. It is our part to pray, yours to do battle; ours—with Moses—to hold up unwearied hands, yours to stretch forth the sword against the children of Amalek."

Then it was that the surging mass arose in their enthusiastic rage, and the loud cry of *Dieu le Veut! Dieu le Veut!* resounded like the voice of many waters. "God indeed wills it," responded the Pope. "Go forth, brave warriors of the Cross, and let 'God wills it' be your watchword and battle-cry in the holy war." Such was the tumultuous scene in which the Crusades were first formally proclaimed.

As soon as the loud cry of *Dieu le Veut* was hushed at a gesture from the Pope, one of the cardinals arose and pronounced a form of confession for all those who would enlist in the holy enterprise. Thereupon, Adhemar, bishop of Puy, came forward and received from the hands of Urban one of the red crosses which had been consecrated for the occasion. Knights and barons crowded around the seat of his Holiness to receive the sacred badge and to take the oath of loyalty to Christ. The cross of red cloth was then stitched upon the right shoulder of the mantle, and the wearer became a soldier of the Cross—a *Crusader*.[1]

As soon as the council of Clermont was dissolved those who had participated in its proceedings dispersed to their several provinces to rouse the people and to prepare for the advance on Palestine. Everywhere they were received with applause and enthusiasm. Urban II. traversed France, and the people gathered from far and wide to hear the story of the sorrows of Jerusalem. Already France resounded with the din of preparation. Men of every rank assumed the cross and demanded to be led against the defilers of the Holy Sepulcher. The more ignorant classes were profoundly agitated. The peasants surged to and fro and could scarcely be restrained from setting out in the dead of winter. Many of the nobles felt the spell and eagerly prepared for an expedition to the East. In order to secure the means of raising and equipping forces they borrowed money and mortgaged their estates. Men were thus enlisted and furnished, and by the beginning of 1096 a large army was gathered for the holy war.

From Scandinavia to the Mediterranean the Crusade was preached with a fiery zeal that kindled a flame in every village. In accordance with a canon of the Council of Clermont the taking of the cross was to be accepted in lieu of all the penances due to the church. The license thus granted was in the nature of a plenary indulgence and became one of the most powerful incitements to the cause. The peasant mind of Europe, long galled by ecclesiastical restraint, fired with the prospect of liberation, and the nobles were not proof against the same seductive motive. The bits were suddenly taken out of the mouth of Rapine, and the old pirate came up serenely with the red cross on his shoulder. All the warlike lusts of the age were set at liberty under the sanction of religion and retributive

[1] The word crusade is derived from the French *croisade*, "a holy war," from *croix*, a "cross."

justice. The extravagant imaginations of traders and pilgrims painted in glowing colors the exhaustless treasures and rich provinces of the opulent East, and to win these from the infidel Asiatics seemed to be the natural reward of all who would assume the cross.



PREACHING THE CRUSADE.—"DIEU LE VEUT!"
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

The clergy were in the heyday of fanatical glory. All the world swayed to and fro under the magical scepter of Christ. The monks found a good excuse to leave their cloisters and share in the common activities of life. They beheld all the offices of religion suddenly elevated to a new respect and dignity. They saw themselves become the leaders of society, looked to as the arbiters of the common fate.

To no class did the crusade promise a fairer prospect than to the toil-burdened peasantry. To them it was an escape from bondage and oppression. Those who were in debt gladly threw off the burden by assuming the cross. The creditor might no longer menace or disturb those who had become the soldiers of Christ. Offenders and criminals also found the day auspicious. No prison wall might any longer restrain him who took the sword against the Infidel. Over the thief and the murderer on whose right shoulders appeared the sacred emblem of the holy war the church threw the ægis of her protection. All manner of crime was to be washed white in the blood of the sacrilegious Turks.

In the midst of the excitement of these scenes the Italian merchants began to build up a profitable commerce. It was necessary that Europe should be furnished the means of arming herself for the fray, and of supplying her armies with provisions for the war. Perhaps, of all the classes of society, the traders gained the most solid and permanent advantages from the great commotion. They became the factors and carriers of the time, and in many instances furnished the money with which the lords and vassals armed themselves and their retainers. From the very first a certain advantage was thus gained by the merchants and townspeople over the owners of estates and country folk, who became indebted to them for the means of joining the army of Crusaders.

The actual number of those who from the various ranks of society sprang up as if by a common impulse, took on the cross, and rallied at the call of Peter and his fellow apostles, can never be authentically ascertained. Certain it is that all Europe seemed to rise as if by a common impulse. By one of the ancient chroniclers the estimate is placed at six millions of persons. In an age when no authentic records were kept, every thing was left to conjecture, but it is probable that after making due allowances for various delays and for the influence of returning reason, and for the thousand accidental causes which would operate to reduce the host, the number was not much short of that given above. For awhile it appeared that all Europe would be depopulated.

The eastern frontiers of France became the scene of the gathering. There Peter the Hermit, as the chief promoter of the enterprise, assumed the leadership of the host. Without adequate preparation, without suitable arms, without any appreciation of the dangers and difficulties to be encountered, the vast and tumultuous throng swept out of France and into Germany. The great sea of angry and excited humanity overflowed the ordinary routes of travel, and spread devastation on every hand. The means of subsistence were quickly exhausted, and the multitudes began to prey on the countries through which they traversed. They swept on through the German territories like an army of devouring locusts, until through sheer waste of resources they were obliged to divide into smaller masses.

One band numbering about twenty thousand, commanded by Walter the Penniless, of Burgundy, pressed forward through Hungary and Bulgaria in the direction of Constantinople. It is said of this advanced host that there were only eight horsemen in the whole number. The rest of the wretched mob proceeded on foot, generally marching without shoes and hundreds falling by the wayside through exposure, disease, and famine. Nothing but the tolerance and friendly disposition of Carloman, king of the Hungarians, saved the miserable vanguard from entire destruction. In Bulgaria, however, the lieutenant of the Eastern Emperor looked with less favor upon the lawless horde that had been precipitated into his kingdom. The Crusaders were quickly cut off from supplies and were obliged to have recourse to violence, but they now found themselves opposed by a race as savage as themselves.

The Bulgarians took up arms to defend their country from destruction. The track of Walter and his army was marked with blood and fire. The Crusaders were cut off day by

day until at the confines of the country only Walter and a few followers remained to make their way through the forests to Constantinople.

Meanwhile the second division of the host, numbering about forty thousand men, women, and children, under the command of Peter the Hermit himself, pressed on in the same direction taken by Walter. Their march was promoted through Hungary by the favor of king and people. The wants of the vast multitude were supplied, and friendly relations were maintained, as far as the city of Zemlin. Here on the walls were displayed some of the spoils which had been taken two months previously from Walter and his savages. On seeing these tokens of their friends' overthrow the Crusaders broke into ungovernable rage, and fell furiously upon the offending city. The ramparts were scaled, thousands of the people were butchered, and Zemlin suffered all the horrors of pillage and burning.

These atrocious proceedings aroused the anger even of King Carloman. He quickly gathered an army, and marched against the despoilers of his city. At his approach the Crusaders hastily withdrew from Zemlin, and made their escape by crossing the river Save. On the opposite bank, however, they were furiously attacked by the wild Bulgarians, who had gathered to dispute their passage. The savage people were driven back by the desperate Crusaders, who, though they thus forced a way before them, found solitude on every hand. The Bulgarians withdrew into their fastnesses or shut themselves in fortified towns, from which they could not be dislodged. Peter and his followers were thus left to the mercy of the elements, and were reduced to the necessity of purchasing supplies from the Imperial officers who commanded the towers. The feeling between the invaders and the inhabitants became more and more hostile until the people of Hissa, who had been maltreated by the Crusaders, sallied forth and massacred the rear-guard. Hereupon the whole army—if such a name may be applied to an unorganized host—turned about and assailed the city, thinking to renew at Hissa the havoc and spoliation of Zemlin, but the citizens defended themselves with great bravery. The assailants were driven back from the walls and were pursued in a general rout and slaughter, in which it was estimated that ten thousand Crusaders were butchered. Their camp was taken and plundered by the Hissans, and the wretched, half-starved fugitives pressed on in the direction of Constantinople.

Meanwhile the Emperor Alexius began to exert his influence to save the remnant of the Crusaders from destruction. A few of the vanguard under the leadership of Walter the Penniless had already reached the Eastern capital. Those who survived of Peter's division were now received in the city, and their wants were supplied from the Imperial storehouses. Such was the desperate character, however, of the abandoned and licentious rabble that nothing could restrain them from outraging and plundering their protectors. Their presence in the city became intolerable, and the Emperor gladly acceded to their request to be transported into Asia. The ragged and desperate fanatics were accordingly taken on ship-board and carried across the Bosphorus into Asia Minor; but no sooner were they out of sight of the capital than they let loose all their fury upon the unoffending subjects of Alexius. Not Peter himself could prevent the wholesale robbery of the districts through which the Crusaders were passing. After striving in vain to preserve order and moderation in the fanatic herd of his followers he abandoned them to their own will, and returned to Constantinople.

But Walter the Penniless had all the spirit of the turbulent host. When they demanded to be led against the Infidels, he willingly assumed the responsibility of leadership. At this juncture the Crusaders were greatly excited by the report that the city of Nice, capital of the province of Roum, had fallen into the hands of the Christians. Hoping to share the spoils of this important conquest, the multitude rushed blindly into the hostile country, and reached the plain of Nice. Here, however, they received no welcome from Christian allies or signal from Christian banners. On the contrary they were surrounded by an immense army of Turkish cavalry. The Crusaders were now fully gratified with the sight of the Infidels. Walter and his followers fought with desperate courage until they were all, with the exception of about three thousand, hewed down with the cimeters of the Turks. Those who

survived escaped into the Byzantine forest, and made their way back to Constantinople. The triumphant Turks gathered into a huge mound the bones of the dead men of the West, and left the monument, like Tamerlane's pyramid of skulls, a warning to other fanatical hosts to beware of Asia Minor.

Thus did the first two divisions of the crusading host sink into the earth. A third rabble soon followed from Germany. A certain monk named Godeschal, envious of the fame of Peter and Walter, preached the holy war through his native districts, and about fifteen thousand villagers and peasants flocked to his standard. Following the same route which had been taken by the preceding divisions, Godeschal led his followers into Hungary. Carloman, however, had now wearied of casting his pearls before swine, and gave to the German fanatics an inhospitable reception. He adopted the policy of despatching them with all haste through his kingdom. But the lawless multitude was not to be appeased with any thing but violence and rapine. The former scenes of plundering and outrage were renewed until the Hungarians rose in arms, and the king permitted them to do as they would with the invaders. He even went further, and did an act of perfidy in order to free the land from the presence of the hateful horde. When the Germans had gathered before the walls of Belgrade, he induced them with fair promises to lay down their arms, but no sooner had they done so than the inhabitants were let loose upon them, and they were massacred almost to a man.

In the mean time, the fourth and last division of the host gathered on the eastern confines of Germany. Perhaps no other such execrable mass of vile humanity was seen before or since in the world. France sent her thieves; the Rhine provinces, their offscouring; the British Islands, their outlaws; and all the West, her pads and murderers. This delightful army of European refuse heaped up to the number of more than two hundred thousand. A few ignorant nobles with their bands of retainers were merged in the common mass; but when it came to the election of leaders, the choice fell on *a goat and a goose!* These ridiculous creatures were actually set forward as the divinely constituted agents by which the host was to be led to victory over the infidel Turks of Asia!

The result was as revolting as the beginning was abominable. The superstitious horde fell upon the Jewish colonists in the cities of the Rhine and the Moselle, and began to rob and murder. The victims of the atrocity had, under the protection of the barons of the towns, become prosperous and wealthy. This circumstance whetted the appetite of the vile rabble, who pretended to see in the Jews only the enemies of Christ. They proposed to begin the holy war by exterminating the foes of God in Europe before proceeding against those in Asia. The blood of the unoffending Israelites flowed in torrents, and their homes were ravaged and destroyed. In spite of the protests of the Romish Church, under whose call the Crusade had been begun, the Jews were massacred by thousands, and other thousands, in order to save themselves from a worse fate under the brutal swords of their persecutors, threw themselves into the flames or rivers.

When the ruffian host could find no further material for slaughter, the march was resumed from the Rhine to the Danube. The whole route was a scene of barbarous lust and licentiousness. Nothing which native depravity could suggest or sensual fanaticism enforce was omitted to complete the horrors of the advance. The day of judgment, however, at last arrived. On the thither side of the Danube a Hungarian army was drawn up to dispute the progress of the invaders. It was now their turn to feel the edge of a merciless sword. The Hungarian leaders proved to be more than a match for General Goat and General Goose. The immense rabble was hemmed in and beaten back against the river. The tide of the Danube was red with the blood of robbers. The bodies of the slain floated like drift-wood, or choked the channel with a horrid mass of putrefaction. Very few escaped the vengeance of the Hungarians and the engulfing river. It was perhaps the vastest and most salutary execution of criminals ever witnessed within the limits of Europe. Thus perished the fourth and last of those fanatic multitudes that arose at the call of Peter the Hermit. Already more than a quarter of a million of human beings had been swallowed from sight before a regular army could be

equipped and started in the wake of the popular tumult. Not a Christian soldier had thus far penetrated beyond the plain of Nice. Walter the Penniless was dead. The fame of Peter was at a discount, but the fever of Europe was in no wise cooled. It still remained for her soldiery to undertake by regular expeditions what her peasants and monks, her goose and her goat, had failed to accomplish.

In the mean time the secular princes of the West, who had attended the Council of Clermont and assumed the cross, were busily engaged in preparing for the holy war. Among those who were destined to distinguish themselves as crusaders, should be mentioned, first of all, Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorraine. His reputation for piety, learning, and courage was equal to that of the best prince of his age. In his father's house Peter the Hermit had lived before he became a monk. From his mother, who had in her veins the blood of the Carlovingians, Godfrey inherited his dukedom. In early life he took up arms for the Emperor Henry IV. in his war with Hildebrand, and won high distinction as a soldier. In the bloody battle which was fought on the banks of the Elster he had struck down with his own hand that Rodolph of Suabia whom the Pope had invested with the crown of Germany. Afterwards, during the siege of Rome, when the papal banner trailed and Gregory fled for refuge into the castle of St. Angelo, it was Godfrey who, first of all the imperial captains, broke over the ramparts and opened the gates of the city. With the subsequent triumph of the Pope, however, the duke's conscience began to upbraid him for the wicked part he had taken against the Head of the church. Living in his duchy, surrounded with wealth and enjoying a good name, he none the less suffered all the pangs of remorse. How else should he atone for the great sins of his rash youth except by taking the cross and giving his life, if necessary, in recovering the Holy Land from the Infidels?

With no half-hearted purpose did Duke Godfrey become a Crusader. No sacrifices were spared to secure the desired end. He sold or mortgaged all of his castles and estates. He alienated his cities and principalities and gave up his duchy. He laid all on the altar if by any means he might regain the favor of heaven, which he had forfeited by making war on the vicar of Christ. With the money procured by the sale of his vast domains he raised and equipped a magnificent army. Ten thousand knights, the flower of European chivalry, rallied around his banner, while a force of eighty thousand foot made up the body of his forces. His principal officers were his two brothers, Eustace and Baldwin, the former count of Bouillon; his kinsman Baldwin du Bourg, and several other noblemen less conspicuous by their rank and reputation.

In the south of France the men of war were rallied to the cross by Raymond, count of Toulouse. He too was a soldier by profession. He had fought against the Saracens in Spain. He had distinguished himself at the right hand of the Cid. He had wedded the daughter of King Alphonso, and was known as one of the most valiant captains of his times. It was his saying that he had spent his youth fighting the followers of the false Prophet in Europe, and would spend his old age in warring with them in Asia. Already aged, his white locks made a conspicuous sign around which soon was gathered out of Provence and Gascony an army of a hundred thousand men. His principal officer was the Bishop of Puy, who, after the Council of Clermont was made legate of the Pope, and now became a soldier of the cross militant against the Infidels.

While the Crusaders of Lorraine and Provence were thus marshaled by Godfrey and Raymond, Hugh, of Vermandois, brother of King Philip of France, and Robert, Count of Flanders, sounded the call in their respective provinces and armed their several hosts. Stephen, Count of Blois, and Robert, Count of Paris, also rallied their knights and retainers and made ready for the march into Asia. It was at this time that the crusading fervor kindled all Normandy into a glow. The court of Rouen furnished two gallant leaders. These were Robert Short Hose, son of William the Conqueror, and Edgar Atheling, heir of the Saxon line to the throne of England.

The characters and dispositions of both these princes have already been sketched in the preceding book. Such was the improvidence of Robert, and so frequently was he made the

victim of the wiles and cupidity of the hangers-on of his court, that he was many times reduced to a stage of ridiculous poverty. He had in him all the elements of a genuine Crusader—brave, rash, fanatical, impecunious, excluded by his younger brother from the throne



THE FOUR LEADERS OF THE FIRST CRUSADE.—GODFREY, RAYMOND, BŒMUND, TANCRED.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

of England, beset by usurers who demanded their interest and women who wanted presents in exchange for their alleged virtue—he was precisely the sort of a personage who, without inducement to remain at home, might gladly embark in the respectable enterprise of hunting Infidels. Such were the antecedents of that mutually profitable bargain by which Count Robert for the sum of ten thousand marks sold out his duchy of Normandy to his brother William Rufus of England.

As to Edgar Atheling, though of a different character, and already past the fortieth milestone of life, he too found many and potent reasons for joining in the holy war. Proscribed from England, and robbed of even the conduct of his own affairs, set out with an army of Anglo- and Scoto-Saxons to eject Donald Bane from the throne which he had usurped. Before departing however, he promised his friend, Count Robert, to join him in the East as soon as the Scottish pretender should have been hurled from power.

Meanwhile, the Short Hose set up his white banner, and at the signal multitudes of Norman Knights flocked to join their fortunes with those of a leader so well renowned for generosity and courage. Stephen, Earl of Albermarle, Edward Percy, Aubrey de Vere, Joscelyn de Courtenay, Conan de Montacute, and Girard de Gourney were the principal Anglo-Norman barons who set out with Count



GATHERING OF THE CRUSADERS.
Drawn by A. Maillard.

prospect of the crown worn by his Anglo-Saxon fathers, he had for many years found his chief delight in the companionship of dogs and the solace of philosophy. Neither the one nor the other, however, had sufficed to quiet his ambition, and when the prevailing enthusiasm reached Rouen, especially when his friend Robert Short Hose caught the contagion, Edgar also fired with the crusading fever, and put the red cross on his shoulder.

At this juncture, however, it happened that a certain Donald Bane, an ambitious Scot, had seized upon the throne of his country, which of hereditary right belonged to a son of Edgar's sister. To reseat his nephew on the Scottish throne, the English Prince, acting with more energy than he had ever shown in the Robert to rescue the sepulcher of Christ from the Turks.

Very unlike the peasant-rabble were these magnificent bands of warriors. All the wealth and intelligence of Europe were now committed to the enterprise, and as far as the ignorance of the age would allow, due preparations were made to insure the success of the great expedition. All Europe went to prayers as the knightly pageant departed. In the matter of armor the best skill of the times was employed to perfect it. Each Crusader wore a casque and hauberk of chain mail. The foot soldiers carried long shields, and the knights wore circular bucklers. The weapons consisted of swords, lances, poniards, axes, maces, bows and cross-bows, slings, and indeed every fash-



(676) PRAYING FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE CRUSADERS.

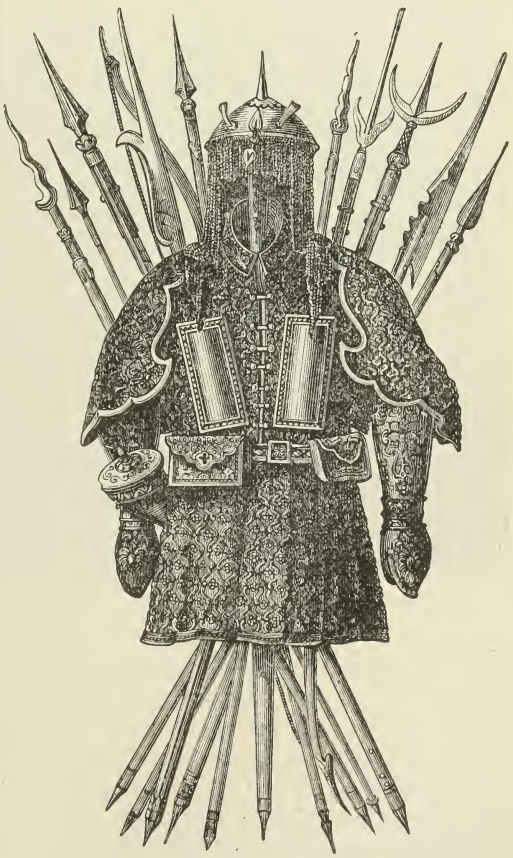
ion of instrument and missile peculiar to the warfare of the Middle Ages. Still there was no true foresight of the difficulties to be encountered. The distance was totally misapprehended. The routes to the East were little known. The real obstacles to be overcome before a blow could be delivered were either unheard of or esteemed as trifles. The most intelligent knights began the extraordinary march as though it were a hunt or a holiday. Many took their wives and children with them. Distinguished barons rode along with their bugle-horns and blew at intervals as if to sound the signals of the chase. Some carried hawks on their wrists, while hounds trotted by the side of the horses. Even yet the Crusade was considered rather in the light of a pilgrimage—a demonstration in force against the Infidels—than as a military expedition involving long marches, stubborn sieges, and bloody battles.

CHAPTER XC.—THE FIRST CRUSADE.

THE pilgrim princes who were now about to direct the chivalry of Europe against the Turks had sufficient prudence to consider the difficulty of subsistence. The countries through which they were to pass were already half exhausted by the ravages and excesses of the precursive multitudes. It was now agreed among the leaders to set out at different dates and by different routes. Constantinople was to be the rendezvous. It was clear that if all the hosts now under arms were to proceed in one body, the provinces through which they should pass would be utterly consumed. Europe could survive only by distributing the stomachs of her defenders.

The rabble vanguard of the soldiers of the Cross had not left a favorable impression on the minds of the Byzantine Greeks. The Emperor Alexius found reason to repent of having called from the vasty deep the perturbed spirits of the West. Now came the news to Constantinople that other vast armies, less savage, but more severe, were on their way to the Eastern Capital. The Emperor began to see that he might as well have braved the warriors of Alp Arslan as to have evoked by his messages such an insatiable host of friends.

From this time forth Alexius was driven by the winds and tossed. Unable to dictate by authority and enforce with a menacing attitude such mandates as seemed necessary for the preservation of the Empire, he fell into subterfuge and double dealing—the last resorts of the weak against the strong. Never was monarch more beset with perils.



SARACENIC COAT OF ARMS.—Muse d'Artillerie, Paris.

He had himself procured the throne by the perpetration of a crime. He held it as if awaiting a visit from Nemesis. A thousand domestic foes were in the city. Now his

crown, with his head in it, seemed to be pressed flat between a Turkish shield and a Christian buckler. Beyond the Bosphorus was the flaming Crescent. Over the Hungarian forest was seen the portentous shadow of the coming Cross.

The Greek Emperor, with something of the old-time craftiness of his race, perceived that the Crusaders were really adventurers. He knew that the Franks, and especially the Normans, had just one class of friends—those who had nothing; and one class of enemies—those who had something. He understood that these greedy descendants of the Northmen would discover in the luxurious capital of the East every thing which was calculated to excite their cupidity; and what robber in the presence of spoil ever failed to find a cause of quarrel?

The situation was in the highest degree critical. The armies at the disposal of Alexius were made up of mercenaries. At all times such forces are notoriously disloyal, or rather the motive of loyalty is altogether wanting in such a soldiery. To match the hired barbarians of the Eastern Empire against the mail-clad warriors of Godfrey and Raymond was like setting curs on mastiffs.—So the Emperor fell back on craft and subtlety.

Meanwhile the several crusading armies took up their march for the East. For a while affairs went well. By and by, however, Hugh of Vermandois, leader of the French Knights, having set out with the Pope's ban-



THE FIRST CRUSADE.

ner and blessing, was wrecked on the coast of Epirus. In this catastrophe Alexius perceived his opportunity. He ordered Count Hugh to be seized, brought to Constantinople, and held as a hostage. By this means he hoped to make King Philip of France, a brother of the prisoner, dependent upon his pleasure respecting the future conduct of the Crusade. Count Hugh was also held as a pledge for the future good conduct of the Franks while traversing the territories of the Empire.

The chivalrous Godfrey was deeply incensed at this act of bad faith on the part of the Emperor. Landing at Philipopoli, the Duke of Lorraine dispatched a messenger to Constantinople to know the occasion of the arrest of the Count of Vermandois, and to demand his liberation. To this civil request an evasive and unsatisfactory answer was returned. It was not long until crowds of fugitive Greeks rushing into Constantinople gave notice that Godfrey had become the avenger of his friend, and turned his warriors loose upon the perfidious country.

Alexius came quickly to his senses. An embassy was hastily dispatched to Godfrey, promising full explanation and satisfaction for the violence done to Hugh, and begging him to restrain his followers from further ravages. The prince thereupon bade his warriors to refrain from further injury to the Greeks, and then pressed forward to the Eastern Capital. Arriving before the gates he found them closed against the army of the Cross; for the highly moral Alexius, having now conceived the noble design of starving the Crusaders to death, had forbidden the Greeks to supply them with provisions. But the Emperor had not yet apprehended the spirit and temper of the men with whom he had to deal. The Crusaders were unwilling to be offered up on the altar of hunger. They burst into the suburbs of the city, plundered palaces and villages, captured store-houses and helped themselves bountifully to whatever good things the fruitful East had heaped up in her lap. It was not long until Alexius perceived that another policy must be adopted with the warriors of the West. He sent a messenger to Godfrey informing him of his desire to supply the army out of the stores of the city, and the duke thereupon ordered his followers to desist from further pillage. A better understanding was thus arrived at between the treacherous Greeks and their unwelcome guest.

Notwithstanding the outward show of amity quarrels were constantly breaking out between the two races. At times it appeared that their common enmity against the Turks would be wholly forgotten in the bitter recriminations which burned in the hearts of Byzantine and Frank. More than once the Crusaders were on the eve of assaulting the city, and the leaders of the host were little concerned to prevent such a conflict. It were hard to say whether at this juncture the cupidity of the western soldiers or the insolence of the Greeks was more difficult to curb.



CRUSADERS ON THEIR WAY TO PALESTINE.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

The Emperor within the walls looked with ever-increasing alarm upon the threatening attitude of the crusading host. His next piece of diplomacy was to secure from the Western princes who had their camps outside the ramparts such acts of homage and oaths of fealty to himself as could not be honorably or even decently violated. He first tried the new policy with success upon Hugh of Verman-

dois, and, having that prince in his power, succeeded in securing from him the desired oath. Great was the indignation in the pilgrim camp when the proposal of Alexius was known. But the Emperor sent his son as a hostage to the Crusaders, and their repugnance was gradually overcome with blandishments. Godfrey, Robert Short Hose, and the counts of Flanders and Blois consented to do homage to Alexius as their suzerain; but Raymond of Toulouse refused with disdain to render fealty to such a master. It became a problem with the Emperor in what way he might bring the sturdy Crusader to a sense of what was due the majesty of Constantinople.

On the appointed day the western princes were admitted to the city and taken to the palace of Alexius. There—

> High on a throne of royal state that far
> Outshone the wealth of Ormus or of Ind—

sat the Emperor of Byzantium, surrounded by the Imperial court. Nothing was omitted which artificial magnificence could supply to impress the Crusaders with a sense of eastern greatness. But the eye of penetration could not have failed to pierce through the flimsy and gilded sham and perceive the essential weakness of the power which was placed under the protection of the swords of western christendom. Godfrey, the two Roberts, and Stephen did the act of homage as might become great knights and warriors. Rich gifts were showered upon them, and the Emperor began to wrap himself in the cloak of a delusive security.

Before the ceremony was fairly ended an incident occurred which shocked the crafty Greek from his pleasing reverie. Count Roberto of Paris was among the number of nobles who were present at the obeisance of the leaders. While the pageant was still set this stalwart son of the ancient sea-kings, with no effort to conceal his contempt for the mummery that was enacting, strode boldly forward to the throne and sat down by the side of the Emperor. At this the Greeks were horrified and the Crusaders laughed. Some of the more prudent Franks attempted to remonstrate with Count Robert, and one of them taking him by the arm said: "When you are in a foreign country you ought to respect its customs!" "Indeed!" said the impudent count, with a significant look at Alexius; "but this is a pleasant clown who is seated while so many noble captains are standing." The Emperor was obliged to pocket the insult, and when the ceremony was over he attempted to molify the implacable Crusader with some pleasant talk. "What is your birth, and which is your country?" said he with mild accent to the surly Robert. "I am a Frenchman," said the Frank, "and of the highest rank of nobles. And one thing I know, that in my country there is a place near a church where those repair who are eager to attest their valor. I have often been there myself, and no one has ventured to present himself before me." The hint of a challenge was lost on the mild-mannered Alexius, who had as little notion of exposing his person as he had of hazarding his throne.

Meanwhile the people of Southern Italy, especially the Normans of Calabria, had been roused from their slumbers by Prince Bœmund, of Tarento. He was the son of that Robert Guiscard by whom and his brother William the knights of the North had been led against the Saracens in the war for the possession of the lower part of the peninsula and the Sicilies. Now he took up arms in the common cause. His own principality was far too small a field for his ambition. Like many another restless baron, he would seek in the East and under cover of a holy enterprise the opportunity which the West no longer afforded.

But while the aspirations of Bœmund urged him to assume the cross he found himself with neither money nor soldiers. At this time the Norman army of the South, led by one of the brothers of the Prince of Tarento, was engaged in the siege of Amalfi, a stronghold of Southern Italy, which the Normans had not yet reduced. Bœmund repaired to the camp of his countrymen and began to excite their minds with the story of outraged Jerusalem and to compare the glories of a crusade with the unworth of the petty war in which they were engaged. From the enthusiasm which he thus kindled to the leadership of an expedition was but a step, and Bœmund soon found himself at the head of a multitude of knights who wore the red cross and shouted, *Dieu le Veut*. The siege of Amalfi was given up, and the army, thirty thousand strong, departed for the Holy Land. Among the leaders of

this division of Crusaders was the Prince Tancred, nephew of Bœmund, destined to become one of the greatest heroes of the age.

The first landing of the Italian knights was made at Durazzo. At this place the Prince of Tarento had already in his youth distinguished himself in a conflict with the Greeks. Even now his secret purpose was rather to renew the war with the Eastern Empire than to exterminate the Turks. He accordingly sent word to Godfrey, at Constantinople, advising him to seize the Byzantine dominions for himself; but the chivalrous Godfrey would be no party to such an enterprise. Bœmund then advanced through Macedonia and approached the Eastern Capital.

When Alexius heard that the Norman Knights were coming, and that the implacable Prince of Tarento was their leader, he resorted to his usual method of duplicity. He resolved, if possible, to make Bœmund his vassal by means of bribes. He invited him to come to Constantinople, and received him with all the arts known to an imperial demagogue. Nor did Bœmund himself fail in the display of craft. The meeting of the twain was occupied with high-flown compliments and hollow professions of friendship. In the course of the sham interview, Alexius was indiscreet enough to exhibit to his dangerous guest one of the treasure houses of the palace. The eyes of the Prince of Tarento dilated with the sight. "Here is enough," said he, "to conquer a kingdom." Deeming the moment opportune, the Emperor immediately ordered the treasures to be conveyed to Bœmund's tent as a present. The latter affected to decline the gift. "Your munificence,'" said he, "is too great; but if you would have me your vassal forever *make me Grand Domestic of the Empire!*" This request went through Alexius like a dart; for he himself had seized the Imperial crown while holding the office of Grand Domestic. He accordingly replied, that he could not confer the desired honor, but that he would grant it as a reward of future services.

Thus was the year 1096 consumed with the gathering of the armies of the West before the walls of Constantinople. All winter long the Emperor was in extreme anxiety lest the uplifted sword of christendom should fall on himself rather than on the Turks. Nor is it likely that such a catastrophe could have been avoided but for the prudent restraints imposed by Godfrey of Bouillon upon the soldiers of the Cross.

At length, with the opening of the following spring, Alexius had the inexpressible satisfaction of seeing the Crusaders break up their camp and cross into Asia Minor. The host was safely in Bithynia on the march for Palestine. The forces thus gathered out of the prolific West numbered fully six hundred thousand warriors. Of these, a hundred thousand were mounted knights, and the remainder foot soldiers in armor. The mixed character of the vast throng was still preserved. Priest, matron, and maid still journeyed by the side of young warriors, who carried white hawks on their wrists, and whistled at intervals to the hounds. At the head rode the austere Godfrey, the white-haired Raymond of Toulouse, and Peter the Hermit seated on a mule. The immense army pressed steadily forward and came to Nice, the capital of Bithynia.

The sultan of this province made strenuous efforts to put his kingdom in a condition of defense. Nice was strongly fortified. The people were roused by a proclamation, and called in for the protection of the capital. In accordance with the military methods of the East, the non-combatants were placed within the walls, while the Turkish army pitched its camp on the neighboring mountains. On the 10th of May, 1097, the banners of the Crusaders came in sight. Quite different was the prospect from that which the Western chivalry had expected to descry. Here lay a powerful city surrounded with the seemingly impregnable rampart, protected by Lake Ascanius and a ditch deep and broad, flooded with water. Here were turrets bristling with Turkish spears, and yonder on the mountain slope waved the black banner of the Abbassides over a powerful army of Moslem warriors. But the courage of the Crusaders was rather awakened into active energy than cooled by the spectacle. Taking their position on the plain in front of the city, they immediately began a siege. The day had at last arrived when the issue of valor, which had been tested three hundred and fifty years before on the field of Poitiers, was again to be decided, but now on the plains of Asia Minor.

For a season the opposing armies of Cross and Crescent tested each other's strength and powers in desultory and indecisive conflicts. Several times the Crusaders flung themselves against the walls of Nice, and were repulsed with considerable losses. But the sultan and his generals discovered in these reckless assaults a courage and determination which had had not been witnessed in Western Asia since the days of Alexander the Great. After some delay, the Moslem leaders determined to risk a battle. The sultan harangued his soldiers, appealing to every motive which seemed likely to call forth the most heroic energies of Islam. Then, girding on his sword, he gave orders for the charge, and the Moslem host, surging down the mountain slope, fell headlong upon the Christian camp. Such was the fury of the charge that the soldiers of Raymond of Toulouse, by whom the brunt of the battle was first borne, were thrown into some disorder and driven from their lines. But the advantage thus gained by the Saracens was of brief duration. Raymond rallied his men with the greatest bravery. Robert the Short Hose, now in the height of his glory, and Robert of Flanders, rushed to the rescue, and in a short time the bugles of the sultan were heard sounding the retreat. The Crusaders raised the shout of triumph, and the shadow of the victorious Cross fell athwart the field of carnage. The losses of the Moslems, however, were not great; for the sultan abandoning his capital, made good his retreat, and postponed the decisive conflict. The Crusaders were thus left to batter down the walls of Nice at their leisure.

Notwithstanding the withdrawal of the main army of defense the garrison within the city held out bravely against the besiegers. The latter, however, were not to be put from their purpose. A Lombard engineer lent his skill in the preparation of such military machines as were known to the skill of the Middle Ages. The ramparts were battered with rams. An engine called the balister discharged enormous stones against the turrets. Catapults hurled huge masses of wood and rock upon the defenders of the city, and the classical tower, built at a distance from the walls, and brought down against them by means of an artificial *agger* or mole of earth, enabled the assailants to reach their enemies in hand to hand encounters on the top of the ramparts.

The besieged meanwhile answered force with force. Breaches were repaired, assaults repelled, the place of the fallen supplied with new soldiers, and the Crusaders kept at bay. After the siege had continued for several weeks it was discovered by Godfrey and the confederate princes that success would be indefinitely postponed as long as the inhabitants of Nice had free ingress and egress by way of lake Ascanius. To gain possession of this body of water became therefore the immediate object of the Crusaders. Boats were brought overland, manned with soldiers and launched by night on the lake. The morning brought consternation to the inhabitants of Nice. The wife and household of the sultan attempting to escape were captured. The exultant Crusaders prepared for a final assault, but to their utter amazement, when the charge was about to be made, the standard of the Emperor Alexius rose above the turrets of the city.

For this crafty ruler had determined to deprive the Crusaders of their prize. Seeing that they were about to prove victorious, he sent his general and admiral to open secret negotiations with the besieged. The latter were induced to believe that it would be far preferable for them to yield the city to their friend, the monarch of Byzantium, than to surrender to the terrible warriors of the West. To this course the authorities of Nice were easily persuaded. Accordingly when the Crusaders' bugles were about to sound the charge in an assault which must have proved successful, the subtlety of the Greek prevailed over the valor of knighthood, and the capital of Bithynia was given to him rather than to them. The weakness of human nature found ample illustration in the conduct of the western princes. They were called together by the Emperor, and their rising rage at the treachery to which they had been subjected was quenched in a copious shower of presents. But even this cooler upon the indignation natural to such perfidious conduct could not drown the secret hatred of the Christian knights for the double dealing and two-faced Alexius. With sullen demeanor they witnessed the transfer to his hands of the prize won by their valor, and

then set out in no enviable mood to prosecute their march toward Jerusalem.

Departing from the scene of their victorious discomfiture, the Crusaders set out in two divisions. The first and by far the larger force was commanded by the Counts Godfrey, Raymond, Hugh and Robert of Flanders. The other and more warlike army composed for the most part of the Norman knights, was under the lead of Short Hose, Bœmund, and Tancred. The first division advanced across the plain of Dorylæum, and the other entered the valley of DOGORGAN. Ten days after their departure, namely, on the 30th of June, the warriors under the lead of Bœmund pitched their tents in what was deemed a secure position and prepared for the rest of the night. Early on the following morning Greek spies hurried into the camp and announced the approach of the sultan with two hundred thousand men. Before the Crusaders could prepare for the onset, clouds of dust boiled up on the horizon, and the Turks bore down at full speed to battle.

Now it was that the powers of Bœmund of Tarento shone with unequaled luster. The camp was hastily surrounded with a palisade formed with the wagons. Behind this the non-combatants were placed for safety, and the knights, vaulting into their saddles, quickly took the battle-line, with Short Hose and Tancred furious for the fight. Scarcely was the order of the conflict set when the white turbans and green sashes and long spears of the Turks flashed out of the dust-cloud and broke upon the Christians. Then followed the blowing of horns, the roll of drums, the yell of the Saracens, and the cloud of darts descending with deadly din and rattle upon the armor of the Norman horsemen. Galled by the javelins which set the horses in a foam of rage and fear, the Crusaders dashed into the small river which separated them from the enemy, and rushed hand to hand with their assailants. The skillful Turks opened their lines, and the Christians seemed to beat the air. Then the enemy wheeled, returned to the fray, discharged their arrows, and again sped out of reach. Many of the knights reeled from their saddles and fell. Horses dashed wildly about the field. Confusion and rout seemed to impend over the Christian army. Count Robert of Paris and forty of his comrades were killed. The sultan, with a body of picked cavalry, dashed across the stream, and captured the camp of the Crusaders. At the critical moment, when all seemed well-nigh lost, Robert Short Hose burst with a fresh body of horsemen upon the astonished Turks, and several of their leaders bit the dust under the flashing swords of the Normans. In another part of the field Bœmund rallied his men to the charge, and retook the camp. Nevertheless the odds against the Christians were as five to one, and it seemed impossible that the fight could be long maintained. The Crusaders were beaten back into the encampment. Despair was settling down on the heroic band when the shrill bugles of Godfrey were heard in the distance, and in a moment more than fifty thousand sabres flashing in the sunlight under the banner of Hugh of Vermandois gleamed over the summit of the hills behind the Christian camp. It was now the turn of the sultan to be dismayed. His bugles sounded a retreat, and the Turks fell back rapidly, pursued by the Crusaders. The lines of the enemy were broken, and the Saracens soon found themselves hemmed in on every side, and slashed by the swords of the Crusaders. Backed against the hills, flight was impossible. The host was cut down by thousands, and the sultan, with a few survivors, could hardly bolster up the courage of his countrymen with a lying report of victory. The Turkish camp, rich in provisions, treasures, camels, and tents, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The priests of the crusading army chanted a hymn of victory, and the outline of the triumphant cross was seen in the Valley of Dogorgan.

The Crusaders might with good reason celebrate their victory. It was now evident that the Saracens were not able to stand before them in battle. The courage of the conquerors arose with the occasion, and with renewed enthusiasm they took up their march towards Antioch. The expedition had not proceeded far, however, until a change came over the dreams of the Christians. The sultan of Nice, unwilling to hazard another engagement, adopted the policy of laying waste the country, to the end that his enemies might starve. The army of the princes soon came into a region where no food was to be found for man



(684) BATTLE OF DOGORGAN.—Drawn by Gustave Doré.

or beast. The distress became extreme. The pilgrims were obliged to subsist on the roots of plants and the chance products which had escaped destruction by the Turk. The hawks and hounds starved to death. Men and horses fell famishing. The despairing moans of dying women were heard in the camp. Hundreds and thousands dropped by the wayside and perished. Then the water failed. Not a brook, fountain, or well was any longer found. The horrors of thirst were added to those of famine. At length, when the whole host seemed on the brink of destruction, some of the straggling hounds came into camp dripping with water. They had found a river, bathed in it, and drank to repletion. The pilgrims hasted in that direction, and soon came to a cool, running stream. Forgetting all moderation, they rushed in and drank till nature gave way under the sudden reaction, and other hundreds died on the banks. Others sickened from the overdraught, and the camp was filled with anguish. Still the host quailed not; and evening and morning the heralds made proclamation of "Save the Holy Sepulcher!" and the chiefs courageously renewed the toilsome march.

At length in the middle of autumn a pass was found in the mountains, and the half-starved Crusaders, dragging themselves through, came into a region of plenty. Supplies were gathered from the towns and fields, and the spirits of the enfeebled warriors revived with the quieting of hunger. Presently, Antioch, with its lofty castles and four hundred and sixty towers, came in sight, and the second great prize to be contended for by the armies of christendom was reached.

The city itself was an object of the greatest interest. Beyond rose a mountain, the hither slope being covered with houses and gardens. In one of the suburbs the celebrated fountain of Daphne tossed its waters in the sunlight. The feet of the rich metropolis were washed by the great river Orontes, plentiful in waters. But better than her natural beauty and opulence were the hallowed associations of Antioch. Here the followers of Christ had first taken the name of *Christians*. Here St. Peter was made first bishop of the Church. Here the early saints and martyrs had performed their miracles and given to the city a sanctity second only to that of Jerusalem.

The portion of Upper Syria of which Antioch was the capital was at the time of the First Crusade governed by Prince Auxian, a dependent of the Caliphate. Not destitute of warlike abilities, this ruler now made preparations for an obstinate defense. So great, however, was the fame which flew before the triumphant Crusaders that the Moslems had come to anticipate defeat; and the momentum of victory carried the invaders onward.

Not only had success, in despite of famine and disasters, thus far attended the main body led by Godfrey and Short Hose, but the other divisions had in like manner triumphed over the Infidels. Tancred and Baldwin (of Bouillon) had captured Tarsus. The former had also been victorious at Malmistra and Alexandretta, and the latter had subdued the principality of Edessa. He then wreathed his sword in flowers by marrying a daughter of the prince of Armenia, by which act he gained the better portion of Ancient Assyria. Indeed, the greater part of Asia Minor was already dominated by the Cross; and the various divisions, elated with repeated successes, concentrated before Antioch.

Between that city and the crusading armies flowed the Orontes. The stream was spanned by a great bridge defended by iron towers. Before the Christians could reach the other side, the bridge must be captured, and this duty was assigned to Robert Short Hose of Normandy. In him it were hard to say whether his courage was greater than his rashness. He had all the heroic virtues and splendid vices of his age. With a picked force of Norman knights he attacked the bridge with the greatest audacity, and such was the terror of his flashing sword, that the Moslems abandoned the towers and fled. The Christian bugles sounded the charge, and the crusading host crossed in safety to the other side. A camp was pitched before the walls of Antioch, and here the mail-clad warriors of the West lay down to rest in the shadow of the palms of Syria.

Thus far in the course of the great expedition from the Rhine to Constantinople, from Constantinople to Nice, from Nice to Antioch, not much opportunity had been given the Crusaders to reap the harvest of promised pleasure. One of the chief incentives to the

uprising had been the license freely offered by the Church to all who should be victorious over the Infidel. To them restraint should be unknown. The maidens of Greece and the dark-eyed houris of Syria, were openly named as a part of the reward due to them who should hurl the Turk from his seat on the tomb of Christ; and the Crusader in his dreams saw the half-draped figures of Oriental beauties flitting in the far mirage. Before the walls of Antioch the men of the West sat down to enjoy whatever the land afforded. The god of License became the favorite divinity. All restraint was cast aside. Every village in the surrounding country was recklessly pillaged, and the camp of the Crusaders was heaped with spoils. Then the armed warriors gave themselves up to feasting and love-making with the Syrian damsels. Bishops of the Church wandered wantonly through the orchards and lay on the grass playing dice with Cyprians. Believing that the garrison of Antioch would not dare to come forth and attack them, the Franks abandoned themselves to riotous living, and all manner of excess.

It was not long until this course provoked its natural consequences. The defenders of the city watched their opportunity and made a successful sally. The Crusaders were dispersed in neighboring villages, expecting no attack. Thus exposed, they were slaughtered in large numbers, and the heads of all who were overtaken were cut off and thrown into the camp as a taunt. Great was the fury of the Crusaders on beholding the bloody reminders of their own and slain friends' folly. Roused to a sudden fury, they seized their arms and rushed like madmen upon the fortifications. They were beaten back with large losses by the garrison. In order to prosecute the siege the Christians now found it necessary to fortify their camp and build a bridge across the Orontes. The next work was the construction of wooden towers commanding the river; for a blockade was essential to the success of the investment.

Ere the siege was well begun winter came on. The riotousness of the summer and vintage months was brought to a sudden end. Hardship and hazard returned with the cold, and distress followed hard in the wake of carousal. Supplies grew scarce. Robert Short Hose and Bœmund scoured the country and brought back little. All summer long the Western host had filled itself with fatness. Now there was no more. Suffering began. Storms of cold rain flooded the camp. Tents were blown away by the hurricane. The garments of the Crusaders were worn to rags. Disease brought anguish, and many in despair gave up the enterprise and set out secretly for home. Peter the Hermit escaped from the camp and had gone some distance before he was overtaken and brought back by force. The daring Short Hose undertook to save himself by retiring into Laodicea; but when Godfrey sent a summons to him in the name of Christ he was induced to return.

When affairs were about at their worst the Caliph of Baghdad, learning of the situation at Antioch, sent an embassy to the Crusaders with an offer of alliance and *protection!* The Norman and French knights were in no mood to be protected by an Infidel. They sent back a defiant message and resolutely continued the siege. Winter wore away, and the condition of the woeful warriors began to improve with the sunny weather; but better than the change of season was the news that came from the port of St. Simeon. That harbor had been entered by a fleet of provision-ships from Genoa and Pisa. Such was the elation of the Crusaders that many hurried off to the coast to obtain supplies, but returning without due caution they were attacked by a division of Saracens and dispersed. Thereupon Godfrey, Tancred, and Short Hose called out their forces and went to the rescue. Seeing this movement the commandant of Antioch ordered the garrison to sally forth and attack the camp. In order to make sure of success *he shut the gates behind them.* The Crusaders turned furiously upon the Moslems and drove them to the wall. Here they were hewed down until nightfall, when Auxian reöpened the gates and the survivors rushed in for safety.

Still the defenses of the city held out. Spring went by and summer came, and the position of the combatants remained unchanged. At last, however, when the sheer valor of the Crusaders seemed insufficient to gain for them the coveted prize, an act of treason did what force of arms had been unable to accomplish. One of the principal

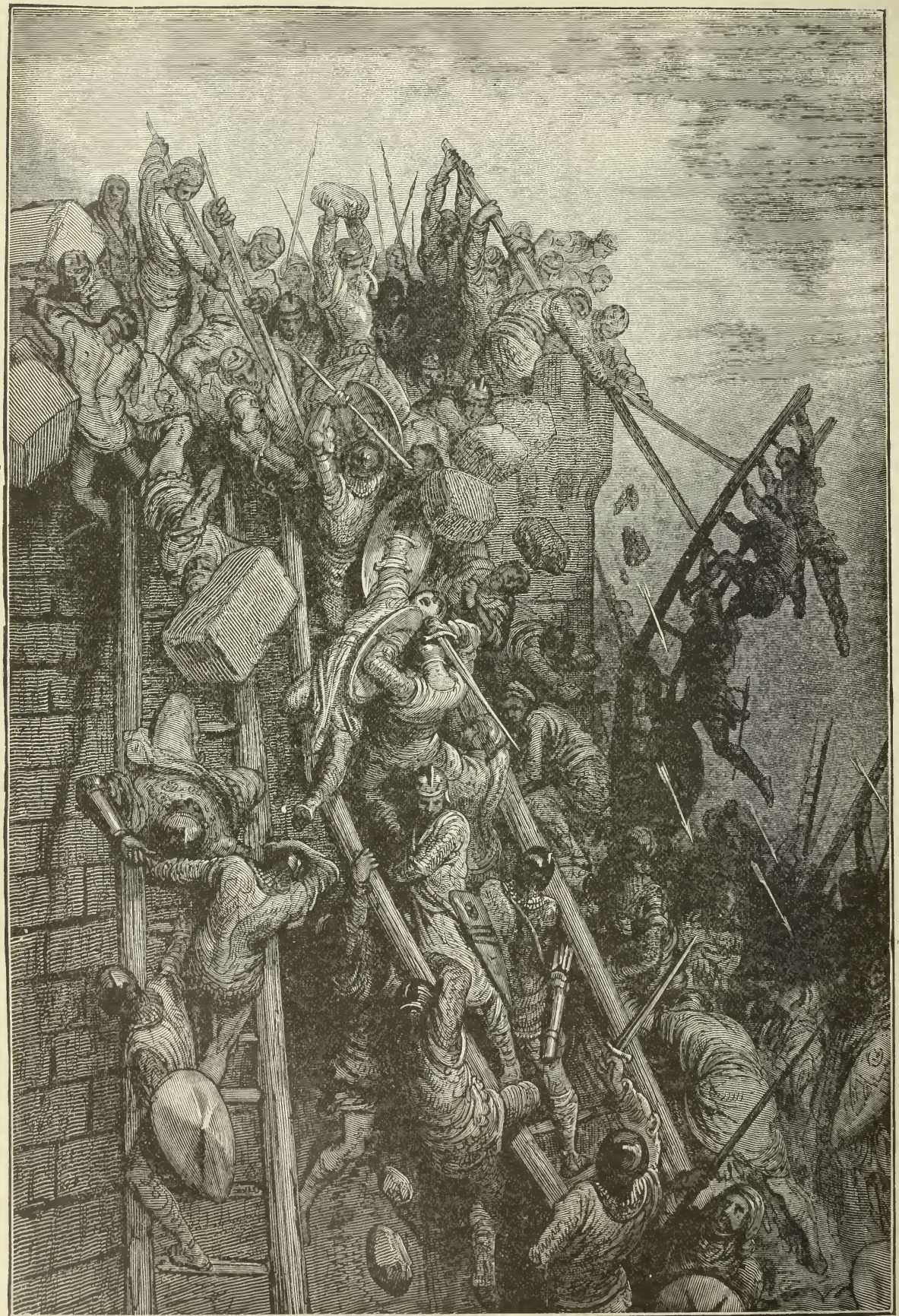
commanders in Antioch was a certain renegade Christian named Emipher. For reasons of his own, in former years he had left the Cross to follow the Crescent, and by servility and zeal had gained the favor of the sultan of Antioch. Auxian had taken him into his official household, and given him an important command. The chief towers on the ramparts were committed to his keeping. The situation suggested to him the profitableness of a reconversion to Christianity. Looking down into the camp of the Crusaders, he soon descried the figure of one to whom he deemed it well to open his designs. This was Bœmund of Tarento. Not that this prince was disloyal to the cause for which he fought; but he was ambitious in the last degree, and had long been fixed in his purpose to conquer a principality of his own. The great and rich city of Antioch seemed to be the prize which he had seen in vision. Such was his frame of mind that when a secret message was delivered to him from Emipher, requesting an interview on matters of the highest moment, he not only scented the treachery which was intended, but gladly welcomed the opportunity of gaining his end by dishonorable means.

The meeting was held. The hypocrite Emipher narrated how Christ had come to him in a dream and warned him to turn again to the Cross and to bring forth fruits meet for repentance. The good Bœmund exhorted him to go on and to follow the command of the Lord. The result was that the shrewd Prince of Tarento overreached the traitor, gained his confidence, and secured from him a promise to deliver Antioch into his hands.

Bœmund now called the Western leaders together, and offered to gain possession of Antioch on condition that he should be recognized as prince of the city. At first the proposition was received with great disfavor. The ambitious leader was rebuked for his scheme, and like Achilles he went off to his tent in sullen anger. It was not long, however, until news was borne to the camp which changed the disposition of the Western princes. The sultans of Nice and Mossoul had aroused half the East, and were marching a host of four hundred thousand Moslems for the relief of Antioch. It was only a question of time when this tremendous force would be hurled upon the Crusaders. Godfrey, Tancred, and the rest were prudent enough to put aside their scruples, and, sending for Bœmund, they signified to him their willingness that he should be prince of Antioch if he would obtain possession of the city. Communication was accordingly opened with Emipher, and it was arranged that on a given night the towers should be surrendered into the hands of the Christians.

It was a perilous piece of business. The traitor was suspected and sent for by Auxian. Such, however, was his skill as a dissembler, that he completely reëstablished the sultan's confidence. On the day appointed for the delivery, the Crusaders withdrew as if abandoning the siege. They hid themselves in a neighboring valley, and lay there until nightfall. A storm came on and favored the enterprise. The besiegers returned and swarmed silently around that portion of the rampart which was held by Emipher. The latter established communication with the Franks below, and the Lombard engineer was taken up to the towers to see that every thing was in readiness for the surrender. When the signal was at last given for the Crusaders to plant their ladders and ascend, they became apprehensive of a double treachery, and refused to scale the rampart. It was with the utmost difficulty that Bœmund and a few others, by first climbing the ladders themselves and reporting every thing in readiness, finally induced their followers to ascend. It was found that Emipher was in bloody earnest. There, in the tower, lay the body of his brother, whom he had butchered because he refused to be a participant in the treason.

The turrets were quickly filled with Christian warriors, and, when all was secure, they poured down into the city. Trumpets were sounded, and the thunder-struck Moslems were roused from their slumbers by the fearful and far-resounding cry of *Dieu le Veut!* In the midst of the panic and darkness they heard the crash of the Crusaders' swords. Auxian, perceiving that he had been betrayed, attempted to escape, but was cut down by his enemies. The Saracens, rushing to and fro in the night, were slaughtered by thousands. The gray dawn of June 4th, 1098, showed the streets heaped with



STORMING OF ANTIOCH.—Drawn by Gustave Doré.

corpses, and the banner of Bœmund of Tarento floating from the highest tower of Antioch. Only the citadel remained in possession of the Moslems.

Meanwhile the great army of Turks, led by Kerboga, the sultan of Mossoul, and Kilidge Arslan, sultan of Nice, drew near to the city. The Christians were now inside the walls and the enemy without. Great was the disparity in numbers; for the Asiatics were estimated at nearly a half a million, of whom one hundred thousand were cavalry. Godfrey and Bœmund found themselves in possession of abundance, but it was that kind of abundance upon which an army could not long subsist. The actual stores and provisions of Antioch had been well-nigh exhausted in the course of the recent siege, and gold and treasure could not suffice for bread. The Turks gained possession of the Orontes between the city and the sea, and cut off communication with the port of St. Simeon. No further supplies could, for this reason, be obtained from Europe. The allied sultans, perceiving their advantage, sat down in a spacious and luxurious camp and quietly awaited the day when the pent-up Christians must yield to the inevitable.

The condition soon became desperate. Hawks and hounds disappeared. Then horses began to be eaten. Many a hungry knight saw with famishing rage the splendid steed that had borne him proudly in every battle, from Scutari to the Orontes, slaughtered and devoured. Luxury was on every hand, but no food. The leaders saw that it was better to fight and die than to remain within the walls and starve. They, therefore, exhorted their followers to sally forth with them, and meet their fate like heroes; but the exhortation now fell on dull and despairing ears. Zeal had perished of hunger. But, when every thing else failed, superstition came to the rescue. A certain monk, named Peter Barthelemy, had a dream. St. Andrew came to him and said: "Arise! Go and dig in a spot which I will show thee in the Church of St. Peter, and thou shalt find the spear wherewith the soldier pierced the side of the Lord. Take that sacred weapon and carry it at the head of the army, and the Infidels shall flee before it."

The pilgrims went hastily and digged. Lo! the object of their search. It was brought forth and shown to the army. Inconceivable was the excitement produced by the exhibition of the wonderful weapon. Now were they ready to go forth and fall upon the profane dogs of Asia. The host demanded to be led forth to that victory which St. Andrew had foretold.

It was deemed prudent by the Western princes to send an embassy to the sultan and warn him to retire from the country. Peter the Hermit was chosen to bear the message. Mounted on a mule and clad in a woolen mantle, the little monk of Savona rode boldly through the gates of Antioch to order out of Syria an army of four hundred thousand Turkish warriors! Coming to the sultan's camp he found him in a splendid pavilion, surrounded with all the luxury of the East, and amusing himself with a game of chess. "I come," said the Hermit, "in the name of the princes assembled in Antioch, and I conjure you, in the name of God, to leave this principality. Go in peace, and I promise that you will not be molested. But if you refuse to go in peace, let a battle convince you of the justice of our cause." The old sultan swelled with rage and scorn on the delivery of this insolent speech. "Return," said he, "to those who sent you, and tell them that it is for the conquered to receive conditions, not to dictate them. Bid thy captains hasten, and this very day implore my clemency. To-morrow they will find that their God, who could not save himself, will not save them from their fate. Drive the vagabond away."

With the return of this answer the Crusaders grew hot for battle. The chiefs prepared for the fight, and in a way half miraculous one full meal was served to the army. On the morning of the 1st of July the gates of Antioch were thrown open and the Crusaders went forth to stake all on a single hazard. Godfrey and the other leaders arranged their forces in twelve divisions in honor of the twelve apostles. The Duke of Lorraine himself led the right wing, supported by his brother Eustace and his kinsman Baldwin of Bourg. The left was under command of the Short Hose, and the Count of Flanders. The reserves, including the Anglo-Norman knights, under the

Earl of Albermarle, were held by Bœmund of Tarento. In the van of the ragged host marched a company of priests bearing aloft the spear-head which Barthelemy had found under the altar of the Church of St. Peter.

Notwithstanding their desperate condition, the Crusaders were confident of victory. Delirious with the superstitions of the age, they urged their way towards the Turkish camp, fully persuaded that heaven would make good the promise of triumph.

The Moslems lay undisturbed in their encampment. Even when the Crusading army came in sight the sultan of Mossoul, himself an experienced warrior, refused to believe that the Christians had come forth to fight. "Doubtless," said he, "they come to implore my clemency." The peculiar "clemency" which they sought, however, was soon revealed in their conduct. Hardly had the Saracen trumpets sounded and the Moslem captains marshaled their immense army for battle, before the Crusaders set up their shout of *Dieu le Veut*, and rushed headlong to the charge. Perhaps the leaders knew that the fate of the First Crusade was staked upon the issue. The onset of the Christians was so fierce that nothing could stand before them. The Saracen host was borne back by the shock, and the first charge seemed to foretell the triumph of the Cross.

In the beginning of the engagement, however, the sultan of Nice had not brought his army into action. Seeing the Moslems driven back along the river, he now made a detour and fell upon the rear of the Crusaders. The latter were thus pent between two hosts seemingly innumerable. The Moslems set fire to the grass and bushes which covered the plain, and the stifling smoke was blown into the faces of the Christians. Godfrey and Bœmund had the mortification to see their followers begin to waver, give way, and despair. For a moment, as on the field of Poitiers, three hundred and sixty-six years before, the fate of the two continents and the two great Semitic religions seemed to hang in the balance. In the crisis of the fight, the Crusaders cried out to the priests and demanded to know where was the promised succor from heaven. The undaunted Adhemar, bishop of Puy, pointed calmly through the clouds of smoke and exclaimed: "There, they are come at last! Behold those white horsemen! They are the blessed martyrs, St. George, St. Demetrius, and St. Theodore come to fight our battle!" Then the cry of, "God wills it!" rose louder than ever. The news was borne from rank to rank that the heavenly host had come to the rescue. Fiery enthusiasm was rekindled in every Crusader's breast, and the Moslems suddenly felt the battle renewed with impetuous fury. On every side they fell back in disorder before the irresistible assaults of the Christians. The field was swept in all directions, and the blaring bugles of Islam called in vain to the rally. Terror succeeded defeat, and the flying Saracens were hewed down by frenzied Crusaders, who knew not to spare or pity. The heavy masses of the sultan's army rolled away in one of the most disastrous routs of the Middle Ages. The victorious Crusaders mounted the horses of the slain Moslems and pursued the fugitives until wearied with the excess of slaughter. The immense hosts of Kerboga and Kilidge Arslan melted from sight forever.

As soon as the result of the great battle was known in Antioch the citadel was surrendered to the Christians. Bœmund was now complete master of his principality. A still more important result of the decisive conflict was the reöpening of communication with the port of St. Simeon, and the capture of great quantities of provisions and stores in the Saracen camp. The whole aspect of the struggle was changed, and the Christian warriors began again to look forward with pleasing anticipation to the day when they should kneel as humble victors on the recovered sepulcher of Christ.

The position of the Crusaders in Antioch was not unlike that of the Carthaginians at Capua. It was evident that the Holy City might now be easily wrested from the Infidels. Those of the pilgrims who were actuated by religious rather than political motives were eager to advance at once into Palestine. There lay the goal of their ambition. Not so, however with the leaders. The example of Baldwin in seizing the Principality of Edessa, and of Bœmund in gaining for himself the great and opulent city of Antioch, had proved infectious, and nearly every prominent chieftain now cherished the secret hope that erelong

he should possess a province of his own. Just in proportion as this ambitious sentiment was warmed and nurtured among the knights their horror of the atrocious Turk, sitting on the Holy Sepulcher, was mitigated into a mild sort of hatred which might well be postponed. But the multitude clamored to be led on against Jerusalem, and the princes were obliged to frame excuses for spending the summer at Antioch. The horses taken from the Turks must be trained to service under warriors of heavy armor. The season was too hot for a campaign through Syria—the autumn would be fitter for the enterprise.

The stay in the city, however, proved unfortunate. Raymond of Toulouse, to whom the citadel had been surrendered just after the battle, quarreled with Bœmund, and the army was distracted with their feud. The luxurious living of Antioch proved too much for the rough men of the West. A contagion broke out, and fifty thousand Christians were carried off before its ravages were stayed. Among those who perished was Adhemar, bishop of Puy and legate of the Pope, a man scarcely less important in rank and influence than Godfrey and Bœmund. So the summer of 1098 was wasted in enterprises of personal ambition, little conducive to the reputation of the Western princes.

What with battle, what with famine, what with pestilence and desertion, the army of the First Crusade was now reduced to fifty thousand men. It was perceived by the warrior pilgrims that their chiefs were busy with their own affairs, and neglectful of the great object for which the Holy War had been undertaken. Their discontent at this state of affairs broke into murmurs, and murmurs into threats. The Crusaders declared that they would discard the old and choose new leaders, who would bring them to the city and tomb of Christ. This ominous word broke the spell, and Godfrey, Raymond, Short Hose, and Tancred agreed to march at once on Palestine. As for Stephen of Blois and Hugh of Vermandois, they had already given over the war and returned to Europe.

It was evident on the march from Antioch to Jerusalem that already the furious zeal with which the Crusade had been begun had somewhat abated. Now a petty expedition against the Saracens of a neighboring province, and now a quarrel between Arnold de Rohes, chaplain of Robert Short Hose, and Peter Barthelemy, relative to the sacred spear-head found in the church at Antioch, distracted the attention of the warriors from the prime object of the war. The whole winter was thus consumed, and it was not until the 29th of May, 1099, that the remnant of the great army, ascending the Heights of Emaüs, came at early morning in sight of the City of David.

Then followed a scene of indescribable emotion. There lay the walls and towers of that holy but now profaned place, where the Son of Mary and the Carpenter had walked among men. To the Crusaders, the thought was overpowering. They uncovered their heads. They put off their sandals. They fell upon their faces. They wept. They threw up their hands and cried: "Jerusalem! Jerusalem!" Then they seized their swords, and would fain rush to an immediate assault. In a short time Tancred secured possession of Bethlehem, and, when a body of Saracen cavalry came forth to stay the progress of the Christians, he chased them furiously to and through the gates of the city. The main army encamped on the north side of Jerusalem—that part of the rampart being most accessible to assault. The leaders present to share in the toil and glory of the siege were Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother Eustace, Raymond of Toulouse, Baldwin du Bourg, Robert of Flanders, Robert Short Hose of Normandy, and Edgar Atheling of England, who, after settling the affairs of Scotland with the usurper Donold Bane, had led his Saxon Knights to the East and joined the Christian army in Laodicea.

While the preparations were making for the siege an anchorite came out of the hermitage on Mount Olivet and harangued the princes. He exhorted them to take the city by storm, assuring them of the aid of heaven. Great was the enthusiasm inspired by his presence in the camp. Soldiers and chiefs were swayed by the appeal, and it was resolved to make an immediate assault. Poorly as they were supplied with the necessary implements and machines for such an undertaking, the Crusaders pressed their way to the outer wall and broke an opening with hammers and

pikes. Through this they poured into the space between the outer and the inner rampart and proceeded to storm the latter; but the emir of Jerusalem had taken measures for a successful defense. The wall proved to be too strong to be broken. The garrison poured down every species of missile—arrows, stones, blocks of wood, flaming torches, boiling pitch, balls of Greek fire—upon the heads of the Crusaders, who, unable to break the second rampart, or to stand the storm of destruction, were obliged to retreat to their camp. The hermit of Mount Olivet had proved a bad counselor and worse prophet.

The siege was now undertaken in a regular way. But there was need that the Christians should be expeditious in the work. The Saracens, before retiring into the city, had swept all the region round about of its provisions. Every village was stripped of its supplies to fill the store-houses of Jerusalem. The wells were filled up and the fountains poisoned. The brook Kedron had run dry and the remitting spring of Siloah was altogether inadequate to supply a sufficient quantity of water for an army of fifty thousand men. It became necessary to carry water in the skins of animals and to seek it at a great distance from Jerusalem. To add to the embarrassment the summer came on with its burning sun of Syria, and the Western pilgrims were unable to bear the heat.

As had many times already happened since the Crusade was undertaken, good news came in time to save the enterprise. Messengers arrived from Joppa, the seaport of Jerusalem, forty miles distant, and brought the intelligence that a Genoese fleet had arrived at that place with provisions and stores and engineers for the siege. With great joy the Crusaders at once dispatched a troop of cavalry to conduct the supplies and reënforcements from the coast to Jerusalem. But on arriving at Joppa the forces sent out for protection discovered to their chagrin that the Saracens had been there before them and had destroyed the fleet. The disaster, however, was not complete, for the engineers had made their escape and had saved a part of the stores so much needed by the Crusaders. All that escaped the Infidels were taken to Jerusalem.

The besiegers were thus considerably encouraged. One of the chief difficulties was to procure timber for the construction of engines. After much search a forest was found on a mountain thirty miles distant, and the echo of axes was soon heard felling the trees. The logs were drawn to the city by oxen shod with iron, and the engineers rapidly constructed such machines as were necessary for the demolition of the walls. Before the astonished Saracens could well understand what was done towers were brought against the ramparts, and the Crusaders were thus enabled to fight hand to hand with their enemies.

While this encouraging work was going on the hermit of Mount Olivet again appeared as a leader. He persuaded the Christians to go in a procession about the walls of the city even as the Israelites of old encompassed the walls of Jericho. A procession was formed, headed by the priests, who clad themselves in white, carried the sacred images, and sang psalms as they marched. Trumpets were blown and banners waved until the warriors reached Olivet, where they halted, and from the height viewed the city which they had come to rescue. They were harangued by Arnold de Rohes and other priests, who pointed out the sacred places trodden under the profane feet of the Turks, and exhorted them to pause not in the holy work until the Infidels had expiated with their blood the sin and shame of their presence and deeds in the sacred precincts of Jerusalem. The zeal of the Crusaders was thus rekindled, and they demanded to be led forward to the assault.

By the 14th of July, 1099, every thing was in readiness for a second general attack on the city. The vigor with which the Crusaders had of late prosecuted the siege had alarmed the Saracens and given the advantage to the assailants. The huge towers which the engineers had built were rolled down against the walls and the Christians were thus enabled to face the Moslems on the top of the rampart. The defenders of the city, however, grew desperate, and fought with greater valor than at any previous time. They resorted to every means to beat back their foes. They poured down Greek fire and boiling oil upon the heads of those who attempted to scale the walls. They hurled stones and beams and blocks of wood upon the pilgrim warriors who

battered the ramparts. So resolute was the defense that after twelve hours of hard fighting the Crusaders were obliged to fall back, amidst the taunts and insults of those who manned the turrets.

With both Christians and Moslems the crisis had now come. With both it was conquer or perish. The former were peculiarly pressed by the situation. A pigeon flying towards the city was intercepted with a letter under its wings, and the Crusaders were made aware that armies of Saracens were gathering for the relief of the city. It was therefore determined to continue the assault on the morrow. With early morning the engines were again advanced to the walls, and the Christians rushed forward to the attack. For a long time it could hardly be known whether the assault or the defense was made with greater obstinacy. In some parts the walls gave way before the thundering blows of the machines built by the Genoese engineers; but the garrison threw down straw and other yielding material to prevent the strokes of the battering rams from taking effect. In one place, however, a huge catapult played havoc with all resistance, and a breach was about to be effected, when two Saracen witches were sent to interpose their charms to the work of destruction. But the insensate monster hammered away with no regard to their spells and incantations. The Moslems saw their prophetesses perish as though the unseen world had nothing to do with war.

Still, for the time, the Crusaders could not break into the city. The Saracens found that fire was more potent than witchcraft as a means of resisting wooden engines. They threw down burning materials upon the catapults, and several of them were consumed. On the afternoon of the second day it seemed as if the Christians would again be driven back. They were well-nigh exhausted with heat and fatigue. They weltered and bled in the dust outside the walls. Just as they were wavering and about to retreat, Godfrey, who throughout the siege and assault had more than ever distinguished himself by his heroism, resorted to the usual expedient to revive the drooping courage of his followers. Looking up to Mount Olivet, he beheld there a mighty horseman waving on high a buckler. "Behold!" cried the hero, "St. George comes again to our aid and makes a signal for us to enter the Holy City." *Dieu le Veut!* responded the Crusaders, springing forward with unconquerable purpose. As on the field before Antioch, when the celestial warriors came to the rescue, so now the dust-covered, heat-oppressed Christians became suddenly invincible. With an irresistible impulse they rushed to the wall and renewed the onset. The rampart broke before them. Tradition recites that Reimbault of Crete was the first to mount the wall. Godfrey followed. Then came Eustace with a host of warriors and knights. Clouds of smoke mixed with dust and flame arose on every hand as the victorious Crusaders broke over all opposition and poured into the city.

The Saracens gave way before them. They retreated through the streets, fighting at intervals until they were driven into the precincts of the Mosque of Omar. Blood flowed in the gutters, and horrid heaps of the dead lay piled at every corner. None were spared by the frenzied Christians, who saw in the gore of the Infidels the white Way of Redemption. Ten thousand dead, scattered through the city, gave token of the merciless spirit of the men of the West. Another ten thousand were heaped in the reeking courts of the great mosque on Mount Moriah. "God wills it," said the pilgrims.

The indiscriminate butchery of the Saracens was carried out by the rank and file of the Crusading army. In this bloody work they needed no incentive—no commander. Each sword flamed with hatred until it was cooled in the dripping life of the enemies of Christ. As for Godfrey, he was missed from the slaughter. Another sentiment had taken possession of his breast. As soon as he saw the city in the hands of his followers, he remembered the Holy Sepulcher. He stripped himself of his armor and went barefoot to the spot where the victim of Pilate and the Jews had been laid eleven centuries ago. There on his knees the great Crusader bowed and worshiped for a season, while his followers completed the extermination of the Saracens.[1]

[1] The spirit of the massacre is well illustrated in the letter which the Christian princes sent to His Holiness the Pope. The devout writers say: "If you wish to know what we did to the ene-

As soon as the host heard of the act of their pious leader, they too made a pause. A sudden revulsion of feeling swept over them and they made haste to follow his example. They took off their bloody weapons, and bared their heads and feet. They washed the gore from their hands, and formed themselves into a procession. Led by the priests and singing penitential psalms, they then marched—many of them upon their knees—to the Church of the Resurrection, and there found that sacred but long desecrated spot which had been the object and end of their more than three years of warfare—the sepulcher of Christ. There, like their most distinguished leader, they knelt and offered up such adoration as the heart of the Middle Ages was able to render to its Lord.

One of the most interesting incidents of the capture of the city was the emergence from places of concealment of many Christians, who came forth as if from prison to welcome their deliverers. Great was the mutual joy of these long-distressed wretches and the Crusaders. There was weeping as if the lost were found. In the midst of many frantic demonstrations, the victorious multitude turned with an enthusiastic outburst to one who had almost passed from sight during the siege—Peter the Hermit. The little fanatic monk was singled out as the greatest of all the human agencies by which the deliverance of Jerusalem had been accomplished. Around him, clad in his woolen garment and mounted on his mule, the mediæval zealots gathered in an enormous crowd, and did obeisance as to a liberator and savior. Thus, ever in the history of the world the real brawn and valor, the true heroic virtue which fights and bleeds and wins the battle, abases itself at the last before some scrawny embodiment of enfeebled bigotry.

The First Crusade had now reached its climax. The Holy City was wrested from the Turks. The blood of the Infidel iron-forgers of the Altais had poured in thick streams down the slopes of Mount Moriah. The Syrian sun rising from the plains of Mesopotamia, flung the shadow of the Cross from the summit of Calvary to the distant Mediterranean. But what should the victors do with their trophy? As for Baldwin, he had made himself secure in the principality of Edessa. As for Bœmund, his selfish and ambitious nature had satisfied itself among the palaces and fountains of Antioch. As for the half million pilgrim warriors who had set out for Constantinople in the summer of 1096, nine out of every ten had perished. The remnant, now numbering fewer than fifty thousand, had reached the goal, and had planted their banners on the holy places in the City of the Great King. Could they preserve the prize which they had won?

A few days after the capture of Jerusalem the Western princes met to consider the disposition to be made of Palestine. The almost inevitable solution was the conversion of the country into a Christian state. The form of government was, of course, that feudal type of monarchy which then prevailed throughout Europe. It devolved upon the princes to choose a king, and to this task they set themselves with alacrity. Of the leading Crusaders, those who were eligible to the high office were Robert Short Hose of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, Raymond of Toulouse, and Godfrey of Bouillon. From the first the tide set strongly in favor of the last named duke. Short Hose and the Count of Flanders both announced their intention of returning forthwith to Europe, and as to Raymond, his haughty bearing and impetuous temper made him unpopular as a leader.

In order to settle the question, a commission of ten of the most discreet chieftains was appointed, and they at once set about the duty of election. Great care was exercised in regard to the fitness of the candidates. Duke Godfrey's servants were called and questioned relative to the private life and manners of their master. "The only fault we find with him," said they, "is that, when matins are over, he will stay so long in church, to learn the name of every image and picture, that dinner is often spoiled by his long tarrying." "What devotion!" exclaimed the pious electors. "Jerusalem could have no better king." So he was chosen. The KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM was proclaimed in the city, and the nomination of Duke Godfrey was made known to the eager and joyous multitude. Thus, on the 23d of July, in the last year of the eleventh

mies we found in the city, learn that in the portico of Solomon and in the Temple our horses walked up to the knees in the impure blood of the Saracens."

century, the Holy Land with its capital, once the City of David and the Christ, now wrenched from the dominion of the Turks by a series of exploits of well-nigh inconceivable audacity, was erected into a feudal monarchy after the European fashion, and placed under the suzerainty of Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, destined for the present to suffer more ills in defending than he had borne in conquering his heritage, and hereafter immortalized by the muse of Tasso as the hero of the *Jerusalem Delivered.*

CHAPTER XCI.—THE KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM.

DUKE GODFREY accepted the office but refused the title of king. He declared to the electors that it would be unbecoming in him to wear a crown of gold in the city where Christ had been crowned with thorns. It was, therefore, decided that the new ruler of Jerusalem should be entitled "First Baron and Defender of the Holy Sepulcher." His sovereignty, however, was ample, and his right undisputed.

As soon as the monarchy was proclaimed, the king-elect repaired with the pilgrim princes to the Church of the Resurrection, and there took an oath to reign according to the laws of justice and honor. Hardly was this ceremony ended, when the startling intelligence was borne to the city that a powerful Moslem army, led by Afdhal, one of the most valiant emirs of the East, had reached Ascalon, and was searching for a force of Crusaders sufficiently strong to offer battle. The warlike emir had taken an oath in the presence of the Caliph to drive every European out of Syria; nor could it be denied that a knowledge of his coming had spread terror before him. In the city, the Christians were in consternation. But King Godfrey had seen too much of War to be any longer frightened at the sound of his chariot. With unwavering courage he summoned his followers to resume the weapons which they had so recently laid aside, and go forth to victory. His influence and authority secured the desired object. Even Robert Short Hose and Raymond consented to renew the struggle with the Infidels. The Crusaders were marshaled forth, and led out in the direction of the foe.

The march led into the plain between Joppa and Ascalon. When the Christians were about encamping for the night—it was now the 11th of August—the whole horizon seemed to be disturbed with some dark agitation. Scouts were sent out to ascertain the cause, and, returning, brought back the report that immense herds of cattle and camels were driven along in the distance. This news fired the cupidity of the Crusaders, and they would fain go forth to seize so rich a booty. Godfrey, however, scented a stratagem, and prudently restrained his followers. No man was permitted to leave the ranks for the night. Events soon showed the wisdom of the king.

For, before the break of day, news was brought to the camp that the Moslem army was but a short distance away. With due celerity Godfrey and his captains set their forces in order of battle. Nine divisions were formed, and placed under command of leaders true and tried. At dawn of day Arnold de Rohes, who had been elected Patriarch of Jerusalem, went through the ranks, bearing the cross and pronouncing blessings on the soldiers. The army then knelt down, and besought the favor of heaven preparatory to the decisive struggle. As the march was resumed in the direction of the enemy, the tempting droves of cattle were seen to pass around to the rear, as if to distract the attention of the Crusaders from the great game soon to be enacted in front.

While these movements were performed by the Christians the Emir Afdhal had also prepared for the conflict. He had posted himself on the edge of the plain of Ascalon in a position strongly defensible by nature. For the mountains and the sea conspired to protect the wings of the Moslem army, and in the

distance the towers of the city—one of the strongest in Palestine—were seen as a refuge.

The Saracen army was drawn up in two lines, and was terrible in its aspect and extent. The disparity of numbers was so great that to any other than a Crusader it would have appeared the excess of madness to offer battle. But to one who had seen the war-horse of St. George and had touched the sacred spear wherewith the side of Christ had been pierced no task could appal, no numbers terrify.

On the other hand, where every rational ground of confidence existed, the Saracens shook at the sight of the Christian banners. No exhortation of the Emir could suffice to inspire the host under his command. At the moment when battle was about to begin the device which the Moslems had invented to destroy their adversaries turned against themselves. The vast droves of cattle which had been intended to decoy the Crusaders were seen in the rear of Godfrey's army and were mistaken by Afdhal's forces for a part of the foe whom they had to face. The discouragement of the Saracens was so great that in the beginning of the engagement they fought but feebly, while every furious blow of the Christian knights fell with fatal effect upon the Mohammedan ranks. As usual on such occasions, Robert Short Hose fought like a lion. With a body of cavalry he forced his way to the Saracen center and captured the Emir's standard. The infantry rushed after him and the enemy's lines were broken and scattered.

For a while a division of Ethiopians, after the peculiar tactics of their country, fell on their knees to discharge their javelins and then with a clubbed weapon resembling a flail, armed with jagged balls of iron, sprang up and assailed the Crusaders with the fury of Huns; but even these fierce warriors were soon routed by the resistless charges of Godfrey's knights. The whole Saracen army broke and fled in confusion. They rushed in the direction of Ascalon, and were pursued with havoc and slaughter. Thousands perished on the field; other thousands in the flight, and still others at the drawbridge of the city, upon which they were hopelessly crowded by the Christian warriors. Ascalon itself, in which Afdhal found refuge with the fugitives, might have been easily taken but for a quarrel which broke out between Godfrey and Raymond, whose ungovernable temper was as dreadful to his friends as his sword was fatal to his enemies. As it was, the Christians withdrew from the scene of their great victory laden with spoil and driving before them the herds of cattle which had already served them better than the enemy. As for the defeated Emir, believing himself unsafe in Ascalon, he took ship for Egypt, and sought security under the shadow of the Caliphate.

The battle of Ascalon was decisive of the present fate of Palestine. For the time the Turk was hurled from his seat. With the accomplishment of this result the prime motive of the Crusade was satisfied. Many of the princes now made preparation to return to Europe. The eccentric Raymond, however, had sworn never to see the West again. He accordingly repaired to Constantinople, and received from the Emperor as the portion due his heroism the city of Laodicea. Eustace of Bouillon and Robert of Flanders returned to their respective countries, and resumed possession of their estates. Here they passed the remainder of their lives in prosperity and honor. Robert Short Hose went back to Normandy, and when the five years expired, during which he had leased his dukedom to William Rufus, he recovered his inheritance. His stormy life, however, was still agitated and unfortunate. A few years after his return his paternal dominions were invaded by his brother Henry, king of England. A battle was fought between the two princes at Tenchebray, and Robert was defeated and captured. He was taken to Cardiff Castle and there confined as a prisoner of state until the year 1148, when his strange and romantic career was ended by death. Peter the Hermit likewise left the Holy City and started on a homeward voyage. In mid sea his ship was caught in a storm and the terrified monk vowed, if he should be spared to found an abbey in honor of the tomb of Christ. The tempest passed and Peter kept his vow by building a monastery on the banks of the Mæs. Here he spent the remnant of his days in penitential works, after the manner of his order. As for the counts—Stephen and Hugh—they, as will be remembered, had abandoned the Crusade before Antioch, and without participating in

the glory of capturing Jerusalem, had returned to Europe. The age branded them, however, as recreants, and under the whip of public opinion they rallied their knights for a new expedition.

Thus in a short time King Godfrey found himself in the Holy City with only a few hundred warriors to defend it. His courage, however, was as great as the situation was perilous. His reputation as a military chieftain stood him well in hand, and the swollen stream of pilgrims from the West, who might now be expected to crowd towards Jerusalem, would doubtless be sufficient for defense.

But the valiant Godfrey was not destined long to enjoy the fruits of his toil and warfare. As Baron of the Holy Sepulcher he did as much as man well might to give regular institutions to the country and people that he had conquered. A code of laws, known as the *Assizes of Jerusalem*, was drawn up under his auspices, and Palestine was suitably divided for purposes of administration. The military arm was strengthened, and Tancred was sent into Galilee, where he captured the town of Tiberias. The whole province was taken from the Turks and added to Godfrey's dominions.

The valorous Tancred carried the war still further into the sultan's territories, whereupon a Saracen army was sent out from Damascus, and the adventurous Crusader was about to be cut off. Godfrey hurried to his assistance, and the Moslems were defeated in battle. Returning to Jerusalem, the Defender of the Holy Sepulcher passed by way of Cesarea, and was met by the emir of that district, who made him a seemingly courteous offer of fruits. The unsuspecting Godfrey accepted and ate an apple. Doubtless it had been poisoned, for the prince immediately sickened. He was taken in haste to Joppa, where he lingered until the 18th of July, 1100, when he died. With thoughtful solicitude he committed his kingdom of Jerusalem to the protection of his companions, and directed that his body should be buried near the tomb of Christ. A few days after his death his remains were borne up the slope of Calvary, and laid to rest not far from the Holy Sepulcher. All Christendom heard of the event with sorrow, and the mourning for the most unselfish and chivalrous of the great knights who led the first Crusaders to victory and death was long continued, and as sincere as the age was capable of showing.

The decease of the king of Jerusalem brought on a crisis. Scarcely was Godfrey buried until the barons fell to quarreling about the succession. The crown was claimed by Arnold de Rohes, now patriarch of the city, but his pretensions were vigorously resisted by many of the pilgrim warriors. In order to find support he sent an embassy to Bœmund, prince of Antioch, to come to his assistance, and to aid in saving the Holy City from anarchy. The opposition meanwhile dispatched messengers to Baldwin of Edessa, brother of the late king, to come to Jerusalem and take the crown which now, according to feudal tenure, would rightfully descend to him. The envoys sent by Arnold to Antioch brought back the doleful intelligence that Bœmund had been recently taken prisoner by the Turks, and was himself far more in need of assistance than able to go to the rescue of another. Not so, however, with Prince Baldwin. Notwithstanding the doubtful expediency of endangering all by leaving his safe principality of Edessa for the hazards attending the crown of Jerusalem, he gladly accepted the invitation of the barons, and laid claim to the throne vacated by the death of his brother. Putting all on the cast of the die, he made over the principality of Edessa to his kinsman, Baldwin du Bourg, and set out with fourteen hundred horsemen to make good his claims in the Holy City.

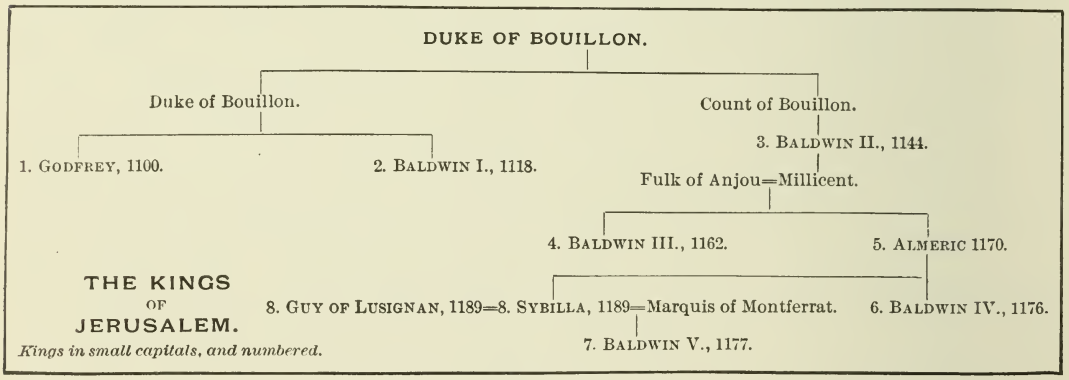
His reception was flattering. The inhabitants of Jerusalem came forth to meet their new sovereign, and welcomed him with plaudits. So marked were the expressions of approval that the Patriarch Arnold, after a few days of sullen discontent, gave in his adherence, and consented to officiate in the coronation of his successful rival.

As soon as this ceremony was completed, Baldwin set about the duties of his office with great energy. His abilities were scarcely inferior to those of his predecessor, and his audacity greater. The Saracens soon learned that the transfer of the crown was not likely to inure to the benefit of the Crescent. King Baldwin organized several expeditions against the Infidels, and his successes were such as to

strike terror into the ranks of the foe. The cities of Cesarea, Sidon, Tripoli, and Acre were quickly taken, and the frontiers of the kingdom widened and established on all sides.

The forces of the king were in the meantime augmented by almost constant arrivals from Europe. Several bodies of warriors, who were drawn in the wake of the First Crusade, reached the Holy City in the first years of the new century, and joined the victorious standard of those who had preceded them. Now it was that Stephen of Blois and Hugh of Vermandois returned to the scenes of former days, shame-faced for their abandonment of the cause, and eager to retrieve their honor. The dukes of Aquitaine and Bavaria, and the counts of Burgundy, Vendôme, Nevers, and Parma, all envious of the fame achieved by their brethren in the East, years later, when the armies of Baldwin were engaged in the siege of Sidon, two fleets, manned by Scandinavian Crusaders, arrived from the Baltic, and rendered important service in the reduction of the city.

To this epoch belongs the last of the exploits of Raymond of Toulouse. Before the capture of the Phœnician cities, he had acted as guide and leader to a band of French knights on their way through Asia Minor to Jerusalem. Obtaining an ascendency over them, he induced them to join him in the conquest of Tortosa, on the coast of Syria. A new principality was thus founded, with Raymond for its ruler. He employed his own knights from Provence in enlarging the borders of his state, and presently undertook the reduction of Tripoli; but, before this object could be reached, the veteran warrior



assumed the cross and arrived with their knights in Palestine. So long and full of hardships was the march through Eastern Europe and Asia Minor, that those who survived were already veterans before reaching their destination, and the armies of Baldwin were thus replenished by a class of warriors scarcely inferior to the war-hardened Crusaders of the first expedition.

Another source of strength to the kingdom was the constant arrival on the Phœnician coast of fleets from Genoa and other European ports. A readier communication was thus maintained with the parent states. These armaments coöperated with the land forces in the subjugation of the maritime districts of Syria. As early as 1104, Beyrut and Serepta were conquered, partly through the aid of the Genoese squadron. A few of Toulouse died. The work of subjugation, however, was continued by King Baldwin, assisted by all the Latin princes of the East. Tripoli was taken, and became the capital of a new dukedom, which was conferred on Bertrand, son of Raymond. The state thus formed was subject, after the feudal manner, to the Kingdom of Jerusalem; but its importance, lying as it did midway between the principality of Antioch and the Holy Land, was such as to give to Tripoli a rank of almost independent sovereignty.

At Antioch affairs had not gone prosperously. Bœmund, as already narrated, was made prisoner by the Turks. Tancred thereupon assumed the government during the minority of Bœmund's son. While acting thus as regent he continued his unending warfare with the Saracens and was killed in battle. Bœ-

mund finally effected his escape and soon afterwards engaged in hostilities with the Eastern Empire. Unsuccessful in this war he returned to Tarento, and there, in his old age, sat brooding and despondent amid the scenes of his boyhood. His restless nature, tormented with the vision of impossible activities, gave way to gloom, and he died of despair.

Of the heroic companions of Godfrey, there now remained in the East only King Baldwin and Baldwin du Bourg, prince of Edessa. The former was sonless, and reason and preference both indicated the latter as his successor to the crown of Jerusalem. In the year 1118 the king died and Baldwin du Bourg came to the throne with the title of Baldwin II. On his accession he transferred the Principality of Edessa to Joscelyn de Courtenay, a noble knight of France, who had gone to Asia Minor in the wake of the First Crusade.

In the mean time, Count Foulque, of Anjou, father of that Geoffrey Plantagenet who gave a race of kings to England, falling into profound melancholy on account of the death of his wife, would fain distract his thoughts from his grief by taking the cross and going on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He accordingly left his province to the care of his son and departed for the East. On reaching the Holy City he became greatly admired for his qualities of mind and person. Nor was it long till he found a panacea for his sorrow in the acquaintance of the Princess Millicent, daughter of Baldwin II. Her he wooed and won, and when her father died he received and wore the crown rather as the husband of Millicent than in his own right. His son was named for his maternal grandfather, and afterwards reigned with the title of Baldwin III.

The principal event of the reign of Baldwin du Bourg was the siege and capture of Tyre. This great feat was accomplished in the year 1124, and chiefly by the aid of the Venetian fleet sent out by the Doge Ordelafo Falieri. Before engaging in the enterprise, however, this thrifty ruler stipulated that he should receive the sovereignty of one-third of the city as the price of his services. Already the Italian princes, especially those who held authority in the maritime Republics, had learned the value of their services to the Crusaders, and were not slow to turn their advantage to a profitable account. Henceforth—though not less zealous than others in proclaiming the disinterested motives by which they were actuated in sending out their fleets against the Moslems—they ever took care to extort from those whom they aided exorbitant pay for their service. The squadron of Falieri arrived on the Phœnician coast, and the city of Tyre was obliged, after a five months' siege, to capitulate. The new conquest was erected into an archbishopric and added to the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Thus, in the last year of the first quarter of the twelfth century the most opulent city on the Syrian coast, being also the last stronghold of the Moslems in Palestine, was won by the Crusaders and annexed to their dominions.

This is the date of the greatest power and influence of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Holy Land was now all recovered from the Infidels. Neither the Turks from the direction of Baghdad, nor the Fatimites from the side of Egypt, were able for the time to shake the foundations of the Christian state. From the Mediterranean to the desert of Arabia, and from Beyrut to the Gulf of Sinai, the country acknowledged the sway of Baldwin II. Besides the large territory thus defined the County of Tripoli under Bertrand, and the Principalities of Edessa and Antioch were as distinctly Christian states as was Jerusalem itself, and throughout the whole of these countries the feudal institutions of Western Europe were established on what appeared to be an enduring basis.

The Christian kingdom of Palestine was divided into the four great fiefs of Jaffa, Galilee, Cesarea, and Tripoli, and over each was set a baron who was the vassal of the king. The one fatal weakness of the situation lay in the fact that while a constant stream of pilgrim warriors was setting towards Jerusalem, another stream fully as copious was flowing back into Europe. Even at the time of greatest solidity and peace the number of knights and soldiers resident in Palestine was never sufficient to defend the country in the event of a formidable invasion by the Moslems. It was estimated that the regular force of knights whom as his vassals Baldwin II. might call into the field did not exceed two thousand five hundred; and the feudal militia, consist-

ing for the most part of archers on foot, only numbered twelve thousand.

Another circumstance tending to undermine the foundation of the kingdom was the rapid deterioration of the people of the West under the conditions of life in Syria. The resident Crusaders were brought into communion and fellowship with the native Christians of the country — Syrians, Greeks, Armenians, — a nerveless race of Orientals, destitute of the warlike vigor of the Western pilgrims. Besides, the Mussulman peasantry remained in the villages and continued to cultivate the soil. After the lapse of a few years these diverse races began to commingle, and a new type of population was produced, inheriting but little virtue from either line of parentage. These hybrid inhabitants were known by the name of *Pullani* or Poulains — a degenerate stock deduced from a bad cross under the influence of a baleful climate and diseased society.

One of the principal events belonging to the interval between the First and Second Crusades was the institution of the two principal Orders of Knighthood. The prime motives of the origin of these celebrated societies are to be found in the martial spirit and religious enthusiasm of the age. The condition of society was such as to suggest the conservation of the chivalrous and benevolent sentiments by means of organization. As soon as the orders were established they rose to celebrity, and it was not long until the highest honors of secular society would have been freely exchanged for the distinction conferred by the badges of knighthood.

The fundamental principle on which the new Orders were founded was *the union of monachism and chivalry.* Hitherto the devotion of man to religion had made him a monk; his devotion to truth denied and innocence distressed, had made him a secular warrior. It now happened that the warlike vow and the vow of religion were united in the single consecration of knighthood. The condition of affairs in Palestine—unfavorable to monasticism from the insecurity of society, and unfavorable to secular chivalry on account of the absence of lofty sentiments among the lay population of the country—was peculiarly favorable to the development of organizations based on the cross militant. Such organizations contemplated the sword under the cowl—warfare in the name of Christ. The same ideas which had brought-about the Crusade demanded preservation under the sanction of secrecy and brotherhood.

The oldest of the religio-chivalric orders was the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem, known also as Knights Hospitallers, and subsequently as Knights of Rhodes and Knights of Malta. The circumstances of the origin of this celebrated Order date back to the middle of the eleventh century. In the year 1048 some benevolent merchants of the Italian city of Amalfi obtained permission of the Fatimite rulers of Jerusalem to build in the Holy City a chapel for the use of Latin pilgrims. The establishment took the name of Saint Mary, and was for a while used in common by both men and women. Soon afterwards two hospitals were built in connection with the chapel; and then a second chapel, called after Saint Mary Magdalen, was erected adjacent to the woman's hospital. The man's hospital took the name of Saint John the Almoner, an Alexandrian patriarch of the seventh century. This saint had left a sweet memory in the City of David by sending thither in the year 614, after the destructive siege and capture by Chosroes II., a plentiful supply of money and provisions to the suffering people. Such was the origin of the hospitals or hostelries of Jerusalem.

To the whole establishment thus founded was given the name of Saint John, who became the recognized patron of the Order. The services in the hospitals were performed by a brotherhood—and sisterhood—of pilgrims ununder the direction of Pierre Gerard le Bienheureux, or Gerard the Blessed. It was this Order of the Hospital that came forth on the occasion of the capture of the city by the Crusaders, and rendered so great service to humanity by caring for the wounded amd dying. So heroic were the efforts of the brotherhood, that Raymond du Puy joined the Order, and Godfrey himself bestowed on them their first foreign possession, namely, the estate of Montbaire in Brabant. His example was imitated by other princes, and it was not long until the brothers of the Hospital found themselves in possession of abundant means.

Now it was that the Order took on a per-

manent character. After the establishment of the Kingdom of Jerusalem the brothers bound themselves by a vow to labor forever in the hospitals. They were to become henceforth the "servants of Christ and his poor." Their vows embraced the trinity of mediæval virtues—obedience, chastity, and poverty. As a garb they chose the black robe of the Augustinian monks, and to this was added a white linen cross of eight points, worn on the left breast. On the 15th of February, 1113, the Order was approved by Pope Paschal II., under the name of the "Brothers Hospitallers of Saint John in Jerusalem."

In the organization which was thus made regular and permanent, Pierre Gerard was chosen Guardian and Provost of the Order. Gifts poured in upon the fraternity. A splendid church was built on the traditional site of the abode of the parents of Saint John the Baptist, and hospitals for the accommodation of pilgrims were founded in the principal seaport towns of Western Europe.

After five years of service as Guardian, Gerard died, and was succeeded by Raymond du Puy. He it was who, in order to protect the Christians of Palestine from injury or insult at the hands of the Moslems, armed himself and former companion knights, and thus gave to the Order its first military cast. The movement was applauded by the age. Both in the Holy Land and in the West the brothers in arms became more popular than ever. The chivalric sentiment was thus added to the charitable vows of the fraternity, and persons of distinction and high rank began eagerly to seek admission into the Order. The vow to bear arms in defense of Christ and his cause, and to defend from insult and wrong the Christians of all lands and languages, was taken with even more enthusiasm than the vow of monasticism and charity.

From the accession of Raymond to the guardianship of the Order, three degrees were recognized in the hospital; knights, priests, and brothers-servants. To these a fourth grade, called sergeants or half-knights, was presently added; and to these intermediates certain duties in both the field and the infirmary were assigned.

Under the auspices of Raymond, a code was drawn up for the government of the Order. The Augustinian rule was made the basis of the statute adopted for the Brothers of the Hospital. The name of the chief officer was changed from Guardian to Master, and Saint John the Baptist was substituted for Saint John the Almoner, as the patron of the brotherhood. In 1120 the new constitution was submitted to Pope Calixtus II., and by him cordially approved.

So rapidly did the Hospitallers extend their establishments and membership that it was presently found desirable to make—according to the nationality and language of the members—a nine-fold division of the Order. The commanderies were thenceforth classified as those of Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Aragon, Germany, England, Castile, and Portugal.

Before the middle of the twelfth century, the Hospitallers had become a powerful military factor in the affairs of the East. Their membership embraced the most puissant knights of Christendom. During the siege of Tyre, they contributed powerfully to the capture of the city, and the final expulsion of the Moslems from Palestine. In 1153 they aided in the taking of Ascalon, their valorous actions being the pride of the Christians and the terror of the Saracens. After these successful victories for the Cross, the wealth of the Order accumulated with great rapidity. Nor was it long until the moral and chivalric grandeur of the brotherhood began to be undermined by the invidious influences of luxury and corruption. As early as 1168, the Master Gilbert d'Assalit, successor to Raymond du Puy, was seduced with bribes, together with the larger part of the Order, to violate a treaty with Egypt, and to make an invasion of that country. In 1187 the Hospitallers of Palestine were almost exterminated in the disastrous battle of Tiberias, where Saladin so signally overthrew the Christians. When possession of Jerusalem was finally regained by the Saracens, the Order made its head-quarters for a while at the Castle of Margat, and at the same time the woman's hospitals in the East were abandoned. At this epoch, the knights suffered much from their disputes and rivalries with the Templars; but in times of danger both brotherhoods gave their best blood in defense

of the common cause. In the great battle of Gaza, A. D. 1244, the losses of both Hospitallers and Templars were so great that the two Orders came nigh suffering a common extinction. Finally, when, in 1291, the city of Acre was taken by the Moslems, the knights retired to Cyprus, where they made a stand and recruited their wasted ranks for the overflowing commanderies of the West. It was at this time that the Order of Saint John became a maritime power, having its own fleets and winning its own victories in the eastern Mediterranean. Early in the four-



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF RHODES, TIME OF THE CRUSADES.

teenth century, they seized the island of Rhodes, where they established their power, and defied the Turks for more than two hundred years. In 1522 they were driven from their stronghold, and obliged to seek a new

footing further west. They sought a refuge first in Crete, then in Messina, then in the main-land of Italy, and, finally, in 1530, were given the island of Malta by the Emperor, Charles V. This sea-born possession they converted into a fortress, which, in spite of the most strenuous efforts of the Turks, was held by the knights until 1798, when it was taken by Bonaparte.

The second of the great orders of knighthood was originally known as the KNIGHTS OF THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON, and afterwards as KNIGHTS TEMPLARS, or KNIGHTS OF THE RED CROSS. Under these various designations they ran a briefer but more glorious career than the Hospitallers, by whom they were at first generously aided and afterwards bitterly opposed. The founding of the Order of the Temple dates to the year 1117. Two French knights, Hugues des Païens and Geoffrey of Saint-Omer, perceiving the hardships to which Christian travelers were exposed in and about the Holy City, took upon themselves the duty of conducting the pilgrims who journeyed between Jerusalem and the Jordan. This charitable office soon gained a reputation for the humble warrior-guides, and they were joined by seven others, like-minded with themselves. An organization was effected under the benevolent patronage of the patriarch of the city. The members bound themselves by the usual monastic vows of obedience, chastity, and poverty; and to these two others were added, to defend the Holy Sepulcher and to protect the way-faring pilgrims in Palestine.—Such was the humble beginning of the Order.

At the first the Knights of Saint John, now in the flush of their heroic virtues, lent aid and encouragement to the new society of brothers. Nothing was to be feared from a humble fraternity known by the name of the "Poor Soldiers of the Holy City." Nothing could exceed the lowliness of the meek knights who founded the brotherhood. Hugues and Geoffrey had one horse between them, and him they rode together on their first missions of benevolence.[1] The first members were given a lodging by Baldwin II., who assigned them quarters in his palace on the site of the ancient temple. Their first armory was established in a church near by, and here were stored their first knightly weapons. The first chapter was limited to nine members; but this limitation was removed by the council of Troyes in 1127. At this assembly St. Bernard, of Clairvaux, was commissioned to draw up a suitable code for the government of the body, and to devise an appropriate garb. The dress chosen was in strong contrast with that of the Hospitallers, consisting of a white tunic and mantle, with a red cross on the left breast. The rule of conduct and discipline was approved in 1128 by Pope Honorius II. The principal articles were these: The Knights were bound to recite vocal prayers at certain hours; to abstain from meats four days in the week; to refrain from hunting and hawking; to defend with their lives the mysteries of the Christian faith; to observe and maintain the Seven Sacraments of the Church, the fourteen articles of faith, the creeds of the apostles and of Athanasius; to uphold the doctrines of the Two Testaments, including the interpretations of the Fathers, the unity of God and the trinity of his persons, and the virginity of Mary both before and after the birth of her Son; to go beyond the seas when called to do so in defense of the cause; to fly not from the foe unless assailed by more than three Infidels at once.



COSTUME OF A KNIGHT TEMPLAR.

Such was the nucleus of the Order. Humility was one of the first principles of the membership. The helmet of the Templar should have no crest—his beard should not be cut—his demeanor should be that of a servant of

[1] The great seal of the Templars still perpetuates the story of the lowly origin of the Order in the figure of the steed with two riders.

his fellows. Each member on assuming the garb of a Knight must be girt with a linen cord in token that he was henceforth bound to service.

The organization of the Templars embraced four classes of members—knights, squires, servitors, and priests. Each had their peculiar duties and obligations. The presiding officer of the Order was called the Master—afterwards the Grand Master—and he had as his assistants a lieutenant, a seneschal, a marshal, and a treasurer, all of whom were elected by the chapter. The states of Christendom were divided into provinces, and over each was set a provincial master. The Grand Master of Jerusalem was regarded as the head of the entire brotherhood, which soon grew in numbers, influence, and wealth to be one of the most powerful organizations in the world. Counts, dukes, princes, and even kings, eagerly sought the honor which was everywhere conceded to the red cross and white mantle of the Templar.

In course of time the Knights of the Temple became a sovereign body, owing no allegiance to any secular potentate. In spiritual matters the Pope was still regarded as supreme, but in all other affairs the Grand Master was as independent as the greatest sovereign of Europe. The houses of the Knights could not be invaded by any civil officer. Their churches and cemeteries were exempt from interdicts; their properties and revenues from taxation. So great were the immunities thus enjoyed that thousands of persons sought to be affiliated with the brotherhood in order to share its benefits. Every thing conspired to make the Knights the favorites of the century. They had the prestige of Crusaders. They had St. Bernard for their Master. They had the blessing of the Pope. They had the applause and gratitude of those whom they had relieved and protected. They had estates and castles and churches. They had the patronage of the great and the benediction of the Church.

It was the peculiarity of mediæval institutions that beginning in virtuous poverty they ended in luxury and crime. As early as the middle of the twelfth century the membership of the Templars was recruited largely from the class of adventurers and outlaws with whom Europe so greatly abounded. St. Bernard himself declared in a series of exhortations addressed to the Order that the greater number of the nobles who had joined the soldiers of the Temple had been men stained with every species of crime, the oppressors and scourges of Europe.



DEFEAT OF THE TURKS BY CRUSADERS.—Drawn by A. de Neuville.

In the division of the Christian states into provinces by the Order of the Red Cross, three were formed in the East—Jerusalem, Antioch, and Tripoli. In the West the provinces numbered sixteen—France, Auvergne, Normandy, Aquitaine, Poitou, Provence, England, Germany, Upper and Lower Italy, Apulia, Sicily, Portugal, Castile, Leon, and Aragon. Of all these the most important by far was France. A majority of all the Templars were French,

24. **Conrad II.** 39. **Henry III.**, THE BLACK; he deposes and creates three popes in succession.
1. **Otho** defeats the Saracens in Italy.
2. **St. Henry**, great-grandson to Henry I., elected.
56. **Henry IV.**, aged six years.

GERMANY.

24. **HOUSE OF FRANCONIA.**

73. Contentions with Hildebr and bishops begins.
76. Excommunicated, depri ved of his dominions, and his sub- jects freed from their allegiance, he goes to Italy to so- licit absolution, and af ter various struggles he falls the victim of papal vengea nce.
25. **Lothaire II.** elected. and
6. **Henry V.** He takes Pascal II. prisoner, an does not release him until he restor the investitures.
Marrics Matilda of England.
73. A series of bloody wars with the Saracens begins.
38. **HOUSE**

Robert II., son of Hugh Capet. 31. **Henry I.** 60. **Philip I.** Invasion of **William the Conqueror.**
The pope annuls his marriage with his cousin Bertha, and puts his kingdom under an interdict. 32. He defeats his brother Robert, whom his mother, Constantia, has endeavored to raise to the throne.
The feudal system still gains strength, and the power of the monarch declines. *Private wars are continually carried on between the barons.*
In the next century Louis VI. and his successors have many struggles with their vassals. Under them the power of the crown begins to revive and society to consolidate.
40. **The Truce of God**, introduced by the clergy, which forbids private warfare from Wednesday evening till Monday morning, checks civil contests, and the **rise of free and chartered towns under Louis VI.** weakens feudal oppression, strengthens the power of the monarch and leads gradually to the formation of a middle class of Society.

FRANCE.

CAPETIAN RACE.

8. **Louis VI.**, THE FAT; he is an able and
37. **Louis VII.**, THE
42. He q
9. W. Eng. Henry defeated and forced to retire. nor civi chu
19. *Brenneville*—Louis de- feated by the English. 47.
24. The emperor Henry V

CRUSADING.

Abelard, scholastic

2. Dreadful massacre of all the Danes in England.
4. **Sweyn**, k. of Denmark, invades England the second time.
15. Becomes king.
16. **Edmund II.**, IRONSIDE, son of Ethelred II.
35. **Harold I.**
39. **Canute II.**, oppressive, son of **Canute the Great.**
66. **Harold II.** elected.
66. **William I.**, THE CONQUEROR, from Normandy, defeats and slays **Harold** at *Hastings*. William introduces the **Feudal System.** Norman French used in all legal proceedings.

ENGLAND.

16. **DANISH KINGS.**
41. **Edward the Confessor**, son of Ethelred II., mild, partial to th
44. Unites all the laws of England into one body, called the Common Law.
SAXON restored.
87. Invading Fra nce, is injured and dies.
87. **William Rufus**, tyrannical and cruel.
17. **Canute the Great**, a Dane, and the most powerful sovereign in Europe.
66. **NORMAN KINGS.**

Henry I., THE SCHOLAR, usurps the throne while his elder brother, Robert, is absent on a crusade; proves an able but licentious king.
6. Henry defeats Robert, takes him prisoner, causes his eyes to be burned out, and confines him for life (28 years) in a castle in W
35. **Stephen**, gra ing the c
e Normans.
40. *Lincol* Glouc
42. The e tak
Anarchy
Henry marries Matilda, great-grand daughter o issue, Matilda or Maud; she marries Geoffr earl of Anjou—issue, Henry II.

4. **Malcolm II.**; he publishes a new code of Laws. 57. **Malcolm III.**, CANMORE. 93. **Donald**
34. **Duncan I.** 99.
40. **Macbeth** usurps after murdering Duncan.

SCOTLAND.

(VII.) the Bane.
Anarchy.
24. **David the Saint.**
Edgar.

31. **Al Kaymen**, caliph at Bagdad. 97. G
The Saracens introduce the Arabic numeral ciphers into Europe.
Ferdusi, po., the Persian Homer.
Avicenna, ph. and phys., d. 36, a. 66.
55. **Bagdad taken by the Turks.**
From this time the caliphs are only the supreme pontiffs of the Mohammedan faith.
65. **The Turks take Jerusalem** from the Saracens.
Christian pilgrims insulted and robbed—one cause of the Crusades.
98.

MOHAMMEDAN EMPIRE.

Seljuk, a Turkish officer of the khan of Tartary, becomes a Mohammedan. **Togrul Beg**, his grandson, after some conquests in 1037, takes the title of sultan; 42. he conquers Persia; 55. takes Bagdad, where he establishes his capital. Between 1055 and 1080 three more Turkish sultanries are erected under different conquerors. **Ducas** establishes his capital at Damascus, **Melech** at Aleppo, and **Cutlu Muses** and his son at Iconium. 99.

odfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorraine; **Hugh**, brothe **Robert**, son of William the Conqueror; and o head of 600,000 warriors, joined by **Peter the** remnant of his host, besiege Nice.
Solyman, at the head of the Turks, is defeated, A second time victorious, the Crusaders captu sieged in Antioch by Solyman and the Persia
Ascalon—Godfrey defeats the Moslems (100,000 Mustali. 46.
They assault Jerusalem, and obtain the object the deliverance of the Holy City from the **Godfrey** is elected king.

41. **Michael V.** 59. **Constantine X.**
28. **Romanus III.** 42. **Constantine IX.** 78. **Nicephorus.**
34. **Michael IV.** 54. **Theodora**, the last of the Macedonians.
57. **Isaac Comnenus** resigns. 81. **Alexius I.** COMNE
54. **Schism of the East completed** (a separation of the Eastern or Greek Church, from the Church of Rome) after two centuries of contentions.
Learning and commerce some-
68. **Romanus IV.** DIOGENES. *what revive.*

EASTERN OR GREEK EMPIRE.

18. **John I.** COMNENUS, a great ar
NUS. 43. **N**
By the talents and bravery of the **COMNENI** *powers o*

Boleslaus I., the first king, defeats the Germans, Russians, and Bohemians, and governs with wisdom.
25. **Micislaus II.** 41. **Casimir.** 58. **Boleslaus II.** 79. **Ladislaus I.**, THE CARELESS.
34-41. **Anarchy.** Previous to 1000 A. D. Poland was governed by dukes.

POLAND.

39. **Ladisl** 44. 4
2. **Boleslaus III.**

SWEDEN.

Christianity supposed to have been introduced into Sweden about 830, and into Denmark about 826 A. D.
The history of Sweden previous to the fourteenth century is confused and uncertain.

The Erics and Swe

Sweyn conquers England. 36. **Canute III.** 74. **Harold VII.** 87. **Olaus.** 95 **Eric.**
45. **Magnus the Good**, of Norway, k. 76. **St. Canute IV.**
16. **Canute II.**, THE GREAT, becomes king of England. Civil war. 64. Peace. *Unhappy times for near a century; of nine kings, five are assassinated.*
19. Conquers Norway.

DENMARK.

2. **Nicholas.** 35. **Erci IV.**
5. The clergy and nobility obtain the chief power. 39. **Eric V**

95.
Henry, a grandson of Robert of France, assists A a reward of his bravery, gives him his daughte
12. **Alphonso I.** 39. Procla

PORTUGAL.

9. **Urraca** marries Raymond of Franche-C She makes war with her sister Theres countess of Portugal.
26. **Alphonso VIII.** defeats th divides his dominions his two sons.

35. **Ferdinand I.** in 37 obtains Leon by marriage.
65. **Alphonso VI.** of Leon in 72 becomes king of Castile. Don Roderigo, a knight-errant, surnamed the **Cid**, conquers New Castile for his sovereign.

CASTILE AND LEON.

4. **Alphonso I.**, THE WARRIOR. W. Moors.
ions. 24. **Ramirez II.**, THE MONK.
6. *Milan* revolts and erects itself into a re

35. **Ramirez I.** 63. **Sancho Ramirez.**
76. Unites Navarre to his domin
80. W. Moors. 94. **Peter I.**

ARAGON.

2. **William II.**, k of Sicily. 30. **Rodger II.**, k. of Sic 19-30. War between Pisa and G
Henry V., emperor and king of Italy.

41. **Normans conquer Apulia**; William created duke.
57. **Robert Guiscard**, duke.

ITALY.

Dreadful civil broils till 39 *respecting feudal tenures.*
The Free Cities, VENICE, GENOA, and PISA, rise in power and wealth. The foundations of these little republics were laid soon after 900; *they are greatly enriched by the Crusades.*
3. **Ardoin.** A German party invites Henry; Ardoin loses most of Italy; soon after resigns.
4. Henry comes to Italy; in a quarrel between his troops and the people Pavia is burnt, which cau ses mutual hatred. **Study of the Civil Law revive**

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART
No. V.
EUROPE DURING THE CRUSADES,
From 1000 to 1330 A. D.

Prepared by John Clark Ridpath, LL. D.

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grandson of Henry IV., elected by the states; op-
Henry the Proud of the family of the Guelphs,
the pope. This gives rise to the factions of the
(partisans of the pope) and Ghibelines (partisans
nperor), which for three centuries desolate Italy
nany.

79. **Philip** excommunicat

2. **Frederic I.,** BARBAROSSA, great-great-grandso
invades Italy, has contests with the pope, a
SUABIA. 90. **Henry VI.**

8. **Otho IV.** (marries the daughter of Philip).
12. **Frederic II.**; he keeps up the opposition against three successive popes.

ed, assassinated.

n of Henry IV.,
nd engages in the Third Crusade.

50. **Conrad, IV.**
54. Poisoned.
From the death of Conrad to the election of Rodolph, *the most dreadful anarchy.*

41. **League of the Hanse Towns** (soon number eighty) for the protection of commerce and for withstanding the exactions of the nobles.

73. **Rodolph I.** restores order in his distracted empire.
78. Conquers Austria.
91. **Adolphus** elected.

73. **HOUSE OF HAPSBURG.**

ul sovereign. 80. **Philip II.,** AUGUSTUS.
G.
s with the pope about the 82. Banishes the J
on of an archbishop. A fiscates their
follows; Louis burns the ews and con- 90. Goes on
f Vitry, filled with rebels. property.
goes on a crusade to atone for his crime. Third Crusade.

o had joined England, defeated and forced to re tire.

. 43, a. 63.

26. **St. Louis IX.,** upright and honest, but living in superstitious times.
France consolidated, and the power of the crown greatly increased.

16. **Louis,** son of Philip, accepts the offer of the barons, goes to London, and is there crowned, but John dying soon after, he is forced to retire.

23. **Louis VIII.,** THE LION. He seizes all the English possessions on the Continent as far as the Garonne.

85. **Philip IV.,** THE FAIR, perfidious and cruel.
Saintes—Louis defeats Henry of England.
48. Goes to the Holy Land and defeats the Saracens.
50. Taken prisoner in Egypt, purchases his pardon, and returns.
70. Dies besieging Tunis on his second crusade.

70. **Philip III.,** THE HARDY.

Henry II., (grandson to Henry I.), PLANTAGENET, succeeds according to agreement, and proves the greatest monarch of the age.
Opposed by **Thomas a Becket,** archbishop of Canterbury.
of William the Conqueror, usurps, notwithstand-
f Matilda and her son Henry.
70. Becket killed.
hen taken prisoner by the earl of 89. **Richard**
latilda's brother. 73. His sons rebel. 90. Goes on
eated, 74. Does penance at Becket's
oner. tomb.
isery. 71. **Ireland conquered**; given by
nd II.— the pope to Henry II. in 56.
tagenet.

HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET

15. **John** forced to submit to his indignant barons, and to sign the **Magna Charta,** or Great Charter, which secures important rights to all classes.
16. **Henry III.,** a weak king, governed by foreign favorites.

HEROIC.

58. **The Statutes of Oxford** drawn up by the barons, which the king swears to observe.
64. *Lewes*—Henry III. defeated and made prisoner by Montfort, earl of Leicester, supported by the barons.
65. *Evesham*—Prince Edward defeats and slays Montfort, and frees his father.

72. **Edward I.,** LONGSHANKS, a great warrior and statesman, but cruel.
82. Wales conquered; its king, **Llewellyn,** slain in battle; from this time "Prince of Wales" is the title of the king's eldest son.

I., THE LION.
a crusade, defeats Saladin; returning, is detained a prisoner in Germany.
John Lackland, a weak tyrant, son of Henry II. In 13 he resigns his crown to the pope's legate, and receives it back as a vassal of the Holy See.

R. Bacon, ph., d. 94, a. 80.
Notwithstanding her intestine troubles, in this century England improves greatly in civilization, commerce, and power.

OR ANJOU.

William the Lion.

Malcolm IV.
65. **William I.,** THE LION.

49. **Alexander III.,** aged eight years, marries Margaret.
14. **Alexander II.,** active and wise; his attempts to civilize the Celts (Highlanders) occasion civil contentions.
63. The Western Islands conquered from Denmark.
85. **Baliol** and **Bruce.**
93. **Baliol** king.

French king;
eftains, at the
vith the small 71. **Saladin,** sultan of Egypt, a
He conquers Syria, Assyria,
city taken.
och; are themselves be-
but are again victorious.
id 400,000 foot) under 87. He defeats the
army destroyed by the takes Jerusa
of Iconium. 91. Acre taken
ar in Philip A
, and 91. **Richard** de
93. Saladin d
are div

rmy of Louis destroyed in Laodicea.
The power of the Crusaders declines.
The second Crusade cost Europe 200,000 men.

wise and upright prince.
Mesopotamia, and Arabia.
Crusaders and
lem.
by Richard and
ugustus.
feats Saladin.
ies and his dominions
ided.

36. **Batu Khan,** nephew of Ougtai, invades Europe at the head of 1,500,000 Moguls; ravages Russia, Poland, Hungary, and advances to the Danube; establishes himself as first khan of Kipchak.
27. **Ougtai Khan** completes the conquest of Northern China.
18. **Genghis Khan,** sovereign of the Moguls, after having subdued most of the Tartars in the North and East and Northern China, enters Persia, and in six years subdues that country.
25. Marches for China; dies upon the expedition; his empire divided among his four sons.
The empire of the Moguls included all Asia, except Arabia, Turkey, the southern part of Hindostan, Chin-India, the south-eastern part of China, and the northern part of Siberia. It also embraced the eastern part (one-third) of Russia in Europe.
91. Mamelukes capture Acre.
End of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

1250–1382. **Mamelukes** rule in Egypt. They were originally Turkish slaves. 68. They take Antioch from the Christians.

prince. 80. **Alexius II.** COMNENUS.
omnenus. 83. **Andronicus I.** COMNE
s with the Turks and NUS.
ns. 85. **Isaac Angelus.**
e becomes an object of respect or of terror to the and Asia.

16. **Peter de Courtenay.**
3. **Alexius IV.,** THE YOUNGER. 19. **Robert de Courtenay.**
4. **Baldwin I.** crowned. 28. **Baldwin II.**
4. French or Latin emperors at Constantinople.
6. **Henry.**

61. The Greek emperors recover Constantinople from the French.
61. **Michael Paleologus.** 81. The Turks take Cutahi.
82. **Andronicus II.** PALEOLOGUS.

73. **Micislaus III.**
s. 78. **Casimir the Just**; he
as IV. restores peace.

2. **Lesko** restored. 26. **Conrad of Masovia.** 79. **Lesko the Black.**
27. **Boleslaus V.,** aged 6. 41. *Lignitz*—the Poles defeated by the Moguls, who fill nine sacks with the right ears of the slain.

tend for dominion.

50. **Waldemar.** 76. **Magnus Ladislaus.** 90. **Birger** con-
Chivalry and tourna- quered.
ments introduced. Lapland
10. **Eric X.** conquered.
16. **John I.** 22. **Eric XI.** Wisby becomes one of the Hanse towns.

n IV. 57. **Waldemar I.,** THE VICTORIOUS, defeats the Slavonic pirates.
ute V. 70. Destroys Jomsberg, the grea Europe, and the stronghol
82. **Canute VI.**

3. **Waldemar II.** makes great conquests, but is taken prisoner, and loses most of his acquisitions.
test city in
d of paganism.
42. **Eric VI.** 52. **Christopher I**
40. Laws of **Waldemar.** 50. **Abel.** 59. **Eric VII.**
43. Copenhagen captured by the Hanse Towns.
80. County deputies of the peasantry to Parliament.
86. **Eric VIII.**

ing of Castile, against the Moors. Alphonso, as age, and creates him count of a part of Portugal. by his troops. **BURGUNDY.** 85. **Sancho I.**

11. **Alphonso II.,** THE FAT. 45. Deposed by the pope. 79. **Dionysius** or **Dennis**
23. **Sancho II.,** CAPELLUS. 46. **Alphonso III.** **the Just.**

rwards Alphonso I. of Aragon, but is divorced.
7. **Sancho II.,** king of Castile, and
Ferdinand II., king of Leon.
58. **Alphonso IX.,** king of Castile, has a long and prosperous reign.
86. **Alphonso IX.,** king.

12. **Alphonso,** king of Castile defeats the Moors. 52. **Alphonso X.,** THE WISE. 71. Elected Emperor
14. **Henry I.,** king of Castile. of Germany by a faction; in 82 deposed,
17. **St. Ferdinand III.,** king of Castile. and attempts to recover his throne by the
30. Unites Castile and Leon. aid of the Moors.
36. St. Ferdinand takes Cordova, etc., from the Moors. The *Alphonsine Tables formed.*
84. **Sancho IV.**

62. **Alphonso II.** conquers Provence. 96. **Peter**
illa is married to Raymond, count of Barcelona.
67. *League* of the Italian cities to preserve
II. renders his kingdom tributary to the Pope; for this he receives the title of *Catholic.* 91. **James II.**
13. **James I.** In 29 he takes Majorca from the Moors; afterwards, Minorca, Ivica, their independence. Valencia, and Murcia.

illiam III., THE BAD. 97.
Bank of Venice established.
Frederic takes *Crema.* 67. He takes Rome.
Frederic takes Milan. 83. *Peace of Con*
66. **William IV.,** THE GOOD, king of Sicily.
74. Frederic's fourth expedition into Italy.
uid, by the discovery of a copy of the Pandects.

Frederic II., king of Sicily. 12. Goes to Germany and becomes emperor.
stance, which re-establishes the independence of the Italian republics.
10–12. First war between Venice and Genoa.
50. **Conrad,** k. of the Sicilies. 68. **Manfred.**
65. **Charles of Anjou,** brother of St. Louis, is king of the Sicilies; he acquires great power, and aims at the sovereignty of Italy.
58. Dreadful naval war between Venice and Genoa.
Thomas Aquinas, div., d. 74, a. 50.
82. **Sicilian Vespers.**

and their possessions on French soil exceeded the aggregate of all others together. It was estimated that by the middle of the thirteenth century as many as nine thousand manors were held by the Templars of France. It naturally came to pass that all the other elements of society were alarmed and excited on account of the bloated development of this monopoly of the wealth and honors of the kingdom. The protection of pilgrims was meanwhile forgotten in the rivalry for power and the lust of gain. In the course of the subsequent Crusades the Knights not infrequently acted in bad faith towards those whom they pretended to serve. When the Christian kingdom in the East tottered to its downfall, the Templars, with a strange depravity of principle, attempted to secure their own interests by separate treaties with the Moslems; but their fortunes were involved with those of the Western powers, and all went down together.

The chief seat of the Templars remained at Jerusalem from the foundation in 1118 to the year 1187, and was then transferred to Antioch. Here the Grand Master had his head-quarters for four years, removing thence, in 1191, to Acre. This stronghold of Knighthood continued to be the head-quarters of the Order until 1217, when a third removal was made to the Pilgrim's Castle near Cesarea. With the capture of Acre, in 1291, and the consequent overthrow of the Christian kingdom, the Templars retired to Cyprus, which they purchased from Richard the Lion Heart for thirty-five thousand marks.

About this time the Order fell under the ban in several parts of the West. Especially in France were the suspicions and jealousies of the government aroused against the Knights. Their exemption from all the burdens of the state, their arrogance, their pride and licentiousness all conspired to excite against them the dread and hatred of the people and the king. Nor is it to be doubted that the great wealth amassed by the Order in the course of nearly two centuries had aroused the cupidity of those who, unscrupulous as the Knights themselves, were ready to seize the first pretext of violence. Especially was the hostility of Philip the Fair of France awakened against a power which he conceived to be a menace to the perpetuity of his kingdom. He accordingly determined to free the realm of the presence of the dangerous and ambitious brotherhood. He took counsel with Pope Clement V. how the Order might be exterminated. A judicial inquiry was instituted, the Knights being charged with heresy and immorality. In 1306 Jacques de Molay, Grand Master of the Templars, was induced to come to Paris, and in October of the following year he and all the members of the brotherhood in France were seized. Their property was taken to await the issue of the proceedings. In the course of the trial many grave accusations, some of them contradictory of others, were brought forward, and the brothers were made to answer. They were charged with infidelity, Mohammedanism, atheism, heresy, profanation of holy things, and uncleanness. The prosecution was greatly troubled to produce evidence, but balked in the usual methods, a resort was had to torture, and many of the prisoners made confession. The Pope was loth to give his sanction to a measure of extermination, but Philip was determined, and the archbishop of Sens lent his countenance to the proceedings.

A grand council was called in Paris on the 10th of May, 1310, and three days afterwards fifty-four of the Templars being condemned were led into the field behind the alley of St. Antoine and burned at the stake. This example of vindictive fury was imitated in other parts of the kingdom. The reign of violence provoked action from the Pope, who two years later convened the Council of Venice to consider the question of the fate of the Templars. It was decided that the Order should be abolished and its property confiscated; but at the same time the Pope reserved his judgment as to whether the Knights were guilty of the heinous charges brought against them. The landed possessions of the famous brotherhood were transferred to the Hospitallers, and their movable property went to the sovereigns of the various states. Everywhere in Christendom, except in the kingdom of Portugal, where the brotherhood assumed the name of the Knights of Christ, the Templars as an organization were suppressed. De Molay himself and Guy of Auvergne were burned at Paris.

The third of the great chivalric bodies,

taking its rise in the time of the Crusades was the TEUTONIC KNIGHTS, or KNIGHTS OF SAINT MARY OF JERUSALEM. Like its two predecessors the new Order was based on a union of monastic and military service. A few years after the capture of Jerusalem by the Christians, a German merchant and his wife, dwelling in the city, threw open their house for the entertainment of the sick and distressed of their own nation. The attention of the Patriarch was called to this benevolent act, and a chapel near by was attached to the humble hospital, which received the name of Saint Mary. The founder of the institution devoted all his own means to the work, and it was not long until alms began to pour in in aid of the enterprise. Several distinguished Germans contributed their property to the support of the work begun by their countrymen. A service and ritual were established, and in the year 1119, only one year after the founding of the Templars, the new Order received the sanction of Pope Calixtus II. Religious and martial vows were taken by the brothers, who made the work of charity and the relief of the distressed the prominent feature of their dicipline.

In the choice of a dress and regalia, the Teutonic Knights distinguished themselves as much as possible from the Hospitallers and the Templars. The gown was black with a white mantle, and on this was a black cross with a silver edging. The Order soon achieved an enviable fame, and its members became the recipients of the same favors and honors which were showered upon the other two brotherhoods. The second establishment of the Teutonic Knights was founded in 1189 by the burghers of Bremen and Lübeck, who, during the siege of Acre, were moved to build a hospital for the relief of their countrymen. The two chapters were presently combined into one order by Duke Frederick of Suabia, who in 1192 obtained for the union the sanction of Pope Celestine III. The rule of the body was amplified and the discipline of the Augustinians adopted for its government.

At the origin of the Teutonic Order none but Germans of noble birth were admitted to membership. Not until 1221 were sergeants and priests added to the fraternity. The chief officer was called the Grand Master. At the first, he had his residence in Jerusalem. After the fall of Acre in 1291 he removed to Venice and shortly afterward to Marburg.

The Teutonic knights first appeared as a powerful military factor in the affairs of Europe about the beginning of the thirteenth century. In 1226 they were called out by the Grand Master, Hermann of Salza, to aid Conrad, duke of Masovia, in repelling the Prussian and Lithuanian pagans from his borders. Their valor and religious zeal attracted the attention of all the European states; and Conrad gave them, in reward for their services, the province of Culm on the Vistula. Establishing themselves in this territory, they extended their authority over Prussia, Courland, and Livonia. In their wars in these dark regions, they carried the sword in one hand and the Gospel in the other, and the pagans were given their choice. In the year 1309, the residence of the Grand Master was transferred to Marienburg, from which, as a center, the Order became almost as dominant in the North as the Templars in the South. The territory under their rule extended from the Gulf of Finland to the river Oder, and the annual revenues of the fraternity were estimated at 800,000 marks. The highest dignitaries of Northern Europe eagerly sought membership, and the Church smiled her fairest approval.

As in the case of the Hospitallers and the Templars, the Teutonic Order felt the disastrous effects of luxury and power. The humble professions and practices of the founders were forgotten by the haughty German barons who now controlled the destinies of the brotherhood. Oppression followed in the wake of opulence and authority, and violent dissensions arose as the precursors of decline. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Order had reached its climax. At that epoch, a series of conflicts began with the kings of Poland which hastened the downfall of the fraternity. In 1410 the knights fought the great battle of Grünwald, in which they were disastrously defeated by Ladislaus Yagellon; and, in a subsequent struggle with Casimir IV., West Prussia was wrested from them and annexed to the Polish dominions. Even in East Prussia they were reduced to the rank of vassals.

At length the proud Knights, galled by their

subjugation, made an effort to regain their independence. In 1525 they revolted and went to war, but the conflict resulted in a still further eclipse of their fortunes. East Prussia was reduced to a duchy, and bestowed by Sigismund I. on the Grand Master, Albert of Brandenburg. The Order became the shadow of its former glory, and, after a precarious existence of three centuries, was finally abolished by Napoleon in 1809.

Let us, then, return to the course of political events in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. When, in 1118, Baldwin du Bourg succeeded his cousin, Baldwin I., on the throne, he was indebted for his elevation to the influence of his powerful kinsman, Joscelyn de Courtenay. This distinguished nobleman had gone to Asia Minor with the Count of Chartres in the wake of the First Crusade, and had settled at Edessa. Afterwards he was taken prisoner by the Turks, but, after five years, he escaped from his captors, and received from Baldwin a province within the limits of Edessa. In the course of time he and his patron quarreled, and Joscelyn, being grievously maltreated, retired to Jerusalem. Here he lived at the time of the death of Baldwin I. He and Baldwin du Bourg now made up their quarrel, and, when the latter became a candidate for the throne, Joscelyn favored his election, with a view of securing for himself the Principality of Edessa. The arrangement was carried out, and, when Baldwin II. came to the throne of Jerusalem, De Courtenay was rewarded with his kinsman's duchy.

Edessa proved to be a stormy inheritance. From the first, Prince Joscelyn had to fight for the maintenance of his authority. The Saracens on the side of the Euphrates were full of audacious enterprises, and the utmost efforts of the Christians were necessary to keep them at bay. Such, however, were the warlike energies of the veteran De Courtenay, that, during his lifetime, the Moslems were unable to break into his dominions. At the last he met his fate in a manner becoming the hero of the church militant. While laying siege to a fortress near the city of Aleppo, the aged warrior was crushed beneath the ruins of a wall; and, when recovered from the *débris*, was found to be fatally injured. He was, however, conveyed to Edessa, and there awaited the hour of doom. His son, who also bore the honored name of Joscelyn, was named as his successor, and to him the dying governor looked for the defense of the realm. But the youth was lacking in the soldierly vigor of the father; and, when the latter summoned him to go on the instant to the defense of a stronghold which had been attacked by the Saracens, the younger De Courtenay replied that he feared his forces were insufficient. Indignant at hearing such a word as *fear* from the lips of his son, the bruised and mutilated old Crusader ordered himself to be carried on a litter to where the Saracens were besieging his town. Learning of his approach, the enemy broke up their camp and fled. Whereupon, looking up into heaven from his couch, the chivalrous De Courtenay expired in unclouded content.

Events soon showed that the date of his death was a dark day for the Principality of Edessa. The younger Joscelyn was a mediæval roué. Without regard to the interests of the government or the glory of war, he gave himself up to a life of sensual pleasure. Seeking a luxurious retreat on the banks of the Euphrates, he surrounded his court with others like-minded with himself, and gave free reign to appetite. Such measures as were essential for the safety and welfare of the Principality were drowned in the pleasures of abandonment.

At the same time, when the government of Edessa was thus falling into incompetent hands, a great prince appeared among the Moslems. This was the warrior Sanguin, sultan of Mossul. By successful campaigns, he had already added Aleppo and other Syrian cities to his dominions. After thus strengthening his borders, he turned his attention to Edessa, and eagerly longed for an opportunity to measure swords with that degenerate city. As soon as he learned of the character and aptitudes of the young De Courtenay, he lost no time in setting out on a campaign against the almost defenseless capital of the Christian duchy. While Joscelyn was holding high carnival on the Euphrates, the sobering intelligence was borne to his ears that a powerful Saracen army had already encamped before Edessa. It is the first impulse of an alarmed drunkard to call

on some one soberer than himself for aid. The terrified De Courtenay sent immediately to Millicent, queen-regent of Jerusalem, and to the prince of Antioch, to implore their assistance in his hour of peril. But neither the queen nor the prince was able to go to his rescue. Edessa was left to her fate; and, after a siege of a month's duration, the victorious Saracens entered the city, and put the inhabitants to the sword.

Every thoughtful reader of history must have been astonished at the many sudden revulsions of fortune presented for his contemplation. The career of the warlike Sanguin furnishes such an example. Just as his dominion seemed to be firmly established by his conquest of Edessa, he was assassinated by his slaves; and just as Joscelyn de Courtenay was reduced to the rank of an adventurer without a province, without a city, he suddenly roused himself from his stupor, drew his sword, and putting himself at the head of his troops, retook his capital from the Moslems. His spasmodic heroism, however, was not sufficient to wrest the citadel of Edessa from the hands of the foe. Meanwhile, Noureddin, son and successor of Sanguin, came to the rescue of the beleaguered garrison; and the Christians found themselves pressed desperately between two armies of Saracens, the one within and the other without the city. Finding his situation hopeless, Joscelyn determined to save himself and his army by flight. In the silence of midnight, the gates of the city were opened, and the Christians undertook to make their exit. But the garrison in the citadel discovering the movement made a signal to the Moslems outside the walls and the escaping army was suddenly arrested in its flight. Only a few succeeded in breaking through the Saracen camp and making their way to the friendly settlements on the Euphrates. All the rest were slaughtered. Fully thirty thousand victims were hewed down in an indiscriminate massacre by the relentless Islamites. On the morrow the Crescent was raised above the blood-smeared city, and the Christian principality of Edessa was no more.

This great disaster occurred in the year 1145. The news of the fall of the city was spread throughout Christendom, and the nations were profoundly stirred. The kingdom of Jerusalem was shaken to its center. It was evident that unless a rally of the Western Christians should be made in defense of their provinces in the East, the whole fabric so painfully reared by the victories of the first Crusaders, would be swept away by the reflux tide of Mohammedan invasion. It was this condition of affairs that led to the preaching of the SECOND CRUSADE in Europe. The principal agent in the work of arousing the people for the succor of the holy places of the East was Saint Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux.

Many circumstances, however, now conduced to a second uprising of the European Christians. The half-century which had elapsed since the Council of Clermont had planted in several of the Western states the conditions of another movement on Asia similar to the first. In France, King Philip I. died in the year 1106, and was succeeded by his son Louis the Fat. The latter from the age of eighteen had been associated with his father in the government. The intellect of the new sovereign was comparatively a blank, but his moral qualities were of a higher order than was common in his age. He had a sincere regard for justice, and his temper had something of that gayety and enthusiasm for which the subjects of his remote descendants became so noted among the more somber peoples of Europe. The better energies of Louis's reign were expended in a laudable effort to protect the peasantry of France from the exactions of the feudal nobility. The larger part of his time was consumed in petty wars with his barons, whom he endeavored in vain to repress and force into obedience. This task, however, was beyond the limits of his power. The time had not yet arrived when the arrogance of the French nobility was to be broken on the wheel of royal prerogative.

In the thirteenth year of his reign, Louis was involved in a war with Henry I, king of England. It will be remembered that that ambitious prince had succeeded his brother William Rufus when the latter was killed in the forest; also that the duchy of Normandy had, during the absence of Robert Short Hose in the East, been held as an appanage of the English crown. On the return of Robert from Palestine, he repossessed himself of his estates, but was presently assailed by his brother, driven from his castles, captured and con-

demned to perpetual imprisonment in the fortress of Cardiff. William, the son of Duke Robert, fled for his life and sought refuge with the king of France. It was the protection of this fugitive prince by Louis the Fat that brought on a war between that monarch and King Henry. A battle was fought between their armies at Brenneville, in which the English were victorious, but the victory was neither bloody nor decisive. Indeed, it was the peculiarity of the feudal wars in the West not to kill but to capture, for the ransom of distinguished captives was more profitable to the victor than the brief exhibition of dead bodies on the battle-field. Only three Knights are said to have been slain in the battle of Brenneville. It happened that at the time of the conflict Pope Calixtus II., who had escaped from the disturbances of Italy, was sojourning in France. The potentate was greatly grieved at the war which had broken out between his subjects on the two sides of the Channel. He accordingly mediated between them, and the two kings agreed to be at peace.

In the year 1124 hostilities broke out a second time between the two kingdoms. The Emperor, Henry V., of Germany, had in the mean time married the Princess Matilda, daughter of Henry I., and the English king now called upon his powerful father-in-law to aid him in his war with Louis the Fat. The Emperor gladly accepted the invitation, for he had many causes of enmity against King Louis. The latter raised a powerful army of two hundred thousand men, but before actual hostilities began Henry V. died, and the war was thus averted. As to Prince William, Louis bestowed on him the earldom of Flanders as a recompense for the loss of Normandy, but the young earl presently died from the effects of a neglected wound.

In 1129 King Louis had his eldest son Philip, who was the pride and expectancy of the state, crowned with himself as heir apparent to the throne. Two years afterwards, however, the prince died, and such was the effect of the loss upon his father that the king was inconsolable and refrained for a long time from public duties.[1]

In the following year the succession was established to Prince Louis, the king's second son, then but twelve years of age. Two years afterwards, borne down with excessive corpulency, the monarch was attacked with a malady, and, believing his end at hand, he sought diligently to be reconciled with all his foes. Destiny, however, had appointed him three additional years of life. He died in 1137, and was sincerely lamented by his subjects.

In accordance with the previous settlement, the crown passed peaceably to Prince Louis, who took the title of Louis VII. It was his good fortune to have for his minister the Abbe Segur, one of the ablest and most scholarly men of the kingdom. With such a support the young king found opportunity in the early years of his reign to indulge his natural love for chivalrous amusements, to which he devoted most of his time. His first serious business was in 1142, when he became involved in a quarrel with the Pope respecting the right of investiture in the French church. He also alienated from himself Earl Thibaud of Champagne, whose sister had been married to the Count of Vermandois. Him the king induced to divorce his wife, and to wed a sister of Queen Eleanor. Thibaud was so greatly incensed that he took up arms, and the king, in order to suppress the insurrection, marched a large force into Champagne, and laid siege to the castle of Vitry. Meeting with a stubborn resistance, he set fire to the fortress, and by an unexpected spread of the conflagration the town was wrapped in flames. A church in which thirteen hundred human beings had taken refuge was a part of the holocaust. The king, who had not intended that the fire should do so horrible a work, was near enough to hear the shrieks of the dying, and was seized with remorse and terror. Never afterwards did he recover from the shock, and the work of pacifying his conscience became henceforth his chief concern. It was while he was brooding

[1] The manner of the death of the Dauphin well illustrates the existing conditions of life in Paris. While the prince was riding through the filth and rubbish-encumbered streets a swine ran against his horse, threw him, and fatally crushed the rider. The king thereupon issued an edict that swine should not be allowed to run at large in the streets; but the proclamation was so seriously resisted by the monks of St. Antoine that the order was so modified as to give *their* sacred pigs the freedom of the city, on condition that said pigs should *wear bells!* Such was Paris!

over his crime that the news was borne to the West of the fall of Edessa, and the project of warding off the vengeance of heaven by undertaking a Crusade was at once suggested to Louis's mind as a means of expiation. An assembly of barons and bishops was called, and the wish of the king to undertake a campaign against the Infidels of Asia was presented for discussion. The measure was received with much favor, and the Pope, on being consulted, gave his approval of the enterprise.

In the mean time, the Empress Matilda, the childless widow of Henry V. of Germany, had been given by her father, Henry I. of England, to Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of that Prince Foulque who, by his marriage with the queen-regent of Jerusalem, was acting so large a part in the Christian kingdom of Palestine. It was a project of the English king (for he now had no son[1]) to establish the succession to his daughter, with Geoffrey for Prince Consort. Very averse, however, to such a project were the barons and squires of England, who preferred a man for their ruler. For this reason they took sides with the Prince Stephen, son of Adela, daughter of the Conqueror, and vigorously supported his claims against those of Matilda. In the year 1127, the English king went abroad and resided with his daughter, the Empress Matilda, whose three sons by Plantagenet cheered their grandfather with the prospect of the future. In 1135, Henry I. died at St. Denis, but was brought home to England for burial.

Events soon showed that the precautions taken by the late king, respecting the succession, were of no avail. His nephew, Stephen, upon whom he had bestowed many favors, including a large estate in Normandy, immediately appeared on the scene to dispute the claims of Matilda. Every thing went in his favor, and he was crowned in Westminster, in 1135. Before the friends and supporters of the wife of Plantagenet were well aware of the usurper's proceedings, the whole affair was successfully concluded; and Stephen found time to fortify himself in popular esteem. So when David, king of Scotland, took up arms against him, the English monarch was able to meet him on equal terms; and David was induced, by the cession of a part of the four northern counties of England, to desist from hostilities. The Earl of Gloucester, a natural son of the late King Henry, was disposed to fight for the rights of his father's family; but the other barons of the realm refused to join the enterprise, and the earl was obliged to submit.

It soon happened, however, that the severity of Stephen towards his nobles disturbed their loyalty; and after the manner of the men of their age, they went over to the opposition. Hostilities broke out between the rival parties, but the war was conducted in the desultory and indecisive manner peculiar to the feudal times. It was not until February of 1141 that the Earl of Gloucester, who commanded the army of Matilda, succeeded in bringing his enemy to battle before the town of Lincoln. Here a terrible conflict ensued, in which King Stephen was defeated, captured, and imprisoned in the castle of Bristol. Matilda entered London in triumph and was acknowledged as queen. Before her coronation, however, she behaved in so imperious a manner towards the people of the city as to alienate the affections even of her best supporters. Within a month she was obliged to fly to Winchester for safety. From this place she was quickly driven to Devizes, and the Earl of Gloucester, in attempting to follow her thither, was in his turn captured and shut up in the castle of Rochester.

The rival parties were now in a position to exchange their noble prisoners. The Earl of Gloucester was given up for Stephan. The former immediately repaired for Normandy to bring over Matilda's eldest son, the Prince Henry Plantagenet,[1] to whom the people already began to look for a solution of their

[1] Prince William, the only son of Henry I., was drowned at sea while returning from Normandy, whither he had been taken by his father to receive the homage of the barons of that duchy, in the year 1120.

[1] The name *Plantagenet* has been the subject of much dispute. The best etymology, perhaps, is that which derives the word from Low Latin *plantagenistæ*, meaning "broom twigs." It appears that Foulque, Count of Anjou, who first bore the name of Plantagenet, had committed some crime for which, on going on a pilgrimage to Rome he was scourged with *broom*, and accepted the title which was given in commemoration of his punishment.

difficulties. Stephen resumed the exercise of the royal prerogatives, and besieged the empress in the castle of Oxford. After a season she made her escape and fled to Abingdon, where she was presently joined by Gloucester and her son. The warfare between her and Stephen continued until 1147, when the Earl of Gloucester died, and Matilda resigning her claim to her son, retired with that prince into Normandy. For six years there was a lull, but in 1153 young Henry, now grown to man's estate, raised an army, and returning to England renewed the struggle for the crown. The rival princes came face to face at the town of Wallingford, but the barons on neither side were disposed to begin a battle in which they had nothing to gain and every thing to lose. Stephen and Henry were thus obliged to submit to their arbitration, and it was decided that the former, whose only son, Eustace, had recently died, should continue king of England during his life, and that the crown should then descend to Henry.

Such, then, was the condition of affairs in England, when the voice of St. Bernard was heard afar announcing the capture of Edessa by the Turks, and calling on Christendom to rally to the rescue of the imperiled Cross. Meanwhile, in Germany, in 1106, the great but unfortunate Emperor, Henry IV., died, and was succeeded by his unfilial son, Henry V. The accession of the latter was accomplished by the influence of the papal or anti-German party; but, no sooner was the young monarch seated on the throne than he went over to the policy of his father, and set himself against the assumptions of the Church. In a short time he and Pope Paschal II. were embroiled in the same way as Henry IV. and Gregory had been in the preceding century.

The general result of the long struggle was the gradual decline of Imperial influence, until the shadow of the Carlovingian reality was hardly any longer seen outside of the borders of Germany, and even here the spirit of feudalism, coöperating with the destruction of civil wars, had reduced the Empire to a fiction. Nor was the character of Henry V. of a sort to revive the reality of three centuries ago. He was a cold, stern, and heartless prince, whose chief motive of action was a certain rational selfishness, and whose principal virtue was force of will. The latter quality was in constant and salutary exercise in repressing the arrogance of the German feudal lords, who were robbers or gentlemen just as the sword of authority was drawn or sheathed by their master.

The first foreign enterprise undertaken by Henry was the invasion of Italy. In 1110 he raised an army of thirty thousand knights, and crossed into Lombardy. The cities of that realm acknowledged his authority, as did also Matilda of Tuscany. Even the Pope deemed it expedient to yield to his powerful antagonist, and, going forth, met him as a *friend*. His Holiness agreed to officiate at the coronation of Henry, but still claimed the right of investing the bishops. To this the Emperor would not assent, and the Pope then made the radical proposition that there should be a complete "separation of Church and State"—that is, that the bishops, abbots, and priests should give up their secular power, and become simply officials of the Church. This, of course, involved the reversion to the crown of the lands belonging to the ecclesiastics. The measure was assented to by Henry, and the long and bitter quarrel between the Popes and the Emperors seemed at an end.

Not so, however, in reality. When Henry advanced to Rome, he was met by a great procession headed by the Pope. The two potentates walked hand in hand into the city. But, when the agreement was read in the presence of the bishops assembled in St. Peter's, there was an angry tumult, and the ecclesiastics refused to ratify the compact. The ceremony of coronation was brought to a standstill, the Pope refusing to proceed; but he was at once seized by the German knights, and the scene became one of a bloody riot. After two months the Imperial party was triumphant. Pascal was obliged to put the crown of empire on the head of Henry, and the supporters of the papal prerogative were for the time forced into submission.

On his return into Germany, the Emperor made a successful campaign against the Thuringians and Saxons; and, in 1114, married the Princess Matilda, daughter of Henry I. of England. Presently afterwards there was a general revolt in the North of Germany.

Friesland, Cologne, Thuringia, and Saxony all renounced the Imperial authority, and took up arms to maintain their independence. Before this difficulty could be settled, the Emperor was called into Italy, on account of the death of the Countess of Tuscany, who bequeathed her realm to the Church, instead of to the empire, as had been previously agreed. Henry succeeded in securing Tuscany, and also in installing a new Pope of his own appointment in place of Pascal, who had died. The French and Italian bishops, however, now made common cause, and elected another pontiff, by whom Henry was excommunicated. But the fulmination of such a ban had already become less terrible than of old, and the act was ignored both by Henry himself and Calixtus, who came to the papal chair in 1118.

Four years later a great diet was convened at Worms for the final settlement of the dispute between the Popes and the German Emperors. The question was laid before the body and a decision was reached to the effect that henceforth the investiture of bishops with the ring and crosier should remain with the Pope; but all nominations to the episcopal office should be made in the Emperor's presence, and the candidates should receive their temporal authority from him. Such was the celebrated *Concordat of Worms*, by which the quarrel between the papal and imperial parties was settled for a period of fifty years.

In 1125 Henry V. died at Utrecht, in Holland. According to popular belief, the judgment of Heaven was upon him for his unnatural conduct towards his father. He went down to the grave without an heir, and there were few to mourn for his untimely death. His haughtiness and cold temper had alienated even his personal following, and the church was little disposed to hallow the sepulcher of one who had endeavored with all his might to force her into submission.

Henry V. was the last of the Hohenstaufen princes. The national diet which was summoned after his election was more favorable to the papal party than any which for a long time had been convened in Germany. After a stormy session the choice of the electors fell upon LOTHAIRE, Duke of Saxony, who at once evinced his servility to the church by begging for a coronation at the hands of the Pope, and by giving up that provision of the Concordat of Worms which required the bishops to be nominated in the presence of the Emperor. To compensate for this loss of prerogative he undertook to obtain of Frederick of Hohenstaufen the estates which had been bequeathed to that prince by Henry V. But in the war which followed the Emperor was defeated and obliged to give up the contest. In 1133 he went to Rome and was crowned by Pope Innocent II. Such was his humility that he agreed to pay to the church an annual tribute of four hundred pounds for the possession of Tuscany—an act by which he virtually acnowledged himself a vassal of the Romish See.

It was at this epoch that the violent and disgraceful feud broke out between the rival Popes Innocent and Anaclete. Lothaire was in duty bound to take sides with the former, while the latter was supported by Roger II., the Norman king of Sicily. In 1137 the Emperor conducted an army into Southern Italy, and gained some successes over the opposition. But before the campaign could be brought to an end Lothaire found it necessary to return to Germany. On his way thither he was attacked with a fatal malady, and died in the Brenner Pass of the Alps.

When the national diet was convened for the choice of a successor, the most prominent candidate for the throne was Henry the Proud, duke of Bavaria. In addition to his hereditary claims to the throne, he had greatly strengthened his cause by marrying Gertrude, the only daughter of Lothaire. The great prominence of Henry, however, acted against him in the diet; for the electors were jealous beforehand of one who seemed likely to prove an emperor in fact as well as in name. They accordingly turned from the able and haughty Prince of Bavaria, and in violation of the previous settlement elected CONRAD of Hohenstaufen. To this action Henry, who was himself a member of the diet, would not assent; and when the Emperor elect undertook to force him into submission, he raised an army of Saxons and went to war. Before any decisive result could be reached, however, Henry the Proud died, and the claims of the Guelphic House descended to his nephew, afterwards known as Henry the Lion. The brother of

the late duke continued the war with Conrad of Hohenstaufen, and in the course of time the cause of the Bavarian princes became identified with that of the papal party, while that of Conrad was espoused by the imperialists throughout Germany. From this time forth the name of GUELPH was used to designate the former, and GHIBELLINE to denote the latter party in the long and violent struggle which ensued.

The conflict between the Guelphs and Ghibbellines broke out with the year 1139, and continued for centuries together, being the most obdurate and persistent contest known in the history of the Middle Ages. It was in the sixth year of the reign of this Conrad of Hohenstaufen that the Christian principality of Edessa was, as already narrated, captured by Noureddin and his Turks. Let us then after these long digressions—necessary to an understanding of the condition of affairs of the leading states of Western Europe, during the first half of the twelfth century as well as to a proper appreciation of the origin and character of the three great Orders of Knighthood, destined hereafter to take so prominent a part in the conduct of the Crusades—resume the story of the second uprising of the European Christians under the inspiration of the preaching of St. Bernard.

This distinguished abbot began his work in the spring of 1146. A great assembly was called at Vezalay, and Bernard, clad in the garb of an anchorite, stood on the hillside outside the walls and harangued the multitude. Among those present were the king and queen of France, together with all the most distinguished barons of the kingdom. Not even Peter the Hermit was more successful in kindling the enthusiasm of the throng at Clermont than was the great preacher of Clairvaux of rousing the assembly of Vezalay. When his oration was concluded the host was in the white heat of passion and raised the wild cry of *Dieu le Veut!* with all the ardor of the first Crusaders. King Louis flung himself on his knees before the orator and received the badge of the cross. Queen Eleanor also gladly accepted the token, and the barons and knights crowded and surged around the speaker until he was obliged to tear up his own vestments to supply the sacred emblem for their shoulders.

In other places the scene was repeated. Every province and city was roused from its slumbers. France was on fire, but when St. Bernard went to Spires and besought the Emperor Conrad to join the enterprise the latter, who was naturally of a lukewarm disposition, was hard to rouse from his German immobility. Not until the eloquent abbot paused in the midst of mass and expatiated on the guilt of those who refused to fly to the rescue of the imperiled cross did the apathy of Conrad give place to emotion. His eyes brought forth the witness of tears, and he meekly and courageously assumed the cross. The German barons followed the example of their sovereign, and the warmth of the glow which had been kindled at Vezalay was felt in the somber castles of the North. Even the women of Germany armed themselves with sword and lance and took the vow of the cross.

Thus were the king of France and the ruler of the German Empire brought into an alliance against the distant but hated Infidel. It was agreed that their armies, setting forth in the spring of 1147, should rendezvous at Constantinople.

With the break of winter all the roads of France and Germany were thronged with pilgrim warriors, on their way to the various camps. The upheaval surpassed, if possible, the outpouring of the First Crusade, in so much that St. Bernard found occasion to write to the Pope, saying: "Villages and castles are deserted, and there are none left but widows and orphans, whose husbands and parents are still alive." Everywhere men were seen wending their way to the places appointed by their leaders. Shepherds left their flocks in the field. Peasants abandoned their oxen still harnessed to their carts. Tradesmen quitted their places of barter. Lords were seen issuing from their castles. Priests left the village church, and monks the monastery. Every class of society contributed a full quota of its best men for the recovery of Edessa and the rescue of the Holy Sepulcher.

Nor did France and Germany only send forth their hosts with the sacred badges of red on their shoulders. England, though rent with the strife between the usurping Stephen and the aspiring Plantagenets, and Italy, distracted with the quarrel between the papal

and imperial parties, both alike sent forth their bands of warrior knights to join the armies of Capet and Hohenstaufen.

The Emperor established his head-quarters at Ratisbon. Here were gathered his dukes and barons, armed for the distant fray. Hither came Bishop Otho, of Frisigen; Duke Frederick Barbarossa, of Suabia, nephew of Conrad; the Marquis of Montferrat; the Duke of Bohemia, and many other dukes and barons, brave and notable. A hundred thousand war-



KNIGHTS GOING FORTH TO THE SECOND CRUSADE.

riors were here collected, and, putting himself at the head, the Emperor began his march to the East.

Emperor Emanuel Comnenus, grandson of Alexius, was now ruler of the Greeks of Byzantium, and to him ambassadors were sent by the crusading chiefs, announcing their approach to Constantinople. Many were the professions of friendship made by the wily Emperor of the Greeks to the hardy warriors of Europe, and many were the secret messages which he at the same time sent to the Asiatic sultans, apprising them of the movements of their foes. It became the policy of Comnenus, as it had been of his grandsire, to play double with the Christian and the Saracen, to the end that his own interests might in any event be subserved.

When the Crusaders at last reached Constantinople, they were received with outward blandishments and inward hostility. Conrad and his chiefs had discernment enough to perceive the actual sentiments with which they were entertained; and, although it had been agreed that the German army should await the approach of the French at the Eastern capital, so keen was the resentment of the leaders that they hastened their departure, and crossed the Bosphorus into Asia.

No sooner were the Crusaders beyond the sea than the hostility of the Greeks, which had been hidden under their duplicity until now, began to show itself in a manner not to be mistaken. All the towns were shut and barred against the army of Conrad, and the Crusaders began to suffer for provisions. Greek hucksters from the top of the walls bargained with the hungry knights outside, to whom they let down baskets in which to receive the silver paid for their meal—and the meal was found to be adulterated with an equal part of lime; nor did the impudent traders, from whom the German chiefs were obliged to secure their supplies, forbear to utter against their customers such taunts and insults as plentiful arrogance behind a wall might safely discharge at hungry valor on the outside.

Worse than this was the perfidy of the Greek guides, whom Comnenus sent out to lead the Crusaders to—destruction. Knowing well the lines of march, these supple, faith-breaking rascals conveyed to the Saracen scouts full information of the course to be taken by the German army. So, in addition to misguiding the forces of Conrad, the Greeks purposely led them into dangerous places, where ambuscades had been carefully laid by the enemy. At last, however, the river Meander was reached, and there, on the opposite bank, the Moslems had gathered in great force to resist the passage. And now

followed one of the most extraordinary episodes of the Holy Wars.

The Meander was barely fordable, if fordable at all, by infantry. Conrad, however, eager to reach the foe, and believing that his men could swim or struggle through the deeper part of the current, drew up the Crusaders on the hither bank, exhorted them to heroic battle, and gave the order to plunge into the stream. The command was obeyed with alacrity, and so great a number of warriors rushed into the river that the current was broken above and the waters ran away from below, leaving the bed almost as dry as the banks. Great was the amazement of the Moslems at this, to them, miraculous phenomenon. Believing that their enemies were aided by supernatural powers, they made but a feeble resistance, and then fled in a route. The Germans pursued the flying foe, and slaughtered them by thousands. Years afterwards their bones might be seen bleaching in heaps along the bank of the Meander.

The effect of the victory was very inspiriting to the Crusaders, who began to draw the fallacious inference that they were invincible. From the Meander, Conrad took his way in the direction of Iconium. Still at the mercy of his Greek guides, he was led into the defiles near that city, where the sultan had collected an immense army to oppose his further progress. While the Germans were making their way through a narrow pass, they beheld above the hill-crests the spear-heads and turbans of what seemed an innumerable host of Moslems. Great was the disadvantage at which the Crusaders were placed in the battle which ensued. Encumbered with heavy armor, it seemed impossible for them to reach and smite the light-armed Saracens, who swooped down on them from above. It was not long until the line of march was blocked up with the dead bodies of German warriors. Thousands upon thousands were slain; and Conrad had the infinite chagrin of seeing his army melting away under the blows of an anemy who, from his inaccessible position, suffered scarcely any losses.

After struggling vainly and courageously against the fate of his situation, the Emperor perceived that his only hope lay in a retreat. He according withdrew the remnant of his forces from the defiles, and began to fall back in the direction by which he had come. It was with the greatest difficulty that any portion of the German army was saved from destruction. The Turkish cavalry hung on flank and rear, and every straggler from the compact column of the ever-decreasing and weary remnant was cut down without mercy. Slowly and desperately, Conrad made his way back across Asia Minor, and finally reached Constantinople. Nine-tenths of his warrior knights had perished under the javelins and swords of the Moslems.

Doubtless the fatal folly of the Second Crusade consisted in the failure of the French and German armies to form the intended junction at the Eastern capital. Nothing could have been more disastrous than the premature advance of Conrad before the arrival of his allies on the Bosphorus. In the mean time King Louis of France, repairing to the abbey of St. Denis, took from above the altar that celebrated banner called the Oriflamme, and bore it with him as his standard.[1] Together with Queen Eleanor, he obtained permission to depart from the kingdom—a fact illustrative of the strong ascendency of the French church over civil authority in the twelfth century. The queen, who, before her marriage to Louis, had as Princess of Aquitaine been thoroughly imbued with the culture of the South, took with her the refined ladies of her court, and a band of troubadours to enliven the tedium of the expedition. The first point of rendezvous was the frontier city of Metz, and here were gathered by hundreds and thousands the barons, knights, and warriors of the kingdom. The early autumn was occupied with the advance to Constantinople, where Louis arrived with his army about the beginning of October.

On reaching the Eastern capital the French were received with all the fictitious ardor which Comnenus was able to assume. His professions of friendship were unbounded, and for a while Louis and his knights believed themselves to be the most cordially entertained of any soldiery in Christendom. By and by, however, the king learned that Comnenus was of

[1] The old national banner of the Capetian kings was called the Oriflamme, from having its edges shaped like flames of fire, and being attached to a staff of gold.

a certainty in secret alliance with the Turks, and that his covert intent was to compass the destruction of the Western armies. Such was the indignation of the French knights that they were fain to fall upon the Eastern capital and snatch the scepter from the hands of the treacherous Greek. A council was held and prudence and moderation hardly prevailed to hold back the wrathful barons from their purpose.

Comnenus soon perceived the change in the sentiments and demeanor of his guests, and fearing their presence in the city, sought a means of securing their departure. He accordingly spread abroad the report—known to himself to be false—that Conrad and his Germans were gaining great victories over the Saracens in the regions of Iconium. The French were thus fired with emulation, and the leaders fearing lest the honors of the Crusade should be gathered by Conrad and his barons, urged an immediate departure. Comnenus soon had the gratification of seeing King Louis and his army on the other side of the Bosphorus.

Not far had the French advanced into Asia Minor until intelligence came of the overwhelming disaster which had befallen the Germans in the defiles of Iconium. The news, however—for such was the spirit of the age—dampened not the ardor of the warlike French. Not only did they press forward to meet the enemy, but they became over-confident, and took but little precaution either in camp or marching. They made their way through Laodicea without encountering the Moslems; but beyond the limits of this province lay a mountainous region, peculiarly favorable to the tactics of the Turks—and here the latter had gathered to oppose the Christians.

It was now the fate of King Louis to be overtaken and entrapped in precisely the same manner as Conrad had been at Iconium. In the defiles beyond Laodicea the careless French encamped in a position especially favorable to their own destruction. While the Crusaders were in the usual confusion of the camp, the Saracens suddenly appeared by thousands on the heights and rushed down with yells and trumpet and drum upon the astounded French. The surprise was complete. The main body of Louis's army was in a position where advance, retreat, and battle were all alike well-nigh impossible. The horror of the scene that ensued was greater even than that which had been witnessed in the pass of Iconium. The gorges were soon filled with the mangled bodies of the chivalry of France; and upon this bleeding mass of humanity huge rocks came crashing down from the precipice above.

The king behaved with the greatest valor. Collecting a body of his best knights he charged the enemy, and secured a position from which after nightfall he made his escape and rejoined all his soldiers who had succeeded in extricating themselves from the defiles. Reorganizing his forces as best he could he then made his way to the Greek city of Attalia, where he was received with the usual treacherous civility. The French encamped without the walls, and negotiations were opened between the king and the governor of the city. The latter offered to furnish a fleet and convey the French to a place of safety; and although the squadron was only sufficient to receive the king, his nobles and cavalry, he accepted the proposal and embarked for Antioch. As to the foot-soldiers of his army, they were left to their fate before the walls of Attalia. The Greeks would not receive them into the city. The Saracens spared none who fell within their power. Gradually the French were reduced to a handful. Some turned Mohammedan, others died in despair. The rest were dispersed or slain. With the exception of those who accompanied the king to Antioch none were left to tell the story.

In the early spring of 1148, Louis and Eleanor with their Knights reached the city of Antioch. This old capital of Syria was now governed by Raymond of Poitiers, uncle of the queen and grandson by marriage of Bœmund of Tarento. This relationship secured to the French a cordial reception. Amid the plenty and sunshine of the palaces, and under the branching trees of Antioch, the horrors of the expedition were forgotten, and Queen Eleanor's troubadours tuned their harps and sang the songs of the South. She who was herself the center of this romantic revival gave way to the admiration with which she was oppressed, and lulled by the soft airs of Syria, behaved not after the manner of a queen, forgot her espousals, provoked the king's jealousy, and was by him carried off to Jerusalem.



QUEEN ELEANOR AND HER TROUBADOURS.—Drawn by Gustave Doré.

Here Louis was received with great enthusiasm. In the city he met Conrad, who, after his retreat to Constantinople, had put on the sandal-shoon, taken the scallop-shell and gone as a pilgrim to the Holy City. BALDWIN III., the young ruler of Jerusalem, was thus enabled to entertain on Mt. Zion the king of France and the German Emperor. It was not to be presumed that the younger of the three princes would allow such an opportunity to pass without improvement. He called a council of the great Christians of the East to assemble at Acre for the consideration of the interests of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Louis and Conrad both attended the assembly. Many projects for the further establishment of the cross in the East were debated before the council, and it was finally determined that an expedition should be undertaken by the combined armies of Syria against the city of Damascus.

The German Emperor and the kings of France and Jerusalem were appointed as leaders. The campaign was begun with alacrity and zeal, and the patriarch of the Holy City, walking before the army, carried the cross as the source of inspiration and the earnest of victory. On arriving at Damascus the Crusaders encamped in the orchards and gardens outside the walls, and immediately began a siege of the city. For a while the investment was pressed with great vigor and every prospect of success. It seemed certain that the old capital of the Caliphate would be wrested from the followers of the Prophet, and added to the Christian dominions in the East.

But as the hour of capture drew near, the richness of the prize, seemingly within the grasp of the allied armies, proved the ruin of the enterprise. For who should have the Queen City of the desert when the capture should be effected? Conrad and Louis decided that Damascus should be given to Thierry, Count of Flanders; but the barons of Syria, unwilling that the Western leaders should gain such a complete influence over the Christian states of the East, refused their assent, and demanded the city for one of their own number. In the hour of possible victory, violent discord broke out in the camp of the besiegers. Ayoub, governor of Damascus, learning of the quarrel, made haste to avail himself of the folly of his foes. He so managed an intrigue with the Syrian party in the Crusaders' camp that the grip of the investment was presently broken, and the whole enterprise was quickly brought to nothing.

For a brief season the minds of the Christian warriors were now occupied with the project of an expedition against Ascalon. But both Conrad and Louis were in reality anxious to return to Europe, and the second expedition was abandoned. With the coming of autumn 1149, the king of France took ship at Acre, and returned to his own realm. He was accompanied by a small fragment of his once splendid army, and was received with little honor by his subjects. His bearing ever afterwards was rather that of a monk than that of a king. Queen Eleanor little appreciated the alleged heroism of her husband, and still less his monastic manners and behavior. Tired out with his conduct and ill success, she separated herself from him, procured a divorce, and retired to her own province of Aquitaine, which now reverted to her as a dowry.

Very little was the king affected by this infelicity. He satisfied himself with circulating the report that while at Antioch the queen had fallen in love with a horrid Turk, named Saladin, and that even then she had been disloyal to the royal bed. By this means he hoped to be revenged, and to destroy the possibility of a future marriage between Eleanor and any Christian prince. Not so, however, the result. The charms of the queen had lost none of their power. Scarcely had she left Paris on her way to Aquitaine when the Count of Blois, through whose province she was passing, arrested her progress, and attempted to wed her by force. She managed, however, to escape from the snare, and made her way to Tours, where almost the same scene was enacted by the wife-seeking Count of Anjou. Again she withdrew from the ambush, and proceeded to Poitiers. Here a *third* lover awaited her coming. Young Henry Plantagenet of England, handsome, accomplished, and royal in his bearing, proved a better wooer than his fellow-princes of the continent. Nor did the fact that he was several years the junior of the queen militate against his success in winning her hand and with it the duchy of Aquitaine.

As to the Emperor Conrad, he tarried in

his pilgrim garb a year longer in Palestine, and then returned with a small body of his followers to Germany. The Second Crusade, undertaken with so much enthusiasm and *éclat*, preached by a saint and commanded by an Emperor and a king, had proved to be among the most abortive of all the projects of fanatical ambition. Not a single permanent advantage had been gained by the quarter of a million of French and German warriors who flung themselves into the mountain passes of Asia Minor as if Europe had no graves.

Notwithstanding the collapse of the Second Crusade, the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, under the rule of Baldwin III., for a while held its own against the assaults of the Moslems. The king was at all times able to call to his aid the feudal lords and warriors of his own dominion; and beside these the Knights of the Hospital and the Templars were ever ready to rally at his summons. He was thus able to make a fair defense of his own kingdom, and at the same time to strike an occasional blow at some stronghold of the enemy. The capture of Ascalon, which had been proposed by the German Empror and King Louis after their failure before Damascus, was undertaken and successfully accomplished in 1153 by Baldwin and his warriors. After a successful reign of eighteen years, he died from the effects of poison administered by a Syrian physician, in 1162, and left his crown to his brother ALMERIC, a prince who was unfortunate in having an ambition greater than his genius.

On coming to the throne, the new king of Jerusalem at once projected an expedition into Egypt. In that country the government of the Fatimites had become a thing of contempt. The Caliphs themselves had little influence, and the actual power was disputed by ambitious viziers, reckless of all interests save their own. At the time of the death of Baldwin III., two rival viziers named Dargan and Sanor, contended for the supremacy in Cairo; while their master, El Hadac, was passing his time in the voluptuous indulgences of the harem. When the quarrel between the viziers was at its height, Sanor appealed for aid to Noureddin, who, after wresting the principality of Edessa from the younger De Courtenay, had become sultan of Damascus. Not unwillingly did this distinguished Moslem hear the appeal from Egypt. With a keen regard for his own interest, he sent thitherward a powerful army, and though at the first the allied force of Syrians and Egyptians was defeated by the troops of Dargan, the latter was presently slain, and Sanor established in authority.

As soon, however, as success was achieved, Syracon, commander of the army of Noureddin, instead of withdrawing to Damascus, began to behave like a conqueror, and Sanor discovered in his late friend a foeman more to be dreaded than his former rival. Alarmed at the situation and tendency of affairs, the vizier bethought him of those terrible Crusaders who had conquered Palestine. With all haste he dispatched messengers to Jerusalem and appealed to Almeric to send an army into Egypt and aid him in expelling the Syrians. The Christian king was not slow to avail himself of the fatal opportunity. A force of Crusaders was at once dispatched to the assistance of Sanor, and Syracon was driven from the country.

The defeated Syrian general at once repaired to Damascus and reported to Noureddin. The sultan hereupon sent word to the Caliph of Baghdad inviting him to join in a formidable expedition against Egypt, with a view to the extermination of the Fatimite dynasty and the transfer of the Egyptian Caliphate to the Abbassides. The rumor of the proposed invasion was carried to Sanor, who, in great alarm, sent the intelligence to the king of Jerusalem, imploring him in the name of a common cause to face the armies which were coming hither for their destruction, and offering him forty thousand ducats as the price of an alliance. To make assurance doubly sure, Almeric insisted that a personal interview must be had with the Caliph of Cairo; for Sanor was only a subordinate and might not be able to fulfill his agreement. Hugh, earl of Cesarea, accompanied by a Knight Templar, was sent on an embassy to Egypt, and was conducted into the palace of El Hadac—a place where no Christian had ever set foot before. Here the eyes of the Christians were greeted with such a spectacle of splendor as they had previously beheld only in dreams. With much hesitation the Caliph permitted the warriors to look upon him seated on his throne of gold, and then ratified the conditions made by

the vizier with the king. Almeric was already on his march towards Egypt, and on coming near Cairo, was joined by the army of the viceroy. Syracon was met and defeated in battle by the allied forces of the Christians and the Fatimite Moslems. The enemy retired from the country and Almeric's army returned to Jerusalem laden with gold and presents.

Had the Christian king been content with what he had now achieved, all would have still been well. But the sight of Egypt with her storied treasures, and the knowledge of the condition of imbecility into which the government of that country had fallen, inflamed the mind of Almeric with the passion of conquest. He resolved, in the very face of his recent treaty with the Caliph, to make an invasion of Egypt; but, before undertaking so important and perilous an enterprise, he had the prudence to seek and obtain an alliance with Comnenus, Emperor of the East, whose daughter he had taken in marriage. Fortified with the promise of assistance from his father-in-law, he deliberately broke his promise with El Hadac, and began an expedition into the country of his recent allies. This perfidious proceeding, however, was by no means heartily ratified by the knights and warriors of Palestine. The Grand Master of the Templars entered his protest against the dishonor of causelessly violating a treaty; but the Hospitallers, less sensitive to the point of honor, and actuated by rivalry of the opposing Order, cordially supported the king. Almeric was by no means to be turned from his purpose. At the head of his army he marched into Lower Egypt, took the city of Belbeïs, and burned it to the ground.

In the mean time, however, the sultan of Damascus was himself planning an invasion of Egypt. Perceiving the effeteness of the Fatimite dynasty, he was thoroughly convinced that the times were ripe for the annexation of the land of the Pharaohs to the Eastern Caliphate. While cogitating his schemes, the ambitious Noureddin was amazed on receiving from the Egyptian Caliph an earnest message to come to his aid against the enemies of the Prophet, who were already in the country with an army. Quickly as possible the sultan, rejoicing at the news, dispatched an army across the desert to secure whatever was to be gained by war or diplomacy in the African Caliphate.

Before the arrival of this army, which was led by Syracon, the vizier Sanor had beaten the king of Jerusalem at his own game of duplicity. The crafty Egyptian sent to Almeric an embassy, offering to give him two millions of crowns if he would abandon the invasion. Dazzled with the splendid prospect, the king stood waiting while the Egyptians fortified their cities, and otherwise prepared for defense. When he awoke from his reverie, he heard on one side the derisive laughter of the Fatimites, and on the other the blasts of Syracon's trumpets coming up from the desert.

Almeric, perceiving his condition, turned about, not without a show of valor, and offered battle to the Syrians. But Syracon was wary of the Christian warriors, and declined to fight until what time he had effected a junction with the Egyptians. The king of Jerusalem, finding himself unable to cope with the united armies of his foes, withdrew from the isthmus and returned to the Holy City.

It would have been supposed that his late experiences were of a sort to cure the folly of Almeric and lead him to a wiser policy; but not so with the ambitious prince. Instead of falling back upon defensive measures he at once repaired to Constantinople and besought the Emperor Comnenus to join him in the magnificent project of the conquest of Egypt. If the fulfillment had been equal to the promises made by the wily Greek to his ardent son-in-law, then indeed not only Egypt, but the world, might have been subdued. Comnenus, however, had no thought of hazarding aught in the interest of the kingdom of Jerusalem. He therefore, after the manner of his race, promised and promised and did nothing. The disappointed Almeric returned to Jerusalem still haunted with the vision of the gold and treasures which his embassadors had seen in the palace of El Hadac.

Very soon after the withdrawal of the Christian army from Egypt the ambitious and successful Sanor met an inglorious end at the hands of Syracon, who had him seized and put to death. The office of vizier was transferred to the Syrian, who, however, survived his success for the brief space of but two months.

On his death he was succeeded by his nephew, named Sallah-u-deen or SALADIN, destined erelong to become the most famous of all the leaders in the later annals of Islam. This young Moslem chief was by birth a native of Kurdistan, who had drifted westward out of obscurity and joined his uncle's army in the two invasions of Egypt. His military genius first revealed itself in the defense of Alexandria, which he conducted in so able a manner as to win the applause of the Moslem leaders. This episode, together with the influence of Syracon, procured for the ambitious young Kurd the viziership at his uncle's death, nor was it long until, by his abilities, his intelligence and far-reaching plans, he had made himself the real, though not the nominal, master of Egypt.

Even at this early period he had conceived the design of uniting in one all the dominions of Islam in the East. As a measure inaugurative of so bold a plan he presently caused one of his followers—a priest—to go into the principal pulpit of Cairo and offer prayers, substituting the name of the Caliph of Baghdad for that of the Fatimite. Such was the audacity of the business that it succeeded. The people were either dumb or indifferent. As for the Egyptian Caliph himself, he was secluded in his palace and knew not what was done. A few days afterwards he died a natural death, and one troublesome obstacle to the success of Saladin's schemes was removed. He then caused the green emblems of the Fatimites to be removed from the mosques and palace of Cairo and to be replaced with the black badges of the Abbassides. Thus silently, and as if by magic, the descendants of Ali, who for two centuries had held sway over Egypt, were overwhelmed, and their dynasty extinguished by a parvenu Kurdish chieftain blown up from the desert.

Saladin, now emir of Egypt under the sultanate of Noureddin of Damascus, abided his time. While his master lived he deemed it prudent to remain in loyal subordination. But when in 1173 Noureddin—one of the greatest and best Moslems of his times—died, Saladin threw away all concealment of his designs, and putting aside the minor sons of the late sultan, usurped the government for himself. Such was the brilliancy of his *coup de main* that all stood paralyzed until the work was accomplished, and then applauded the thing done. In a short time Saladin had united in one all the Moslem states between the Nile and the Tigris. He it was who was now in a position to look with a malevolent and angry eye upon the figure of the Cross seen above the walls of Jerusalem.

In the mean time, while Saladin remained in Egypt waiting for the death of Noureddin to open the way before him, the king of Jerusalem died, and bequeathed his crown to his son, BALDWIN IV. This young prince was afflicted with leprosy, to the extent of being wholly incapacitated for the duties of government. He accordingly, without himself resigning the crown, committed the kingdom to the regency of his sister, Sybilla, and her husband, GUY OF LUSIGNAN. This event happened in the same year in which Saladin, by his stroke of policy, had made himself master of Islam—1173.

The consort of Sybilla soon showed his inability to bear the cares of state. His conduct was so little worthy of his position that the barons of Palestine turned from him with contempt. Their hostility was increased by the machinations of Raymond II., of Tripoli, whose misfortune it was to be no more virtuous than he whom he opposed. The lords and knights of the kingdom were thus divided into factions, whose partisan selfishness boded no good to the Christian cause in the East. At length the leprous Baldwin IV. was obliged by his vassals to make a new settlement of the kingdom, which he effected by abolishing the regency of Sybilla and her husband, and bestowing the crown upon her son by her former husband, the Count of Montferrat. This prince, who, by his uncle's abdication, took the name of BALDWIN V., was himself a minor, and was for the time committed to the guardianship of Joscelyn de Courtenay, son of that unheroic son of a hero, from whom Noureddin had snatched the Principality of Edessa. At the same time of the settlement of the crown of Jerusalem upon Baldwin V. the custody of the fortresses of the Holy Land was intrusted to the Hospitallers and the Templars, and the general regency of the kingdom to Count Raymond of Tripoli.

Soon after this adjustment of affairs Bald-

win IV. died, and his death was quickly followed by the probably unnatural taking-off of Baldwin V. The settlement was thus brought to naught, partly by the order of nature and partly by the crime of the regent Raymond. Sybilla hereupon reäppeared from obscurity, and, supported by the Patriarch of the city, procured the coronation of herself and Guy of Lusignan as King and Queen of Jerusalem, This procedure led to civil war. Many of the barons refused to acknowledge the new sovereigns, and took up arms under the lead of Raymond, and with the ostensible object of raising Isabella, a sister of Sybilla, to the throne of Palestine. Such was the bitterness of the strife that, although the queen by her prudent and conciliatory measures succeeded in winning over most of the insurgent nobles, the remainder in their implacable distemper allied themselves with Saladin! Thus when the storm of Moslem fury was already about to break upon the kingdom won from the Infidels by the swords of Short Hose, Tancred, and Godfrey, the day of wrath was hastened by the treason of those who wore the sacred badge on their shoulders.

CHAPTER XCII.—FALL OF THE CROSS.

WHOM the Supernals would destroy they first make mad. So it was with the Christians of Palestine. At the very crisis when Saladin, after settling the affairs of Egypt and Syria, was ready to fall upon the kingdom of Jerusalem, that disaster was precipitated by the rashness of a conscienceless baron of the Holy Land.

In the year 1186 a certain Reginald de Chatillon, an adventurer more fit to be called a robber than a knight, fell upon a Mohammedan castle on the borders of the Arabian desert, and having captured the place made it his head-quarters, from which he sallied forth to plunder the caravans passing back and forth between Egypt and Mecca. Hearing of this lawless work the sultan, Saladin, with due regard to the existing treaty, sent a message to the king of Jerusalem demanding redress for the outrages committed by his vassal. Guy of Lusignan, who had lately received the crown, was either unable or unwilling to punish Reginald for his crimes, and Saladin was left to pursue his own course. He immediately put himself at the head of an army of eighty thousand men and began an invasion of Palestine.

The march of the Moslems was first directed against the fortress of Tiberias, the most important stronghold of the Christians in the northern part of their kingdom. It was all-important that King Guy should save this outpost from falling into the hands of the Turcomans. He accordingly mustered his forces for the conflict and proceeded in the direction of Tiberias. His whole army numbered no more than twelve hundred knights and twenty thousand infantry, and even this small force was shaken with quarrels and animosities. Raymond of Tripoli was accounted a traitor, and the king himself was considered a coward. Yet upon such a force under such a commander was now to be staked the fate of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem.

It was midsummer of 1187. The two armies met in the plain of Tiberias. Events soon showed that Saladin was as superior in skill as he was in numbers. During the first day's battle he succeeded in forcing the Christians into a position where they could procure no water. He then fired the neighboring woods and almost suffocated his enemies with smoke and heat. On the following morning he renewed the battle with great fury, and although the Templars and Hospitals, as well as the foot, fought with their old-time bravery, they were surrounded, hewed down, piled in heaps, exterminated. All the principal leaders of the Christian army were either slain or taken. The Grand Master of the Hospitallers was mortally wounded. He of the Templars, the Marquis of Montferrat, Reginald de Chatillon, King Guy himself, and a host of nobles and

knights were made prisoners. The scene that ensued well illustrates the spirit and temper of the crusading epoch and the character of war and victory in the twelfth century.

Hardly had the dust and noise of the battle passed when the captives were led into the presence of Saladin. With a smile the great Islamite received the trembling king, and after the manner of the East tendered him a cup of cold water. Moved either by fear of poison or by the desire to include another with himself in the friendly act, he of Lusignan accepted the cup, but passed it to Chatillon. Thereupon the rage of Saladin shot up like a flame. He declared that so far from Reginald's sharing his clemency he should then and there embrace Mohammedanism or die like a dog. It was the Christian robber's time to show his mettle. He haughtily spurned the condition of escape by apostasy. Thereupon the sultan drew his cimeter and with one blow struck off his head.

It appears that Saladin rightly appreciated the character of the Templars and Hospitallers. While he was all courtesy to the king—poltroon as he was—he was all severity towards the Knights. To them he now presented the same alternative which he had put before the audacious Reginald. Not a man of them blanched in the presence of his fate. They could die, but apostatize never. Their vows of knighthood and loyalty to the Cross were stronger than all the bonds of kindred, all the ties of affection, all the hopes of mortality. To them the Prophet was Antichrist, and his religion the gateway to hell. The two hundred and thirty captive Knights stood fast in their integrity, and were all beheaded.

The battle of Tiberias shook the kingdom to its center. Nearly all the fortresses had been emptied of their garrisons to make up the inadequate army which had met its fate in the North. Saladin was in no wise disposed to rest on a single victory. Tiberias itself fell into his hands and then Cesarea. Acre, Jaffa, and Beyrut went down in succession. Tyre was for the present saved from capture by the heroic defense made by her inhabitants, led by the son of the captive Marquis of Montferrat.

Finding himself delayed by the obstinacy of the Tyrians, Saladin abandoned the siege and pressed on to Jerusalem. Sad was the plight of the city. Fugitives from all parts of Palestine had gathered within the walls, but there was no sense of safety. The queen was unable to conceal her own trepidation, to say nothing of the defense of her capital; and when the enemy encamped before the walls there were already moanings of despair within.

None the less, there was a show of defense. The summons of the sultan to surrender was met with a defiant refusal. The garrison made several furious sallies, and fourteen days elapsed before the Turks could bring their engines against the ramparts. Then, however, the courage of the besieged gave way and they sought to capitulate. But Saladin was now enraged, and swore by the Prophet that the stains of that atrocious butchery of the Faithful, done by the ancestors of the then Christian dogs in the City of David should now be washed out with their own impure blood. At first he seemed as relentless as a pagan in his rage; but with the subsidence of his passion he fell into a more humane mood, and when the Christians humbly put themselves at his mercy, he dictated terms less savage than his conquered foes had reason to expect. None of the inhabitants of Jerusalem should be slaughtered. The queen, with her household, nobles, and knights should be conveyed in safety to Tyre. The common people of the city should become slaves, but might be ransomed at the rate of ten crowns of gold for each man; five, for each woman; one, for each child. Eagerly did the vanquished submit, and the Crescent was raised above the Holy City.

Thus, in 1187, fell Jerusalem. The fierce nature of Saladin relaxed under the influence of his victory, and he began more fully than before to manifest that magnanimity of which he was capable. By the concurrent testimony of the Christian and Mohammedan writers, his conduct was such as to merit the eulogies which posterity has so freely bestowed. It appears that no drop of blood was shed after the capitulation. Instead of butchering ten thousand of the inhabitants within the precincts of the Temple as the Crusaders had done in 1099, he spared all who submitted. The frightened queen was treated with consideration. As she and her train withdrew through the gates of the city, weeping after

the manner of women over their misfortunes, he forbore not, touched as he was with the spectacle of their misery, to shed tears of sympathy. He endeavored to soothe the princesses with manly and chivalrous words of condolence. Nor was his conduct towards the captured city less worthy of praise. The ransom of the common people was enforced with little rigor, or else not enforced at all. Finding a group of Hospitallers still plying their merciful vocation about the Church of St. John the Baptist—though at first he was enraged at the sight of their hateful badges—he left them unmolested in their good work of healing the sick and succoring the distressed.

As soon as the captive queen and her company had withdrawn in the direction of Tyre, Saladin made a triumphal entry into Jerusalem. The golden cross which stood above the dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher was pulled down and dragged through the streets of the city. The great Mosque of Omar, which now for eighty-eight years had been consecrated to the worship of God and Christ, was rededicated to the worship of God and Mohammed. In order to remove all stains of defilement from the sacred edifice, the walls and courts and portals were carefully washed with rose-water of Damascus.

The other towns of Palestine quickly submitted to the victor. Nazareth, Bethlehem, Ascalon, and Sidon were successfully taken by the Moslems. Of all the Christian possessions in the Holy Land only Tyre remained as a refuge for the scattered followers of Christ. To that city the garrisons of the other towns and fortresses were permitted to retire, and its walls were soon crowded with the chivalry of the East. Here, moreover, Prince Conrad, son of the captive Marquis of Montferrat, was still distinguishing himself by his courageous defense against the enemy. Now strongly reënforced by the gathering of the Christians into Tyre, he was still more able to keep the Moslems at bay. So great was his popularity, that the inhabitants voted him the sovereignty of the city; and when the captive king of Jerusalem, who, on condition of perpetual renunciation of the crown, had been set at liberty by Saladin, attempted to enter Tyre, the people rejected him with contempt, and would not even permit him to come within their walls. Meanwhile the victorious sultan, well satisfied with the results of his conquests, returned to Damascus, and there, amid the delights of his palace and the cool shadow of the palms, found time to meditate, after the manner of a true Saracen, upon the vicissitudes of human affairs and the glorious rewards of war. Here he remained at peace until the winds of the Mediterranean wafted across the Syrian desert the news of belligerent and angry Europe preparing her armor and mustering her warriors for the

Third Crusade.

For great was the consternation, the grief, the resentment of all christendom when the intelligence came that the Holy City had been retaken by the Turks. The fact that the Infidel was again rampant in all the places once hallowed by the feet of Christ acted like a fire-brand on the inflammable passions of the West. It was not to be conjectured that the Christian states of Europe would patiently bear such an outrage done to their traditions and sentiments. The first days of gloom and sullen despair which followed the news of the great disaster quickly gave place to other days of angry excitement and eager preparation for the renewal of the conflict.

By this time the crusading agitation, which had begun in the very sea-bottom of Europe a century before, and, after stirring up first of all the filthiest dregs of European society, had risen into the higher ranks until nobles and princes fell under the sway of the popular fanaticism, now swept on its tide the greatest kings and potentates west of the Bosphorus. Of all the leading sovereigns of Europe, only the Christian rulers south of the Pyrenees—who were themselves sufficiently occupied with the Mohammedans at home—failed to coöperate in the great movement which was now organized for the recovery of the Holy Land from the Infidels. Henry Plantagenet of England, Philip II. of France, Frederick Barbarossa of Germany, and Popes Gregory and Clement, all alike vied with each other in promoting the common cause.

Nor had the people lost while the kings had caught the enthusiasm of war. The popular impatience could not await the slower preparations of prudent royalty making ready

for the struggle. Thousands upon thousands of pilgrim warriors, unable to restrain their ardor, hurried to the seaports of the Mediterranean, and embarked at their own expense to imperiled Palestine. The maritime Republics of Italy, more than ever before, came to the front as the carriers of the numerous bands that now urged their way to the East. Not only the ports of Italy, Southern France, and Greece furnish an outlet for this tumultuous movement, but those of the Baltic, the North Sea, and the British Channel in like manner sent forth their hosts of warriors.

So rapid was the accumulation of the Crusaders at Tyre that, by the beginning of 1189, the alleged King Guy found himself at the head of more than a hundred thousand men. Such was the zeal of the host that the leaders were urged on to undertake the siege of Acre. It was this movement which roused Saladin from his dreams at Damascus, and sounded the tocsin for the renewal of war. With a great army, the sultan set out for the relief of his beleaguered stronghold, and it was not long until the Christians were in their turn besieged. With great diligence, however, they fortified their position, and, while on one side they continued to press hard upon the walls of Acre, on the other they kept Saladin and his host at bay.

Meanwhile a Christian and a Mohammedan fleet gathered to participate in the struggle. While the Moslem ships brought relief and supplies to the garrison of Acre, the Christian ships did the same for the Crusaders. For the reënforcement of the latter, Europe continued to pour out her tens of thousands, while behind the Moslem army were the measureless resources of the desert and the East. So numerous became the Christian host that supplies failed, and the terrors of famine were added to the horrors of disease. In like manner, though in a less degree, the Mohammedans became sufferers from their excess of numbers; and in both armies abused nature coöperated with the destructive energies of war to reduce the battling multitudes. Nor is it likely that in any other of the great struggles of human history so terrible a waste of life was ever witnessed as before the walls of Acre. It was estimated that the Christian losses reached the enormous aggregate of three hundred thousand men, while those of the Moslems were but little inferior, and *then* the siege was indecisive. Such was the afterpiece of the struggle between Isaac and Ishmael!

Even this awful conflict and carnage was but premonitory of the real battle which was to come. For in the mean time the great potentates of the West were preparing for the struggle. First of all in the work was the aged but still fiery and warlike FREDERICK BARBAROSSA, Emperor of Germany. Already for forty years a veteran, he flung himself into the breach with all the enthusiasm of youth, moderated by the prudence of manhood. A great national fête was held at Mayence, and the valiant young knights of Germany bowed before their Emperor and vowed the vow of the cross.

Of all who had preceded him, not one was Barbarossa's equal in genius and generalship. He carefully weighed the perils of the great undertaking, and provided against its hazards. In mustering his forces he would accept no volunteer who could not furnish the means of his own subsistence for a whole year. A German of the Germans, he would not intrust himself and his army to the mercies and rapacity of the Pisan and Venetian ship-masters, but determined to take the old land route by way of Constantinople and Asia Minor. His army in the aggregate, exclusive of unarmed pilgrims, numbered over a hundred thousand men. Of these, sixty thousand were cavalry, and of these fifteen thousand were Knights, the flower of the Teutonic Order. The Emperor had with him as a leader, his son, the Duke of Suabia, together with the dukes of Austria and Moravia, and more than sixty other distinguished princes and barons. The great army was thoroughly disciplined and supplied, and the host moved forward with a regularity and military subordination which would have been creditable to a modern commander.

In traversing the Greek Empire, Frederick met with the same double-dealing and treachery which had marked the course of the Byzantines from the first. At times the fury of the German warriors was ready to break forth and consume the perfidious Constantinopolitans, but Barbarossa, with a firm hand, restrained them from violence. Sharing their indignation, however, he refused to accept the invitation of the reigning Cæsar,



BARBAROSSA AT THE NATIONAL FÊTE OF MAYENCE.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

Isaac Angelus, to visit him in his capital. With an eye single to the work in hand, he crossed into Asia Minor, and began the herculean task of making his way towards Antioch. In this movement he was opposed, as his predecessor had been, by every inimical force in man and nature. He was obliged to make his way through heated deserts and dangerous passes with the Turcoman hordes darkening every horizon and circling around every encampment. But they were never able to take the old hero off his guard. He overcame every obstacle, fought his way through every peril, and came without serious disaster to Iconium. Here he was confronted by the sultan, whom he defeated in battle, and whose capital he took by storm. By this time the name of Frederick had become a terror, and the Moslems began to stand aloof from the invincible German army.

Here, however, was the end of Barbarossa's warlike pilgrimage. While moving forward steadily, he came, in Cilicia, to the little river Calycadnus, where, on the 10th of June, 1190, he met his death. But Tradition, with her usual painstaking obscurity, has not decided whether he died of a fall from his horse, or from carelessly bathing, when overheated, in the ice-cold waters of the stream.[1]

Evil was the day when Frederick died. It was soon discovered to what a great degree the success of the German invasion had been due to his genius. The Moslems had properly judged that the leader was the soul of the Christian army, and, learning of his death, they returned to the charge with impetuous audacity. Disease and famine began to make terrible havoc among the German soldiers. The command devolved upon the son of Barbarossa, who was in many respects worthy of his father's fame. Slowly the Crusaders toiled on, harassed by the almost daily onsets of the Saracens, whom to repel was but to embolden for another charge.

At last the worn-out warriors reached Antioch. Nine-tenths of their number had perished, but the remnant had in them all the courage and steadfastness of their race. The Principality of Antioch was at this time held by the forces of Saladin, and their numbers far exceeded those of the Crusaders. Nevertheless the German Knights, disregarding their numerical inferiority, fell boldly upon the Moslems and scattered all before them. Antioch was taken, and the Saracens retreated in the direction of Damascus.

Having achieved this marked, albeit unexpected, success, the Crusaders pressed forward to Acre. They were received with great joy by the Christian army, but the force was so wasted by sickness and continuous fighting that the addition to the numbers of the besiegers was scarcely noticeable. In a short time the gallant Duke of Suabia died, and the magnificent army of Barbarossa was reduced to a handful. The leader, however, did not perish until he had had the honor of incorporating into a regularly organized body the Order of Teutonic Knights, which had hitherto held a precarious and uncertain course since the date of its founding, as already narrated in the preceding chapter. A papal edict followed, putting the new brotherhood on the same level with the Hospitallers and Templars, under the sanction and encouragement of the Church.

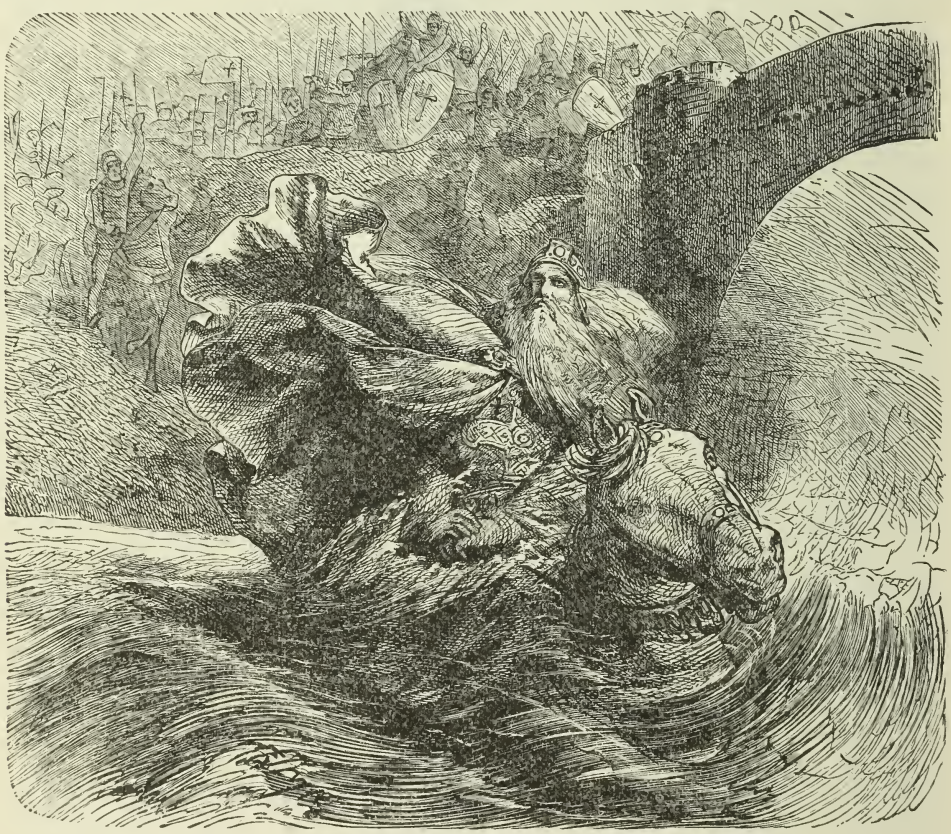
At this juncture a new figure rose on the horizon—a warrior armed cap-a-pie, riding a powerful war-horse, brandishing a ponderous battle-axe, without the sense of fear, stalwart, and audacious, a Crusader of the Crusaders, greatest of all the mediæval heroes—young Richard Plantagenet the Lion Heart, king of England. In that country Henry II., founder of the Plantagenet dynasty, had died in July of 1189. The siege of Acre was then in progress, and Frederick Barbarossa was on his march to the Holy Land. King Henry himself had desired to share in the glory of delivering Jerusalem from the Turks, but the troubles of his own kingdom absorbed his attention. Greatly was he afflicted, or at least angered, by the conduct of his sons, Richard and John. The former was headstrong, the latter cunning, and both disloyal

[1] Frederick Barbarossa, the Red Beard, is the national hero of Germany. The folk-lore of that story-telling land has preserved a tradition that he did not die, but, returning to Europe, entered a cave at Salzburg, where he went to sleep. There he sits nodding until to-day. But whenever Fatherland is endangered, he wakes from his slumber, comes forth in armor, and is seen on the battle-field where Germans are fighting, terrible as of old.

to their father and king. Richard had conceived a romantic affection for Philip Augustus of France—a prince of his own age, and with something of his own audacity.

In vain did the English king endeavor to break the attachment between his heir and the French monarch. They continued to vow eternal friendship and to resolve that they would fight the Infidels together. Even when Henry went to war with Philip, he had the mortification and horror of finding his sons arrayed against him. So in the summer of 1189 he came to his end, and died cursing both of his heirs. The dutiful Richard, however, attended his father's funeral, was greatly and perhaps sincerely affected, was acknowledged as king, and crowned on the 3d of September in that year. But it was the least part of his intention to waste his energies in the insignificant business of governing the English and the Normans. Having released his mother Eleanor from prison, and raised a large sum of money by the sale of castles and estates he made ready for his expedition to the East. It had been arranged that he and Philip should join their forces at Vazelay, and thither in the summer of 1190 both kings repaired with their armies.[1] England was left to the care of Bishop Hugh of Durham and Bishop Longchamp of Ely, while the guardianship of the French Kingdom was intrusted to Philip's queen and ministers.

Arriving at their rendezvous, the French and English kings renewed their vows of friendship, reviewed their army of more than a hundred thousand men, and set out on a march to Lyons. Arriving at that city, they separated their forces, intending to unite them again at the port of Messina in Sicily. Philip led his army from Lyons to Genoa, which was his port of debarkation, while Richard pro-



DEATH OF FREDERICK BARBAROSSA IN THE CALYCADNUS.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

[1] Before departing from England, Richard's vices, of which he made little or no concealment, became the occasion of a famous incident and cutting repartee. A certain Foulque of Neuilly, a zealous preacher of the Crusade, upbraided him for his

ceeded to Marseilles, to await the arrival of his fleet from England. The short delay which here occurred proved intolerable to his impetuous spirit, and, hiring a few ships, he embarked with his immediate following, and sailed for Italy. In the mean time, the English squadron made its way into the Mediterranean, reached Marseilles, took on board the army, and arrived at Messina ahead of both Philip and Richard.

In Sicily the French and English armies were maintained during the winter. It was not long until the island was in a ferment of excitement. Tancred, the reigning king, had imprisoned Joan, widow of his predecessor and sister of Richard. The English king not only enforced her liberation, but seized a castle and gave it to her as a residence. He permitted his soldiers to help themselves to the best which the island afforded. When hostilities broke out between his forces and the inhabitants of Messina, and the latter were defeated, he allowed the city to be sacked as though it were a stronghold of the Turks. These proceedings greatly offended King Philip, for Tancred was his vassal; but Richard enforced his will, and then, in order to placate the French king, sent him a present of twenty thousand ounces of gold, which he had extorted from Tancred as the price of peace. He also gave a splendid Christmas festival to the knights and warriors of both armies, thus greatly increasing his influence and popularity.

Soon afterwards a more serious difficulty arose between the *friendly* kings. For some time Richard had been under engagement with Philip to marry his sister, the Princess Adelia; but for some reason the ardor of the lover cooled. Forsooth, his former passion for the princess had been one of the chief causes of estrangement between himself and his father Henry. Perhaps the appearance of another royal maiden on the horizon of Richard's dreams had something to do with the change in his affections. For at this juncture the Princess Berengaria, daughter of King Sancho of Navarre, arrived in Sicily, escorted by the queen-mother, Eleanor of England. With her Plantagenet feli deeply in love, and Philip was as deeply offended. Nothing, however, could stay the tide of Richard's purpose when once it began to flow. He discarded Adelia. He and the French king thereupon had a scandalous quarrel, which was only smoothed over when the capricious lover agreed to pay the rejected princess ten thousand marks and to restore to her all the castles which had been assigned as her dowry.



THE LION HEART AT ACRE.—Drawn by A. de Neuville.

With the opening of spring, the two kings made ready to set out for the East. Philip departed first. After an auspicious voyage, he arrived in safety in Palestine, and joined his forces to the army before Acre. Richard, on the other hand, had ill-fortune. Off the

conduct, particularizing his pride, his avarice, and his voluptuousness which he designated as the king's *three daughters*. "Your counsel is excellent," said Richard, "and I here and now part with my three daughters forever. I give the first to the Knights Templars; the second, to the monks of St. Benedict; and the third to *my priests and bishops*." Foulque was one of them.

coast of Crete, his squadron was shattered by a storm. Two of his vessels were wrecked on the shores of Cyprus; and, although he himself had reached Rhodes when the news overtook him that the stranded crews had been robbed and detained as prisoners by the Cypriots, he turned about to avenge the injury. Disembarking his troops, he took the capital



RICHARD PLANTAGENET TAKING DOWN THE BANNER OF LEOPOLD.
Drawn by L. P. Leyendecker.

of the island by storm, and put the governor in chains. And, to add insult to ignominy, the chains were made of silver. The inhabitants of Cyprus were made to pay dearly for their aggression, for the king levied upon them a tribute as heavy as their offense had been rank.

Satisfied with his vengeance, Richard now celebrated his nuptials with Berengaria, whom he had hitherto forborne to wed, the season being Lent. When the festivities were over, he sailed for Acre. His squadron at this time consisted of fifty war-galleys, thirteen store-ships, and more than a hundred transports. On his way to the eastern coast, he had the good fortune to overhaul a large ship of the enemy carrying fifteen hundred men and stored with Greek fire. So terrible was the defense made by the Moslem sailors that the vessel, shattered by the conflict, went to the bottom with all her stores. Only thirty-five of her defenders were take alive from the foaming sea.

Arriving at Acre, the English king was received with great enthusiasm. His astonishing audacity and prowess were precisely the qualities needed in the Christian camp before the fortress. On his appearance, notwithstanding the serious illness with which he was prostrated, new life flashed through the dispirited ranks. His battering engines seemed to work with the vigor of his own will. He became the Achilles of the host, whom nothing could resist or divert from his purpose. The repeated and unwearied efforts of Saladin to relieve and reënforce the beleaguered garrison were repulsed as fast as made. The inhabitants of Acre found themselves in the grip of a giant. The walls were broken on every side. The garrison was reduced in numbers and driven to despair. Saladin at last gave a reluctant assent, and Acre, hitherto impregnable, surrendered to the Crusaders.

In the hour of victory the character of Cœur de Lion revealed itself in full force. Without the show of courtesy to Philip, he took possession of the palace for himself. He would not brook even a protest against his arbitrary and high-handed proceedings. Perceiving that Leopold, duke of Austria, had planted his banner on the wall, Richard seized the standard and hurling it into the ditch, set up the banner of St. George in its stead; nor did Leopold dare to express by other sign than silent rage his burning resentment.

The sultan was obliged to make terms most favorable to the Christians. Fifteen hundred captives held by him were to be given up. Acre was to be surrendered, and the garrison ransomed by the payment of two hundred thousand crowns of gold. The victorious kings agreed on their part to spare the lives of the prisoners. The Moslem camp before Acre was broken up and the army withdrawn in the direction of Damascus. The Lion Heart having detained about five thousand hostages, permitted the remaining inhabitants of the captured city to depart in peace. And now followed a scene terribly characteristic of the bloody annals, ferocious spirit, and vindictive methods of the age.

Saladin failed either through negligence or inability to pay to the victors within the prescribed time the stipulated ransom for the captives of Acre. Thereupon Richard fell into a furious passion, and the Moslem hostages to the number of five thousand were led out from the walls to the camps of the French and English and there beheaded in cold blood, and so little was the humanity of the great Crusader shocked, that he complacently beheld the end of the horrid tragedy, and then wrote a letter in which his deed was boasted as a service most acceptable to heaven.

The massacre of his subjects provoked Saladin to retaliation. He revenged himself by butchering the Christian captives in his hands and seizing others for a similar fate. One massacre followed another until the lineaments of civilized warfare were no longer discoverable in the struggle. Nor could it well be decided whether the Cross or the Crescent was more smeared with the blood of the helpless in these ferocious butcheries.

The news of the recapture of Acre was received with great joy by the Christians of both Asia and Europe. The success of the English and French kings seemed the well-omened harbinger of the recovery of Jerusalem and all the East. Great, therefore, was the vexation that followed when it was known that Philip Augustus had abandoned the conflict and left the Holy War to others. To this course he was actuated by a severe illness with

which he was prostrated, and more particularly by his envy and jealousy of Richard. The two monarchs were unlike. As a ruler, prudent and politic, Philip was greatly superior to his rival, but as a hero he was in no wise to be compared with the Plantagenet. The latter was as reckless as he was brave, prodigal of gifts, generous by nature, personally grand.



RICHARD COEUR DE LION HAVING THE SARACENS BEHEADED.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

The former was shrewd, cautious, wise, a king rather than a warrior. Such qualities as his were disprized by the age, while those of the Lion Heart were the ideals of the times in which he lived. But Philip could not bear the praise and enthusiasm with which Richard was everywhere greeted, much less his arrogance and caprice, of which the one was intolerable and the other past apprehension. Perhaps it was well after all that the French king withdrew at the time he did from an alliance which must soon have resulted in an open and probably fatal rupture. He left the scene which had brought him little personal glory, repaired to his own dominions, and presently exhibited a perfidious disposition by attacking the dominions of his recent ally.

By the retirement of Philip from the contest Richard was left in the sole leadership of Christian affairs in Syria. All of the French forces retired with their king except a division of ten thousand men under the Duke of Burgundy. Finding himself deserted by his old-time boon-companion, the English king prepared to renew the war. With an army of about thirty thousand warriors he left Acre and proceeded along the coast in the direction of Jaffa. The English fleet, laden with supplies, accompanied the march, but the progress of the expedition was by no means unchecked by adverse forces. The enemy gathered in great numbers and hovered with sleepless vigilance on flank and rear. For fifteen days the Christians advanced under an almost constant shower of arrows from an enemy who durst not come to battle. At last, however, the sultan resolved (for his army was now increased to great proportions) to hazard a general engagement. When on the 7th of September, 1191, the Crusaders had come near the town of Azotus he ordered a charge of his whole host upon their position. The conflict that ensued was one of the most remarkable of the Middle Ages. The mere weight of the Moslem myriads pressed the Christians into a small space, and here from all directions, except from the side of the sea, a shower of arrows that darkened the air rained upon them.

Smarting under these missiles the restless but undaunted Knights eagerly desired to return the charge of the foe, but the genius of Richard shone out starlike. With a courage and calmness that would have done credit to Napoleon he ordered his warriors to stand fast until the Turks had emptied their quivers and *then* to make the charge. So, when Saladin's hosts had exhausted their missiles upon the well-nigh impenetrable armor of the Crusaders, the Christian ranks were suddenly opened and the Knights burst forth like a thunderbolt upon the impacted masses of the Moslems. Fearful was the revenge which those steel-clad warriors now took upon the insolent foe. Seven thousand of the noblest of the Turkish cavalry were hewn down on the field. The Saracens fled in all directions, and only the speed of their horses saved them from the swords and battle-axes of the Crusaders.

After this signal victory, Richard continued his march to Jaffa, which city was abandoned by Saladin at his approach. Cesarea was also retaken by the Christians; nor is it improbable that if the king's wish to advance at once on Jerusalem had been seconded by his subordinates the Holy Sepulcher might have been wrested again from its defilers. The French barons, however, insisted that the better policy was to tarry on the coast, rebuild the ruined fortresses, and reserve the recapture of Jerusalem for the next campaign. The golden opportunity was thus allowed to pass without improvement, and the Christians foolishly rested on their laurels.

With the opening of the spring of 1192 the Crusaders were again rallied around the banner of Plantagenet for the great original purpose of retaking the Holy City. All the Knights took a solemn oath that they would not abandon the cause until the tomb of Christ should be recovered. The army proceeded from the coast as far as the valley of Hebron, and it seemed to the Moslems that the day of fate had again arrived. Many fled from Jerusalem, and Saladin himself gave up all for lost. Strange and inexplicable, therefore, was the event. The Christians, already in sight of the city, halted. Was it the treachery of the Duke of Burgundy? Was it the whim of the king? Had he and Saladin come to a secret understanding? or did the military genius of Richard warn him of the insufficiency of his resources for such an undertaking as the siege of the city? Did the news from England, telling him of the intrigues of his



(738) COUER DE LION IN THE BATTLE OF AZOTUS.—Drawn by Gustave Doré.

treacherous brother John, who was endeavoring in his absence to deprive him of the kingdom, prevail to reverse his plans and destroy his hopes? or was it one of those unaccountable failures of will which, in the supreme hours of the lives of the greatest, have so many times supervened to break the knees of the demigod on the threshold of his highest ambition? None can answer.

Here in the valley of Hebron, with the towers of Jerusalem in view, the *Lion Heart* called a council! Ten of the leading barons were called upon to decide whether the siege of the city should be undertaken or deferred. It was decided that the present prosecution of the enterprise was inexpedient, and should be given up. Great was the chagrin of the army when this decision was promulgated; and if appearances might be trusted, Richard was himself as much mortified as any of his chiefs. With slow and discontented footsteps the English warriors and their Syrian allies made their way back to the coast, and Jerusalem was left to the perpetual profanation of the Turks.

The supposition that Saladin was in collusion with Richard in the abandonment of his enterprise against the Holy City seems to be contradicted by the conduct of the sultan after the fact. He eagerly followed the retreating Christians, and sought every opportunity to strike them a fatal blow. While the Crusaders were on their way from Jaffa to Acre, a host of Moslems assailed the former city and gained possession of all but the fortresses. Many of the inhabitants and garrison were cut down in the streets. Richard was already at Acre, and busy with his preparations to sail for Europe, when the news came of what the Turks had done at Jaffa. Enraged at the sultan for this aggression, he at once took ship with a mere handful of Knights, and returned to Jaffa. Here he found the Christians still in possession of the citadel, and doing their best to keep the Moslems at bay. With the very excess of reckless daring the king, on coming into the shoal-water, jumped out of his boat and waded to the shore, followed by his warriors. There was no standing against such valor. The Saracens who lined the beach were amazed, and gave way before the brandished battle-axe of Plantagenet as though he were the Evil Genius of Islam. In a short time the assailants of Jaffa escaped from the environments of the town, and fled to the hills for safety. The entire force of Richard, including the defenders of the city, amounted to fifty-five Knights and two thousand infantry; and yet with this mere handful he defiantly pitched his camp *outside of the walls*, as if to taunt all the hosts of Saladin with the implied charge of cowardice.

This was more than the Turks could stand. On the next day, perceiving the insignificance of the force from which they had fled, they returned with overpowering numbers and renewed the battle. From the fury of their onset it seemed that they had determined to destroy Richard at whatever cost to themselves; but the English hero grew more terrible with the crisis. He fought up and down the shore like Castor on the field of Troy. Neither numbers nor courage prevailed to stay his fury. He charged a whole squadron as though it were composed of boys and women. His pathway was strewn with cleft skulls and headless trunks. He was in the height of his glory. Appalled at the flash of his death-dealing weapon, the greatest warriors of Islam fell back from the circle of destruction. They lowered upon him from a distance, but durst not give him battle. Not until the shadows of the Syrian twilight gathered over the scene did Richard and his Knights abate their furious onsets. The Moslems had had enough; they retreated from before the city, and the siege was abandoned.[1]

We have now come to the close of the Third Crusade. The exploits of the Lion Heart in Palestine were at an end. His tremendous exertions in the battle of Jaffa brought on a fever of which he was for some time prostrated. His eagerness to return to Europe was

[1] Perhaps no other warrior ever excited so great personal terror in battle as did Richard Cœur de Lion. His prodigious deeds in fight might well be regarded as wholly fictitious were it not for the concurrent testimony of both Christian and Mohammedan writers. Tradition ever afterwards preserved a memory of his dread name and fame in the East. Syrian mothers were accustomed for centuries (if not to the present day) to frighten their refractory children with the mention of his name; and the Islamite traveler, when his horse would suddenly start by the way, was wont to say, *Cuides tu que ce soit le Roi Richart?* That is, "Think'st thou that it is King Richard?"



(740) BATTLE BEFORE ACRE.—Drawn by Gustave Doré.

increased by every additional item of news which he received from his own kingdom. A conspiracy had been formed by the faithless Prince John and Philip Augustus to rob him of his crown; and the Emperor Henry VI. of Germany was not without a guilty knowledge of the plot. Moreover, his recent triumphant defense of Jaffa had so increased his influence in the East that the aged Saladin, whose sands of life were almost run, was more than willing to come to an understanding with the Crusaders. A treaty, or rather a truce for three years and three months, was accordingly concluded between him and Plantagenet, which, if both had lived, might have had in it the elements of permanency. It was agreed that Richard should dismantle the fortress of Ascalon, the same being while held by the Christians a constant menace to the peace of Egypt. On the other hand, Tyre, Acre, and Jaffa, with all the sea-coasts between them, should remain to the Crusaders. Antioch and Tripoli should not be molested by the Turks, and all Christian pilgrims who came unarmed should have free ingress and egress in visiting the holy places of Palestine, especially those in Jerusalem. Having concluded this settlement, King Richard embarked from Acre in the autumn of 1192, and started on his homeward voyage.

The great Crusader was now destined to rough sailing and hard treatment. His fame had filled all Europe, and nearly all the monarchs of Christendom were in a league of common jealousy against him. After making his way through many storms at sea into the Adriatic, his vessel was wrecked near the head of that water, and he was cast ashore in the neighborhood of the coast-town of Aquileia, in the dominions of Leopold, duke of Austria. That personage had been among the German princes engaged in the siege of Acre when Richard first arrived in Palestine. On a certain occasion the English king had torn down the duke's banner, and had struck him an insulting blow which he durst not resent. It now happened that Plantagenet, disguised as a pilgrim—for in that guise he hoped to make his way in safety to his own dominions—was brought into the presence of the offended duke, who recognized him by a mark which no disguise could hide — his kingly bearing and profuseness. Here, then, was an opportunity for revenge. But avarice prevailed over malice, and hoping to share in the large ransom which was sure to follow the imprisonment of Richard, the Duke of Austria sent him under guard to the Emperor Henry VI.

Of all the people of England, Prince John was most rejoiced at the news of his brother's capture. Otherwise there was great grief throughout the kingdom. John sent abroad the lying report that the Lion Heart was dead, and his confederate, the king of France, made an invasion of Normandy. The English barons, however, remained loyal to Richard, and defended his rights during his absence.

At the hands of the Emperor Henry, Richard received every indignity. He was put in chains and thrown into a dungeon. Nothing but his abundance of animal spirits saved him from despair. But the prisoner was a man of so great distinction and fame that the Emperor durst not destroy him, or even continue to persecute. A diet of the Empire was presently held at Worms, and the princes, showing a disposition to demand of Henry a reason for his course, he had Richard conveyed to Worms to be disposed of. As a justification for his own conduct, he accused the English king of having driven Philip Augustus out of Palestine and maltreated the Duke of Austria. He also charged him with having concluded with Saladin a peace wholly favorable to the Moslems and against the interests and wishes of Christendom. The defense of Richard against these calumniations was in every way triumphant, insomuch that some of his judges were excited to tears by the eloquence and pathos of his story. It was impossible to convict such a prisoner in such a presence. Nevertheless, the spirit of the age permitted the Emperor to exact of his royal prisoner a ransom of a hundred thousand marks as the price of his liberation. Richard was also obliged to give hostages as security for the payment of sixty thousand marks additional on his return to his own country.

On hearing the news that Richard was again at liberty, his brother John and Philip of France were in the frame of mind peculiar to a wolf and a fox when a lion is turned into their keep. The king of France at once

sent word to his ally to take care of himself as best he could. The confederates next attempted to bribe Henry VI. to detain Richard for another year, and that money-making sovereign would have gladly accepted the bait but for the interference of the Pope, who threatened him with excommunication should he dare further to molest the greatest champion of the Cross.

Richard's friends in England were meanwhile exerting themselves to raise the required ransom. In order to secure the amount a general tax was levied, and, the sum thus raised being insufficient, the nobles contributed a fourth of their yearly income, while many of the churches gave up their silver-service to be coined for the king's redemption. When the sum was secured, Queen Eleanor herself took the money to Germany, and her great son was liberated.

In March of 1194, the king arrived in England. He had been absent from the kingdom for four years, the last fifteen months of which he had been held as a prisoner. Great was the joy of the English people, not only in London, but throughout the realm, on again beholding their sovereign. There was a burst of loyal devotion on every hand, and the king in the midst of acclamations might well forget the perils and hardships to which he had been exposed. As for Prince John, who was as timid as he was treacherous, he availed himself of the first opportunity to rush into the apartment of his famous brother, and, flinging himself down at his feet, anxiously pleaded for forgiveness. It was not in Richard's nature to withhold a pardon from his abject brother; but he accompanied the act with the laconic remark to some of his friends that he hoped to forget the injuries done to himself as soon as John would forget his pardon!

Richard took the precaution to have himself recrowned; for he had been a prisoner. As soon as the affairs of the kingdom could be satisfactorily settled, he crossed over into Normandy to defend that province against the aggressions of Philip. For the remaining four years of the king's life he was almost constantly occupied in preparations for war, or making truces with the French, who had neither the good faith to keep a treaty or the courage to fight. In the year 1199 the report was spread abroad that a treasure had been discovered on the estate of the Viscount of Limoges. He being Richard's vassal, the king claimed the treasure, but the viscount would yield only a part. Thereupon Plantagenet went with a band of warriors to take the castle of his refractory subject. One day, while surveying the defenses preparatory to an attack, he incautiously walked too near the wall and was wounded by an arrow. Though the injury was slight, a gangrene came on, and the king was brought to his death. Before that event, however, the castle was taken and all of its defenders hanged except Bertrame de Gourdon, who discharged the fatal arrow. He was taken and brought into Richard's presence to receive sentence of his doom. "What harm have I done you," said the king, "that you should thus have attempted my death?" "You killed my father and brother with your own hands," said the prisoner, "and you intended to kill me. I am ready to suffer with joy any torments you can invent, since I have been so happy as to destroy one who has brought so many miseries on mankind." Richard was so impressed with the boldness and truth of this answer that he ordered Bertrame to be set at liberty. His soldiers, however, were less merciful, and as soon as the king was dead, his slayer was executed.

Before he expired Richard changed his will, and being childless, bequeathed his kingdom to his brother John. Hitherto he had made a provision that the crown should descend to his nephew, Prince Arthur of Brittany, son of Geoffrey Plantagenet. On the 6th of April, 1199, Richard breathed his last, and in his death was greatly lamented by the English nation, whose name he had made a terror as far as the corners of Asia.

At the epoch of the Third Crusade it was the misfortune of the Christians of Palestine to be rent by faction. One party embraced the adherents of Guy of Lusignan, and the other the followers of the valiant Conrad, count of Montferrat. When Richard and Philip were at Acre the former espoused the cause of Guy, and the latter that of Conrad. After the departure of the French king, however, Richard, finding the country on the verge of civil war, and perhaps discovering the

worthlessness of Lusignan, concluded to recognize Conrad as king of Jerusalem. Guy was reconciled, or at least conciliated, by the bestowal of the crown of Cyprus. But this settlement was of short duration. Conrad was murdered in the streets of Tyre by two of the ASSASSINS, a new sect of fanatic Moslems, whose leading tenet was to destroy their enemies by secret murder. The destruction of Conrad, however, was charged to the old enmity of Richard, and the factional bitterness of the Christians was increased by this false accusation.

After the death of Conrad his widow was married to Count Henry, of Champagne, who in virtue of the union was by common consent made titular king of Jerusalem. This settlement tended to allay the malignant party strife which had prevailed in Palestine, and, together with the successes of the Crusaders at Acre and Jaffa, gave promise of an actual restoration of the kingdom.

This favorable turn in the tide of affairs was promoted by the death of Saladin. This most distinguished of the later Moslems died a few months after the conclusion of his truce with Richard, and left his Empire to his three sons, who soon established three distinct thrones at Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo. The solidarity of the Caliphate was thus broken, and the Christian kingdom, or rather the prospect of its reëstablishment, gained greatly by the division. The bad tendency of Moslem affairs was still further increased by the conduct of the great Caliph's brother, Saphadin, who, stronger than his nephews, wrested from them a large part of Syria, and in 1193 organized it into a government of his own.

It was with some impatience that the Christians of Palestine awaited the expiration of the three years' truce concluded by Cœur de Lion with Saladin. The dissensions among the Moslems gave good ground of hope that the kingdom established by Godfrey might be restored, and the Holy City recovered from the Turks. This feeling was especially potent among the Templars and Hospitallers, whose profession of arms had little glory in the "weak, piping time of peace" which followed the Third Crusade. It became the policy of the two Orders to promote every movement in Western Europe which looked to a renewal of the holy war. In 1194 they induced Pope Celestine III. to proclaim another Crusade, and the same was preached in Germany, France, and England. At this juncture, however, there was no such exciting cause of an uprising as had existed on previous occasions, and the French and English refused to agitate. In Germany a cause was found in the personal ambition of the Emperor, Henry VI. Without great breadth of mind, he was nevertheless capable of that sort of avarice which could look with eager and covetous eye upon the treasures of the East. It was one of the curses of the Middle Ages that the rulers of Christendom generally preferred to replenish their coffers by robbery rather than by the encouragement of industry and frugality among their subjects.

Henry VI. brought the whole Imperial influence to bear in favor of the new Crusade. The German clergy assisted in the work, and a sufficient agitation was produced to draw together a large army of volunteers. Three formidable bodies of warriors were fitted out and were dispatched in succession to Acre. On arriving at this stronghold of Syrian Christianity the spirits of the Europeans, especially of the Knights, revived, and a momentary enthusiasm was kindled which perhaps under great direction might have led to great results.

When it was known to the Moslems that new armies of Christians were arriving in the East they quickly made common cause to repel the invasion. Saphadin was chosen as the leader most likely to succeed in driving the German Crusaders out of Palestine. On the other hand, the chiefs who commanded the Christian host quarreled and divided their forces. During the years 1195–96 a series of indecisive conflicts ensued, in which, though the Germans were sometimes victorious, no permanent results were reached in the way of reconquering the country. As a general rule the Turks were unable to confront the Knights in battle, but the former were for the most part a light-armed cavalry, that fought or fled as the exigency seemed to demand, and which it was almost impossible for the mailed warriors of the North to beat to the ground.

After two years of this desultory warfare the Emperor died, and the princes and prelates who had commanded his armies in Palestine

returned to Europe. The movement had affected but slightly the destinies of the conflict in the East, and the most critical authors have not dignified the expedition by numbering it among the Crusades. Perhaps a slight solidity was given to the alleged "kingdom," which now, under the rule of the nominal king, Henry of Champagne, included within its limits the better part of the coast of Palestine. In 1196 Henry died, and soon afterwards his accommodating queen, for the third time a widow, was married to Almeric of Lusignan, successor of Guy in the kingdom of the Cypriots. A union was thus effected between the two sovereignties, and the joint rulers were designated as the King and Queen of Jerusalem and Cyprus.

In the year 1198 the papal crown passed from Celestine to Innocent III. The latter was one of the most able and ambitious Pontiffs recently regnant over christendom. Soon after his accession he determined, if possible, to rekindle the expiring fires of religious zeal by proclaiming a new Crusade. He became more largely instrumental in the movement that followed than any of his predecessors since the days of Urban had been in arousing the Christians of Europe to concurrent action against the Infidels. He wrote to all the Christian rulers of the West, urging them to rally to the Cross and to assist the holy work he had in hand, either by themselves enlisting for the war, or by contributing a part of their means for the glorious enterprise. As to the Church, he exacted of all the ecclesiastics in Europe a tithe of one-fortieth part of their revenues, and at the same time, by his messengers, he urged the laity to give in like manner a liberal per centum of their incomes.

So effective were the measures thus originated that the papal coffers were soon filled to overflowing. At this juncture a popular preacher appeared who, like Peter the Hermit and St. Bernard, was destined to enforce and energize the will of the Pope by an appeal to the masses. Pretending to have revelations from heaven, this fanatic priest, whose name was Foulque of Neuilly, went abroad loudly and vehemently preaching to the people and calling upon them in the name of all things sacred, to enlist in the holy war. To convince them of his mission he performed miracles, and as a finishing touch to the spectacular, he exhibited *himself* as an example of devotion and sacrifice; for he had formerly been a distinguished libertine.[1] The flame of excitement rose high under the appeals of this dramatic orator, and thousands in France and Flanders rushed forward to take the cross.

Now it was that the gallant Count Thibaut of Champagne, and his cousin, Earl Louis of Blois, fired the French chivalry by their example. At a great tournament held in the count's province in the year 1200, these two nobles publicly renounced the mimic deeds of the knightly ring for the actual glories of war. They assumed the cross, and vowed the vow of service against the Infidels. Great was the enthusiasm created by their devotion, and hundreds of the assembled knights and nobles emulated their deeds by putting on the red badge of Christian warfare. Among the most distinguished of the number was Simon de Montfort, baron of Mante. The excitement spread into Flanders, and Count Baldwin, a brother-in-law of Thibaut, enlisted with a great company of chivalry. Other famous leaders also appeared: from Italy the Marquis Boniface of Montferrat; from Germany, the bishop of Halberstadt; from Hungary, the king. Such was the beginning of the FOURTH CRUSADE.

As a means of promoting the cause two great councils were held, the one at Soissons and the other at Compeigne. At these meetings it was resolved to avoid the hardships and disasters which the former Crusaders had undergone, by taking the sea—instead of the land—route to Palestine. It was also determined as a necessary part of this policy to employ the fleets of the maritime Republics of Italy as the best means of transportation to the East. Especially did the princes turn to the Venetians, whose navy was by far the largest and most efficient in Europe. The leaders accordingly sent ambassadors to the veteran Venetian doge, Henrico Dandolo, now ninety-three years of age and blind as a stone, but still fired with the zeal and spirit of youth. The councils of state were convened, and aft-

[1] It was this Foulque whom Richard Plantagenet horrified with the proposition to give his three daughters, Pride, Avarice, and Voluptuousness, to the Templars, the Benedictines, and *the priests!*

erwards the citizens were called together in the great square of St. Mark. Here in the presence of the assembled state of Venice the French barons knelt before the majesty of the people, and besought with all the fervor of eloquence the aid of the Republic in the recovery of the holy places of the East.

The Venetians heard the petitions with favor, and agreed to furnish a navy for the required service for the sum of eighty-five thousand silver marks. For this sum it was stipulated that Venice should transport to any designated coast of the East four thousand five hundred knights, nine thousand esquires and men-at-arms, twenty thousand infantry with horses and accouterments, and provisions for nine months. The fleet set apart for this service numbered fifty galleys, being perhaps the best vessels then afloat in the Mediterranean.

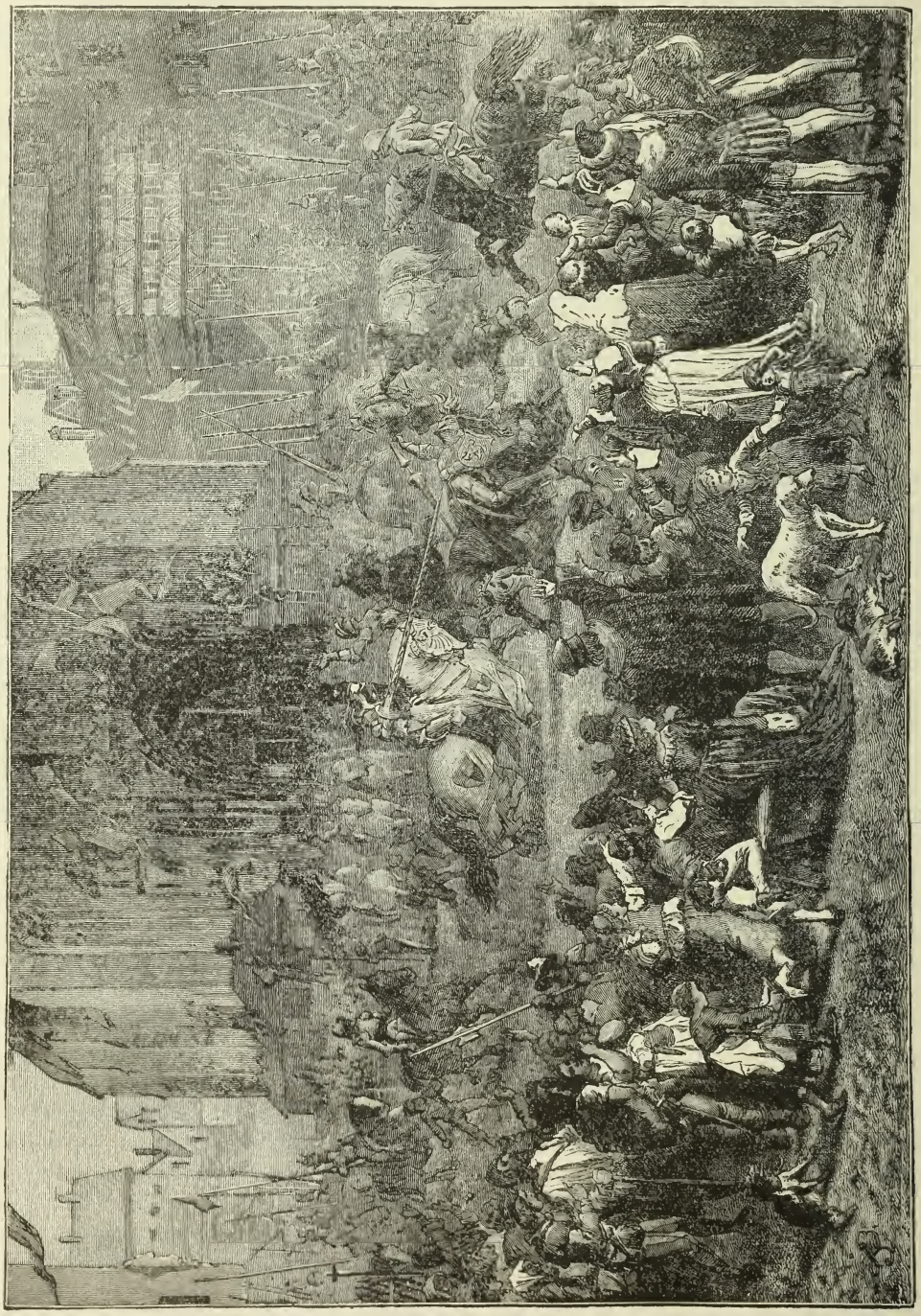
Great was the joy of the gathering Crusaders of France on learning that the Venetians had agreed to transport them to Palestine. Soon, however, the ardor of the chivalry was cooled by the untoward circumstance of the death of their chosen leader, Count Thibaut, of Champagne. This positive loss, moreover, was greatly aggravated by the jealousy and heart-burnings of the French barons, whose mutual rivalries prevented a choice of any one of their own number to the command of the expedition. It thus happened that a foreign prince, the Marquis Boniface of Montferrat, was chosen as leader of the Fourth Crusade; and thus it happened, also, that what with the embassy to Venice, and what with the delays incident to the bickerings and disputes of the barons, the space of two years elapsed from the tournament of Champagne to the gathering of the Crusaders at Venice, preparatory to their departure for Syria.

When at last, in the year 1202, the warriors of the Cross were mustered in the Place of St. Mark, it was found that many, through the abatement of zeal, had remained at home, and that others were less willing, or, perhaps, less able, than in the first glow of their enthusiasm, to pay the subscriptions which they had made to meet the Venetian indebtedness. Less than fifty thousand marks of the whole sum could now be secured. The doge and citizens of the Republic refused to permit the departure of the fleet until the entire amount should be paid.

At length, however, the dead-lock was broken in a manner which radically changed the whole character of the enterprise. When it became apparent that the Crusade, even after two years of preparation, must be abandoned because of non-compliance with the contract made by the French embassadors, the doge himself came forward with a measure of relief. He proposed that instead of the present payment of the remaining thirty thousand marks, the Crusaders should assist him in reducing the revolted city of Zara, on the coast of Dalmatia. If they would do so, the residue of their indebtedness might remain unpaid until the close of the Crusade; and, in that event, he would himself assume the cross, become a soldier of Christ, and conduct the Venetian fleet against the seaports of the Syrian Infidels.

This advantageous proposition, though it seemed to divert the Crusaders from their original purpose, was gladly accepted by them. Indeed, such was the situation of affairs that they had no alternative. At this juncture, however, a new complication arose which threatened to annul the whole compact. The inhabitants of Zara had, after their revolt, made haste to put themselves under the protection of the Hungarians. The king of Hungary was himself one of the promoters of the Crusade, and had taken the cross. Pope Innocent III. now interfered, and forbade the Crusaders to turn their arms against a people who were under the protection of a Christian king, engaged in war with Infidels. But the Venetian republicans stood less in awe of the papal authority than did the feudal barons from beyond the Alps. Not caring whether their action was pleasing or displeasing to His Holiness, they went ahead with the enterprise, and prevailed with most of the leaders to join them in the expedition. The Marquis of Montferrat, however, would not, on account of conscientious scruples, accompany the expedition. The fleet of Venetians and Crusaders departed under command of the blind old doge, who, though seeing not with his eyes, perceived with the inner sight the exigencies of the campaign,

and directed his forces with success. Zara, though one of the strongest fortresses in Europe, was besieged and taken after a five days' investment. The lives of the rebellious inhabitants were spared, but the fortifications were thrown down, and the city itself given up to pillage.



THE TOURNAMENT OF CHAMPAGNE.

Great was the anger of the Pope when he learned of the thing done by his disobedient children. He excommunicated both Venetians and Crusaders; but, when the French barons went humbly to Rome and declared to Innocent their penitence for their evil deed, he granted them a pardon on the con-

ditions that they should restore to the people of Zara the booty of which they had been robbed, and that the alliance with the refractory and perverse Venetians should be at once broken off. It was, however, in a manner impossible for the barons to comply with these conditions. They were so entangled with the Republic, that to break the league was to give up the Crusade and violate their knightly vows. Simon de Montfort, however, more fanatic than the rest, heeded and obeyed the papal injunction. As for the other Crusaders, they went into winter quarters with their allies at Venice and Zara.

During the interval between the capture of the Dalmatian fortress and the opening of the spring of 1203, circumstances occurred which led to a complete change of the original purpose of the Crusade. A new condition of affairs had supervened in the Eastern Empire which excited the hostility of the Western Christians to the extent of making war on Constantinople instead of the cities of Syria. The Comnenian emperors were now represented in the person of Alexius, who had conspired against his brother Isaac, whom he had deposed from the throne, deprived of his eyes, and thrust into a dungeon. The son of Isaac, who also bore the name of Alexius, was but twelve years of age, and was spared by his victorious uncle.

This young prince made his escape and fled to Italy, and, when the Crusaders gathered at Venice, he had sufficient penetration to see in the host there mustered the possible means of his own or his father's restoration to the throne of the Eastern Empire. He accordingly laid his cause before the Christian princes, and besought their aid. His petitions were strongly backed by the influence of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Suabia. During the interval, when the barons of the West were lying inactive at Zara, the negotiations were continued, and both Crusaders and Venetians were won over to the idea of a campaign against Constantinople. Indeed, so far as the subjects of the doge were concerned, not much was wanting to inflame the motives already existing for war. For a quarter of a century a rivalry had existed between Venice and the capital of the East. At one time, the Emperor Manuel had confiscated all the property of the Venetians in the ports of the Empire. At another, the ships of the Venetian merchants had made a descent upon several of the Byzantine islands and laid them waste. By and by the Emperor adopted the policy of encouraging the Pisans, the rivals of the Venetians, by conferring on them the carrying-trade of the East. This act was wormwood to Venice, and she awaited an opportunity of revenge.

The aged but ambitious Dandolo now perceived that by espousing the cause of the young Alexius against the usurping uncle of the same name the wrongs of the Republic might be avenged and her commercial advantages restored in the Eastern Mediterranean. It thus happened that the prayers of the Prince Alexius were supported not only by the Duke of Suabia, but also by the still more powerful voice of the doge.

Such was the temper of the age, that though the attention of both the Crusaders and Venetians was thus diverted to the enterprise of a campaign against Constantinople, neither party of the confederates was disposed to do so without first extorting every possible advantage from the young prince in whose interest the expedition was to be ostensibly undertaken. The Imperial lad was led on under the stimulus of hope to make the most flattering promises. He agreed to pay the Crusaders two hundred thousand marks for the restoration of his imprisoned and sightless father to the throne of Constantinople. He also promised to heal the fatal schism of the Greek and Latin Churches, to the end that spiritual unity might be attained throughout christendom under the Pope of Rome. He would, moreover, when the affairs of the Empire should be satisfactorily settled, either himself become a Crusader or else send out a division of ten thousand men at his own expense to aid in the recovery of Palestine. Furthermore, he would maintain during his life a body of five hundred Knights in the Holy Land, to the end that the Turks might not again regain their ascendency.

Meanwhile the usurper, Alexius, had been on the alert to prevent the impending invasion of his dominions. He at once set about the work of arraying the Pope against the scheme of his enemies. The papal sanction

was an important factor in all the conflicts of the Middle Ages, and to obtain this the secular princes were wont to bid against each other as in a market. It now appeared that the elder as well as the younger Alexius was willing to sell out the independency of the Greek Church for the support of Rome. The Eastern Emperor accordingly sent ambassadors to Pope Innocent and tendered the submission of the Byzantine Christians as the price of papal interference. Innocent was already angered with the Venetians, and the Crusaders themselves had shown so refractory a spirit as to incur his displeasure. Since, therefore, in either case the solidarity of the church was to be attained by the submission of the schismatic Greeks, the Pope readily, even eagerly, espoused the cause of the Emperor against the prince. The Crusaders were forbidden to disturb the peace of a Christian dominion. The tyrant of Constantinople was promised the protection of Rome. She, and not the barons and knights, would heal the schism of long-suffering christendom. If any would disobey her mandate, let them remember the terrors wherewith she was wont to afflict those who set at naught her wishes. Legates were sent to Zara to acquaint the tempted army with the will and purpose of the Holy Father.

Little were the Venetians terrified by these premonitory mutterings from the Vatican. They openly disregarded the interdict and proceeded with their preparations for the expedition. The Crusaders proper heard the papal voice with more respect, but with them there was a division of sentiment. The more scrupulous were disposed to heed and obey the command of the Pope, but the greater number, either regarding themselves as hopelessly involved and compromised with the Venetians, or else influenced by the lustful hope of repairing their fortunes out of the treasures of Constantinople, chose to stop their ears and follow their inclinations.

When the papal envoys perceived that their mission was fruitless they left Zara, took ship and sailed for Syria. In doing so they bade all follow who would fight for the Cross and obey the voice of the Church. Not a few of the barons and knights accepted this opportunity of escaping from all entanglements and going on board with the legates, departed for Palestine. The remaining and more adventurous portion of the Crusaders silently defied the Pope, cast in their lot with the Venetians, and made ready for the campaign against the Byzantine capital. Chief among those who thus joined their fortunes with republican Venice in preference to papal Rome were the Marquis of Montferrat, the counts of Flanders, Blois, and St. Paul, eight others of the leading French barons, and a majority of the warriors who had originally embarked in the Crusade.

The expedition which was now set on foot against Constantinople was the most formidable armament which had been seen in the Mediterranean since the days of Pompey the Great. The squadron included fifty galleys of war, one hundred and twenty horse-transports, two hundred and forty vessels for the conveyance of the troops and military engines, and seventy store-ships for the supplies. The force of Crusaders on board consisted of six thousand cavalry and ten thousand foot, and the Venetian soldiers numbered about twenty thousand.

It now appeared that Alexius Comnenus was much more of a diplomatist and intriguer than warrior. During the whole progress of the expedition which was openly directed against his capital he made no attempt to stay its course or prevent its entrance to the Bosphorus. The harbor of Constantinople was found to be defended by only twenty galleys; for the Greek admiral, Michael Struphnos, brother-in-law of the Emperor, had broken up the vessels of his master's fleet in order that he might sell for his own profit the masts, rigging, and iron which they contained. When in the immediate face of the peril the proposition was made to build a new navy, the eunuchs of the Imperial palace to whom the keeping of the parks and hunting-grounds had been intrusted *refused to have the timber cut*! Such has ever been the folly of those *effete* despotisms which have survived their usefulness.

Nor did the people of the city of Constantine show much interest in the crisis which was evidently upon them. Like voluptuous idlers floating in the Bay of Biscay, they recked not of the gathering storm. What to them was a change of masters? The tyrant Alexius was in a measure deserted to his fate.

Great, however, was the strength of the

city before whose walls the men of the West were now come with hostile purpose. There rose the massive ramparts of stone; there the lofty turrets of palaces and basilica—a splendid show of beauty, magnificence, and strength, such as the Crusaders had never before beheld.

At first the fleet was brought to anchor on the Asiatic side of the channel. For a few days after the landing the forces of the doge and the Marquis of Montferrat, who may be regarded as the commanders of the army, were allowed to rest in Scutari, and while they were here reposing, negotiations were opened by the Emperor. He offered to expedite the march of the Crusaders into Asia Minor! They were not going in that direction. He warned them against any disturbance in his dominions. It was for the express purpose of disturbing his dominions that they had come. He threatened them with the Pope. The Pope had already done his worst. On the other hand, the doge and barons warned him to come down from the throne which he had usurped under penalty of such punishment as the soldiers of the Cross were wont to visit upon the opposers of the will and cause of offended heaven.

After these mutual fulminations the Crusaders prepared to cross to the other side of the strait. They ranged themselves in six divisions, and, passing across the channel, scattered the Byzantine forces which were drawn up to resist their landing, and captured the suburb Galata. The great chain which had been stretched across the mouth of the harbor was broken, and the few ships remaining to the Greeks captured and destroyed.

The assailants now found themselves before the huge walls of the city. Constantinople was at this time the most strongly fortified metropolis in the world. The act of the Crusaders in undertaking the siege of such a place is perhaps without a parallel in the annals of audacity. Their forces were only sufficient to *invest* one side of the ramparts. Their provisions were regarded as good for three weeks' subsistence. If only the physical conditions of the situation should be considered, then indeed might Alexius and his officers well look down with indifference and contempt upon the puny preparations outside the walls. But the *mental* conditions were different.

To the Crusaders delay would be fatal. They accordingly exerted themselves to the utmost to bring on the crisis of an assault. In this work the Venetians vied with their allies in the prodigious activity which they displayed. It was determined to assail the walls from the side of the sea and in the parts adjacent. With herculean endeavor the Crusaders succeeded in filling up the ditch and thus were enabled to bring their engines to bear upon the fortifications. In a few days the walls had been sufficiently injured to warrant the hazard of an assault. The blind old doge of Venice took his station on the raised deck of his vessel, and with the banner of St. Mark above his head, directed his men in the attack by sea. The Venetian galleys were brought to the beach immediately under the walls. Drawbridges were thrown from the masts to the tops of the ramparts, and for the foot-soldiers scaling-ladders were planted, and then with a rush and a shout the battlements were surmounted. Twenty-five towers were carried by the marines of Venice, and the banner of the Republic was planted on the summit.

The Crusaders in making the attack from the land-side had met with poor success. The breaches made by their engines proved to be less complete than had been thought, and those who had been set to defend this part of the walls were (if the history may be credited), a body of Anglo-Saxon and Danish guards whom the Emperor had taken into his service. Very different were these brave and stalwart warriors of the North from the supple and degenerate Greeks, who had inherited all the vices without any of the virtues of their ancestors. The Crusaders were confronted in their impetuous charge by these resolute and powerful soldiers, and were unable to break into the city.

As soon, however, as the doge was victorious from the side of the sea, he made haste to fire the part of the city which was in his power, and then hurried to the succor of his allies. On the appearance of the Venetians, the guards and Greek cavalry who, by sheer force of numbers, had almost surrounded the chivalry, and were assailing the hard pressed Crusaders in front and on both flanks, fell back quickly and sought safety within the

walls. Night came on and the allies anxiously awaited the morning to renew the struggle.

But Alexius was not more tyrant than poltroon. In the darkness of midnight he robbed the Imperial treasure-house, gathered together his terrified followers and fled from Constantinople. With the coming of dawn the Crusaders were amazed to see issuing from the city an embassy which, making its way to the camp, informed the barons and the doge that Alexius had fled, that the blind Isaac had come from his dungeon and was on the throne, and that he desired the immediate presence of his son and deliverers in the city. In answer to this message, two barons and two Venetians were sent to congratulate Isaac on his restoration, and to notify him of the conditions which his son had made, in accordance with which they had come to effect his deliverance and restoration.

Great was the shock to Isaac when he learned of the hard, almost intolerable terms which his rash but loyal boy had made with the mercenary soldiers of the Cross. But he was in the grip of an appalling necessity, and there was no alternative but to ratify the conditions imposed by his masters. All was agreed to. The young Alexius made a triumphant entry into the city and was jointly crowned with his father. For the moment there seemed to be an end of the struggle and the beginning of a lasting peace.

The character of the Latins and Greeks, however, forbade any permanent concord between them. The coarse vigor of the one, and the pusillanimous spirit of the other, made it impossible for them to harmonize in interest or purpose. For the time, the Greeks were obliged to yield in all things to their conquerors. The Patriarch of Constantinople was constrained by the compact and the presence of the Crusaders to do his part by proclaiming from the Church of St. Sophia the submission of Eastern christendom to the Romish See. This was, perhaps, the most intolerable exaction of all to which the people of the city were subjected. Their hatred of the heretical faith and ritual, which they were obliged to accept, was transferred to the young Emperor Alexius, in whose interest the revolution had been accomplished.

Nor was his own conduct such as to allay the antipathy which was thus aroused. During his two years' sojourn in the camp of the Crusaders, he had become thoroughly imbued with their manners and spirit. Their carousals and debaucheries were now a part of his life as much as of their own. He would not, perhaps could not, shake off the rude and intemperate habits which he had thus acquired by contact with the boisterous soldiers of the West. Under the force of a disposition which had now become a second nature, he continued to prefer the license and uproar of the Crusaders' camp to the refinements and ceremony of the palace and court.

It was not long until the respect and esteem of his own countrymen had been so completely forfeited by Alexius that he found it necessary to retain the Latin warriors in his capital as a means of support. Nor did they appear reluctant—so greatly had their ferocious morality been corrupted—to postpone the fulfillment of their vows in order to enjoy the winter in Constantinople. Meanwhile their self-confidence was in a great measure restored by the pardon received from the Pope. Both they and the Venetians, after their capture of the city, had made such penitential professions to the Holy Father that he gladly extended full absolution to his wayward and refractory children.

During the winter the time was occupied by a portion of the Crusaders with an expedition into Thrace. Alexius himself accompanied the barons on this campaign, and his absence from the city, together with that of the Marquis of Montferrat, was made the occasion of a disastrous outbreak. The Latin warriors, tired of inaction, fell upon and almost exterminated a colony of Moslem merchants, who had long enjoyed the protection of the city. The Mohammedans made a brave defense, and the Greeks came in large numbers to the rescue. In like manner the Latin party in the city rallied to the support of the Crusaders, and the battle became a slaughter. In the midst of the conflict a fire broke out which continued to rage for eight days. One-third of the beautiful city was reduced to ashes. The multitude of Greeks thus dispossessed of their homes were exasperated to the last degree; and, falling upon the Latin residents of the city, whom

they regarded as having instigated the outrage, they obliged them to seek shelter in the camp of the Crusaders.

The circumstances of the deposition and murder of Isaac and his son Alexius in a conspiracy headed by Angelus Ducas, surnamed Mourzoufle, and the assumption of the crown by the latter; the wrath of the Crusaders on learning of what was done; the second siege of Constantinople; the capture and pillage of that city; the desecration of the churches; the overthrow of the Greek Empire, and the establishment of a Latin dynasty in the capital of the Eastern Cæsars,—have already been narrated in the Ninth Book of the preceding Volume.[1] As soon as this work was accomplished, the Western revolutionists set about the partition of the spoils of an empire. As to the vacant throne of Constantinople, the same was conferred on Baldwin, count of Flanders. The new emperor-elect was raised on a buckler by the barons and knights and borne on their shoulders to the Church of St. Sophia, where he was clothed with imperial purple. The Marquis of Montferrat was rewarded with Macedonia and Greece and the title of king. The various provinces of the Empire in Europe and Asia were divided among the barons who commanded the Crusaders, but not until three-eighths of the whole, including Crete and most of the archipelago, had been set aside for the Republic of Venice.

As soon as the division of the territorial and other spoils had been effected, the barons and knights departed with their respective followers to occupy their provinces. As to the two fugitives, Alexius Angelus and Ducas Mourzoufle, both usurpers and both claiming the Imperial dignity, the former soon fell into the power of the latter, and was deprived of his eyes; while Mourzoufle himself was seized by the Latins, tried and condemned, and cast headlong from the lofty summit of the Pillar of Theodosius. A new claimant hereupon arose in the person of Theodore Lascaris, who, possessing more of the qualities of heroism than any of his predecessors of the preceding century, obtained the lead of the anti-Latin parties in the East, and became a formidable obstacle to the progress and permanency of the Latin Empire. Thus, in a marvelous manner, unforeseen alike by Christians and Moslems, the original purpose of the Fourth Crusade was utterly abandoned and forgotten. The impulse of the movement expired west of the Bosphorus; and the blows of the chivalrous barons and knights of France and Italy fell upon the heads of the Byzantine Greeks instead of the crests of the warriors of Islam.

The interval between the Fourth and Fifth Crusades was noted for the extraordinary spectacle of an uprising among the boys and children of France and Germany. In the spring of 1212 a French peasant boy by the name of Stephen began to preach a Crusade to those of his own age. The appeal was directed to both sexes. Heaven had ordained the weak things of this world to confound the mighty. The children of Christendom were to take the Holy Sepulcher from the Infidels! Another peasant boy named Nicholas took up the refrain in Germany and mustered an army of innocents at Cologne. Around the fanatical standards of these two striplings was gathered a great multitude of boys and girls who, in rustic attire, and with no armor more formidable than shepherd's crooks, set out under the sanction of a royal edict to battle with the Moslems of Syria. Embarking from Marseilles under the lead of a few pious fools, older but no wiser than themselves, they came to a miserable end by shipwreck on the island of San Pietro. Such was the so-called Children's Crusade—one of the strangest and most absurd spectacles recorded in history.

There still remain to be recounted the annals of the last four movements of christendom against the Turks. The conquest of the Greek Empire was effected in the year 1204. Never was there to all human seeming a more unfortunate diversion of an enterprise than that which turned the Fourth Crusade against Constantinople instead of Jerusalem. The condition of the Islamite dominion in the East was at this juncture precisely such as to invite a renewal of the efforts of the Christians for the recovery of the Holy City. Egypt was dreadfully scourged with pestilence and famine. Syria was rent with the disputes and turmoils of the successors of Saladin. Every circumstance seemed favorable to the restora-

[1] See Volume II, Book Tenth, pp. 375, 376.



THE CHILDREN'S CRUSADE.—Drawn by Gustave Doré.

tion of Christian supremacy, not only in Palestine but in all the principalities which they had formerly held. And yet of all the advantages afforded by the general condition of affairs, the Syrian Christians secured no more than this: a six years' truce with Saphadin.

Meanwhile, Almeric and Isabella, titular king and queen of Jerusalem, both died; and the shadowy crown of that alleged "kingdom" descended to the Princess MARY, daughter of Isabella by her former marriage with Conrad of Tyre. It was, however, deemed essential by the barons and knights of the West that the young Queen Mary should be strengthened by the arm of a husband, and the choice being left to Philip Augustus of France, that monarch selected the Prince JOHN, son of the Count of Brienne, as most worthy of the honor. Accordingly, in 1210, the prince departed for Palestine, claimed the hand of Mary, and with her was jointly crowned.

When the truce with Saphadin expired, the Christians refused to renew the treaty, and hostilities were presently resumed. It soon appeared that King John, with the handful of knights whom he had brought with him from Europe, was unable to repel the encroachments of the Turks. In his distress he wrote a pathetic appeal to Pope Innocent III., beseeching him for the love of the fallen Cross again to rally the Christians of the West for the salvation of Palestine. His Holiness was most ready to undertake the enterprise. Although he was at present profoundly engaged in the work of suppressing the heretical Albigenses in the south of France, he sent a favorable answer to King John's appeal, and issued a letter to the Christian rulers of Europe, proclaiming a new Crusade. He also directed the clergy of all christendom to urge forward the laity, should the latter lag in renewing the Holy War. The fourth council of the Lateran was called, and a resolution was adopted by the august body to undertake once more the great work of subjugating the Infidels of Syria. Such was the origin of the FIFTH CRUSADE.

The leaders of the new expedition to the East were King Andrew of Hungary and the Emperor Frederick II. Besides the armies led by these two princes a third was organized, consisting of a mixed multitude of Germans, French, Italians, and English. King Andrew set out with his forces in the year 1216, and was joined on his route by the dukes of Austria and Bavaria. On reaching Palestine the Hungarian monarch made some desultory incursions into the Moslem territories, but besides ravaging undefended districts accomplished nothing honorable to himself or his country. He soon abandoned the enterprise, gathered his forces on the coast, and reëmbarked for Europe. The Germans, however, who had accompanied the expedition, refused to return, and joined themselves with the knights of Palestine to aid them in defending whatever remained of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Other bands of warriors like-minded with themselves arrived from Germany, and the forces of the Christians were so augmented that it was resolved to make a campaign against Egypt. That country had been reduced to such a state by misrule, famine, and pestilence as to have become an especially inviting field for foreign invasion. There only wanted the additional fact of storied wealth and treasure to inflame to the highest pitch the cupidity of the mercenary chivalry of the West. Nor could it be denied that even from a military point of view the conquest of Egypt was an important, if not a necessary antecedent, to that of Syria.

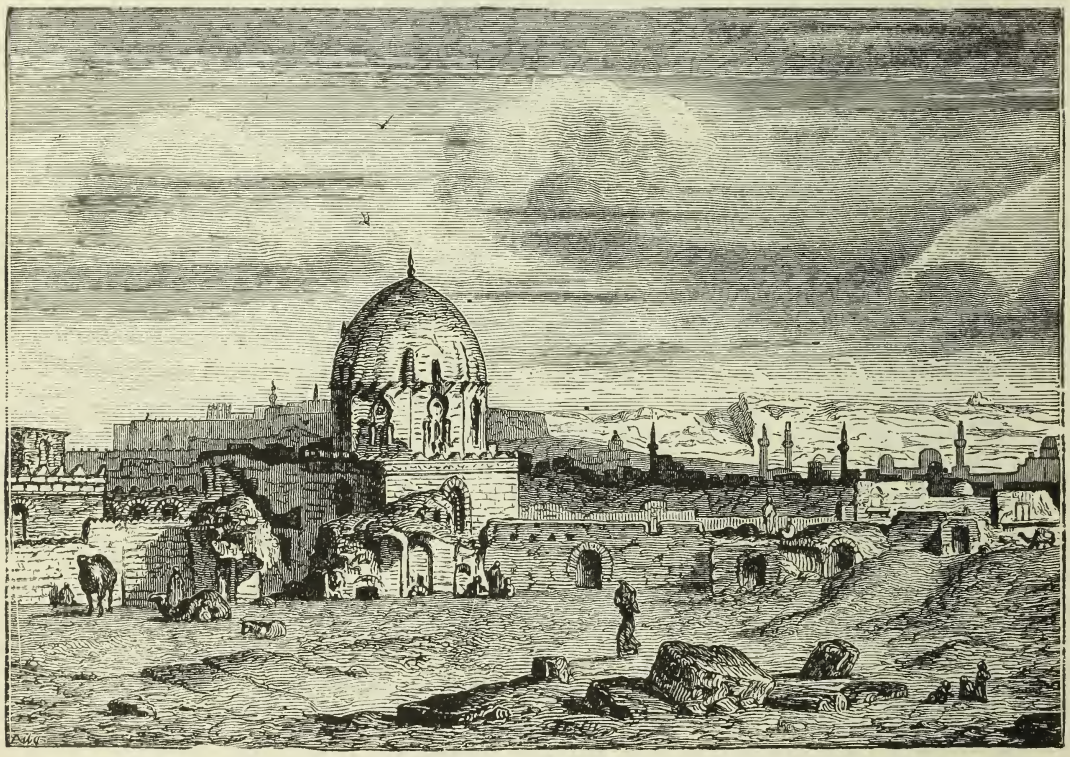
In the year 1218 an armament fitted out at Acre left the Syrian coast and proceeded against Damietta, at the mouth of the Nile. The Christian forces were landed before the city, and the place was at once besieged. An assault was made upon a castle in the river, and though the assailants were beaten back, so furious was their onset that the defenders of the castle were terrified into a capitulation. A short time afterwards the news was borne to the Christian camp that their great enemy, Saphadin, was dead, and the dread which they had hitherto felt of Syrian assistance to the Egyptians was dismissed. Another circumstance favorable to the Crusaders was the almost constant arrival of other bands from Europe. Some of these were headed by the chief barons of Italy, France, and England, such as the counts of Nevers and La Marche, and the noted earls of Salisbury, Arundel, and Chester.

While, however, the forces of the besiegers of Damietta were thus augmented, an

element of discord and danger was introduced in the jealousies and intrigues which at once sprang up among so many eminent leaders. Within the city were the ravages of disease and famine, yet the residue of the courageous people held out for seventeen months. When at last neither passive endurance nor actual bravery availed any longer to keep the Crusaders at bay, the latter burst into the city and found themselves in a metropolis of death.

The other cities of Egypt were greatly alarmed by the capture of Damietta. The consternation spread throughout all Syria, and for once the Christians were completely masters of the situation. For the time they might have dictated to the terrified Moslems whatever terms they chose to offer. Meanwhile, Coradinus and Camel, two sons of Saphadin, both weaklings, had been seated on the respective thrones of Damascus and Cairo. It were hard to say which of these two princes was now more seriously distressed. Camel saw his stronghold wrested from his grasp, while Coradinus remembered that the Crusaders were only warring in Egypt with a view to making sure the conquest of Palestine. Both the sultans were anxious for peace. He of Damascus demolished the fortifications of Jerusalem and joined with his brother in offering to cede that city and all Palestine to the Christians on the single condition that they should withdraw from Egypt. Thus at last, upon the camp of the Crusaders, pitched on the sands of Lower Egypt, arose out of the Syrian desert the glorious sun of success, flashing his full beams on the spires and Necropolis of Cairo.

The more conscientious soldiers of the Cross were anxious to accept the terms which were offered by the brother sultans. Why should they war any longer since the sepulcher of Christ and all the sacred places of the Holy Land were now freely, almost abjectly, offered by the cowering representatives of Islam? The king of Jerusalem, the French and English barons, and the Teutonic knights, eagerly favored the conclusion of a treaty. But the Templars and Hospitallers, together with the Italian leaders, influenced partly by their insane lust for the treasure-houses of Egypt and partly by the stupid bigotry of Cardinal Pe-



NECROPOLIS OF CAIRO.
After the painting of P. Marilhat.

lagius, the legate of the Pope, vehemently opposed the conclusion of a peace, and overrode the wishes and wise counsels of the allied chieftains. Whenever the latter would urge the immense and definitive advantages of the proposed cession of Palestine with the consequent recovery of the Holy Sepulcher and every thing for which the blood and treasure of Europe had been poured out like water for a hundred and twenty-five years, the blatant Pelagius would bawl out with imperious inconsistency that the soldiers of the Cross should never compromise with Infidels. The result was that the auspicious opportunity of ending the Holy War on terms most satisfactory to every sincere knight in Christendom, went by unimproved, and instead of withdrawing from Egypt the Crusaders passed an inglorious winter in the captured city of Damietta.

Perceiving that their enemies were inexorable, the Moslems rallied from their despair and employed the interval in recruiting their armies and planning campaigns for the ensuing year. With the beginning of 1220, the army of Coradinus came out of Syria and was joined to that of Camel at Cairo. The incompetency of Pelagius, and the outrageous folly of his course, were now fully manifested. While hesitating to attack the Islamite armies, he permitted his own forces to remain in the vicinity of Damietta until with the rise of the Nile the Egyptians deliberately cut the canals on the side next the Isthmus, and inundated the country. On a sudden the Christians found themselves in a world of waters, swelling higher and higher. The crisis was overwhelming. The bigots who were responsible for it were obliged to send a humble embassy to the sultan, and to offer him the city of Damietta for the privilege of retiring from Egypt. The sultan accepted the offer, but took care to detain as a hostage the king of Jerusalem until what time the embarkation should be effected. The miserable and crestfallen Crusaders took ship as quickly as possible and sailed to Acre. So completely was the host dispirited that great numbers of the warriors abandoned the enterprise and returned to Europe.

The broils which had so many times distracted the counsels and defeated the plans of the Christian princes in the East were now transferred to the West. Great was the mortification of Christendom when it was known what might have been, and what was, accomplished in Egypt. It seemed necessary to find a scapegoat, on whose head might be laid the sin and ignominy of the failure. Popular indignation with a due apprehension of the facts pointed to Pelagius, and great odium was set against his name. But Honorius III., who had now come to the papal throne, defended his legate from the aspersions of his enemies; and, in order that the blame might rest upon some one sufficiently eminent to bear the disgrace, His Holiness laid the charge of failure at the feet of Frederick II. That distinguished and obstinate ruler had promised, but had not fulfilled. In 1220 he had gone to Rome in a triumphal fashion and had been crowned by the Pope, who had every hope that the eccentric Emperor would become an obedient son of the Church. Now it was said by the papal adherents that the Emperor, after taking the vow of the Cross, had failed to keep his covenant, and had left the suffering Crusaders to their fate among the floods of Lower Egypt.

It soon appeared, however, that Frederick was not to be moved by such imputations of dishonor. The Pope accordingly changed his tone, and undertook to accomplish by policy what he could not effect by upbraiding the imperial Crusader. He managed to bring it about that Herman de Saltza, Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, should bring to the Emperor from the East a proposal from King John of Jerusalem that his daughter Iolanta should be given to Frederick in marriage. The scheme amounted to this, that the kingdom of Jerusalem should become an appanage of the German Empire. John of Brienne was most willing to give up the shadowy distinction with which he had been honored and to escape from the perils of Syrian warfare, and Frederick was equally willing to accept a trust made palatable by such a gift as the Princess Iolanta. Accordingly, in the year 1225, the project was completed, and the Emperor solemnly bound himself to lead an army to the Holy Land for the reëstablishment of the kingdom planted by Godfrey in the City of Zion.

The event showed, however, that Frederick was slow to fulfill what he had so readily promised. A period of five years elapsed and

still he was not ready to depart for the East. Pope Honorius died and was succeeded by Gregory IX., who espoused with zeal the enterprise which his predecessor had not lived to see accomplished. Unable to urge the Emperor to go forward by any milder persuasion, His Holiness excommunicated him, and finally forbade him to do the very thing which he had so long refused to undertake. This last measure seems to have aroused the perverse Frederick by the law of contradiction, for setting at naught both the threats and the inter-



ENTRANCE OF FREDERICK II. INTO ROME.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

dicts of the Pope, he collected a small squadron and departed for Palestine.

The armament with which the Emperor, still under the ban, set out on his mission consisted of only twenty galleys. Those who had had experience in the long-continued wars with the Infidels were excited to contempt on witnessing the departure of the ruler of the German Empire with such a force on such an expedition. It was not long, however, until their contempt was turned into wonder at the extraordinary success which attended the arms of Frederick. Notwithstanding the anathemas of the Pope, and the unwearied efforts of that potentate to defeat his plans and cover him with disgrace, the Emperor made all speed to Acre, and there with his handful of soldiers prepared for the reconquest of Palestine. Both the Hospitallers and the Templars, acting under the commands of the Pope, withheld their support, and Frederick was left with only his own troops and the Teutonic knights. Such, however, was the vigor of his movements that many of the Syrian chivalry were impelled by a sense of shame, even against the papal interdict, to join their German brethren in their struggle with the Infidels.

Having made every thing secure at Acre, Frederick courageously set his forces in motion toward Jaffa. Contrary to expectation, this stronghold was taken from the Turks, refortified, and garrisoned. It appears that Frederick, more wise than his predecessors in the Holy War, had conceived the project of playing off the sultan of Damascus against his brother of Cairo, and of gaining through their conflict of interests and ambitions what the other Crusaders had failed to reach—the recovery of Jerusalem. But before he was able to achieve any results by this shrewd policy, Coradinus died and Camel was left without a rival to contend with the German invaders. Frederick, however, was not to be put from his purpose. He pressed forward from Jaffa in the direction of the Holy City, and the Infidels fell back before him. Bethlehem, Nazareth, and other important places were taken without a battle, and so great was the alarm both in Jerusalem and in Damascus that the sultan made overtures for peace. Thus, against all expectation (unless it were his own), Frederick found himself in a position to dictate terms almost as favorable as might have been obtained by the conquerors of Damietta. Nor has any one ever been able to discover the nature of the motives which he was able to bring to bear on the sultan to secure so favorable a settlement. It was stipulated that henceforth all Christians should have free access to the Holy City; that the Mohammedans should approach the temple on Moriah only in the garb of pilgrims; that Bethlehem, Nazareth, and other recent conquests should remain to the Christians; that the peace should not be broken for a period of ten years.

Great was the wrath of the Pope on hearing of the victory of the excommunicated prince. The whole power of the Church was rallied to deny and explain away the signal success and good fortune of Frederick. The latter, however, was now in a position to laugh at, if not despise, his enemies. Preferring to consider himself under the ban, he determined to celebrate his coronation in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Nor durst the Moslems offer any opposition to the ceremony. The Emperor accordingly entered the city with his train of Teutonic Knights and soldiers, and, repairing to the altar, took therefrom the crown and placed it on his head; for the patriarch of Jerusalem, fearing the Pope, refused to perform the crowning, nor would the Templars and Hospitallers be present at the ceremony. Thus, in the year 1229, the Fifth and least pretentious of all the Crusades terminated with complete success. The victorious Emperor returned to Acre, and then set sail for Europe, followed by the plaudits of his own countrymen, but jeered at and scandalized by the papal party throughout Palestine. It had already come to pass that Rome looked with greater aversion and hatred upon a heretical and disobedient Christian than upon the worst of the Infidel Turks.

Such was the anger of the papal party against him by whom the restoration of Christian influence in the Holy Land had been achieved, that no efforts were made to conserve the fruits of his conquests. Not satisfied with this negative policy, the adherents of Gregory began a series of active aggressions against Frederick, looking to the undoing of his Imperial title, and the sap-

ping of the loyalty of his subjects. Bitter were the persecutions which were directed against him. When the Empress Iolanta died at the birth of her son, the anti-German party insisted that the child should be discarded along with its father, and that the crown of Jerusalem should be given to Alice, daughter of Isabella and Henry of Champagne. The latter claimant went over from Cyprus to Syria to set up her pretensions, whereupon, in 1230, a civil war ensued between her adherents and the supporters of Frederick. The party of Alice had greatest numerical strength, but the Teutonic Knights remained loyal to their Emperor, and more than counterbalanced the advantage of his enemies.

After the strife had continued for a season, a reconciliation was effected between Frederick and the Pope. The settlement was without any sincere foundation on either side, but was sufficiently meritorious to bring about a peace in Syria. But in that country the mischief had already been accomplished. More than half of the time of the truce concluded by the Emperor with Sultan Camel had already run to waste, and nothing had been done towards securing the conquests made by the Germans in Palestine.

Perceiving their opportunity in the quarrels and turmoils of the Christians, the Saracen emirs of Syria disclaimed the compact which had been made by their sovereign, and renewed hostilities. They fell upon the outposts which had been established by Frederick, and drove away the defenders. Pursuing their successes, they attacked and massacred a large body of Christian Pilgrims on their way from Acre to Jerusalem. Less atrocious, but more serious in its consequences, was the defeat of the Templars, who had undertaken an expedition against Aleppo. So terrible was the loss inflicted upon the Knights, that a considerable period elapsed before they could rally from their overthrow. One disaster followed another, and it soon became apparent that, unless a new Crusade should be speedily undertaken, the Holy Land would be entirely regained by the Infidels. The same Church which had so recently, by neglect and positive opposition, thwarted the efforts of Frederick for the restoration of the Christian kingdom, now exerted itself to the utmost to organize a new expedition against the Turks. A great council was called at Spoleto, where it was resolved to renew the Holy War, and the two orders of Franciscan and Dominican friars were commissioned to preach the Crusade. It appeared, however, that the monks were lukewarm in the cause, and it was soon known that the moneys which they procured for the equipment of armies were finding a lodgment in their own coffers and the papal treasury at Rome.

In this way seven years of precious time were squandered, and still no relief was brought to the suffering Christians of Palestine. In the interval their fortunes had constantly run from bad to worse. At last the sultan of Egypt, incited thereto partly by the news of the preparations made in Europe for renewing the war, and partly by the hope of restoring his own influence throughout the Moslem dominions, raised an army, marched against Jerusalem, ejected the Christians, and shut the gates of the city against them.

When the news of this proceeding was carried to Europe the people were everywhere aroused from their apathy. Not even the selfish and sordid policy of the Pope and the monks could any longer avail to check or divert popular indignation from its purpose. The barons of France and England assumed the Cross, and in spite of papal opposition and interdict, the Sixth Crusade was organized. In order to make sure that their object should in no wise be thwarted the English nobles met at Northampton and solemnly recorded their vows that within a year they would *in person* lead their forces into Palestine.

Nor were the French barons of highest rank less active and zealous in the cause. Count Thibaut — now king of Navarre — the Duke of Burgundy, the counts of Brittany and Montfort were the most noble of the leaders who sprang forward to rally their countrymen and arm them for the expedition. They even outran the English lords in the work of preparation, and before the latter were well on their way the French were already at Acre preparing a campaign against the Moslems at Ascalon. The latter were driven back, and the French, grown confident, divided their forces. The Count of Brittany plunged into

the enemy's country, made his way victoriously to the very walls of Damascus, and returned laden with booty. The effect of this success, however, was presently worse than a reverse. The counts of Bar and Montfort, emulating the fame gained by the Lord of Brittany, led their forces in the direction of Gaza, and were disastrously routed by the Moslems. De Bar was slain and Montfort taken prisoner. The king of Navarre was constrained to gather up the remnants of the French army and retreat to Acre.

In these expeditions led by the barons of France the Hospitallers and Templars took little part. It was evident that the Knights had no sympathy with any movement by which glory might accrue to others than themselves. Finding in this defection of the two military orders a good excuse for such a course, the French nobles collected their followers, and taking ship from Acre returned to Europe.

In the mean time the more tardy but more resolute English came upon the scene which the continental lords had just abandoned. They were led by one well calculated to achieve great victories, even by the terror of his name—Richard, earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III. of England, and nephew to the Lion Heart. Such was the fame of the Plantagenet that on his arrival at Acre he was almost immediately placed in control of the affairs of the kingdom, and as the hopes of the Christians rose, the fears of the Moslems were excited.

Nor was the great Earl Richard slow to avail himself of the various conditions favorable to success. It happened that on his arrival in Palestine, the sultans of Cairo and Damascus had fallen into dissensions, and were pursuing different policies with respect to the Christians. Richard, emboldened by a knowledge of this fact, at once demanded of the emir of Karac the restoration of the prisoners taken by that high Turk in the battle of Gaza. When the emir refused or neglected to release his captives, the English forces set out towards Jaffa to enforce compliance, but the Moslems durst not resist one who carried the terrible sword of Plantagenet. The prisoners were liberated before the Christians struck a blow. One success quickly followed another, until with little bloodshed all that the Crusaders had contended for since the capture of the Holy City by Saladin was accomplished. The humble sultans made haste to renew their offers of peace. Richard acceded to their proposals, for these were all that he or the most sanguine of the Western princes could have desired. It was solemnly agreed by the Moslems that Jerusalem, with the greater part of the territory which had belonged to the kingdom in the times of Baldwin I., should be absolutely given up to the Christians. In addition to this prime concession it was stipulated that all captives held by the Turks should be liberated without ransom. Thus by a single and almost bloodless campaign, headed by the English prince, was the reconquest of the Holy Land at last effected. The Crescent was replaced by the Cross in the city of David, and Richard and his barons, well satisfied with the result, departed for their homes. The immediate care of Jerusalem was left to the Patriarch of that sacred metropolis and to the Hospitallers, who undertook the rebuilding of the walls. As to the crown of the kingdom, the same was decreed to Frederick II., who had previously assumed the somewhat dubious honor in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.

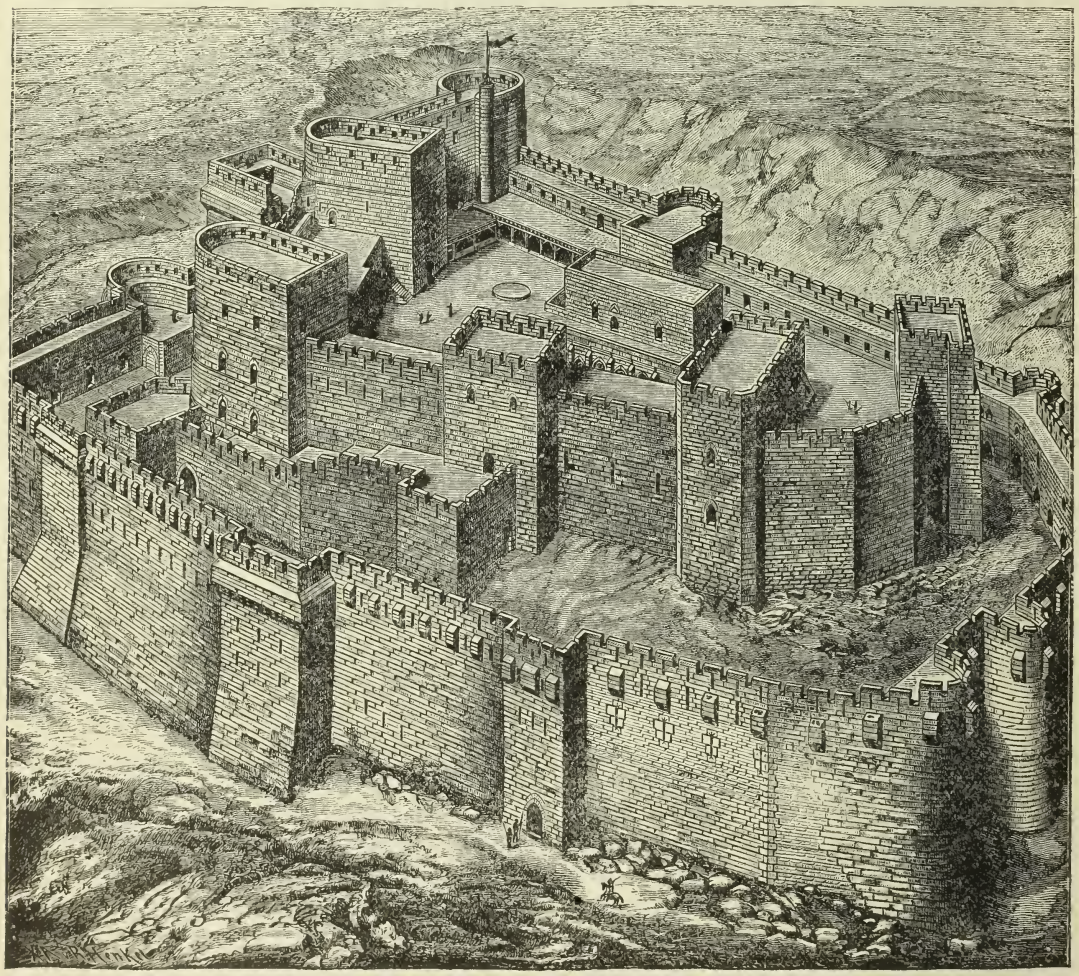
For the moment, it now appeared that the epoch of the Crusades was closed with the complete triumph of the Christians. The essential question at issue had been decided in their favor. It happened, however, that just as this auspicious state succeeded the century and a half of war, a new element was introduced into the Syrian problem. The story of the great invasion of Genghis Khan and his Monguls has already been recited in the preceding volume of this work.[1] It is only necessary in this connection to note the fact that in the overthrow of the Persian Empire by the Monguls, the Corasmins of that region were driven from their seats of power to make room for the conquerors. These Corassmins made their way to the west at the very time when the victorious Earl of Cornwall was reëstablishing the kingdom of Jerusalem. Within two years after that event, the Persian brigands, acting under the advice and guidance of the Emir of Egypt, himself justly offended by some hostilities of the Templars, broke into Palestine twenty thousand

[1] See Vol. II., Book Tenth, pp. 378, 379.

strong, and under the leadership of their chief Barbacan, set at naught all rules of war and peace. The Hospitallers had not yet succeeded in restoring the walls of Jerusalem, and the invaders immediately directed their march against that city. Unprepared for defense, the Knights abandoned Zion to her fate.

In the year 1242 the Corasmins appeared before the ruined ramparts and entered without resistance. Then followed a scene of butchery hardly equaled by the massacre of the Moslems by the army of Godfrey. In this instance Christian and Mohammedan were treated with no discrimination. Nor did the savages desist from their work with the destruction of human life. The churches were robbed and desecrated; the tombs, broken open and rifled; the sacred places, profaned. Jerusalem, already desolate, was converted into a waste.

No other such desperate barbarians had been seen in Palestine since the dawn of history. In order to stay their course, the Knights of Syria and the Moslems joined their forces; but the Emir of Egypt made common cause with the Corassmins. Even a casual glance at the composition of the two confederate armies could not fail to show the complete and utter demoralization of the conflict between the Christ and the Prophet. The original antipathies of Christian and Moslem had given place to other conditions of hostility in which the old-time antagonism of Cross and Crescent were forgotten.



FORTRESS OF THE EMIR OF KARAC.

The confederate army of Knights and Syrian Moslems was presently induced by the patriarch of Jerusalem and other zealots to risk a battle with the combined forces of Corasmins and Egyptians. Never was there a more

complete and ruinous overthrow than that to which the Christians were now doomed. Their entire forces were either killed or scattered. The Grand Masters of the Hospitallers and Knights Templars were both slain. Only twenty-six Knights of the Hospital, thirty-three of the Temple, and three of the Teutonic Order were left alive of the whole Christian chivalry of Palestine. The blood-smeared and ferocious victors made haste to seize the fortress of Tiberias and Ascalon, and every other stronghold of Eastern christendom, with the exception of Acre. Here were gathered the fugitives from all parts of the Holy Land, as to a last rock of refuge. Nor is it likely that even this mediæval Gibraltar of the East would have been able to escape the general fate but for the fortunate quarrels which broke out between the Corasmins and their Egyptian allies.

But this unnatural league came to a natural end. The Emir of Egypt sought a more congenial combination of his forces with his fellow Moslems of Syria. Meanwhile the barbarous Corasmins continued to devastate the country as far as Damascus, which city they captured and pillaged. The effect of this terrible devastation was to arouse the half apathetic Moslems from their stupor. With a heroic effort they rallied a large army, confronted the Corasmin hordes in the Desert near Damascus, and routed them with tremendous slaughter. The invaders were driven entirely out of Palestine, and Syria was relieved of her peril.

To the Christians, however, the destruction of the Corasmins brought no advantage. The Moslems had not reconquered the Holy Land to deliver it gratis to the followers of Christ. The sway of Islam was restored in Jerusalem, and the Christian kingdom continued to be bounded by the fortifications of Acre.

As soon as this deplorable condition of affairs was known in Europe the same scene which had been already six times witnessed in the Western states was again enacted. In 1245 Pope Innocent IV. convened a general council of the church at Lyons, and it was resolved to undertake another crusade to restore the Cross to the waste places of Palestine. To this end it was decreed that all wars among the secular princes of the West should be suspended for a period of four years, so that the combined energies of all might be devoted to a great expedition against the Infidels. Again the preachers went forth proclaiming a renewal of the conflict, and from Norway to Spain the country resounded with the outcry of the monks.

In Germany the old bitterness between the Emperor Frederick II. and the papal party had broken out afresh, and the efforts of the zealots to rekindle the fires of a holy war were not of much avail. Time and again the Imperial forces and papal troops were engaged in battles in which the animosity of the German Knights, beating with battle-axe and sword around the standard-wagons of the Italian zealots, was not less fierce than were the similar conflicts of the Christians and Islamites in Syria. In France and England the flame of crusading enthusiasm burst forth with brighter flame, and many of the greatest nobles of the two kingdoms ardently espoused the cause. Thus did William Long Sword, the Bishop of Salisbury, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Walter de Lacy, and many other English Knights, who armed themselves and their followers for the conflict. Haco, king of Norway, also took the Cross, and became an ardent promoter of the enterprise, but before the expedition could depart for Syria he was induced by reasons best known to himself to abandon the cause. Most of all, however, was the crusading spirit revived in France, in which realm King Louis IX., most saintly of all the mediæval rulers, spread among all ranks of his admiring subjects the fire of enthusiasm. It was under his devoted leadership that the SEVENTH CRUSADE was now undertaken.

The island of Cyprus was appointed as the place of rendezvous. Thither, in the year 1248, repaired the barons, knights, and soldiery of the West. King Louis, leaving his government in charge of his mother, Blanche of Castile, departed with his warriors and became the soul of the enterprise. As in the case of the Fifth Crusade, it was resolved to make a descent on Egypt, and to conquer that country as the gateway of Syria. Nothing could more clearly illustrate the blind folly, recklessness, and infatuation of the military methods of the Middle Ages than the course now pursued by St. Louis and his army. With a singular disregard of the lesson of the recent

past, the Crusaders proceeded against Damietta, there to repeat in almost every particular the blundering disasters of the fifth expedition.

The force with which the French king set out from Cyprus was one of the most formidable ever seen in the East. The fleet contained eighteen hundred vessels, and the army numbered two thousand eight hundred Knights, seven thousand men-at-arms, and about seventy-five thousand infantry. But never was an expedition attended with worse fortune. The squadron was caught in a storm and scattered. On arriving before Damietta the king was accompanied by only seven hundred of his Knights, and his other forces were correspondingly reduced. On the shore the sultan had gathered an immense army to oppose the landing of his enemies. Such was the array and such the warlike braying of the trumpets of Islam that the leaders admonished Louis not to attempt debarkation until his strength should be increased by the arrival of his dispersed ships. But he was by no means to be deterred from his purpose. With a courage that would have done credit to the Lion Heart he ordered his vessels to approach the shore, sprang into the waters with the oriflamme of France above his head, waded with his resolute Knights through the surf, and attacked the Egyptian army. Such was the heroism of the onset that the Moslems gave way in dismay before the incredible charge and fled, first to and then from Damietta. That city, which since its previous capture by the Christians had been converted into a stronghold, was taken without serious resistance, but the Infidels, before retreating, set fire to the commer-



BATTLE OF GERMAN KNIGHTS AND ITALIANS.
Drawn by N. Sanesi.

cial portion of the emporium, and the flames destroyed all that was most valuable to the captors.

It was the peculiarity of the military temper of the Islamites of the thirteenth century that they sometimes fled from shadows and sometimes fought like the lions of the desert. There was still in them a residue of that fiery valor which they had displayed in the days of Omar the Great. At the present juncture, after flying from a fortress which they might easily have defended, they suddenly turned about in great force, and the Christian army in Damietta was in its turn besieged. The Sultan Nejmeddin, great-nephew of Saladin, now occupied the throne of Egypt; nor did he fail to exhibit those sterling qualities as a soldier which might have been expected in one of so heroic a lineage. Himself suffering from disease, he hastened to Damietta, put to death fifty of his officers for having in so cowardly a manner given up the city to the invaders, took command in person, and soon reversed the fortunes of the campaign. The Christians found themselves closely invested and in danger of extermination. It was well for them that their scattered fleet, most of which had been driven into Acre, now arrived with reïnforcements. At the same time William Long Sword and his English chivalry reached Damietta, and joined themselves to the forces of King Louis. The French, thus strengthened, might have sallied forth with a strong prospect of raising the siege and scattering the Moslem army.



LANDING OF SAINT LOUIS IN EGYPT.

Much valuable time was wasted in inaction. At length it was resolved by the Christians to make their exit up that branch of the Nile on which Damietta was located, and force their way to Cairo. As soon as the Moslems discovered the movement, they threw their forces along the river, and strenuously opposed the progress of King Louis's army. After much hard fighting, the Christians reached Mansoura. Here a terrible conflict ensued. Before the city could be taken, it was necessary that the Crusaders should cross the Ashmoun canal, and this was held by the

best of the Islamite warriors. At last, however, the Count of Artois, brother of the French king, gathering around him the bravest of the Knights of England and France, succeeded in forcing his way across the canal in the very face of the enemy, who turned and fled into Mansoura. If the count had now acted with discretion, all might have been well; but, instead of yielding to the prudent counsels of William Long Sword and other cool-headed leaders, he rashly and impetuously pursued the flying foe into the town. The other Knights, not to be shamed by his valor, pressed after him, and the whole disorganized mass of mingled Moslems and Christians rolled through the gates of Mansoura.

In a short time the Infidels perceived the folly of their pursuers, and made a rally in overwhelming numbers. He of Artois and his rash followers found themselves surrounded. Valor availed not. The count himself, Long Sword, and the Grand Master of the Templars, were all either killed outright, or hewed down in blood. The Grand Master of the Hospitallers was taken prisoner; nor would any of the force have escaped but for the opportune arrival of the king with the main army. The Christians succeeded in holding Mansoura, but the victory was comparatively fruitless.

At this juncture Nejmeddin died, and the sultanate passed to his son; but, before the latter was well seated on the throne, the powerful Bibars, general of the Mamelukes, obtained the direction of affairs, and presently took the crown for himself. Under his direction, the Egyptians now took up their galleys from the Nile above the Christian camp, and drew the same overland to a position between the Crusaders and Damietta. In this wise, the army of King Louis was left in precisely the same predicament as the Knights of the Fifth Crusade had been aforetime. In a brief period famine was added to the horrors of disease in the French camp, and it became evident that, unless a retreat could be effected to Damietta, the whole force would be destroyed. Daily the audacious Infidels, emboldened by the near prospect of success, narrowed their lines and renewed their assaults on the failing Christians. When the latter began their retreat, the victorious Moslems captured the camp, and murdered the sick and wounded. All the stragglers were cut off, and the main body was thrown into confusion, overwhelmed, annihilated. King Louis and his two remaining brothers, the counts of Anjou and Poitiers, together with a few other nobles, were taken prisoners, but the remainder, to the number of at least thirty thousand, were massacred without mercy.

The son and successor of Nejmeddin was named Touran Shah. By him King Louis and his fellow captives were treated with some consideration, and negotiations were opened with a view to securing the ransom of the prisoners. But, before the terms of liberation could be carried into effect, a revolution broke out in Egypt by which the lives of the captives were brought into imminent peril. The Mamelukes, that fierce band of Turcoman horsemen, revolted against the government, and Touran Shah was slain. His death was the extinction of that Kurdish dynasty which had been established by Saladin, in place of which was substituted a Mameluke dynasty, beginning in 1250 with the chieftain Bibars.

At length avarice prevailed over the thirst for blood, and Louis should be liberated for the fortress of Damietta, which was still held by the Christians, and that all his living followers should be redeemed for four hundred thousand livres in gold. In order to obtain the first installment of the ransom, the sorrowing but still saintly warrior-king was obliged to borrow the requisite sum from the Knights Templars. Damietta was surrendered to the Moslems, and Louis, with the shattered remnant of his forces, took ship for Acre.

Most of the French barons and knights, however, considering their vows fairly fulfilled by their sufferings in Egypt, sought the first opportunity to return home. As to the king, no such course was to be thought of. His pride and religious zeal both forbade his retirement from the lands of the Turk until he had done something to requite the Infidels for the destruction of his army. Entering Acre, the pious monarch at once set about the work of reorganizing the small band of warriors who still adhered to his fallen fortunes. Of those who had survived the ill-starred expedition, and of resi-



THE COUNT OF ARTOIS IN THE BATTLE OF MANSOURI.—Drawn by Gustave Doré.

dent Christian soldiers in Palestine, he collected an army of nearly four thousand men, but with this handful he was unable to undertake any important campaign. Nevertheless, his energies were successfully directed to the scarcely less essential work of repairing the fortifications of the few places over which the Christians could still claim authority. The walls and fortress of Acre were greatly strengthened, and Cesarea, Jaffa, and Sidon put in a state of tolerable defense. In this way the king succeeded, in the course of four years, in making more secure the little that was left of the Latin kingdom in the East.

The hopes of Louis grew with the occasion. The Egyptian and Syrian Moslems quarreled and went to war. So bitter was the feud between the new Mameluke dynasty and the adherents of the Kurdish House at Damascus, that the French king was able to obtain from the former the release of all his prisoners still remaining unransomed with the sultan of Cairo. More hopeful still was the promise which he secured from that potentate of a recession of Jerusalem to the Christians. Nor is it to be doubted that, if the war between Egypt and Syria had continued, the king would have accomplished a great part of what all christendom had fought and prayed for for more than a hundred and fifty years.

But the early reconciliation of the warring Moslems served to blast all expectation of so happy a result. The sultans not only made peace but combined their forces to crush the rising hopes of the Syrian Christians. The latter were so feeble in numbers that no successful stand could be made against the Infidel hosts that had gathered on every hand. All the fortresses, except that of Acre, were again given up to the Moslems, and even the gates of that stronghold were threatened by the triumphant soldiers of the Crescent. At length, however, the Islamites withdrew without seriously attempting the reduction of Acre, and this movement on their part, together with the news which was now borne to Syria of the death of the king's mother, gave him good excuse for retiring from the unequal conquest. In 1254 he took ship at Acre, and the Seventh Crusade was at an end.

Though in a manner barren of positive results, the expedition of Saint Louis to Palestine had done much to shore up the tottering fabric of the Christian kingdom. Perhaps, if he had in his turn been well supported by the states of the West and by the three great Orders of Knights, a more permanent result might have been achieved. But the Templars and Hospitallers had now forgotten their vows and given themselves up to the mercenary and selfish spirit of the times, to the extent that the Cross was shamed rather than honored by their support. Moreover, a state of affairs had supervened in the West unfavorable to the maintenance of the Christian cause. The Venetians, Genoese, and Pisans had fallen into such bitter rivalries as to preclude any possibility of a united effort in any enterprise. These peoples had grown wealthy and cosmopolitan, and had ceased to care about the different religions of the world. It was enough that those with whom they held intercourse should desire merchandise and possess the means of purchase. For these and many other reasons the discouragement to the cause of Eastern Christianity was extreme, and all who were at once thoughtful and not blinded by religious fanaticism could but see in the near future the probable and final expulsion of the Christians from the remaining fortresses still held by them in Syria.

As soon as the new Mameluke sultan Bibars was firmly seated on the throne of Egypt, he began a career of conquest. He made expeditions into the Moslem states of Syria, and compelled them to submit to his sway. He then carried his ravages into the territories still nominally belonging to the kingdom of Jerusalem. This movement served the good purpose of hushing for the moment the dissensions of the Templars and Hospitallers who had recently been breathing out threats of mutual destruction. They now united their hostile forces, and did as much as valor might to resist the overwhelming forces of the sultan. As a general rule the Knights fought to the last, refusing to apostatize, dying rather than abandon the faith. In 1265 a body of ninety of these invincible warriors defended the fortress of Azotus until the last man was killed. The Templars acted with as much bravery as they of the Hospital. In the year following the capture of Azotus, the prior of the Order of the Temple made a courageous defense of Saphoury, and finally capitulated on a promise

of honorable treatment. Sultan Bibars, however, violated his pledge, and gave his prisoners their option of death or the acceptance of Islam. All chose death, and gave up their lives as a seal to their fidelity. Before the year 1270, all the inland castles belonging to the Orders, including the fortresses of Cesarea, Laodicea, and Jaffa, had been taken by the Infidels. At last, in 1268, the city of Antioch was captured by the Mamelukes. Many thousands of the Christians were massacred, and no fewer than a hundred thousand sold into slavery. For a while it seemed that Acre itself would share the fate of the Syrian capital; but the opportune arrival of the king of Cyprus, and the still more opportune prevalence of the tempest in which the Egyptian fleet was well-nigh destroyed, postponed for a season the final catastrophe.

Such was the imminent doom now impending over the Christian power in the East that the Romish See was at last awakened from its slumbers. The news of the capture of Antioch produced something of the same shock in Western Christendom which had been felt on so many previous occasions. The zeal of Pope Clement IV. coöperated with the devotion of Saint Louis to revive the flagging cause. Nevertheless so completely had the impulses of fanaticism abated that three years were consumed in preparation before the now aged French king was able to gather the armies of the Eighth Crusade, and set out for the East. On the 4th of July, 1270, the expedition departed from the port of Aignes-Mortes, and came to Sardinia. Here it was determined—such being the king's own wish in the premises—to make a descent on the coast of Africa with a view to the conquest of Tunis. For it was believed that both the king of this country and his subjects might be converted to Christianity.

Such was the extraordinary nature of this enterprise that many of King Louis's barons tried to dissuade him from the project. But the piety of the king, backed as it was by the interested motives of his brother Charles of Anjou, now king of Naples and Sicily, proved superior to all objections, and on the 24th of July the squadron was brought to anchor in the harbor of ancient Carthage.

At this epoch the kingdom of Tunis was torn by faction. The royal or Saracenic party was opposed by the Berbers. It appears that King Louis had hoped to profit by this dissension and by espousing the cause of the Saracen ruler to bring him and his countrymen to Christianity. The presence of the French army, however, had the effect to heal the breach in the African kingdom, and both parties made common cause against the invaders. The king of Tunis raised a powerful army to drive his officious *friends* into the sea. He desired neither them nor their religion. For the time no general battle was fought. Both parties avoided it. The Moors knew, and the Christians soon came to know that the climate of that sun-scorched region would avail more than the sword in the destruction of a European army.

Pestilences broke out in the camp of the Crusaders. The soldiers died by hundreds and then by thousands. The air became laden with poisonous vapors. The dead lay unburied, for the living were sick. Many of the noblest of France yielded to the blight. The counts of Vendôme, La Marche, Gaultier, and Nemours, and the barons of Montmorency, Pienne, and Bressac, sickened and died. The king's favorite son, the Duke of Nevers, followed them to the land of shadows, and then Saint Louis himself fell before the destroyer. The few who remained alive eagerly sought to save themselves by flying from the horrid situation and returning to France.

In the mean time, however, another train of circumstances had been laid which led to a continuance of the Crusade after the death of King Louis and the ruin of his army. The barons of England, also, hearing of the fall of Antioch, had felt a generous pang and taken the cross for the rescue. Prince Edward Plantagenet, son of Henry III., and heir of the English crown, rallied his nobles to aid the French in the salvation of the Christian states of the East. He was supported in the work by five of the great earls of England, and a force of lords and knights numbering about a thousand. With this small but spirited army Edward set out from the kingdom which he was soon to inherit, and landing on the African coast joined himself and his brave followers with the army of King Louis to aid in the conquest of Tunis. The French forces, how-

ever, were already in the pangs of dissolution; and when, after the death and funeral of Saint Louis, Edward and his earls tried to persuade the sick and dying soldiers of France to continue the Crusade by embarking for the East, they refused to proceed. Not so, however, the English. With a steady perseverance peculiar to their race they resolved to go alone



DEATH OF SAINT LOUIS.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

to Palestine and thus redeem the Eighth Crusade from failure.

In the autumn of 1270 Edward and his warriors arrived at Acre. The Christians of that forlorn outpost of the Cross were greatly inspirited by the coming of their English friends, led by one who bore the terrible name of Plantagenet. The Moslems conceived a wholesome dread of the Knights, who had just arrived from the West. The Sultan Bibars, who was already before the gates of Acre, retired in haste when he learned that Edward *Plantagenet* was in the fortress. The scattered Christian warriors of Palestine sought shelter and a renewal of confidence by gathering around the English standard. Prince Edward thus succeeded in rallying a force of about seven thousand warriors, and with this small army went boldly forth to encounter the hosts of Islam.

Marching in the direction of Nazareth the Crusaders soon fell in with a division of the Moslems, whom they defeated and dispersed. Proceeding to the boyhood home of Christ they took the town by storm and slaughtered the inhabitants with an excess of ferocity which might well have signalized the deeds of the first Crusaders. The Christians took up their station in Nazareth, but were almost immediately attacked with dreadful diseases, more fatal than the swords of the Moslems. Hundreds of the small army fell victims to the pestilence. The prince himself fell sick, and while confined to his couch was assailed by one of the Assassins. The wretch, under pretense of giving Edward important information, gained access to his tent, and while the latter was reading the pretended credentials attacked him with a poisoned dagger. Plantagenet, however, was not to be extinguished by a murderer. Springing from the couch he seized his assailant, threw him to the earth, and transfixed him with his own weapon. The prince's physician then excised the poisoned wounds of the prince and his vigorous constitution prevailed over both his injuries and the pestilence. So greatly, however, were his scanty forces wasted that a further continuance of the conflict seemed out of the question.

The news now came from England that King Henry III. was sick unto death, and the prince's presence was necessary to the peace of the realm. He accordingly determined to avail himself of the overtures made by the sultan, who perhaps not knowing the condition of Edward and his handful of warriors, and entertaining for them a salutary respect had proposed a truce for a period of ten years. A settlement was accordingly made on this basis, and after a residence of fourteen months Prince Edward retired from Palestine. The success of his campaign had been such as to secure another respite to the tottering fabric of Christianity in Syria.

In the year 1274 the Pope's legate in Palestine, the Count Thibaut, was elected to the papal throne with thê title of Gregory X. Himself familiar by long and painful observation with the deplorable condition of Christian affairs in the Holy Land, he at once resolved to do as much as lay in the power of the pontiff to rouse the states of Europe from their lethargy. He accordingly, in the year of his elevation to the papacy, convoked the second council of Lyons, and there exerted himself to the utmost to induce another uprising of the people. The effort was in vain. Though several of the secular princes promised to lend their aid in a new movement to the East, their pledges remained unfulfilled, and with the death of the Pope two years afterwards the whole enterprise came to naught.

For eight years the Syrian Christians remained unmolested. This observance by the Moslems of the treaty made with Prince Edward was due, however, rather to the dissensions of the Islamites than to any consideration of a compact which they knew the Christians to be unable to enforce. After the death of Frederick II., in the year 1250, the crown of Jerusalem had been conferred on Hugh of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, though his claim to the mythical dignity was controverted by Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily. The latter by his recent victory over Count Manfred of Naples, whom he defeated and slew in the decisive battle of Benevento, had become the leading actor in the affairs of Italy. The new sovereign was, however, so far as his Syrian dominions were concerned, a mere phantom. No attempt was made by him to recover the Holy City or any other of the lost possessions of christendom in Asia. Indeed, the Latin power on the coast existed only by sufferance. In

1280, two years before the expiration of the truce, some Moslem traders plying their vocation in the coast towns and villages of Palestine were attacked and robbed by bands of marauding Christians. After demanding redress and obtaining none, the sultan of Egypt cut short the existing order by raising an army and renewing the conflict. The Latin outposts were cut off one by one until Tripoli, the last remaining fief of the crown of Jerusalem, was taken and garrisoned by the Moslems. From year to year he continued his aggressions until the mere foothold in the fortress of Acre was all that remained under the shadow of the Cross in Syria.



DEATH OF MANFRED IN THE BATTLE OF BENEVENTO.

It was a strange spectacle even in these strange times of lawlessness and rapine, to behold the Christians thus pent up in a single town, still displaying the spirit of aggression. It is the duty of History to record that the last Crusaders in Palestine were as brave and reckless as the first. Notwithstanding their feebleness, these strange warriors of the Middle Ages availed themselves of every opportunity to sally forth and attack the Moslem merchants whom chance or interest drew into the vicinity of Acre. This policy was continued until the Sultan Khatil, then reigning in Cairo, enraged at the audacity, not to say perfidy, of these remaining soldiers of the Cross, swore by the name of Allah and his Prophet that he would exterminate the last Christian dog within the limits of his dominions. He accordingly drew out an immense army of two hundred thousand men, and in 1291 pitched his camp before the walls of Acre.

Perhaps at this time there was gathered

within the defenses of the last stronghold of christendom in Palestine such a *melange* of people as never before or since was congregated in a city. Almost every nation of Europe was represented in the multitudes that thronged the streets. So great was the diversity of tongues, races, and religions that seventeen independent tribunals were instituted in the alleged administration of justice. It was Gog and Magog with the immense throng between whom and the swords of Khatil's Mamelukes only the walls and towers of Acre interposed.

Such was the distraction of counsels prevalent in the city, that no adequate measures of defense could be carried into effect. The ramparts were imperfectly defended, and the crowds of non-combatants soon came to understand that safety lay in the direction of escape. In a short time the ships in the harbor were crowded with those who were fortunate enough first to perceive the situation and avail themselves of the opportunity. This process of debarkation went on steadily until it appeared that Acre would be left without an inhabitant. But the knights of the three military orders and a few other warriors, to the number of about twelve thousand in all, showed a different mettle.

Perhaps nothing more heroic has been witnessed in the annals of warfare than the resolute and unwavering courage displayed by this band of European and Syrian chivalry in defending the last fortress of Eastern christendom. For thirty-three days they manned the ramparts against Khatil and his twenty myriads of Mamelukes. With ever increasing vehemence the Moslems leveled their destroying engines against the tottering walls and towers. At last an important defense, known by the name of the Cursed Tower, yielded to the assailants, and went down with a crash. The breach thus effected in the defenses opened into the heart of the city. Then it was that Hugh of Lusignan, whom the folly of the times still designated as king of Jerusalem, gathering together a band of friends and favorites, fled in the darkness, went on shipboard, and left the city to its fate. But the Teutonic Knights, scorning the conduct of the royal poltroon, rallied in the breach with an energy born of heroism rather than despair, and beat back the Moslems with terrible slaughter. The latter rallied again and again to the charge, and at last the bleeding Knights, reduced to a handful, were overborne by the Infidel host, and hurled backwards from their post of glory. In poured the savage tides of victorious Islam, hungry for blood and revenge. The few inhabitants who remained in the city were quickly butchered or seized as slaves. In the last hours, the surviving Knights of the Hospital and the Temple shared the dying glory of the Teutonic chivalry. Sallying forth from the parts of the defenses which had been assigned to their keeping, they charged upon the Moslems, and fought till only *seven* of the gallant band remained to tell the tale of destruction. This remnant of an Order which it is impossible not to admire for its stubborn exhibition of mediæval virtues gained the coast, and, with good reason, considering that their monastic vows had been fulfilled, saved themselves by embarkation.

For three days after the assault and capture of the city, the surviving Templars defended themselves in their monastery. Here their Grand Master, Pierre de Beaujeu, one of the bravest of the brave, was killed by a poisoned arrow. His companions continued the defense until the sultan, not unappreciative of such heroism, granted them honorable terms of capitulation. No sooner, however, had they surrendered than they were assailed with jeers and insults by the infuriated Mamelukes, who could hardly be restrained. Enraged at this treatment, the Knights attacked their enemies with redoubled fury, and fought until they were exterminated almost to a man. A few, escaping into the interior, continued to smite every Moslem whom they met, until finally, returning to the coast, they took ship and sailed for Cyprus.

Such was the last act of the drama. The few Christians still clinging to the coast towns of Syria made their escape as soon as possible, and left the savage Mamelukes in complete possession of the country. After a continuance of a hundred and ninety-one years, the contest between the Cross and the Crescent had ended in a complete restoration of the ancient *régime* throughout Syria and Asia Minor. The semilune of Islam was again in the ascendent. The hardy virtues of the races of Western and Northern Europe had not been, perhaps could

not be, transplanted to the birthplace of that religious system under the influence of which the Crusaders had flung themselves upon the East. The collapse was fatal. The spirit, which had so many times inflamed the zeal and passion of Europe, had expired, and could be no more evoked from the shadows. Spasmodically, at intervals, for a period of more than fifty years after the fall of Acre, the voice of the Popes was heard, calling on lethargic christendom to lift again the standard of the Cross in Palestine. But the cry fell on deaf ears. The nations would agitate no more; and the picture, drawn with such vivid effect in the preceding century, of the profane and turbaned Turk performing his orgies on the tomb of Christ, kindled no more forever the insane fanaticism of the Christians of the West.

It is appropriate in this connection to add a few paragraphs on the effects which followed the Crusades as their antecedent and cause. It is a difficult question on which to express such a judgment as will fairly reconcile the conflicting views of those writers who have essayed the discussion. It is natural, in the first place, to look at the relative position and strength of the combatants after the conflict was ended. In general, it may be said that neither Islam nor Christianity was much retarded or promoted by the issue of the almost two centuries of war. The prospects of the Crescent in Syria and Asia Minor were nearly the same after the fall of Acre as they had been before the Council of Clermont. The Crusades failed to alter the established condition of Asia; and it is to be doubted whether, taken all in all, the downfall of Constantinople was either greatly delayed or promoted by the Holy Wars.

The same may be said of the religious condition of Europe. The Mohammedans fought to maintain a status; and to that extent they were successful. But they seem never to have contemplated the invasion of the Christian continent as a measure of retaliation. It was sufficient that the soldiers of the Cross were expelled from Palestine, and limited to such intestine strifes as were native to their own dominions.

As to religious opinions, a larger change was effected. At the beginning of the conflict, both Christians and Mohammedans entertained for each other's beliefs and practices an indescribable abhorrence. A mutual hatred more profound than that with which the first Crusaders and the Infidels were inflamed can hardly be imagined. The fanaticism and bigotry of the Christians was more intense in proportion as they were more ignorant than the Islamites. They believed that Mohammed was the Devil, or, at least, that Antichrist whom to exterminate was the first duty and highest privilege of Christian warriors. By degrees, however, this insane frenzy passed away, and was replaced with a certain respect for an enemy whom they found more intelligent and less bloody-minded than themselves. From the time of the Third and Fourth Crusades it was easy to perceive a change of sentiment affecting the conduct of the combatants. Their battles were no longer mere massacres of the vanquished by the victors. Saladin himself, though still in a measure under the influence of savage Islam, set the example of a more humane and tolerant spirit. In some degree his conduct was emulated by the Christians, and the later years of the war were marked by less atrocity and fewer butcheries.

The altered sentiments of the Crusaders and the Moslems are easily discoverable in the tone assumed by the earlier and later writers who followed the Christian armies. In the older chronicles there is diffused on every page the intense hatred of the author. It is manifest that they write of peoples whom they had not yet seen, of beliefs which they did not understand, of institutions and practices which they had not witnessed. They detest the Mohammedans as if they were monsters, dogs, devils. But in the later annals of the Crusades there is a change of tone and opinion. The Moslems are no longer the savage and inhuman beasts which they had been represented to be by the earlier historians. The Christians had come to understand and to a certain degree to appreciate the ideas and social customs of the Islamites. Friendly relations sprang up in the intervals between the successive Crusades, and it is doubtless true that the Christian dwellers in the Holy Land frequently heard with regret and grief the premonitory mutterings of another outbreak, by which their moiety of peace was to be swept away. Besides this, the later Christian chroniclers have words of praise not

few or stinted for the great Mohammedan leaders with whom they had become acquainted. Bernard le Tresorier pronounces a glowing eulogium on the character of Saladin, and William of Tyre praises Noureddin in a strain of equal commendation. It is evident that by the close of the thirteenth century the opinions of that part of christendom which had come into actual contact with Islam had undergone a radical change. There are not wanting Christian writers of the epoch who go to the length of drawing unfavorable comparisons between the manners, customs, and institutions of their own people in the West and those of the more refined Mohammedans. The historical treatises and letters of the later Crusaders are thus found to express sentiments and opinions which would have been horrifying in the last degree to the contemporaries of Godfrey and Baldwin.[1]

It will be seen, then, that the general tendency of the Crusade was, so far as ideas and beliefs were concerned, in the direction of the emancipation of the human mind. Though the Holy Wars were begun under the impulse of religious fanaticism, though they were continued for the express purpose of making religious zeal the criterion of human character and conduct, yet year by year the despotic sway of that fanaticism and zeal was loosened and the mind set free in wider fields of activity. The change of place and scene had a marvelous effect upon the rude imaginations and confined beliefs of the Crusaders. They saw Rome, the mother of mysteries. They saw Constantinople, the wonder of two continents. They saw Jerusalem, and found it only a Syrian town hallowed by nothing save its associations. They observed the riches and elegant manners of the Moslems, and thus by degrees were weaned from the domination of those ideas which had impelled them to take the Cross.

As to the Papal Church, the influence of the Crusades was more baleful than beneficial. There is no doubt that the ambition of Gregory was sincere; nor are we at liberty to suppose that Urban II. was actuated by other than a true zeal for the honor of the Cross. But the Holy Wars had not long continued until the Popes discovered in the situation a vast source of profit to themselves and the Church. The principle of a monetary equivalent for military service was admitted, and it became the custom with the Crusaders to pay into the papal treasury large sums as a satisfaction for unfulfilled vows. This usage, if not the actual beginning, was at least the powerful excitant and auxiliary of the sale of indulgences by the Church. The principal of buying exemption from military service was extended to other classes of service and duty; and the plan of purchasing the removal of penalties, both past and prospective, became almost universally prevalent.

Another fatal consequence flowing to the Church from the Crusades was the subsequent misdirection of the zeal and fanaticism which she had evoked against the Infidels. When papal Europe ceased to agitate against the Moslems, it became a question with the Popes to what end the forces which had been expending themselves in warfare with the Turks

[1] The following paragraphs from Sir John Mandeville will illustrate the altered tone of the later Christian writers relative to manners and merits of the Moslems. Sir John thus, in 1356, narrates the story of his interview with the sultan, and of the sentiments which they interchanged:

"And therefore shall I tell you what the sultan told me one day in his chamber. He sent out of the room all manner of men, both lords and others, for he would speak with me in private: And there he asked me in what manner the Christian folk govern themselves in our country. And I answered him, 'Right well; thanks to God.' And he replied, 'Indeed not so; for the Christian people do not know how to serve God rightly. You should give example to the lewd folk to do well, but you give them example to do evil. For your people upon festival days when they should go to church to serve God, then go they to taverns, and remain there in gluttony all day and all night, eating and drinking as beasts that have no reason, and wit not when they have enough.' . . . . And then he called in all the lords whom he had sent out of his chamber and there he showed me four that were grandees in that country; and these told me of my country and of many other Christian countries as truly as if they had been there themselves. And they spake French right well; and the sultan also, whereof I had great marvel. Alas! it is a great scandal to our faith and our law when they that are without the law do thus reprove and underrate us on account of our sins. And truly they have good reason. For the Saracens are good and faithful. For they keep perfectly the commandment of the Holy Book Al-Koran, which God sent them by his messenger Mohammed, to whom, as they say, God often revealed his will by the angel Gabriel."

should now be turned. To the endless misfortune of Rome, the remaining energy of the Christian states — the residue of fanaticism which two centuries of war had not wholly consumed—was turned into the two channels of open persecution for unbelief and private inquisitorial tortures for the heretical. The Church which had failed to overthrow the Crescent in Asia, undertook the extirpation of heresy in her own dominions. And the means by which she would accomplish this result were far less honorable to her judgment and conscience than were the measures adopted to destroy the supremacy of the False Prophet in the East. The horrid cruelties to which for several centuries Europe was to be subjected for opinion's sake, were referable in a large measure to the unexpired and malignant energies of the Crusading epoch, misdirected against the clearing judgment and rising conscience of the age.

Among the political effects of the Crusades, the most marked and important was the stimulus given to monarchy at the expense of feudalism. At the outbreak of the Holy Wars, Europe was feudal; at their close, she had become monarchic. Not that feudalism was extinct; not that monarchy was completely triumphant; but the beginning of the new order of things had been securely laid, and the extinction of the old system was only a question of time. The events which led to this result are easily apprehended. The Crusades were the very wheel under which feudalism might be most effectually crushed. The movement at the first was headed by feudal barons, but there was a survival of the fittest. The fittest became kings. The rest sank out of sight. While the Crusades were thus bringing princes to the front, a process of transformation was going on in the home states, out of which the pilgrim warriors had been recruited. Here the smaller fiefs were rapidly absorbed in the larger. The great and powerful barons grew towards the kingly estate, and the feeble lords lost their importance with their lands. At the close of the Crusades, the kings of the Western states found themselves opposed by a less numerous nobility; and many of the surviving grandees were barons of low degree, or knights of shreds and patches. In the contest that presently ensued, every circumstance favored the cause of aspiring royalty as against that of the feudal nobles.

Still more striking, however, was the influence of the Crusades in promoting the growth and development of the free municipalities of Europe. First of all did the maritime Republics of Italy feel the impetus of prosperity and greatness under the agitation of the Northern states. It is in the nature of war that it makes heavy drafts upon commerce and manufactures. The latter produce and the former conveys to the destined field the arms, munitions, and enginery necessary to the success of the expedition. Before the Council of Clermont the Italian Republics had already grown to such a stature that they were ready to avail themselves of every opportunity to get gain. During the progress of the Holy Wars these sturdy maritime states sprang forward with rapid strides and took their place among the leading powers of the West. The general upheaval of European society contributed wonderfully to the prosperity and influence of the seafaring republicans who, caring but little for the principles involved between the Christian barons and the Moslems, were ready with ships and merchandise to serve whoever would pay for the use of their wharves and fleets. During the latter half of the thirteenth century nearly all the pilgrimages and expeditions to the East were conducted in Venetian vessels, though the ships of Pisa and Genoa competed with their more prosperous rivals for the carrying trade with the ports of Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor. The squandered wealth lifted by religious fanaticism from the products of the peasant labor of France, England, and Germany found its way to the Venetian merchants, and into the swollen coffers of the Romish See.

Not only did the crusading expeditions inure to the benefit of the Italian Republics, but also to the general commerce of the Western states. The naval enterprises were conducted with so great success by the merchant sailors of Italy that trading-ports were established in the Levant, into which were poured and out of which were exported the riches of the Orient. Merchandising became the most profitable of all pursuits. Not only the cities of Italy, but those of Germany, of England,

and of the North of Europe, felt the life-giving impulses of the new commerce established with the East. No other circumstance between the time of the downfall of the Roman Empire of the West and the double discovery of the New World and an all-water route to India, did so much to revive the dormant commercial spirit of Europe as did the Holy Wars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

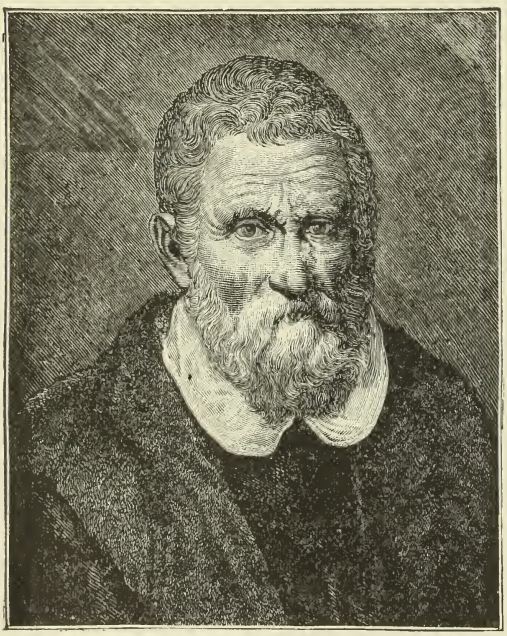
Perhaps the influence of the Crusades, as it respects the diffusion of the learning of the East, has been overestimated. It has been the custom of writers to draw an analogy between the effects of the conquests of Alexander the Great and those which followed the establishment of the Latin kingdom in the East. A closer examination of the facts destroys the parallel. The comparative barbarity of the Crusaders, their want of learning and complete depravity of literary taste, forbade the absorption by them of the intellectual wealth of the peoples whom they conquered. Even in Constantinople the French barons and knights appear not to have been affected by the culture and refinement of the city. Only their cupidity was excited by the splendor and literary treasures of the Eastern metropolis. It does not appear that the Crusaders, even the most enlightened of the leaders, were sufficiently interested in the possibilities of the situation to learn the language of the Greeks. The literary imagination of the invaders and conquerors of Palestine seem not to have been excited in the midst of scenes which might have been supposed to be the native sources of inspiration. Poetry followed not in the wake of those devastating excursions. Art came not as the fruit of war-like agitation, or to commemorate the exploits of mediæval heroes.

Perhaps the greatest single advantage flowing from the Crusades was the establishment of intercourse between the Asiatic and the European nations. Hitherto the peoples of the East and the West had lived in almost complete ignorance of each other's manners, customs, and national character. Traveling became common, and the minds of men began to be emancipated from the fetters of locality. Many Europeans settled in the East, and becoming acquainted with the Asiatics, diffused a knowledge of the Orient among their own countrymen. Relations were established between the Moslem and the Christian states. Embassies were sent back and forth between the Mongol emperors and the kings of the Western nations. More than once it was proposed that the Christians and the Mongols should enter into an alliance, and that the Crusades should be continued by them against the common enemy, the Turks. The impress made upon the mind and destinies of Europe by these relations of the Christians and the Mohammedans, is thus described by the distinguished historian, Abel Rémusat:

"Many men of religious orders, Italians, French, and Flemings, were charged with diplomatic missions to the court of the Great Khan. Mongols of distinction came to Rome, Barcelona, Valetia, Lyons, Paris, London, and Northampton, and a Franciscan of the kingdom of Naples was archbishop of Pekin. His successor was a professor of theology in the University of Paris. But how many other people followed in the train of these personages, either as slaves, or attracted by the desire of profit, or led by curiosity into regions hitherto unknown! Chance has preserved the names of some of these; the first envoy who visited the king of Hungary on the part of the Tartars was an Englishman, who had been banished from his country for certain crimes, and who, after having wandered over Asia, at last entered into the service of the Mongols. A Flemish Cordelier, in the heart of Tartary, fell in with a woman of Metz called *Paquette*, who had been carried off into Hungary; also a Parisian goldsmith, and a young man from the neighborhood of Rouen, who had been at the taking of Belgrade. In the same country he fell in also with Russians, Hungarians, and Flemings. A singer, called *Robert*, after having traveled through Eastern Asia, returned to end his days in the cathedral of Chartres. A Tartar was a furnisher of helmets in the armies of Philip the Fair. Jean de Plancarpin fell in, near Gayouk, with a Russian gentleman whom he calls *Temer*, and who acted as interpreter; and many merchants of Breslau, Poland, and Austria, accompanied him in his journey into Tartary. Others returned with him through Russia; they were Genoese, Pisans, and Venetians. Two Venetians, merchants, whom chance had brought to Bokhara,

followed a Mongol ambassador, sent by Houlagou to Khoubilaï. They remained many years in China and Tartary, returned with letters from the Great Khan to the Pope, and afterwards went back to the Khan, taking with them the son of one of their number, the celebrated Marco Polo, and once more left the court of Khoubilaï to return to Venice. Travels of this nature were not less frequent in the following century. Of this number are those of John Mandeville, an English physician; Oderic de Frioul, Pegoletti, Guilleaume de Bouldeselle, and several others.

"It may well be supposed, that those travels of which the memory is preserved, form but a



MARCO POLO.

small part of those which were undertaken, and there were in those days many more people who were able to perform those long journeys than to write accounts of them. Many of those adventurers must have remained and died in the countries they went to visit. Others returned home, as obscure as before, but having their imagination full of the things they had seen, relating them to their families, with much exaggeration, no doubt, but leaving behind them, among many ridiculous fables, useful recollections and traditions capable of bearing fruit. Thus, in Germany, Italy, and France, in the monasteries, among the nobility, and even down to the lowest classes of society, there were deposited many precious seeds destined to bud at a somewhat later period. All these unknown travelers, carrying the arts of their own country into distant regions, brought back other pieces of knowledge not less precious, and, without being aware of it, made exchanges more advantageous than those of commerce. By these means, not only the traffic in the silks, porcelain, and other commodities of Hindostan, became more extensive and practicable, and new paths were opened to commercial industry and enterprise; but, what was more valuable still, foreign manners, unknown nations, extraordinary productions, presented themselves in abundance to the minds of the Europeans, which, since the fall of the Roman empire, had been confined within too narrow a circle. Men began to attach some importance to the most beautiful, the most populous, and the most anciently civilized, of the four quarters of the world. They began to study the arts, the religions, the languages, of the nations by whom it was inhabited; and there was even an intention of establishing a professorship of the Tartar language in the university of Paris. The accounts of travelers, strange and exaggerated, indeed, but soon discussed and cleared up, diffused more correct and varied notions of those distant regions. The world seemed to open, as it were, towards the East; geography made an immense stride; and ardor for discovery became the new form assumed by European spirit of adventure. The idea of another hemisphere, when our own came to be better known, no longer seemed an improbable paradox; and it was when in search of the Zipangri of Marco Polo that Christopher Columbus discovered the New World."

Many disputes have occurred relative to the discoveries and inventions alleged to have been brought into Europe by the returning Crusaders. It stands to reason that things known in Asia, and unknown in the West, would be revealed to the pilgrim warriors, and by them reported to their countrymen. It should be remembered, however, that the bigotry of the Crusaders knew no bounds. They went to Asia as *destroyers*. They beat to the earth, with undiscriminating hatred, both man and his works. It was their theory and belief that all things Mohammedan were of the Devil. Acting under this blind and superstitious fanati-

cism, they were little disposed to admit the merit, much less to copy the advantages, of Asiatic discoveries in art and science. It has been said that those great factors of civilization—gunpowder, the art of printing, and the mariner's compass—were known in Asia before the epoch of the Crusades, and there is little reason to doubt that such was actually the case; but it would perhaps be difficult to prove that a knowledge of these sterling inventions was obtained in Europe from the Christian warriors returning from Palestine. It was in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that Europeans began to employ the compass, to manufacture explosives for the purposes of war, and to print from movable types. Perhaps the rumor and general fame of such arts may have preceded, by a considerable period, their actual introduction among the nations of the West.

CHAPTER XCIII.—ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

THE present Book may be appropriately closed with a brief sketch of the history of England and France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the former country, beginning with the accession of the House of Plantagenet, we come, in 1154, to the reign of Henry II. This distinguished prince was the son of Geoffrey Plantagenet and Matilda, daughter of Henry I. Though no Crusader himself, he gave to the Holy Wars the greatest of all Crusaders in the person of his son, the Lion Heart. The reign of Henry extended to the year 1189, and was on the whole a time of distress and trouble.

The middle of this period was noted for a violent outbreak between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the kingdom, the former headed by the king, and the latter by the celebrated Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury. On the one side were arrayed most of the barons and lords, and not a few of the clergy, including at one time the Archbishop of York; while on the other were marshaled most of the bishops and priests, backed by the whole power of Rome. From the peculiar structure of English society it happened that the common people, who were grievously oppressed by the barons, were all on the side of the church as against the king. By them the Archbishop of Canterbury was regarded as a friend, champion, and protector, and they looked to him as to one able to deliver them from the woes of secular despotism. Becket himself had been a soldier, and besides the reputation which he had gained in the field, he bore the name of one of the ripest scholars of the age. He had been the bosom friend of Henry Plantagenet, and by the influence of that sovereign had been raised through successive grades of ecclesiastical preferment to the archbishopric of Canterbury. His break with the king may be dated from the year 1164, when, by setting himself in antagonism to a series of royal measures known as the "Constitution of Clarendon," he incurred the monarch's undying enmity. The great prelate's opposition was without doubt based upon a sincere devotion to the cause of the English commons, no less than on the purpose to maintain the independence of ecclesiastical authority.

In the beginning of the quarrel, King Henry withdrew his son from the tutorship of Becket, and placed him with the Archbishop of York. By and by the Pope interfered, and Becket was at the first ordered to cease from his opposition to the measures of the king. Henry procured the archbishop's trial by the parliament of Northampton, and he was obliged to fly from the kingdom. More than four hundred of his relatives were driven into exile; but Becket, having surrendered his authority into the hands of the Pope, was reïnstated by him in all his former and several additional dignities. The measure was openly canvassed in the Romish See of excommunicating King Henry from the communion of

the church. The latter, however, was as obstinate as his enemies. He had the coronation of his son Henry remanded to the Archbishop of York, thus openly denying the primacy of Canterbury. In the early part of 1170, a superficial reconciliation was patched up between the king and the prelate; but Henry gave some of his less scrupulous barons to under-



MURDER OF THOMAS À BÉCKET.
Drawn by L. P. Leyendecker.

stand that Thomas à Becket's exit from the world would be a fact most pleasing to himself. Hereupon Reginald Fitzurse, William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito made a conspiracy against the archbishop's life. On the 28th of December, 1170, they met at the castle of Ranulph de Broc, near Canterbury, and were there joined by a body of armed men ready for any business, however desperate. On the following day the leaders, who appear to have desired to stop short of taking the prelate's life, had an interview with him, and tried to frighten him out of the realm. But the soldier priest was not to be terrified, and on the evening of that day, the conspirators forced their way into the cathedral, where Becket was conducting vespers. They first attempted to drag him from the church, but the bishop tore himself from their clutches and knelt down at the altar, already bleeding with a sword gash in his head. His assailants now fell upon him with fury, and dashed out his brains on the floor.

Though the king's party had thus freed themselves from the presence of their powerful enemy, the spirit which he represented was not so easily extinguished. The people of Knaresborough rose in their wrath, and the slayers of Becket were obliged to fly from the kingdom. Everywhere throughout England the tide rose so high against Henry that he and his dynasty were threatened with overthrow. The king of France took up arms and the Pope threatened excommunication. The king, however, escaped from the dangerous situation by taking a solemn oath that he had not been privy to the murder of Becket; but even after this he deemed it necessary to make a further atonement at the altars of the irate church. He accordingly made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Thomas à Becket, and after fasting and praying at the shrine of that martyr received a flagellation on his naked back at the hands of the monks. After this public mark of his submission and penitence the excitement subsided, and Henry forbore to give further cause of offense to the ecclesiastical party.

The king now found time to resist an invasion of the Scots. The latter proved to be unequal to the enterprise which they had undertaken. Henry defeated them, compelled the king of Scotland to surrender a part of his dominions and himself and his sons to do homage for the remainder.

On the death of King Henry, in 1189, the crown descended to his eccentric and famous son, Richard the Lion Heart. On the occasion of his coronation an insurrection broke out in London, and the hated Jews became the objects of a popular vengeance which could not be easily appeased. At the first the new king sought to stay the fury of his subjects, and afforded some protection to the hunted Israelites. But when Richard, by nature large-hearted and generous, departed on the great Crusade, the persecutions broke out afresh, and extended into various parts of the kingdom. It was the peculiarity of the times that the brutal religious fanaticism of the people of Western Europe burst forth with indiscriminate madness against all those who were, or had ever been, the enemies of Christ. The Jews were as much hated in various parts of the West as were the Mohammedans in the East. England was the scene of several butcheries hardly surpassed in any age of barbarism. Three years after the crowning of the Lion Heart the city of York witnessed a massacre of unusual atrocity. Hundreds of the Jews were slaughtered without mercy. Their distinguished and kind-spirited rabbi, with a large number of his people, was driven into the castle of York, where, attempting to save themselves from destruction, and despairing of help or compassion, they slew their wives and children, fired the edifice, and perished in the flames.

The earlier years of the twelfth century were a stormy and agitated epoch—a kind of March-month of English liberty. In the closing year of the preceding centennium King Richard Cœur de Lion died, bequeathing his crown and kingdom to his unheroic and contemptible brother John, surnamed *Sansterre*, or Lackland. The latter came to the throne with all of the vices and none of the virtues of the Plantagenets. The Lion Heart had been induced in the last hours of his life to discard his nephew Arthur, of Brittany, in favor of the unprincipled John, who was already intriguing against the interests of England. Philip, who had been the protector of Prince Arthur, abandoned him on the accession of

John to the throne, and a treaty was made between the French and English kings by which it was agreed that the niece of the latter, Blanche of Castile, should be married to Louis, the Dauphin of France. Arthur was to be given up to the tender mercies of his



DEATH OF THE RABBI AND THE JEWS IN YORK.
Drawn by H. Leutemann.

uncle. This settlement, however, never reached a fulfillment. Prince Arthur married the daughter of Philip, and his father-in-law espoused his cause and aided him in the hostilities which ensued.

Shortly after this change of policy on the part of the French king, Arthur was taken prisoner by his uncle John, and was shut up in the castle of Bristol. The English king, with his usual perfidy, gave orders to Hubert de Burgh, governor of Falaise, to which place Arthur had been transferred, to put the prisoner to death; but the heart of Hubert failed him in the execution of the order, and King John was deceived with a false report of the prince's execution and funeral. The people of Brittany also believing that Arthur had been murdered, rose in revolt, and Hubert, in order to save himself from odium and probable destruction, was obliged to divulge the truth.

Great was the wrath thus enkindled against the unnatural king. The barons of England refused to join his standard, and Philip, making war upon him in the French provinces belonging to the English crown overthrew his authority and drove him out of Normandy. That great duchy, after having belonged to England for more than three centuries, was torn away and united to France. So great an offense and injury to the English crown had not been known since the days of Rollo the Dane.

In the ninth year of his reign, King John fell into a violent quarrel with Pope Innocent III. The matter at issue was the choice of a new archbishop for the see of Canterbury. The choice of the Pope was the distinguished Stephen Langton, already a cardinal of the Church. The appointment, however, was violently opposed by John, and, in 1208, Innocent laid the kingdom under an interdict. But the punishment was insufficient to bring the monarch to his senses. He continued his career of injustice and folly, making war on the people of Wales and Ireland, and filling his coffers by confiscation and cruel extortion. On one occasion he called together all the abbots and abbesses of the religious houses in London, and then deliberately informed them that they were his prisoners until what time they should pay him a large sum of money. So flagrant was the outrage thus perpetrated against the honor and dignity of the church, that the Pope proceeded to excommunicate King John, and to absolve his subjects from their oath of allegiance. The Holy Father, in his wrath, went to the extreme of inviting the Christian princes of Europe to unite in a crusade against the audacious and disobedient king of England. Philip of France, as the secular head of Western christendom, was especially besought to undertake a war; and he was by no means loth to seize the opportunity of increasing his own power at the expense of his fellow prince.

This movement, however, aroused the ire of the English barons, who, though they heartily detested their king and his policy, were not at all disposed to yield to the settlement of their national affairs by the French. Philip proceeded with his preparations for the invasion; and King John, taking advantage of the reaction among his subjects, collected a large army at Dover. Just before his departure, the French monarch received from the Pope, by the hands of the legate Pandulf, a message to abandon the undertaking! For, in the mean time, His Holiness had made an offer to the refractory John that, if the latter would accept Langton as archbishop of Canterbury, and resign the crown of England into the papal hands, the Pope would restore the same to him, and would forbid the invasion of his realm by the French. These terms were accepted by the base Plantagenet, who laid down his crown at the feet of Pandulf. This haughty cardinal is said to have kicked contemptuously the diadem which had once been worn by William the Conqueror. Satisfied with this act of abasement, he then replaced the dishonored crown on the head of the alleged king.

Great was the rage of Philip on receiving the message of the Pope. Fearing to disobey, and unwilling that his military preparations should come to naught, he diverted the expedition against the territories of Earl Ferrand of Flanders. The latter immediately applied to King John for help; and that monarch, responding with an unusual show of alacrity, sent a large squadron to aid the Flemish earl in maintaining his independence. A battle was fought between the English and French fleets, in which the armament of Philip was either destroyed or dispersed. So signal was the dis-

aster, that the land forces of the French broke up in disorder, and returned in haste to their own provinces.

It appears that John was crazed by his victory. Eager to follow up his advantage, he purposed an invasion of France; but his barons, though having no affection for the French, and very willing to go to war to maintain the honor of England, were in no wise disposed to follow the banner of an unpopular king on a foreign expedition. John was therefore obliged to forego his project. But though unsupported by his nobles and by the temper of his kingdom, he still sought to carry out his retaliatory purpose against the French king. He accordingly sought an alliance with Frederick II., Emperor of Germany, with whom it was arranged to make an invasion of France on the east, while John would do the same in the provinces adjacent to the Channel. An English army, made up in large measure of the refuse of the kingdom, was accordingly landed at Poitou, and an expedition was begun into Anjou and Brittany.

In a short time, however, the English king received intelligence that his ally, the German Emperor, had, in 1214, been decisively defeated by the French in the great battle of Bouvines. Seeing that Philip would now be able to concentrate all his forces against the English, John made haste to conclude with that monarch a five years' truce, and quickly made his way back to England.

The Island during the king's absence had become the scene of a great commotion. The barons, thoroughly disgusted with John's vacillating conduct and unkingly bearing, had made a conspiracy against him, and the movement had gained such headway that he quailed before his powerful but disloyal subjects. Archbishop Langton lent the sanction of the Church to the insurrection and proved himself to be an able and far-seeing leader. Having discovered a long-concealed copy of an old charter signed by Henry I., wherein were set forth and guaranteed by the royal seal the rights and privileges of Englishmen, he made it the basis of a new Bill of Rights, which he



BATTLE OF BOUVINES.

drew up and which the barons determined to maintain with their swords. Such was the famous document known as MAGNA CHARTA—the Great Charter of English Liberty.

When the king returned from France the demand was made of him by the barons that he should sign their instrument. This he refused to do, and endeavored to oppose force with force; but finding his banner almost deserted, he came to his senses and consented to hold a conference which had been proposed by the Earl of Pembroke. On the 15th of June, 1215, a meeting was accordingly held at a place called Runnymede, between Windsor and Staines, and there the king was obliged to sign the Charter.

In general terms Magna Charta was intended by its authors to prevent the exercise of arbitrary authority over his subjects by an English king. The royal prerogatives were limited in several important particulars, so that the despotism which had been so freely practiced during the feudal ascendency, became impossible in England, save in violation of the chartered rights of the people. The great document thus wrenched from the pusillanimous John consisted of sixty-three articles, most of them being negative, defining what the kings of England might *not* do as it respected their subjects. Of positive rights conceded and guaranteed in the Charter, the two greatest were the *Habeas Corpus* and the Right of Trial by Jury. The first was that salutary provision of the English Common Law by which every free subject of the kingdom was exempted from arbitrary arrest and detention; and the second, that every person accused of crime or misdemeanor, should be entitled to a trial by his peers in accordance with the law of the land. The right of disposing of property by will was also conceded, and in case no will should be made, it was provided that the goods and estate of the father should descend to his children by the law of inheritance. On the negative side there were interdicts against outlawry and banishment, and against the seizure of the property of freemen.

It should not be supposed, however, that popular liberty, in the modern sense, was secured or even contemplated in Magna Charta. True it is that many invaluable principles and maxims were assumed by the barons, and that the restrictions of the royal prerogative were of the most salutary character. But the feudal classes of society were still recognized, and the *people*, as a factor in the state, were ignored. Although it was provided that no *freeman* should be seized or distresssed in his person or property, but little was said respecting the rights and immunities of the laboring classes of Englishmen. Only a single clause of Magna Charta was intended to secure to the peasant those immunities and privileges which in every civilized country are now regarded as his birthright. It was enacted that *even a rustic* should not be deprived of his carts, plows, and implements of husbandry. So great was the difference between the spirit of the thirteenth and that of the nineteenth century!

Notwithstanding the humiliation of King John at Runnymede, he immediately sought opportunity of avenging himself on his barons. Great was his wrath on account of the Charter, and at those who had compelled him to sign it. The barons were little alarmed at his preparations and oaths of vengeance; but with an army of foreign mercenaries he reduced them to such extremity that they in their folly invited Prince Louis, the heir of France, to come to their aid, and promised to reward him with the crown of England. The fortune of war was turned against the king and he was obliged to shut himself up in the castle of Dover. In the mean time the barons grew tired of their French protector, and many of them rejoined the standard of John. The latter again entered the field and marched into Lincolnshire, where he was attacked of a fever, and died on the 19th of October, 1216.

It was during the reign of King John, who has the bad reputation of being the worst sovereign that ever reigned over England, that the great outlaw Robin Hood began his career as a bandit. It appears that the true name of this generous brigand who, until the year 1247, set the laws at defiance and measured swords with England, was Robert, earl of Huntingdon. The legend recites that in his youth he attended a great tournament in archery, where by his skill he excited the envy of some rival noblemen, who had the rashness to upbraid him on account of his Saxon blood and uncourtly manners. Falling into a passion under their insults, he turned

upon them and shot down several of their number. He then made his escape into Sherwood forest, where he became the head of a band of outlaws like himself. Their practice was to pillage the estates of the rich, to rob the wealthy and titled personages, distributing the proceeds of their lawlessness to the poor and needy. So persistently was this policy pursued by the merry Robin and his men that they gained a great reputation among the peasants, insomuch that ballads commemorative of his exploits and chivalry became the most popular literature of the times, and have ever since remained as a witness of the esteem in which even a lawless benefactor is held by an oppressed people.



JOHN SWEARING VENGEANCE AGAINST THE BARONS.
Drawn by A. Maillard.

On the death of the king the crown descended to his eldest son, Henry of Winchester, who took the title of Henry the Third. Being only eight years of age at the time of his father's death, the management of the kingdom was intrusted to the Earl of Pembroke. The latter had the wisdom during his administration to confirm the articles of Magna Charta, and by this means those English barons who had still adhered to the fortunes of Prince Louis of France were won back to the royal cause. Louis, though his forces were greatly reduced, ventured on a battle in 1217, in which he was so disastrously defeated that he was glad to escape with the remnant of his followers from the kingdom. Two years afterward the Earl of Pembroke died, and his office of protector was given to Hubert de Burgh.

When King Henry reached the age of sixteen he was declared capable of conducting the government. In the following year, 1224, Philip of France died and was succeeded by his son Louis, but the latter soon after passed away and the crown descended to *his* son Louis IX., who being a mere child was left to the guardianship of his mother, Blanche of Castile. Perceiving the exposed condition of the French kingdom on account of the minority of Louis, King Henry determined to invade France and attempt the recovery of Normandy. He accordingly raised a large army, and in 1230 undertook an expedition against the French. But he soon showed himself to be of little competency for such an undertaking. One disaster followed another until in the course of a few months the king was glad to give up the enterprise and return to England. In his matrimonial adventure he was scarcely more fortunate than in war. In his search for a queen he chose Eleanor, daughter of the Earl of Provence, who brought with her into England a retinue of friends, for whom important places in the government were provided. A great offense was thus given to the English barons, who would not quietly brook the elevation of strangers and foreigners to the chief offices of England.

While the king was thus exhibiting his folly

he also showed his weakness. Nearly all his administrative acts were marked by a spirit of narrowness and bigoted imprudence. Popes Innocent IV. and Alexander IV. were not slow to perceive the advantages which might be gained for the Church by an interference with English affairs. Italian ecclesiastics were accordingly insinuated into the principal religious offices of the kingdom, and these became the agents to carry out the papal will and pleasure respecting questions which were purely English. In 1255 the Pope conferred on the king's son Edmund the title of King of Sicily, hoping by this means to induce the English nation to espouse his own cause in a quarrel which he had had with Mainfroy, the Sicilian monarch. But the English barons, more wise than their sovereign, refused to be inveigled into the Pope's scheme, and the enterprise was about to come to nought. Henry, however, finding that no inducement could avail with his refractory subjects, undertook to raise the money for the Sicilian expedition by a means as novel as it was outrageous. He caused to be drawn bills of exchange against the prelates of England, and gave these bills to Italian merchants for money pretendedly advanced by them for the war. The prelates at first refused payment of these forged accounts, but since the ecclesiastics were not supported by either the king or the Pope, who made common cause in support of the fraud, they were obliged to give up the contest and pay the Italian bills.

The effect of these measures was to revive the antipathies of the English nobles against the king. A new rebellion broke out in 1258. Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, who had himself been one of the king's favorites, headed the insurrection. The insurgents gathered in such strength at Oxford that Henry and his son were obliged to sign a treaty, by which it was agreed that twenty-four of the barons, including the Earl of Leicester, should be constituted a sort of commission to reform the abuses of the kingdom. The legitimate work of reform, however, was soon abandoned for the assumption of the right of government by the barons. The nation was thrown into a state of turmoil, which continued with unabated violence for about six years. The struggle is known in history as the WARS OF THE BARONS, and constituted one of the most disastrous epochs in the annals of England. Louis IX. of France, actuated by nobler motives than were common in the princes of his times, made unavailing efforts to bring about a peace between Henry and his nobles; but neither would the one yield to reason or the other to patriotism.

Not until the year 1264 did events assume such form as to promise a settlement. At that time Prince Edward, heir to the English crown, born to greater candor than his grandfather and greater ability than his father, came forward as a leader of the royal forces, and for a season it appeared that the insurgent nobles had met their match. Many of the barons, seeing with pride the spirit and valor displayed by their prince, went over to his standard. At length a battle was hazarded with the forces of De Montfort, but the result was exceedingly disastrous to the royal cause. Edward's army was defeated and himself captured, and sent with his cousin, Prince Henry, a prisoner to the Castle of Dover.

The Earl of Leicester was now master of the field. He at once conceived the ambition of making himself king of England. To this end he seized the royal castles not a few, and presently allowed his ambition to reveal his purposes. At this juncture, the Earl of Gloucester appeared as a rival of De Montfort, and began to plan his overthrow. Leicester perceived that the heart of the nobles was turned against him, and began to bid for a renewal and continuance of their support. All his acts were done in the king's name. As a sop to Cerberus, he set Prince Edward at liberty. Gloucester established himself on the confines of Wales, and De Montfort, having proclaimed his rival a traitor, and assuming the office of protector to Henry and Edward, set out to overthrow the insurgents. When nearing the camp of Gloucester, the latter managed to open communications with Edward, and the prince made good his escape, and went over to the barons. Many of the nobles followed his example, and Leicester was obliged to send in all haste to London for an army of reïnforcements commanded by his son, Simon de Montfort, the younger. The latter was intercepted on the way to join his father, and was decisively defeated by Prince Edward in the battle of Kenilworth. A general engagement

followed at Evesham, in which the Earl of Leicester was routed, and his forces dispersed. King Henry, who was unwillingly detained among the defeated forces, was about to be cut down by a soldier, but declared his identity in time to save his life. Both Leicester



DEATH OF SIMON DE MONTFORT.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

and his son, the younger Montfort, were slain in the battle.

The story of Prince Edward's departure for the Holy Land, to take part in the Eighth Crusade, has already been narrated in the preceding pages.[1] This event happened in 1270. Henry III. had now occupied the throne of England for fifty-four years. His government was as feeble as himself was decrepit. The land was full of violence and distress. His nephew, Prince Henry, son of Richard, the king's brother, was assassinated by the exiled sons of Leicester, who had survived the battle of Evesham. Richard died of grief. The barons despised their sovereign, and looked forward with pleasant anticipations to the day of his death. Riots and violence prevailed in many parts of the kingdom. At last, in November of 1272, the aged and despised Henry died, being then in the fifty-seventh year of his reign.

Prince Edward, on hearing the news of his father's death, set out from Palestine, and arrived in England in 1274. His presence—even the knowledge of his coming—tended to restore confidence and order. He began his reign with the enactment of many salutary regulations relating to the police of the kingdom, and other measures of public safety. He was greatly distressed on the score of means with which to administer the government, and, in his embarrassment, adopted a measure which came near producing a civil war. He appointed a commission to examine into the titles by which the barons of the kingdom were holding their estates, with a view to the confiscation of any which might prove to be illegally held. The commissioners had not proceeded far, however, until they came upon the Earl of Warrenne, who, when summoned to produce his titles, deliberately drew his sword from its scabbard, and, laying his hand significantly on the hilt, replied: "*This* is the instrument by which my ancestors gained their estate, and by which I will keep it as long as I live." This answer reported to the king had the effect of putting an end to the project of fine and confiscation.

In the year 1282 an insurrection broke out in Wales. The people of that country had illy brooked the conditions of peace which Edward had imposed upon them after the battle of Evesham. Llewellyn, the king, led his countrymen in the insurrection, which came to a climax in a great battle in which the Welsh were totally defeated. Llewellyn was killed, and his brother David, the only remaining heir to the throne of Wales, was taken and beheaded. A good excuse was thus afforded to King Edward for claiming the crown for himself. In settling the terms of peace he promised to give the people of Wales a prince of their own country, and when the condition was accepted he presented them with his own son, who had been born a few days before in the Welsh castle of Caernarvon. To this babe was given the title of PRINCE OF WALES, which has ever since been borne by the eldest sons of the kings of England.

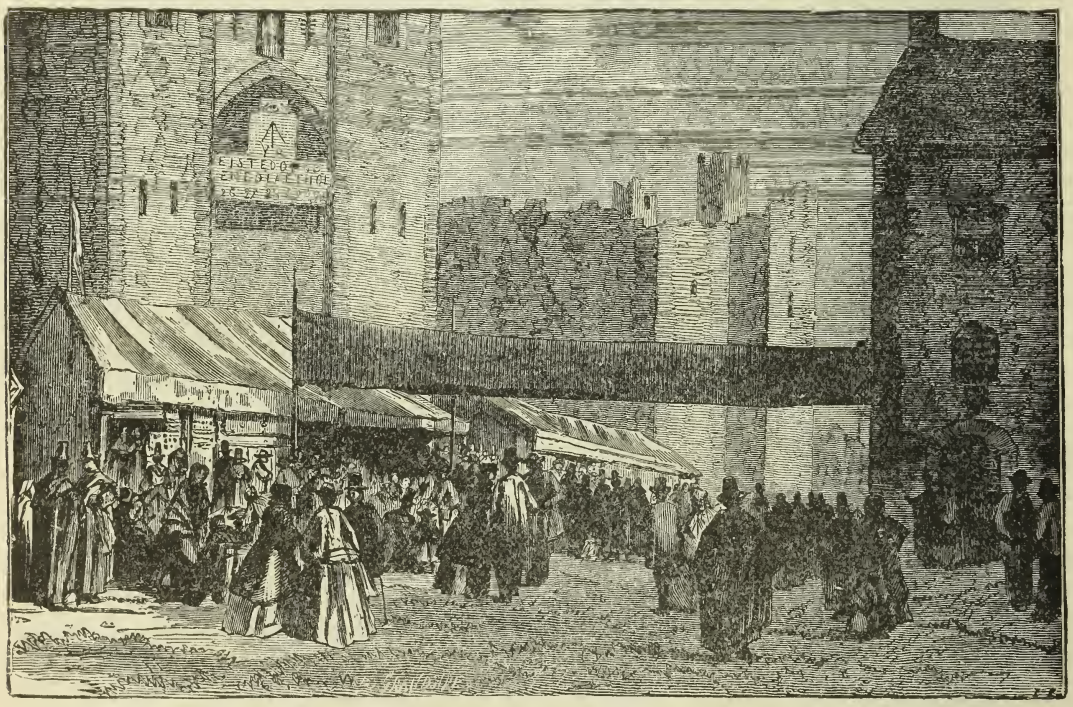
While Wales was thus acquired by conquest a plan, partly the product of natural events and partly the work of Edward's ambition, was brought forth with a view of adding the crown of Scotland to that of England. In that country King Alexander III. had chosen for his queen the sister of the English monarch, and of this union the only issue was the Princess Margaret, who was married to the king of Norway; and of *this* union only a little daughter survived, who became the heiress of Scotland. In 1286 Alexander died, and the Norwegian princess inherited her grandfather's dominions. Edward now proposed that his new-born son and the infant queen of Scotland should be betrothed, and the proposition was accepted by both the king of Norway and the Scottish parliament. It thus appeared that the union of the crowns of England and Scotland was about to be effected. But destiny had prepared the event otherwise. The Norwegian princess on her way from the country of her birth to the kingdom which she had inherited was taken ill on shipboard and died at the Orkney Islands. This unfortunate occurrence produced great grief throughout the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Norway. The union of the former two realms was postponed for three hundred years, and such was the distraction of the Scottish councils that no fewer than thirteen claimants of the crown appeared in the field. While feuds and turmoils prevailed on all sides it was agreed to refer the settlement of the succession to King

[1] See *ante*, p. 767.

Edward, who, after weighing the relative rights of Robert Bruce and John Baliol, decided in favor of the latter. The English king, with an eye to his own interest, required that the Scottish castles should be put into his hands before rendering his decision. The result was that Baliol, who had little of the nature and qualities of a king, became a mere puppet in the hands of the English monarch, who proceeded to settle the affairs of the Northern kingdom according to his will and purpose. Hereupon an insurrection broke out, and Edward, marching across the border, defeated the Scots in the great battle of Dunbar. Baliol surrendered himself to the victorious king and was detained in captivity for three years, after which he was permitted to retire into France.

It was at this epoch that the province of Guienne, which had descended to the English crown from the old Queen Eleanor, who had possessed that realm on her marriage to Henry II., was regained by the king of France. Guienne owed fealty to the French crown, and Philip the Fair persuaded Edward to perform the act of homage as a recognition of that relation, at the same time promising to restore the province as soon as the formal act was done. But no sooner had Edward resigned Guienne under this fiction of doing homage for it than Philip refused to make the promised restitution. So deeply at this time was Edward involved in the complications relating to the crown of Scotland that he was unable to recover by force what he had lost by the craft and subtlety of Philip the Fair. Such was the condition of affairs in England from the beginning of the thirteenth century up to the time when, by the capture of Acre, the Christian kingdom in the East was finally overthrown.

Let us then refer briefly to the course of events in France in the later epochs of the Crusades. In 1180 Philip II., surnamed Augustus, inherited the French crown. Such were his talents and ambitions, and such his impatience under the restraints imposed on his kingdom by Feudalism, that he set himself to work after the manner of a politician and statesman to overthrow the feudal princes and to build upon the ruins of their privileges and liberties the structure of regular monarchy. What might have been his success but for the condition of affairs in Syria it were perhaps useless to conjecture. It will be remembered that Philip, before coming to the throne of France, had formed an attachment to Prince Richard Plantagenet, and that the two princes,



CAERNARVON CASTLE.

in order to vex and distract the mind of King Henry II., of England, had made a great parade of their alleged friendship. After the two royal youths acceded to the thrones of their respective kingdoms their attachment continued and led to an agreement between them to undertake that great Crusade of which an account has already been given in the preceding pages.[1]

After Philip's return from Palestine, in which country the breach between him and his old-time friend had become irreparable, he made haste to attempt the destruction of the interests and rights of the Lion Heart in Western Europe. To this end he made an attack on Normandy and incited the unworthy John Lackland to seize on England, though both of these schemes were defeated and brought to nought. But not until the foundation of infinite mischief had been laid between the kingdoms of France and England. Philip continued his machinations against Cœur de Lion until the latter, having obtained a tardy liberation at the hands of the German Emperor, made his way as rapidly as possible in the direction of his own kingdom. Hearing that his friend had been set at liberty, Philip sent a hasty message to John of England to take care of himself as best he could, for the devil was unchained!

As soon as Richard had reëstablished his authority in the kingdom, he sought to avenge himself on the perfidious Philip. War broke out, and continued without abatement almost to the end of the century. In 1194 a decisive battle was fought at Vendôme, in which Philip was disastrously defeated. His money, camp equipage, and the records of the kingdom were captured by the victorious English.[1]



BATTLE OF VENDÔME.

In the mean time the French monarch became involved in a quarrel with the Pope, which plunged the kingdom into still deeper distress. The king's first wife, Isabella of Hainault, had

[1] See *ante*, p. 732.

[1] It is noteworthy of the character of the times that up to the battle of Vendôme it had been the custom of the feudal kings of France to bear about

died in 1191, and two years afterwards Philip had taken as a second queen the Princess Ingeberge of Denmark. But the Danish lady soon fell under the displeasure of her lord and was divorced. The suspicion was not wanting that the king had already turned a longing eye upon Maria, the daughter of the Duke of Dalmatia, and that the discarding of Ingeberge was attributable to that circumstance. These proceedings were highly displeasing to Pope Innocent III., and he ordered the abrogation of the marriage with Maria, and the restitution of that with the divorced Ingeberge.



MURDER OF PRINCE ARTHUR.

Philip refused obedience, and His Holiness laid the kingdom under an interdict for the space of three years. At last the French monarch was obliged to yield, and the discarded queen was brought back to Paris.

In the early part of the following century, Philip summoned King John of England to come to the French capital and answer to the charge of having murdered Prince Arthur of Brittany, the rightful heir to the English crown after the death of his uncle, Richard Plantagenet. King John, refusing to obey the summons, was declared guilty of murder and felony, and his province of Normandy was said to be forfeited. Philip lost no time in asserting his claim to the countries of which he hoped to deprive his rival. Laying siege to the Château Gaillard, he succeeded, after a rigorous investment of many months' duration, in reducing the place to submission. The rest of Normandy was easily subdued. The whole duchy was wrested from the imbecile John and his successors forever. For two hundred and ninety-three years Normandy had been a part of the English dominions, and would doubtless have so remained but for the pusillanimous character of the king, whose duty it was to defend his continental possessions.

Philip now went on from conquering to conquest. The provinces of Maine, Touraine, and Anjou were successively taken, and added to the French domains. In 1213 the king, supported by Pope Innocent III., undertook the invasion of England. The miscarriage of this expedition, and the diversion of the campaign into Flanders, have already been recounted in the preceding narrative.[1] The battle of Bou-

with them from place to place the royal archives. It now penetrated the thick skull of the age that a permanent depository of such records was a necessity of the situation. Philip Augustus accordingly directed the construction of a suitable building in Paris for that purpose.

[1] See *ante*, p. 781.

vines resulted in a complete overthrow of the Flemish and German auxiliaries. The counts of Flanders and Boulogne were taken prisoners, and were confined, the one in the tower of the Louvre, and the other in the castle Piron.

It was at this epoch that the religio-civil war with the Albigenses broke out in the south of France. From the year 1209 to 1218, the best portions of the kingdom were ravaged with a ferocity that would have done credit to the Mamelukes. The harmless fathers of French protestantism were made to feel how cruel a thing the sword is when backed by religious intolerance. It ought not to be denied, however, that in the outbreak of the war the papal party had a just cause of complaint. In 1208 the Pope's legate, Peter of Castelnau, was murdered under circumstances which gave Innocent III. good ground for believing that the heretical nobles of Southern France were responsible for the crime. Suspicion was directed against Raymond VI. of Toulouse, and a crusade was preached against him and his people. By making a humiliating submission, the Count of Toulouse saved himself from the impending blow; and the crusading army was turned against the viscounts Roger of Albi, Beziers, Carcassonne, and Rasez, whose lands were laid waste and confiscated by Simon de Montfort. Raymond thus gained time to renew the conflict, which was continued until 1218, when Simon was killed in the siege of Toulouse. Most of the conquests made by Montfort were recovered by Raymond and his son. In 1223 Philip II. died, and was succeeded by Louis VIII., who, acting under the instigation of the Pope, renewed the war against the Albigenses; but his short reign was terminated by his death in 1226.

After a three years' continuance of the struggle Raymond VII. was induced by the distresses to which his people were subjected to purchase exemption from further persecution and relief from the penalties of excommunication by the cession of a portion of his territories to the king of France and by adopting as his heir to the remainder the brother-in-law of Saint Louis. The Albigenses were thus deprived of the protection of the counts of Toulouse, and to fill up the cup of bitterness which the papal party now mixed for the heretics to drink, the Inquisition, with its Chamber of Horror, was organized to complete their extermination. Notwithstanding the fierce persecutions to which these early protestants were subjected, the name of the Albigensian sect survived to the close of the thirteenth century, and even after the beginning of the fourteenth, adherents of the party were still found, not only in Southern France, but also in secluded parts of Italy and Spain.

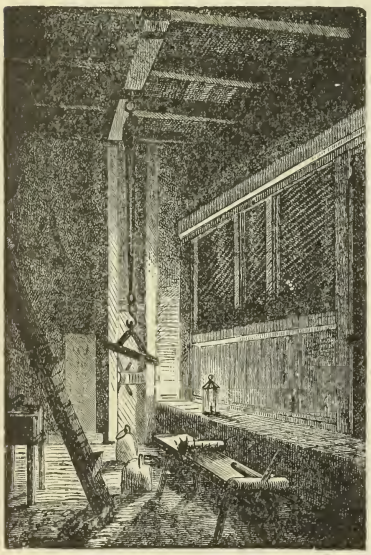


PERSECUTION OF THE ALBIGENSES.

The course of French history during the reign of Saint Louis has been incidentally sketched in the account already given of the Seventh Crusade. After an absence of six years the king returned to his own realm in July of 1254, and without laying aside the cross, began an administration which was

marked by much pomp and ceremony. He became a reformer of abuses in the kingdom, abrogating oppressive taxes, regulating the French municipalities, and framing new codes of laws. Until a late date the shade-tree was still standing in the Bois de Vincennes under which Saint Louis was wont to sit, hearing the complaints of the poor, and redressing the grievances of those who had suffered wrong.

As it respected integrity of character and sincerity of purpose, Louis IX. enjoyed the best reputation of all the monarchs of his age. So great was his fame for justice and probity, that neighboring princes, when involved in difficulties among themselves, were accustomed to refer the matters in dispute to the calm temper and impartial judgment of Louis.[1]



CHAMBER OF HORRORS—THE INQUISITION.

To this epoch belongs the establishment of a French dynasty in Sicily and Naples. The crown of this kingdom had fallen into the hands of the imperial family of Germany by the marriage of the daughter of the last Norman king of the Two Sicilies to the father of Frederick II., and when this Emperor died the kingdom was seized by his illegitimate son Manfred. Pope Urban IV., regarding the accession of this pseudo prince as a scandal to christendom, and offended at the additional power thus gained by the Ghibellines, set up Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX., as king of the Two Sicilies, and in 1265 the claims of the latter were successfully asserted by the defeat of Manfred in battle. Charles, however, was a man very different in character from his brother, the king of France. His life and reign were marked by personal ambition, selfishness, and cruelty. His name and that of his country became forever afterwards odious in the kingdom which he ruled. Two years after his accession to the throne the German princes, under the lead of Conradin, son of Conrad IV., and last representative of the House of Hohenstaufen, made an attempt to expel the French from Italy, but they were decisively defeated. Conradin was taken prisoner, carried to Naples, and put to death by order of King Charles. When about to be executed, he threw down his glove from the scaffold, appealing to the crowd to convey it to any of his kinsmen in token that whoever received it was invested with his rights, and charged with the duty of avenging his death.

In the year 1258 Philip, eldest son of Saint Louis, received in marriage the Princess Isabella, daughter of the king of Aragon. When this union was affected, it was agreed by the kings of France and Spain that the latter should surrender to the former the towns which he held in the south of France, and that Louis should give in exchange to the king of Aragon those districts of Spain which had been wrested by Charlemagne from the Mohammedans. About the same time the French monarch secured a large portion of the province of Champagne by purchase from Count Thibault, who in virtue of his mother's right had acceded to the throne of Navarre.

Having completed the disposition of affairs in his kingdom, Louis IX. at last found himself in readiness to renew the war with the Turks and Mamelukes. How the expedition with which he left France in the year 1270 was diverted into a campaign against Tunis, how the plague broke out in the French army encamped on that sun-scorched shore, how many thousands perished in anguish and despair, and how the aged king himself sickened and died, have already been recounted in a preceding chapter.[1]

Saint Louis left as his successor his son Philip by Margaret of Provence. This prince was with his father in the siege of Tunis, and

[1] One of Saint Louis's maxims may well be repeated: "It is good policy to be just; inasmuch as a reputation for probity and disinterestedness gives a prince more real authority and power than any accession of territories."

[1] See *ante*, p. 767.

like him was attacked with the plague. Recovering from the malady he embarked for home and reached Sicily in the latter part of the year 1270. Here his queen died, as did also King Thibault of Navarre. Many other distinguished personages connected with the expedition, including Alfonso—the king's uncle—and the Countess of Provence, fell victims to the pestilence. In the beginning of the following year Philip reached his own dominions, bearing with him in sad procession the dead bodies of his queen and his father.

The new sovereign ascended the throne with the title of PHILIP III., and received the surname of the Bold. In his policy, he imitated the methods of his father. Two years after his return to France, he took in marriage the Princess Maria of Brabant. In the mean time, he had raised to the position of chief minister of the kingdom a certain parvenu named Pierre de la Brosse, whose former vocation of barber had little recommended him for affairs of state. Not long after the king's marriage, De Brosse conceived a violent hatred for the queen, and resolved to compass her downfall. In 1276, Prince Louis, the king's eldest son, died, and the circumstances were such as to favor the false accusation that Queen Maria had caused his death by poison. For the time it appeared that her cause was hopeless, but a valiant brother came forward, and, after the manner of the age, challenged the accuser to a mortal combat. The cowardly De Brosse, thus confronted, durst not accept the gage of battle, and was himself executed on a gibbet.

Meanwhile, Charles of Anjou, now king of the Two Sicilies, was pursuing his schemes of personal ambition. Desiring to be regarded as the head of Eastern christendom, he purchased from the granddaughter of Guy of Lusignan the title of king of Jerusalem. The effect of this and other measures of self-aggrandizement was to raise up around Charles a host of enemies, who made a conspiracy to expel him from the kingdom. A general massacre of all the French in Naples and Sicily was planned to take place at the ringing of the vesper bell on the eve of Easter 1282.



SAINT LOUIS SITTING IN JUDGMENT.

With fatal precision, though the plot had been in preparation for the space of two years, the diabolical plot was carried out. The massacre began in Palermo, and spread from town to town, wherever the French had made settlements, until at least eight thousand innocent people had been butchered. This infamous outrage against human life is known in history as the Sicilian Vespers—a fitting prelude to the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

In the year 1285 Philip the Third found it necessary to undertake a war with Pedro, king of Aragon. That ruler had presumed to set at naught the settlement sanctioned by the Pope, by which the crown of Aragon was to be conferred on Prince Charles, son of the



DEATH OF THE LAST OF THE HOHENSTAUFEN.
Drawn by H. Plueddemann.

French king. The expedition undertaken by Philip was, however, attended with disaster. A fleet which had been sent out with provisions for his army was captured by the Aragonese commander, De Lauria, and the French troops were left without supplies. It now appeared, moreover, that the health of King Philip had been ruined in the African campaign of his father. Despairing of success, he attempted to withdraw into France, but, on arriving at Perpignan, he found it impossible to proceed, and died at that place in October of 1286. The crown descended, without dispute, to his son Philip, surnamed the Fair, who ascended the throne with the title of Philip IV. In him the mild temper and prudent behavior, which had of late characterized the kings of France, disappeared, and was replaced with violence, avarice, and excess, insomuch that a strange contrast was presented between the beauty of the royal person and the moral deformity of the king.

At the first, Philip IV. undertook to retrieve the misfortunes of the late expedition into Aragon. For a while, he was withheld from his purpose by the mediation of King Edward of England, whose daughter had been married to Alfonso of Aragon. But the good offices of the English monarch could not permanently avail to prevent hostilities. A war broke out between the French and Aragonese, and continued for some years without decisive results. At the last, the contest was ended by the independence of Aragon, which was attained without material loss of territory.



FUNERAL OF SAINT LOUIS.

It was during the continuance of this petty and disgraceful conflict that the news of the downfall of Acre, and the consequent subversion of the kingdom of Jerusalem, was carried to Western Europe. That event has already been fixed upon as a proper limit for the present Book. Here, then, on the high dividing ridge from which, looking to the past, we behold the wild and extravagant drama of the Crusades, and, turning to the future, discover the colossal form of Monarchy rising above the ruins of Mediæval Europe,—the free cities growing great and

powerful as the conservators of public liberty, and the convex rim of the New World seen afar in the watery horizon of the West,—we pause, intending to resume, in the beginning of the following Book, the annals of Germany, Italy, France, and England, from the close of the thirteenth century to the discovery of America by Columbus.



END OF VOLUME II.

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