X

THE CRUSADES IN THE EAST AND IN THE WEST

The First Crusade in the East (1096–1099). — During the Middle Ages there were two worlds, that of the Gospel and that of the Koran, the one in the north and the other in the south. At their points of contact in Spain and toward Constantinople they had long been engaged in conflict. At the end of the eleventh century the two religions grappled, and their encounter is called the crusades.

Mussulman Asia had passed from the power of the Arabs into that of the Seldjuk Turks. Under Alp Arslan (1063) and Malek Shah (1075) they had conquered Syria, Palestine and Asia Minor. At the death of Malek Shah his empire was divided into the sultanates of Syria, Persia and Kerman, to which must be added that of Roum in Asia Minor. The empire of Constantinople, the bulwark of Christendom, had wavered at this new invasion. For a time it seemed hardly able to resist its enemies, despite the vigor it manifested under several emperors of the Macedonian and Comnenan dynasties and the victories it had gained over the Persians, Bulgarians, Russians and Arabs.

At the very beginning of the century, Pope Sylvester II had suggested to the Western peoples the idea of delivering the Holy Sepulchre (1002). Pilgrimages became more frequent. Pilgrims by thousands visited the sacred places and on their return inflamed Europe with stories of outrages and cruelties endured from the Mussulmans. Gregory VII took up the project of Sylvester, and Urban II put it into execution. At Piacenza he convened a council where ambassadors appeared from Constantinople. At a second council at Clermont in Auvergne, an innumerable multitude assembled. Supporting his own majestic eloquence by the popular eloquence of Peter the Hermit, who had just returned from the Holy Land, Urban carried the immense host captive. With the cry "God wills it!" each man fastened to his garments the red cross, the emblem of the

crusade (1095). Peasants, villagers, old men, women and children set out, pell-mell, under the lead of Peter the Hermit and of a petty noble, Walter the Penniless. Almost the whole multitude perished in Hungary, and those who reached Constantinople fell under the cimeter in Asia Minor.

In the following year the crusade of the nobles started, — more prudent, better organized, more military. Four great armies, composed chiefly of Frenchmen, departed by three different routes. Those under Godfrey of Bouillon, Baldwin of Bourg and Baldwin of Flanders followed the track of Peter the Hermit. Those under Raymond, Count of Toulouse, passed through Lombardy and Slavonia. The rest, commanded by Robert Duke of Normandy, son of William I of England, Stephen of Blois and Hugh the Great of Vermandois went to Brindisi to join the Italian Normans, and thence crossed the Adriatic, Macedonia and Thrace. These 600,000 men were to meet at Constantinople.

With distrust the Emperor Alexis received into his capital guests so uncouth as the warriors of the West. As soon as possible he had them transported beyond the Bosphorus. They first laid siege to Nicæa at the entrance to Asia Minor, but allowed the Greeks to plant their banner on the walls when the city had been forced to surrender. Kilidj Arslan, the sultan of Roum, tried to arrest their march, but was vanquished at Dorylæum (1097). On entering arid Phrygia hunger and thirst decimated the invaders. Nearly all the horses perished. Bitter dissensions already divided the leaders. Nevertheless Baldwin who led the vanguard took possession of Edessa on the upper Euphrates, and the bulk of the army captured Tarsus and arrived before Antioch. The siege was long and the sufferings of the invaders were cruel. At last the city opened its gates to the intrigues of Bohemond, who caused himself to be appointed its prince; but the besiegers were besieged in their turn by 200,000 men who had been brought up by Kerboga, the lieutenant of the caliph of Bagdad. By a marvellous victory the Christians cut their way out and marched at last upon Jerusalem, which they entered on July 15, 1099, after a siege no less distressing than that of Antioch.

Godfrey was elected king, but would accept only the title of defender and baron of the Holy Sepulchre, "refusing to wear a crown of gold on the spot where the King of kings had worn a crown of thorns." The conquest was assured by the victory of Ascalon over an Egyptian army which had come to recapture Jerusalem.

The majority of the crusaders returned home. The little kingdom of Jerusalem organized for defence and gave itself a constitution in accordance with feudal principles, which were thus transported ready made into Asia. Godfrey of Bouillon caused the Assizes of Jerusalem to be drawn up, a code which gives a complete picture of the feudal system. There were established as fiefs the principalities of Edessa and Antioch, afterward increased by the county of Tripoli and the marquisate of Tyre, and the lordships of Nablous, Jaffa, Ramleh and Tiberias. The country was subjected to three judicial authorities: the court of the king, of the viscount of Jerusalem, and the Syrian tribunal for natives. The defence of the state was committed to two great military institutions: the Order of the Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem, founded by Gérard de Martigues in 1100, and that of the Templars, founded in 1148 by Hugues de Payens. Through the influence of these institutions the kingdom of Jerusalem continued its conquests under the first two successors of Godfrey, Baldwin I (1100–1118) and Baldwin II (1118–1131). Cæsarea, Ptolemaïs, Byblos, Beyrout, Sidon and Tyre were captured. But after these two reigns discord brought about decline and Noureddin, sultan of Syria, seized Edessa whose inhabitants he put to the sword (1144).

Second and Third Crusades (1147–1189). — This bloody disaster induced Europe to renew the crusade. Saint Bernard roused Christendom by his eloquent appeals. In the great assembly of Vézelay Louis VII, who wished to expiate the death of 1300 persons burned by him in the church of Vitry, his wife, Eleanor of Guyenne and a throng of great vassals and barons assumed the cross. The emperor of Germany, Conrad III, was the first to set out. He reached the heart of Asia Minor, but losing his whole army in the defiles of the Taurus returned almost alone to Constantinople, where Louis VII had just arrived. The latter was no more fortunate, though following the coast-line so as to avoid the dangerous solitudes of the interior. In Cilicia he abandoned the mass of pilgrims, who fell under the arrows of the Turks, and with

his nobles embarked on Greek ships, arrived at Antioch, and then at Damascus which the crusaders besieged in vain. He brought back from this expedition only his fatal divorce.

The capture of Jerusalem (1187) by Saladin, who had united Egypt and Syria under his sceptre, provoked the third crusade. The Pope imposed on all lands, including even those which belonged to the Church, a tax called Saladin's tithe. The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, Philip Augustus of France and Richard Cœur de Lion of England, the three most powerful sovereigns of Europe, set out with large armies (1189). Barbarossa reached Asia by way of Hungary and Constantinople and had arrived in Cilicia, when he was drowned in the Selef. Nearly the whole of his army was destroyed. Philip and Richard made a more prosperous journey by a new route, the sea. The former embarked at Genoa, the latter at Marseilles. They put into port in Sicily and began to quarrel. Richard halted again at Cyprus to depose a usurper, Isaac Comnenus, and rejoined Philip under the walls of Saint Jean d'Acre, which the crusaders besieged. They wasted there more than two years, wholly engrossed in feats of chivalry against the Saracens and in quarrels with each other. Philip found these discords a pretext to return to France. Richard, who remained in Palestine, was unable to recapture Jerusalem. On his way back a tempest wrecked his ship on the Dalmatian coast. He wished to cross Germany and regain England overland. Leopold, Duke of Austria, whose banner he had caused to be contemptuously cast into the trenches of Saint Jean d'Acre, kept him in prison until he paid an enormous ransom.

Fourth Crusade (1202). **Latin Empire of Constantinople** (1204–1261). — Innocent III could not resign himself to leaving Jerusalem in the hands of the infidels. He caused a fourth crusade to be preached by Foulques, curé of Neuilly, who persuaded many nobles of Flanders and Champagne to assume the cross. Baldwin IX, Count of Flanders, and Boniface II, Marquis of Montferrat, were the leaders. The crusaders sent envoys to Venice to ask for ships. Of this embassy Geoffroy de Villehardouin, the historian of that crusade, was a member. Venice first secured payment in hard cash, and then exacted of the crusaders that they should capture for her the stronghold of Zara, which belonged to the king of Hungary. Already once diverted from its religious purpose, the crusade was again turned aside by Alexis, the son of a deposed Greek emperor, who offered them immense rewards if they would reinstate his father. They placed him and his father for a time upon the throne. The great capital was then a prey to anarchy. Forgetting Jerusalem, the original object of their march, they seized Constantinople for themselves and parcelled out the whole empire as booty. Baldwin was appointed emperor. The Venetians, seizing one quarter of Constantinople, most of the islands of the Archipelago and the best harbors, dubbed themselves "lords of a quarter and half a quarter" of the Greek Empire. The Marquis of Montferrat became king of Thessalonica. The Asiatic provinces were given to the Count of Blois. A lord of Corinth, a duke of Athens and a prince of Achaia were created. Some Greek princes of the Comnenan family retained a few fragments of the empire, such as the principalities of Trebizond, Napoli of Argolis, Epirus and Nicæa. The Latin Empire of Constantinople lasted fifty-seven years, and was then overthrown by the Greeks, and the Latins expelled.

Last Crusades (1229–1270). **Saint Louis**. — Jerusalem had not been delivered. The barons of the Holy Land constantly implored the aid of Christendom. Andrew II of Hungary led a fifth but fruitless crusade against Egypt. The sixth was commanded by Frederick II, who took advantage of the terror with which the approach of Tartar hordes inspired Malek Kamel, and obtained from him without combat a truce for ten years, together with the restitution of the Holy City, Bethlehem, Nazareth and Sidon. He even crowned himself king of Jerusalem (1229). Hardly had he taken his departure when the Turkomans, fleeing before the Mongols of Genghis Khan, hurled themselves upon Syria, at Gaza cut in pieces an army of crusaders and seized the Holy City. At this news Pope Innocent IV tried to arouse Europe and launch it against the infidels. But the crusading spirit, waxing weaker day by day, found no echo save in the soul of Saint Louis, king of France. During an illness he made a vow to go and deliver Jerusalem. Despite the entreaties of his whole court and even of his mother, the devout Blanche of Castile, he embarked at Aigues Mortes with a powerful army (1248). He wintered at Cyprus. The

crusaders had comprehended that the keys of Jerusalem were in Cairo. When spring came they set sail for Egypt and mastered Damietta. But their sluggishness ruined everything. Insubordination burst out in the army. Debauches produced epidemics. Delayed a month at the canal of Aschmoum, after crossing it they suffered the disaster of Mansourah through the imprudence of Robert of Artois. During the retreat they were decimated by the pest and harassed by the Mussulmans who captured their king, Saint Louis. He paid a million gold besants as ransom, then crossed over to Palestine and remained there three years, employing his influence in maintaining harmony and his resources in fortifying the cities.

He had managed this great expedition very badly. Sixteen years later he attempted another. In 1270 his brother Charles of Anjou, king of the Two Sicilies, persuaded him that the Tunisian Mussulmans must be attacked, whose threats made him anxious as to the fate of the Sicilian kingdom. Under the walls of Tunis the Christians encountered famine and pestilence from which Saint Louis died. The princes who had accompanied him were paid to withdraw, and Charles of Anjou made a treaty advantageous to his Sicilian subjects. This crusade was the last.

Results of the Crusades in the East. — Those great expeditions, in which France played the principal part, devoured uncounted multitudes and failed in their object. The Holy Land remained in the hands of the infidels. Still Europe and Asia were brought closer together. In Europe itself, the Christian nations formed relations, and in each country all classes of the population became somewhat united. The crusades developed commerce and enlarged the horizon of thought. They opened the East to Christian travellers and to the merchants of Marseilles, Barcelona, Pisa, Genoa and Venice. To manufactures they revealed new processes and to the soil new plants such as the mulberry, maize and sugar-cane. Feudalism was shaken by the gaps made in its ranks, and by the forced sale of lands to which many crusaders had recourse to obtain the money requisite for the journey. The communal movement derived greater strength, and the enfranchisement of the serfs received a broader interpretation. Finally, the crusades gave birth to the Knights Templars and to the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem who defended the Holy Land, as well as to the Knights of the Teutonic Order, who soon quitted the East to subdue and convert the pagans on the shores of the Baltic. Heraldry as a means of distinguishing individuals and companies was a product of the crusades.

The new religious orders which arose were an effect of the religious movement of which the crusades were themselves the consequence, and the mendicant friars are to be placed beside the soldier monks. The Franciscans who gave rise to the Recollets, the Cordeliers, and the Capucins, date from 1215; the Dominicans, or Jacobins, from 1216. Removed from the control of the bishops, they were the army of the Holy See. Possessing nothing, living on alms, they roamed the world over to carry the Gospel wherever a too wealthy clergy no longer carried it, amid the poor, along the highways, at the cross-roads and in the public squares. The bishops disputed the right of the Pope to grant to the mendicant friars the privilege of preaching and filling the functions of parish priests. To them Saint Thomas Aquinas replied: "If a bishop can delegate his powers in his diocese, the Pope has the right to do the same in Christendom." It will be seen that ultramontanism is not a thing of yesterday. It is not Christian in its inception, for the Gospel knows it not; but it is the fundamental principle and the necessary logic of Roman Catholicism.

Crusades of the West. — In the East the Crusades failed. In the West they succeeded; for they founded the two great states of Prussia and Spain and accomplished the political unity of France.

In the interval between the first and second crusades, the burghers of Bremen and Lubeck founded in the Holy Land a hospital under the charge of Germans for the benefit of their fellow-countrymen. Everything at Jerusalem was taking on a religious and military form. The attendants of this hospital were transformed into an armed corporation, called the Teutonic Order, which speedily acquired great possessions, so that its chief was raised by Frederick II to the rank of prince of the empire. To this order a regent of Poland in 1230 intrusted the task of conquering and converting the Borussi or Prussians between the Niemen and the Vistula. They were successful in this undertaking and built the fortresses of Königsburg and Marienburg to overawe the defeated tribe. The Knights of

Christ, or Brothers of the Sword, subjugated the neighboring regions at the same time. When they united with the Teutonic Order, Prussia, Esthonia, Livonia and Courland, hitherto barbarous and pagan, were attached to the European community. Until the fifteenth century the Order exercised a preponderating power in the north. In the sixteenth century its Grand Master secularized this ecclesiastical principality, which then fell to the Electors of Brandenburg.

The crusade against the heathen of the Baltic caused civilization to germinate in a savage country. The crusade which Simon de Montfort directed against the Albigenses stifled civilization in a rich and prosperous region.

The population of southern France was the mixed offspring of different races. There religious opinions had sprung up which differed greatly from the prevailing faith. The people were called Albigenses from their capital, Albi. Innocent III resolved to stamp out this nest of heresy. To Raymond VI, Count of Toulouse, he sent the monk Pierre de Castelnau as a papal legate to demand the expulsion of the heretics, but he obtained no satisfaction. Raymond was then excommunicated (1207), whereupon he employed threats. One of his knights assassinated the legate at a ford of the Rhone. The monks of Citeaux at once preached a crusade of extermination. The same indulgences were promised as for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. As the perils were less and the profit more sure, men rushed against the Albigenses in crowds. Among their assailants were the Duke of Burgundy, the Counts of Nevers, Auxerre and Geneva, the bishops of Reims, Sens, Rouen and Autun and many other dignitaries. Simon de Montfort, a petty noble from the vicinity of Paris, ambitious, fanatical and cruel, was the chief commander. The war was merciless. At Béziers 30,000 persons were butchered and everywhere else in proportion. Raymond VI was defeated at Castelnaudary and Pedro II, king of Aragon, was slain at the battle of Muret (1213). The Council of the Lateran bestowed the fiefs of the Count of Toulouse upon Simon de Montfort. Southern France was crushed by the French of the north. The brilliant civilization of those provinces was smothered by rude hands. Like a funereal and ever-menacing spectre, the tribunal of the Inquisition established itself on the blood-stained ruins, a tribunal that has slain so

many human beings without succeeding in destroying liberty of thought.

Louis, the son of Philip Augustus, came finally to take part in this crusade. In their misery these people of Languedoc had bethought themselves of the king of France. Montpellier surrendered to him. When Simon de Montfort was slain at the siege of Toulouse, his son ceded to Louis IX (1229) the provinces which the Pope had given his father, but which he could not retain amid the universal execration of his subjects. Thus neither Montfort nor his race profited from this great iniquity. The entire political benefit of the crusade accrued to the house of France, which had at first remained a stranger to it.

When Charles Martel and Pepin the Short expelled the Arabs from France, they were satisfied with driving them over the Pyrenees into the Iberian peninsula. There Mussulmans and Christians found themselves constantly facing each other. Thus the history of Spain through the Middle Ages is that of a crusade six centuries long. After the battle of Xeres in 711, Pelayo and his comrades took refuge in the Asturias, behind the Cantabrian Pyrenees, where Gihon was their first capital. Oviedo became their capital in 760, when they had advanced a step toward the south. Still later it was Leon whose name the kingdom appropriated. Charlemagne protected them. From the Marches, which he founded north of the Ebro, emerged the Christian states of Navarre and Barcelona, between which the lords of Aragon and the counts of Castile founded fiefs which were to become mighty kingdoms. So along the north of Spain there was a series of Christian states, buttressed upon the mountains like fortresses, yet advancing in battle array toward the south. At the end of the ninth century Alphonso the Great, king of Oviedo, had already attained and passed the Douro. In the tenth century the caliphate of Cordova showed fresh vigor. The Christians fell back in turn before the victorious sword of Abderrahman III, who defeated them at Simancas. Likewise they were worsted by the famous Almanzor, who wrested from them all the places on the banks of the Ebro and Douro including Leon itself. But when this victor of fifty battles had himself suffered defeat at Calatanazor (998), the power of the caliphate fell with him. In the eleventh century the caliphate of Cordova was broken and the Christians drew closer together. San-

cho III, king of Navarre, about 1000, acquired Castile by marriage and gave it together with the title of king to his second son, Ferdinand, who married a daughter of the king of Leon (1035). In the same manner he erected the county of Jacca or Aragon into a kingdom for his third son, Ramiro II, while the eldest, Garcias, inherited Navarre.

Thus four Christian kingdoms were founded and united by family alliances. Three, Navarre, Castile and Aragon, belonged to the sons of Sancho. The fourth, Leon, remained separate, but the male line of the descendants of Pelayo becoming extinct, the Council of the Asturias gave the crown to Ferdinand, thereby uniting Leon and Castile (1037). Internal affairs caused the Spaniards to forget for a time their struggle against the Moors, but when the holy war became popular in Europe Alphonso VI began again to carry forward the cross. In 1085 he seized Toledo, which once more became the capital and metropolis as it had been under the Visigoths. Henceforth the Christians, who had set out from the Asturias, were established in the heart of the peninsula. Five years later Henry of Burgundy, great grandson of Robert king of France, who had distinguished himself at the taking of Toledo, took possession of Oporto at the mouth of the Douro, which was erected for him into a county of Portugal by Alphonso. Almost simultaneously the famous Cid Rodrigo de Rivar, the hero of Spanish romance, advancing from victory to victory along the Mediterranean, seized Valencia (1094). At last in 1118 Alphonso I, king of Aragon, won a capital as king of Castile by mastering Saragossa.

The Arabs, enervated, divided and consequently vanquished, called successively to their aid two hordes of African Moors. These were the Almoravides and Almohades, sectaries who claimed to simplify the religion of Mohammed. The former, summoned in 1086 by Aben Abed king of Seville, arrived under the leadership of their chief Yusuf, the founder of Morocco (1069), cut in pieces the Christian army at Zalaca and repaid themselves for this service at the expense of those who had called them thither. They even recaptured Valencia on the death of the Cid (1099), took possession of the Balearic Isles and in 1108 at Ucles won over Alphonso VI a battle as sanguinary as that of Zalaca. There however their successes ended. Toledo repulsed them many times. Alphonso, son of Henry of

Burgundy, who assumed before the combat the title of king of Portugal, won a complete victory over them at Iurique (1139), which rendered him master of the banks of the Tagus and of several places beyond that river.

The Almohades did not come from Morocco until the middle of the following century. When they made their appearance in 1210, 400,000 strong, all Europe took alarm. Pope Innocent III caused a crusade to be preached for the succor of the Spanish Christians. The Spanish kings formed a coalition and destroyed their enemies at the decisive battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, which ended the great invasions from Africa. This achievement had been largely aided by the Spanish military Orders of Alcantara, Calatrava and Saint James of Castile, and by the Portuguese Order of Evora.

The domination of the Almohades had finally ended in bloody anarchy. Cordova, Seville, Murcia and many other places fell into the power of the king of Castile. Meanwhile Jayme I, the Conqueror, king of Aragon, subjugated the kingdom of Valencia and the Balearic Islands (1244), and Portugal, regaining the province of Algarve in 1270, assumed its definite territorial form. At the close of the thirteenth century the Moors possessed only the little kingdom of Granada, which was completely surrounded by the sea and by the possessions of the king of Castile. But in this contracted space, recruited by their coreligionists whom the Christians expelled from the conquered cities, they maintained themselves with a vigor which deferred their ruin for two centuries. Occupied with foreign affairs, the Spaniards suspended the holy war until 1492.

The crusade of Jerusalem failed though it contributed general results to the civilization of the Middle Ages. The crusade of Spain, without consequence so far as the social state of Europe was then concerned, changed the face of that peninsula and reacted in the sixteenth century upon modern Europe. It wrested the country from the Moors to give it to the Christians. The little kingdom of Portugal supposed that it was pursuing the crusade beyond the seas when it discovered the Cape of Good Hope. In that war of eight centuries' duration, the kings of Castile and Aragon developed an ambition which impelled them as well as their subjects to many enterprises. Their military habits were to make them the mercenaries of Charles V and Philip

II, rather than the peaceful and active heirs of the manufactures, the commerce and the brilliant civilization of the Arabs.

Why did these two crusades result so differently? Simply because of distance. Palestine adjoined the land of Mecca. Spain was in sight of Rome. Jerusalem, at the extreme limit of the Catholic world, was bound to remain in the hands of the Mussulmans, just as Toledo, the last stage of Islam in the West, was bound to fall into the hands of the Christians. Geography explains much in history.

XI

SOCIETY IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

Progress in the Cities. — Since the fall of the Carlovingian empire three facts have been noted: the establishment of feudalism, the struggle between the Pope and the emperor for the control of Italy and the domination of the world, and lastly, the crusades. A fourth fact, resulting from the other three, in its turn had serious consequences. This was the reconstitution of the class of freemen. Let us indicate the character of this fact before returning to the special study of the states.

As early as 987 the villeins of Normandy had risen. But feudalism was still too strong and they were crushed. Although the nobles retained the control of the country districts, the villeins in the cities became bold and audacious behind their walls, and because of their numbers. In 1067 the city of Mans took arms against its lord. This was the beginning of that communal movement, which from the eleventh to the fourteenth century showed itself throughout Europe. Like Mans, cities in northern France and the Netherlands extorted from their civil or religious lords communal charters which assured to the inhabitants guarantees for the security of person and property, and jurisdiction to the municipal magistrates. These privileges, obtained generally by insurrection in the communes, were gained in the royal cities by concessions from the king. South of the Loire many cities retained or revived the organization which they had possessed under the Roman Empire. By these different causes there was formed, little by little, under the shelter of these privileges and of the security they bestowed, a burgher class which grew rich through manufactures and commerce. It formed powerful corporations, filled the universities and acquired learning, especially of the laws, at the same time as wealth. Its merchants will be called by Saint Louis into his council.

Its jurists will guide the French kings in their struggle against feudalism. Its burgesses will enter the States General of Philip the Fair, and will then form an order in the kingdom as the Third Estate.

In England the cities sent deputies to the parliament of 1264. In the parliament of 1295, 120 cities and boroughs were represented. Italy early had her republics. The Lombard League, when victorious over Frederick Barbarossa, imposed on him the Treaty of Constance (1183), which legalized their encroachments. North of the Alps the emperor, with a view to weakening feudalism, made the cities depend directly upon himself. For the sake of mutual protection they formed unions among themselves, the most famous of which was the great commercial Hanseatic League whose banner waved from London to Novgorod.

This progress in the city population brought about similar progress in the rural population. As early as the twelfth century serfs were admitted as witnesses in courts of justice, and the Popes had demanded their emancipation. Thus enfranchisements became common, for the lords began to understand that they would be the gainers in having upon their lands industrious freemen, rather than serfs "who neglect their work and say they are working for others."

The burghers, villeins and serfs found a powerful auxiliary in Roman law, the study of which the kings encouraged as favorable to their authority. Based upon natural equity and common advantage, it permitted the legists to labor in a thousand ways for the overthrow of personal and territorial servitude, the two forms of bondage in the Middle Ages. In the thirteenth century began that sullen conflict between rational rights and feudal rights, which in France was destined to end only in the French Revolution of 1789.

Intellectual Progress. — With more order in the state, more labor in the cities, more ease in families, other and intellectual wants arose, schools were multiplied, new branches of study introduced and national literatures begun.

The twelfth century had resounded with the mighty rival voices of the Breton philosopher Abelard, who championed a certain degree of liberty of thought, and of Saint Bernard, the apostle of dogmatic authority. The thousands of scholars who thronged around Abelard were the beginning of the University of Paris. In 1200 the

Studium, called later the University of Paris, was endowed by Philip Augustus with its first privileges, one of which made it accountable only to the ecclesiastical tribunals. It served as a model for Montpellier, Orleans, Oxford, Cambridge, Salamanca and many other famous seats. It soon became a centre of scholastic learning, an arena of ideas. Its opinion was authoritative in the gravest controversies, and the most eminent men issued from its ranks. The two recently created mendicant orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans, reckoned among their members men of genius like Saint Thomas Aquinas who in his *Summa Theologiæ* undertook to record all that is known touching the relations of God and man, and Saint Bonaventura, the Seraphic Doctor. We must also mention the German Albert the Great; the Englishman Roger Bacon, a worthy predecessor of the other Bacon; the Scotchman Duns Scotus; and, lastly, the encyclopedist of that century, the author of the *Speculum Majus*, Vincent de Beauvais.

But with the exception of Bacon, who discovered or in his writings hinted at the composition of gunpowder, at the magnifying-glass and the air-pump, they all lived upon the remnants of ancient learning and made no additions thereto. Thus old and new errors were popular. Men believed in astrology, or the influence of the stars upon human life, and in alchemy, which caused them to seek the philosopher's stone or the means of converting other metals into gold. Sorcerers abounded.

National Literatures. — In proportion as the individuality of peoples took on shape, national literatures developed. The epic, or heroic ballad, indeed was declining. Martin of Troyes subsequent to 1160 spun out the legend of Arthur into a tedious, eight-syllabled poem, and Guillaume de Lorris, who died in 1260, wrote the *Romance of the Rose*, full of attenuated ideas and cold allegories. French prose had its birth with Geoffroy de Villehardouin whose quaint book, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, is still read, and with Joinville who after the seventh crusade composed his *Memoirs* in more finished style, thereby affording a foretaste of Froissart. The literature of southern France after furnishing brilliant troubadours had perished, drowned in the blood of the Albigenses.

German literature shone under the Hohenstaufens, but mostly as a reflection from the French. Wolfram von

Eschenbach in Suabia imitated the epic songs of the Carlovingian or Arthurian cycles. The *Nibelungenlied*, however, reveals its distinctively German origin, but the meistersingers and minnesingers, whose theme was love, drew their inspiration from Provençal poetry. German prose is hardly visible in a few rare moments of the thirteenth century. In Italy Dante was born in 1265. Spain had her war-songs in the romances of Bernardo del Carpio, the children of Lara, and the Cid. England was still too much engrossed with welding into a single idiom the Saxon-German and the Norman-French to produce any marked literary works. Her first great poet, Chaucer, belongs to the following age.

Architecture, the characteristic art of the Middle Ages, attained its perfection in the thirteenth century. Then it was simple, severe, grand, while in the following century it was to become florid and flamboyant. In France it produced Notre Dame de Paris, Notre Dame de Chartres, the Sainte Chapelle, the cathedrals of Amiens, Reims, Strasburg, Bourges, Sens, Coutances and many more. Corporations of lay architects were formed. Lanfranc and Guillaume de Sens labored together in the construction of Canterbury cathedral. Pierre de Bonneuil went to Sweden to build the cathedral of Upsala (1258). Maître Jean in the same century erected the cathedral of Utrecht and French artisans worked on that of Milan.

The sculpture is heavy, but the stained glass windows of the churches were magnificent, and the miniature-painters embellished the missals with delicate masterpieces.

XII

FORMATION OF THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE

(987–1328)

First Capetians (987–1108). — While feudal Europe was thronging the roads which led to Jerusalem, the great modern nations were assuming their outlines. Italy separated from Germany. France sought to separate herself from England, and Spain endeavored to rid herself of the Moors. The Capetian royal house was weak in the beginning, though it undertook the first internal organization of France. Hugh Capet spent his reign of nine years (987–996) in battling against the last representative of the Carlovingian family, and in seeking recognition in the south, wherein he did not succeed. His son Robert, crowned during his father's life so as to assure his succession, reigned piously although excommunicated for having married Bertha, his relative. He was wise enough to refuse the offered crown of Italy, but inherited the duchy of Burgundy. Henry I and Philip I lived in obscurity. The latter took no part in the first crusade or in the conquest of England by his Norman vassals. In fact from the ninth to the twelfth century French royalty existed only in name, because the public power which should have rested in its hands had become local power exercised by all the great proprietors. This revolution, which shattered the unity of the country for three centuries, was to be followed by another which would strive to unite the scattered fragments of French society and deprive the lords of the rights they had usurped. This revolution was to render the king the sole judge, sole administrator and sole legislator of the country. It began with Philip Augustus and Saint Louis, who restored a central government. It was fully accomplished only under Louis XIV, because the Hundred Years' War (1338–1453) and the religious wars of the sixteenth century interrupted this great internal work.