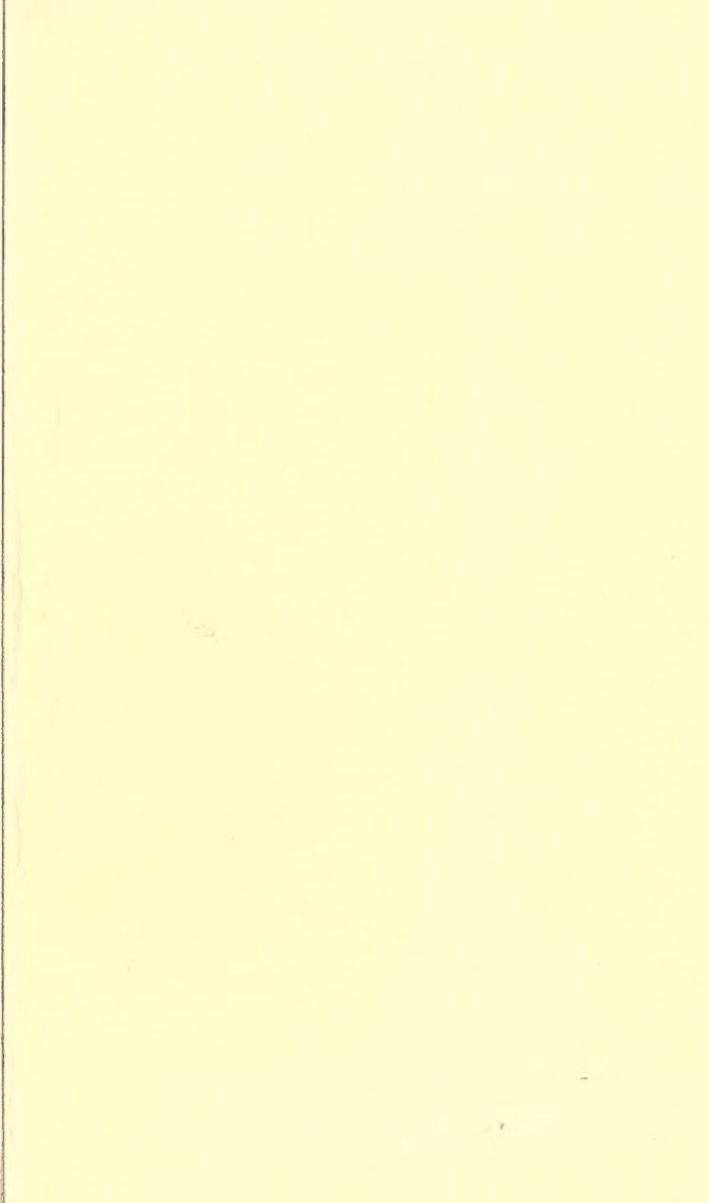


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ANNALS

OF THE

J. H. Woodson

EMPIRE,

From the REIGN

OF

CHARLEMAGNE.

By the AUTHOR

OF

THE AGE OF LEWIS XIV.

Regum, Pontificum, Populorum continet ætus.

In Two VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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1710 52

Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand,
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T O
Her Serene Highness
THE DUCHESS OF S— G—.

M A D A M,

IT was in obedience to the orders of your Serene Highness, that I undertook the abridgement of the History of the Empire, which would have had much more merit, had my stay at your court been of long duration; as I should have been better qualified to describe virtue, especially that human and social virtue, which derives additional lustre from wit and beauty; tho' this indeed has but small influence over history. Ambition disguised under the specious name of interest of states, which, however, it serves only to involve in misfortune, and those ferocious passions, by which politics have been almost always conducted, leave very little room for the mild virtues that seek to dwell with tranquillity and peace. The world abounds with troubles and with crimes, and history is no other than a picture of the outrages and distress of mankind. It is of consequence to all the nations of Europe, to make themselves acquainted with the revolutions of the Empire. The histories of France, England, Spain and Poland are confined within their own boundaries: but the Empire is a more extensive theatre. Her prerogatives, her pretensions and rights over Rome and Italy, the number of kings and sovereigns she hath made, the dignities she hath conferred in other states, and her almost continual assemblies of so many Princes, form an august scene, even in the most unpolished ages. But the detail of those particulars is immense; and men of business

have too little time to peruse that prodigious assemblage of incidents which throng upon one another, and those collections of laws which have been rendered contradictory by intended explanation.

The justness of your judgement prompted you to desire the perusal of annals, which should be equally entertaining and concise, so as to give a general idea of the Empire, in a language which is understood by all nations, and embellished by the graces of your pronounciation; and the orders of your Serene Highness might have, doubtless, been obeyed with more success, but not with more zeal and veneration.

A Letter from Mr. de V— to Mr. de — Professour of History.

S I R,

YOU must have perceived that the pretended universal history printed at the Hague, and said to be carried down to Charles V. tho' it contains less than the title promises, by more than a whole century, was not originally intended to see the light. It is no other than a crude collection made in the course of old studies, in which I was engaged about fifteen years ago, with a person of a most respectable character, far transcending her sex and the age in which she lived, whose understanding comprehended all sorts of erudition, and whose understanding was reinforced by taste, without which that erudition would have been insipid and scarce intitled to the name of merit.

I prepared that ground work solely for her use and my own, as may be plainly seen by considering the beginning: It is an account to which I freely call myself, of what I had been reading: the best method of learning and acquiring distinct Ideas: for a bare
reading

reading alone leaves little more than a confused picture in the memory.

My principal aim was to trace the revolutions of the human understanding in those of governments.

I endeavoured to discover in what manner so many bad men conducted by worse Princes have notwithstanding at the long run established Societies, in which the arts and sciences and even the virtues have been cultivated.

I attempted to find the paths of commerce that privately repairs the ruins which savage conquerors leave behind them; and I studied to know from the price of provisions the riches or poverty of a people; above all things, I examined in what manner the arts revived and supported themselves in the midst of such desolation.

The character of nations is strongly marked by poetry and eloquence. I translated passages from some of ancient oriental poets; and still remember one from the Persian Sadi, upon the power of the supreme Being, in which we see the same genius that inspired the Arabian, Hebrew and all oriental writers: that is, more imagination than propriety; more of the *fustian* than the sublime: their diction is figurative; but their figures are often very ill arranged, their fallies of imagination are hitherto vague and superficial; and they are utterly ignorant of the art of transition. This is the passage from *Sadi* in blank verse.

*He knows distinctly that which never was,
His ear is filled with what was never heard,
A monarch he, that needs no kneeling slave;
A judge, that executes no written law,
With his omniscience like a graver's tool
He traced our features in each mother's womb.
From morn to eve he leads the sun along,
With Rubies sows the mountain's mighty mass:
He takes two drops of water; one starts up*

*A perfect man, the other shines a pearl.
 He spoke the word and Being sprung from nought,
 His word the universe will quickly melt
 Into th' immensity of space and void ;
 His word will raise the universe again,
 From depths of nothing to the plains of Being.*

Sadi was a native of *Baëtriana*, and cotemporary with *Dante* who was born in *Florence*, in the year 1265, and whose verses did honour to *Italy*, even when there was not one good prose author among all our modern nations. This genius happened to rise at a time when the quarrels between the Empire and the church had left rankling wounds in different states, as well as in the minds of men. He was a *Ghibeline*, consequently persecuted by the *Guelphs*; therefore we must not be surpris'd to find him venting his chagrin in his poem to this effect.

*Two suns of old, in one united Blaze
 Diffused their genial warmth and chearing rays,
 That banished darkness and display'd the road,
 Which leads bewilder'd man to truth and God.
 The Imperial Eagle's rights were plainly shewn,
 And the Lamb's sep'rate privileges known.
 But, now no more that light congenial shines ;
 One dim'd with vapours from his orb declines :
 With dusky flame and heat unhallowed teems,
 Ambitious to eclipse the other's beams,
 War, blood, contention and confusion reign,
 The lamb now roars, a lion on the plain,
 Proud in his purple, robes usurp'd appears,
 And with the shepherd's crook, the Sov'reign's
 Sceptre wears.*

I translated above twenty pretty long passages from *Dante*, *Petrarch* and *Ariosto*, and with a view to compare the genius of nation, with that of her imitators, I culled some parallel verses from *Spencer*, of which

I endeavoured to preserve the sense and spirit with the utmost exactness. Thus I pursued the arts in their carrier.

Without engaging in the vast labyrinth of philosophical absurdities, which have been so long honoured with the name of science, I only took notice of the most palpable errors which had been mistaken for the most incontestible truths, and confining myself intirely to the useful arts, I still kept in view the history of all the discoveries which have been made from Geber the Arabian, who invented Algebra to the very last miracles of our own time.

This part of the history was, doubtless, the favourite of my attention, and the revolutions of states were no more than accessory to those of the arts and sciences. This whole work which had cost me so much trouble, having been stolen from me some years ago, I was the more chagrined as I found myself absolutely incapable of beginning again such a tedious and toilsome task.

That part which was purely historical, remained in my hands an undigested mass: it is brought down to the reign of Philip the II. and ought to be continued to the age of Lewis XIV.

This series of history disincumbered of all the details which commonly obscure the plan, as well as of all those minute circumstances of war, so interesting at the time, but so tedious afterwards, together with the smaller occurrences which never fail to injure the great events, ought to compose a vast picture, which by striking the imagination might assist the memory.

Several persons expressed a desire of having the manuscript imperfect as it was, and indeed there are above thirty copies of it, which I gave the more willingly, because finding myself unable to work longer on the subject, I considered them as so many materials put into the hands of those who might finish the performance.

When Mr. de la Bruiere had the privilege of the *French Mercury* about the year 1747. he begged of me some sheets which appeared in his journal, and were afterwards collected in the year 1751: for, they make collections of every thing. What relates to the Croisades, which was but a part of the work, they inserted in this collection as a detached piece, and the whole was printed very uncorrectly under the preposterous title of a *plan of the history of the human understanding*. This pretended plan of the history of the human understanding contains no more than some historical chapters relating to the ninth and tenth centuries.

A bookseller at the Hague having found a more compleat manuscript, has printed it under the title of *an abridgement of the universal history from the time of Charles the great, to the reign of Charles V.* although it goes not so far as *Lewis XI.* King of France: probably he had no more copy, or was resolved to suspend the publication of his third volume, until the two first should be sold off.

He says, he bought the manuscript of a man who lives at Brussels: and indeed I was informed, that a domestic belonging to his Highness Prince Charles of Lorrain, had been long in possession of a copy which fell into his hands by a very remarkable accident: for it was taken in a box among the equipage of a certain Prince, which was pillaged by the Hussars in a battle fought in Bohemia. This work being therefore got by the right of war, is a lawful prize: but one would imagine the same Hussars had directed the printing; for it is strangely disfigured, and the most interesting chapters are totally wanting. Almost all the dates are false, and the proper names for the most part disguised. There are many expressions which convey no Idea: and a number that convey such as are either ridiculous, or indecent. The transitions, the connexions are misplaced. I am often made to say that which is quite contrary to what I have said; and I cannot conceive, how any body should

should read that work as it hath been presented to the public. I am very glad that the bookseller has found his account in the sale of it; but if he had consulted me on this subject, I would have enabled him to oblige the world with a work that would not have been so defective, and seeing it was impossible to stop the impression, I would have taken all imaginable pains to arrange that uninformed mass, which in its present condition does not deserve the notice of any sensible man.

As I did not believe that any bookseller would have run the risque of publishing such an imperfect work, I frankly own I have made use of some of the materials to build a more regular and solid edifice. One of the most respectable Princesses of Germany, to whom I could refuse nothing, having done me the honour to desire I would write the Annals of the Empire, I have made no scruple to insert a small number of pages from that pretended Universal History, in the work which she commanded me to compose.

While I was buried in giving her Serene Highness this proof of my obedience, and the Annals of the Empire were almost already printed off, I understood that a certain German who was last year at Paris, had employed his talents on the same subject, and that his work was ready to appear. Had I known the circumstance sooner, I should certainly have put a stop to the impression of mine: for I know he is more equal than me to such an enterprize, and I am very far from pretending to enter the lists with such a rival; but the bookseller to whom I have made a present of my manuscript, has taken too much pains in serving me, to be deprived of the fruits of his labour: besides, the taste and manner in which I have wrote these Annals of the Empire, being altogether different from the method observed by that learned gentleman, whom I have had the honour to mention, perhaps the understanding reader may not be sorry to see *the same truths* displayed in different lights.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

THese short Annals contain all the principal events since the renewal of the Empire of the west. Here we see five or six kingdoms vassals to that Empire, that long quarrel between the Emperors and Popes, that of Rome with both, and that obstinate struggle of the feudal right against the supreme power. Here we see how Rome that was so often on the brink of being subdued, escaped a foreign yoke, and in what manner that government, which subsists in Germany, was established. It is at once the History of the Empire and the Church, the detail of Germany and Italy. Germany gave birth to that religion which hath withdrawn so many states from the jurisdiction of the Roman Church. The same country is become the bulwark of the Christianity against the Ottomans: so that what we call the Empire, is since the time of Charlemagne the greatest treasure of Europe.

To the first volume is prefixed a catalogue of the Emperors, with the year of their birth, accession and death, together with the names of their wives and children. Opposite to this, is a list of the Popes, marked by the principal actions of their lives, and marked with the year of their exaltation; so that the reader with one glance of the eye may consult this table, without going in search of the fragments of this list at the head of the reign of each Emperor. To the second volume is likewise prefixed a column of all the Electors: but a catalogue of the Kings of Europe and the Ottoman Emperors, which is so easily found every where else, would have too much augmented the bulk of the work which was intended to be equally concise and complete.



EMPERORS.

I.

CHARLEMAGNE, born April 10th 742, became Emperor in 800, died in 814. His wives were *Heldegarde* daughter of *Childebrant* Count of Suabia. *Imengarde* supposed to be the same with *Desiderata* daughter of *Didier* King of the Lombards. *Fastrada* of Franconia. *Luitgarde* of Suabia. His concubines or wives of the second rank were *Hiltrude*, *Galiene*, *Matalgarde*, *Gerfinde*, *Regina*, *Adela* and many others. His children were *Charles* King of Germany, died in 771. *Lothar* King of Italy, died in 810. Father of *Bernard* King of Italy, stock of the house of *Vermandois*, dispossessed, deprived of his eye-sight and died in 818.

Lewis the pious, the *Dobonaire* or the weak Emperor. *Rotrude* betrothed to *Constantine V.* Emperor of the East. *Bertha* married to one of *Charlemagne's*

POPE S.

ZACHARIAS, exalted in 741. It was he who (it is said) pronounced that he alone was king who had the kingly power.

STEPHEN II. or **III.** exalted 751. the first who ordered himself to be carried on mens shoulders.

PAUL I. 757. in his time the church was divided by the great quarrel about images.

STEPHEN III. or **IV.** 768. He disputed the Papacy with *Constantine*, who was a secular, and with *Philip*, and there was abundance of blood shed.

ADRIAN I. 772. his Legates had the first seat at the second council of *Nicea*.

LEO III. 795. He conferred the appellation of Emperor on Charlemagne on Christmas-day 800. but would not add *Filioque* to the creed. He is said to have introduced the custom of kissing the Pope's feet.

EMPERORS.

magne's Chancelors. *Gisfelde*, *Tetrarde*, *Hiltrude*, shut up in a convent by *Lewis debonnaire*. By his concubines he had *Drogon* Bishop of Metz, *Hugo* or *Hugues* the Abbot. *Pepin the hump-backed*, *Rathilde*, *Gertrude*. Writers of Romance add the fair *Emma* of whom they say the Secretary *Eginard* and *Charlemagne* himself were enamoured.

2.

LEWIS THE WEAK, born 778, Emperor 814, died 840, June 20. His wives. *Irmengarde* daughter of the Count *de Habsbanie*. *Judith* daughter of the Count of Suabia. Children. *Lotharius* the Emperor. *Pepin* King of Aquitain died 838. *Giselle* wife to the Count of Burgundy. *Lewis* King of Germany. d. 876. *Adelaide* wife to a Count of Burgundy. *Alpaide* wife to a Count of Paris. *Charles the bald*, King of France and Emperor.

3.

LOTHARIUS I. born 796. Emp. 840. d. 855. Wife

POPES.

STEPHEN IV. or V. 816.

PASCHAL I. 817. accused of having assassinated *Theodorus the Dean*, and obliged to purge himself by oath, before the commissaries of *Lewis* the Emperor.

EUGENIUS II. 824. surnamed the Father of the poor.

VALENTINE, 827.

GREGORY IV. 828. who deceived *Lewis the weak*.

SERGIUS II. 844. who caused himself to be consecrated

EMPERORS.

Wife *Hermengarde* daughter to the Count *de Thionville*. Children. *Lewis II.* Emperor. *Lotharius* King of Lorrain d. 868. *Charles* King of Burgundy. *Hermengarde* married to a Duke upon the Moselle.

4.
LEWIS II. born 825. Emp. 855, d. 875. August 13. Wife. *Ingelbertha* daughter of *Lewis* King of Germany. Children. *Hermengarde* married to *Bo* King of Burgundy.

5.
CHARLES THE BALD, born 823, Emp. 875, d. 877, October 6. Wives. *Hirmentrude* daughter of *Odo* Duke of Orleans. *Richil-*

POPES.

secrated without waiting for the Emperor's permission, in order to establish the liberty of the Roman church.

LEO IV. 847. he saved Rome from the Mahometans by his vigilance and courage.

BENEDICT III. 855. created Pope by the assistance of the Franks in spite of the Roman people. In his time *St. Peter's Penny* was established in England.

NICHOLAS I. 858. In his time began the great schism between Constantinople and Rome.

ADRIAN II. 867. the first that caused the cross to be carried before him. The Patriarch *Photius* excommunicated him by way of reprisal.

JOHN VIII. 872. He acknowledged the Patriarch *Photius*: was said to be assassinated with a hammer.

EMPERORS.

Richilda daughter of a Count de Bovines. Children. *Lewis the stammerer*. *Charles* killed in 866. *Carloman* deprived of his eyesight 873. *Judith* first, wife to *Ethelred* King of England, and afterwards married to *Baldwin I.* Earl of Flanders.

6.

LEWIS THE STAMMERER, born 843 Nov^r. I. 878. d. 879. April 10. Wives. *Ansgarde*. *Adelaide*. Children. *Lewis Carloman* and *Charles the simple* Kings of France. *Egiffella* married to *Roll* or *Raoul* first duke of Normandy.

7.

CHARLES THE GROSS, Emperor 880. deposed 887. d. 888. without children.

8.

ARNOLPHUS OR ARNOLDUS, born 863. Emp. 887. d. 889. by his mistress *Elangarde* he had *Lewis the Infant* or *Lewis IV.* Emp. *Zwentilbolde* King of Lorrain. *Rapolde* from whom are descended the

POPES.

MARINUS, 882.

ADRIAN III. 884.

STEPHEN VI. 884. He forbade the trials by fire and water.

FAMOSA, 891.

STEPHEN VII. 896. son of a priest. He caused the body of his predecessor *Famosa* to be dug up, decapitated and thrown into the Tiber. He was afterwards put in prison and strangled.

JOHN

EMPERORS.

the Counts *d'Andeck* and *Tirol*.

9.
LEWIS IV. or LEWIS
THE INFANT born 893.
Emp. about 900. d. 912.
without posterity.

10.
CONRAD I. Emp. 911.
or 912. d. 918. Decr. 23.
his wife. *Cunigonda* of
Bavaria; by whom he had
Arnolphus the Bad from
whom is descended the
House of Bavaria.

11.
HENRY THE FOWLER
Duke of Saxony, born 876.
Emp. 919. d. 936. his
wives. *Hatburg* daugh-
ter of a Count of Merf-
bourg. *Melchida* daugh-
ter of a Count of Rin-
gelheim. His children.
Tancard killed at Merf-
bourg 939. the Emperor
Otho the Great. *Coberga*
married to *Gifelberg* Duke
of Lorrain. *Adulda* mar-
ried to *Hugues* Count of
Paris. *Henry* Duke of
Bava-

POPES.

JOHN IX. 897. in his
time the Mahometans
landed in Calabria.

BENEDICT IV, 900.

LEO V, 904.

SERGIUS III, 905. a
cruel man: the gallant of
Marosia, daughter of the
first *Theodora*, by whom
he had Pope *John XI*.

ANASTASIUS, 913.

LANDO, 914.

JOHN X, 915. the gal-
lant of the young *Theodo-
ra*, by whose means he
ascended the papal chair,
and by whom he had
Crescentius, the first con-
sul of that name. He was
strangled in his bed.

LEO VI, 928.

STEPHEN VIII, 929.
believed to be the son of
Marosia, shut up in the
castle which is now called
St. Angelo.

JOHN XI, 931. son of
Pope *Sergius* and *Marosia*,
under whom his mother
governed in a despotic
manner.

Bavaria. *Bruno* Bishop of Cologne.

12.

OTHO I. surnamed *the Great*, born Nov^r. 22. 916. Emp. 936. d. 973. May 7. His wives. *Editha* daughter of *Edward* King of England. *Adelaide* daughter of *Rodolphus* II. King of Burgundy. Children. *Lutholf* Duke of Suabia. *Luitgarde* married to a Duke of Lorraine and Franconia. *Otho* II. surnamed *the Red*, Emperor. *Mathilda* Abbess of *Quedlimbourg*. *Adelaide* married to a Marquis of *Montferrat*. *Richilda* to a Count of *Eninguen*. *William* Archbishop of *Mentz*.

LEO VII, 936.

STEPHEN IX, 939. a German by birth, slashed in the face by the Romans.

MARINUS III, 943.

AGAPETUS, 946.

JOHN XII, 956. son of *Marosia* and the Patrician *Albericus*: himself a Patrician: elected Pope at the age of 18; opposes the Emperor *Otho* I. assassinated in going to the house of his mistress.

LEO VIII, 963. elected by a small council at Rome, in consequence of *Otho's* orders.

BENEDICT V, 964. expelled immediately after his election, by the Emperor *Otho* I. died in exile at *Hamburgh*.

JOHN XIII, 965. expelled from Rome, and afterwards established.

BENEDICT VII, 972. strangled by the consul *Crescentius*, son of Pope *John* X.

EMPERORS.

13.

OTHO II. surnamed *the Red*, born 955. Emp. 973. d. 983. Wife. *Theophania* daughter-in-law to the Emperor *Nicephorus*. Children. *Otho* afterwards Emperor. *Sophia* Abbess of *Ganeheim*. *Mathilda* married to a Count Palatine. *Vithilda* a natural daughter married to a Count of Holland.

14.

OTHO III. born 973. Emp. 983. d. 1002. he is supposed to have married *Mary* of Arragon, died without posterity.

15.

HENRY II. surnamed *the Saint, the Chaste, and the Lame*, Duke of Bavaria,

POPES.

BONIFACE VII, 974. was inclined to deliver Rome to the Emperors of the East.

DOMUS, 974.

BENEDICT VII, 975.

JOHN XIV. 984. in the time of Boniface VII. he died in prison in the castle of St. Angelo.

BONIFACE VII. re-established, assassinated with a poignard.

JOHN XV. or XVI. 986. expelled from Rome by the Consul *Crescentius*, and re-established.

GREGORY V. 996. by the Nomination of the Emperor *Otho III*.

SILVESTER II. 999. this is the famous *Gerberg Auvergnac*, Archbishop of Rheims, a prodigy of learning in those days.

JOHN XVII. 1003.

JOHN XVIII. 1004.

SERGIUS IV. 1009. looked

ria, grandson of *Otho the Great*, Emp. 1002. d. 1024. Wife, *Cunigonda* daughter of *Sigefroi* Count of *Luxemburg*, no posterity.

16.

CONRAD II. THE SALIQUE, of the House of Franconia. Emp. 1024. d. 1039. June 4. Wife, *Giselle* of Suabia. Children. *Henry* afterwards Emperor. *Beatrix* Abbess of *Gandersheim*. *Judith*, said to have been married to *Azon d'Este* in Italy.

17.

HENRY III. surnamed *the Black*, born Oct^r. 28. 1017. Emp. 1039. d. 1056. Wives, *Cunigonda* daughter of *Canute* King of England. *Agnes* daughter of *William* Duke of Aquitain. Children by his second wife. *Mathilda* married to *Rodolphus* Duke of Suabia. The Emperor *Henry IV.* *Conrad* Duke of Bavaria. *Sophia* married to *Soloman* King of Hungary, and afterwards to *Uladislaus* King of Poland. *Itha* wife of *Leopold*

looked upon as an ornament of the church.

BENEDICT VIII. 1012. repulsed the Saracens.

JOHN XIX. or XX. 1024. expelled and re-established.

BENEDICT IX. 1033. who purchased the third part of the Pontificate and afterwards sold his share.

GREGORY VI. 1045. deposed.

CLEMENT II. Bishop of Bamberg, 1046. nominated by the Emperor *Henry II.*

DAMASUS II. 1048. nominated by the Emperor.

LEO IX, 1048. a virtuous Pope.

VICTOR II. 1055. a great Reformer, inspired and governed by *Hildebrand*, afterwards *Gregory VII.*

EMPEROKS.

old Marquis of Austria.
Adelaide Abbess of Gandersheim.

18.

HENRY IV. born Nov^r.
 11. 1050. Emp. 1056.
 d. 1106. Wives. *Bertha*
 daughter of *Otho* of Savoy
 called the Marquis of
 Italy. *Adelaide* of Russia
 widow of a Margrave of
 Brandenburg. Children
 by *Bertha*. *Conrad* Duke
 of Lorraine. The Emperor
Henry V. *Agnès* wife of
Frederick of Suabia. *Bertha*
 married to a Duke of
 Carinthia. *Adelaide* mar-
 ried to *Boleslaus* III. King
 of Poland. *Sophia* to *God-
 frey* Duke of Brabant.

POPE S.

17

STEPHEN X. 1057.
 brother to *Godfrey*, Duke
 of Lorraine.

NICHOLAS II. exalted
 by force of arms 1056.
 expelled his competitor
Benedict I. who subjected
 Apuglia and Calabria to
 the holy see.

ALEXANDER II. elected
 by the faction of *Hilde-
 brand*, without the con-
 sent of the imperial court
 1061. In his time hap-
 pened the astonishing ad-
 venture of the experiment
 of the stone *Igneus*, whe-
 ther true, false or exag-
 gerated.

GREGORY VII. 1078.
 this is the famous *Hil-
 debrand*, the first Pope
 who rendered the Roman
 church so formidable.
 He was the victim of his
 own zeal.

VICTOR III. 1086. re-
 commended by *Gregory*
VII. at his death.

URBAN II. native of
 Chatillon sur Maine, 1087.
 published the crusades

EMPERORS.

19.

HENRY V. born 1081. Emp. 1106. d. 1125. May 23. Wife. *Mathilda* Daughter of *Henry I.* King of England. Children. *Christina* wife of *Ladislaus* Duke of Silesia.

20.

LOTHARIUS II. Duke of Saxony, Emp. 1125. d. 1137. Wife. *Richeze* daughter of *Henry the Gross*, Duke of Saxony.

21.

CONRAD III. born 1092. Emp. 1138. d. 1152. Feb^{ry}. 15. Wife. *Gertrude* daughter of a Count of Sultzbach. Children. *Henry* died under age. *Frederick* Count of Rothenbourg.

22.

FREDERIC I. surnamed *Barbarossa*, Duke of Suabia, born 1121. Emp. 1152. d. 1190. Wives. *Adelaide* daughter of the Marquis of Vohenbourg, repudiated. *Beatrix* daughter

POPE S.

contrived by his predecessor.

PASCHAL II. 1099. followed the footsteps of *Gregory VII.*

GELASIUS II. 1118. dragged to prison by the opposite faction.

CALIXTUS III. 1119. finished the great process of the investitures.

HONORIUS II. 1124.

INNOCENT II. 1130. almost all the elections were double in this age, and the Popes were not masters of Rome.

CELESTINUS II. 1143.

LUCIUS II. 1144. killed by a stone, fighting against the Romans.

EUGENIUS III. 1145. maltreated by the Romans, takes refuge in France.

ANASTASIUS IV. 1153.

ADRIAN IV. 1154. an Englishman, son of a mendicant, himself a mendicant, becomes a great man.

ALEXANDER III. 1159. humbles

EMPERORS.

ter of *Renauld* Count of Burgundy. Children. *Henry* afterwards Emperor. *Frederic* Duke of Suabia. *Conrad* Duke of Spoleto. *Philip* afterwards Emperor. *Otho* Count of Burgundy. *Sophia* married to the Marquis of Montferrat. *Beatrix* Abbess of Quedlimbourg.

23.

HENRY VI. born 1165. Emp. 1190. d. 1197. Wife. *Constance* daughter of Roger King of Sicily. Children. *Frederic* afterwards Emperor. *Mary* wife of *Conrad* Marquis of Mahren.

24.

PHILIP Duke of Suabia, youngest son of *Frederic Barbarossa*, guardian of *Frederic II.* born 1181. Emp. 1198. d. June 21. 1208. Wife. *Irene* daughter of *Isaac* Emperor of Constantinople. Children. *Beatrix* wife of *Ferdinand III.* King of Castile. *Cunegonda*

POPE S.

humbles the Emperor *Frederic Barbarossa* and *Henry II.* King of England.

LUCIUS III. 1181. expelled and pursued by the Romans, who, in receiving the Bishop, would not acknowledge the Prince.

URBAN III. 1185.

GREGORY VIII. 1187. passes for a learned, eloquent and honest man.

CLEMENT III. 1188. endeavours to reform the Clergy.

CELESTINUS III. 1191. forbade the Emperor *Henry VI.* to be buried.

INNOCENT III. 1198. laid France under interdiction, in his time was the crusade against the Albigenes.

gonda married to *Wince-
slaus* III. King of Bohe-
mia. *Mary* wife of *Hen-
ry* Duke of Brabant. *Bea-
trix* died immediately af-
ter her marriage with
Otho IV. Duke of Brun-
swick afterwards Emperor.

25.

OTHO IV. Duke of
Brunswick, Emp. 1198.
d. 1218. Second wife.
Mary daughter of *Henry*
the Vert'ous Duke of Bra-
bant, died without poste-
rity.

26.

FREDERIC II. Duke of
Suabia, King of the two
Sicilies, born Dec^r. 26th
1193. Emp. 1212. d.
1250. Dec^r. 13. Wives.
Constance daughter of *Al-
phonsus* II. King of Arra-
gon. *Violenta* daughter of
John de Brienne King of
Jerusalem. *Ijabella* daugh-
ter of *John* King of Eng-
land. Children. *Henry*
King of the Romans died
in prison 1236. *Conrad*
afterwards Emperor, fa-
ther of *Conradin* in whom
the House of Suabia was
extinct. *Henry* Gover-
nor of Sicily. *Margaret*
wife

HONORIUS III. 1216.
began to thwart *Frede-
ric* II.

GREGORY IX. 1227.
expelled by the Ro-
mans, excommunicated
and thought to depose
Frederic II.

CELESTINUS IV. 1241.

INNOCENT IV. 1243.
excommunicated *Frederic*
II. and thought to depose
him at the council of Li-
on.

EMPERORS.

wife of *Albert the Depraved* Landgrave of Turin-
gia and Marquis of Mis-
nia. By his Mistresses he
had *Enzio* King of Sardi-
nia. *Manfredo* King of
Sicily. *Frederic* Prince of
Antioch.

27.

CONRAD IV. Emp.
1250. d. 1254. Wife.
Elizabeth daughter of *Otho*
Count Palatine. His son
Conradin Duke of Suabia
heir to the kingdom of
Sicily whom *Charles* of
Anjou caused to be deca-
pitated at the age of 27.
Oct. 19. 1268.

[ALPHONSUS X. King
of Spain, and *Richard*
Duke of Cornwall, son of
Lackland, were both elected
in 1257, but are not reck-
oned among the Empe-
rors.]

28.

RODOLPHUS, Count of
Habsbourg in Swisser-
land Ancestor of the House
of Austria, born 1218.
Emp. 1273. d. 1291.
Wives. *Anne Gertrude* of
Bohenberg. *Agnes* daugh-
ter of *Otho* Count of Bur-
gundy. Children. *Albert*
Duke

POPE S.

ALEXANDER IV, 1245.
who protected the men-
dicant monks against the
university of Paris.

URBAN IV, 1261. was
at first a cobbler at Troye
in Champagne: and the
first who called *Charles*
of Anjou to Naples.

CLEMENT IV, 1264.
It is pretended that he
advised the murder of *Con-
radin* and the Duke of
Austria, by the hand of
the hangman.

GREGORY X, 1271.
he established severe laws
for holding of the con-
claves.

INNOCENT V, 1276.

ADRIAN V, 1276.

EMPERORS.

Duke of Austria, afterwards Emperor. *Rodolphus* supposed to have been Duke of Suabia. *Herman* drowned in the Rhine at the age of 18. *Frederic* who died without issue. *Charles* who died under age. *Rodolphus* who died in his infancy. *Mechtilda* married to *Lewis the Severe*, Duke of Bavaria. *Agnes* who married *Albert II.* Duke of Saxony. *Hedwige* wife of *Otho* Marquis of Brandenburg. *Gutha* married to *Winceslaus* King of Bohemia son of *Ottocarus*. *Clemence* married to *Charles Martel* King of Hungary, grandson of *Charles I.* King of Naples and Sicily. *Margaret* wife of *Theodoric* Count of Cleves. *Catharine* married to *Otho* Duke of Lower Bavaria son of *Henry* brother to *Lewis the Severe*. And *Euphemia* a Nun.

29.

ADOLPHUS of Nassau, Emp. 1292. d. 1298. July 2. Wife. *Imagina* daughter of *Jorlach* Count of Lim-

POPE S.

JOHN XXI, 1276. was said to be a good physician.

NICHOLAS III, 1277. of the house of Ursini. Before his death he is said to have advised the *Sicilian vespers*.

MARTIN IV, 1281. as soon as he was Pope, he caused himself to be elected Senator of Rome, that his authority might be the greater.

HONORIUS IV, 1285. of the house of Savelli: espoused the French party in Sicily.

NICHOLAS IV, 1288. in his time the Christians were intirely expelled from Syria.

CELESTINUS V, 1292. *Benedictus Caietanus* persuaded him to abdicate.

BONIFACE VIII, (Benedictus

EMPERORS.

POPE S.

Limbourg. Children. *Henry* who died young. *Robert* of Nassau. *Jorlach* of Nassau. *Valdrame Adolpha*. *Adelaide*. *Imagina*. *Mathilda Philippa*.

30.

ALBERT I. of Austria, Emp. 1298. d. 1308. Wife. *Elizabeth* daughter of *Menard* Duke of Carinthia and Count of Tirol. Children. *Frederic the Beau* afterwards Emperor. *Albert the Wise*, Duke of Austria.

31.

HENRY VII. of the House of Luxembourg. Emp. 1308. d. 1313. Wives. *Margaret* daughter of a Duke of Brabant. *Catharine* daughter of *Albert* of Austria only betrothed before his death. Children. *John* King of Bohemia.

32.

LEWIS V. of Bavaria Emp. 1314. d. 1347. Wives. *Beatrice* of Glau-gau. *Margaret* Countess of Holland. Children.

Lewis

nedictus Caietanus) 1294. confined his predecessor: excommunicated *Philip the Fair*: assumed the title of *Master of all kings*: caused two swords to be carried before him: put two crowns on his head, and instituted the Jubilee.

CLEMENT V, (*Bertrand de Gott*) native of Bourdeaux, 1305: persecuted the templars: all sorts of benefices are said to have been sold at his court.

JOHN XXII, 1316. son of a cobbler of Caors, called *d'Eus*, who is reckoned to have sold a greater number of benefices

fices

Lewis the Ancient Margrave of Brandenburg. *Stephen the Curled*, Duke of Bavaria. *Mechtilda* wife of *Frederic the severe* Marquis of Mesnia. *Elizabeth* married to *John* Duke of lower Bavaria. *William* Count of Holland by his mother, grew mad. *Albert* Count of Holland. *Lewis the Roman* Marquis of Brandenburg. *Oto* Marquis of Brandenburg.

33.

CHARLES IV. of the House of Luxembourg, born 1316. Emp. 1347. d. 1378. Wives. *Blanche de Valois*. *Anne Palatine*. *Anne* of Silesia. *Elizabeth* of Pomerania. Children. *Wincelaus* afterwards Emperor. *Sigismund* afterwards Emperor. *John* Marquis of Brandenburg.

34.

WINCESLAUS, born 1361. Emp. 1368. deposed.

fices than his predecessor, and who had great credit in Europe, without having any at Rome. He always resided near the Rhone: wrote upon the philosopher's stone, but really had it in ready money. It was he who added a third crown to the Tiara.

BENEDICT XII, (Jacques Fournier) 1334. resided at Avignon.

CLEMENT VI, (Pierre Roger) 1342. resided at Avignon which he bought from Queen Jane.

INNOCENT VI, (Stephen Aubert) 1352. resided at Avignon.

URBAN V, (William Grimaud) 1362. resided at Avignon: made a journey to Rome, where, however, he durst not settle.

GREGORY XI, (Roger de Momon) 1370. transferred the holy see to Rome again where he was received as Lord of the city.

A great schism begins in 1378. between *Prignano*,
no,

EMPERORS.

posed 1400. d. 1419.
Wives. *Jane* and *Sophia*
of the House of Bavaria,
no posterity.

35.

ROBERT COUNT PA-
LATINE of the Rhine,
Emp. 1400. d. 1410.
Wife. *Elizabeth* daugh-
ter of a Burgrave of Nu-
remberg. Children. *Ro-
bert* who died before his
father. *Lewis the Bear-
ded and Blind*, Elector.
Frederic Count of Ham-
berg. *Elizabeth* married
to a Duke of Austria. *Ag-
nes* to a Count of Cleves.
Margaret to a Duke of
Lorraine. *John* Count Pa-
latine Zimmerman.

36.

JODOCUS Marquis of
Brandenburg and Mora-
via, Emp. 1410. died three
months after.

37.

SIGISMUND brother to
Wincestaus, born 1368.
Emp. 1411. d. 1437.
Wives. *Mary* heiress of
Hungary and Bohemia.
Barba Countess of Sille.
Children. *Elizabeth* daugh-
ter of *Mary* heiress of
Hungary and Bohemia,

VOL. I.

mar-

POPES.

no, *Urban VI*, and *Robert*
of Geneva, *Clement VII*.
This schism continues
from competitor to com-
petitor to 1417.

MARTIN V. (Colo-
na) 1417. elected by the
council of Constance: pa-
cified Rome, and reco-
vered a great many do-
minions to the holy see.

EUGENE IV, (Gondel-
more) 1431. supposed son
of *Gregory XII*. one of
B. the

EMPERORS.

married to the Emperor
Albert II. of Austria.

38.

ALBERT II. of Austria,
born 1399. Emp. 1438.
d. 1439. Wife. *Eliza-
beth* daughter of *Sigis-
mund*, heiress of Bohemia
and Hungary. Children.
George who died young.
Anne married to a Duke
of Saxony. *Elizabeth* to
a Prince of Poland. *La-
dislaus Posthumus* King of
Bohemia and Hungary.

39.

FREDERIC of Austria,
born 1415. Emp. 1440.
d. 1493. Wife. *Eleonora*
daughter of the King of
Portugal. Children. *Ma-
ximilian* afterwards Em-
peror. *Cunigonda* marri-
ed to a Duke of Bavaria.

POPE S.

the Popes of the great
schism: triumphed over
the council of Basil which
deposed him in vain.

NICHOLAS V, (Sar-
zane) 1447. made the con-
cordat with the Empire.

CALIXTUS III, (Bor-
gia) 1455. the first who
sent gallies against the Ot-
tomans.

PIUS II, (*Æneas Syl-
vius Piccolomini*) 1458.
during the council of Ba-
sil, he wrote against the
power of the holy See,
and retracted when he be-
came Pope.

PAUL II, (*Barbo a Ve-
netian*) 1464. augmented
the number and honours
of Cardinals: instituted
public

EMPERORS.

POPE'S.

public games and the Minim friars.

SIXTUS IV, (de la Rovere) 1471. encouraged the conspiracy of the *Pazzi* against the *Medicis*: repaired the bridge of *Antoninus*, and laid a tax upon courtezans.

INNOCENT VIII, (Cibo) 1484. married before he was a priest, and had a number of children.

40.

MAXIMILIAN I. of Austria, born 1459, King of the Romans 1486, E. 1493. d. 1519, Jan. 12. Wives. *Mary* heiress of Burgundy, and the low Countries. *Blanche Maria Sforza*. Children. *Philip the Beau* of Austria King of Spain by his wife. *Francis* died in the cradle. *Margaret* promised to *Charles VIII*. King of France, Gouvernante of the Low Countries, married to *John* son of *Ferdinand* King of Spain, and afterwards to *Philibert* Duke of Savoy. He had no children by *Blanche Sforza*, but he had six bastards by his concubines.

ALEXANDER VI, (Borgia) 1491. his mistress *Vanofia*, his daughter *Lucretia*, his son the Duke of *Valentinois*, are very well known, as well as the means he used to aggrandize that son, which redounded to the advantage of the holy See.

Pius III, (Piccolomini) 1503, in electing this man, they deceived Cardinal *d'Amboise*, prime Minister of France, who thought himself secure of the Tiara.

JULIUS II, (de la Rovere) 1503, augmented the ecclesiastical state, and was a warrior who wanted nothing but an army.

41.

CHARLES V. born Feb^{ry} 24, 1500, King of Spain 1516, Emp. 1519, abdicated June 2d 1556, d. Sept^r. 21, 1558. Wife. *Isabella* daughter of *Emanuel* King of Portugal. Children. *Philip* II. King of Spain, Naples and Sicily, Duke of Milan, Sovereign of the Low Countries. *Jane* married to *John* Infant of Portugal. *Mary* wife of the Emperor *Maximilian* II. his own cousin. Bastards known. *Don John* of Austria, famous in war, and *Margaret* of Austria, married to *Alexander* Duke of Florence, and afterwards to *Octavius* Duke of Parma. These two Children are supposed to have been born of a Princess very nearly related to *Charles* V.

LEO X, (Medicis) 1513. a lover of the arts : magnificent and voluptuous : under him the Christian religion was divided into several sects.

ADRIAN VI, (Florentius Boyens of Utrecht) 1521. Preceptor to Charles V : hated by the Romans, because a stranger. At his death, was found written on his Physician's door, *To the deliverer of his country.*

CLEMENT VII, (Medicis) 1523. in his time Rome was sacked and England detached itself from the Roman church.

PAUL III, (Farnese) 1534. gave Parma and Placentia to his bastard : and this was the cause of much trouble. He believed in judieial astrology, more than all the Princes of his time.

JULIUS III, (Ghiocchi) 1550. It was he who made a Cardinal of his ape - bearer, whom they called Cardinal *Simia*. He is said to have been a great voluptuary.

EMPERORS.

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42.

FERDINAND I. brother of *Charles V.* born March 10, 1503, King of the Romans 1531, Emp. 1556, d. July 25, 1564. Wife. *Anne* sister of *Lewis* King of Hungary and Bohemia. By her he had fifteen children. *Maximilian* afterwards Emperor. *Elizabeth* married to *Sigismund Augustus* King of Poland. *Anne* to the Duke of Bavaria *Albert V.* *Mary* to *William* Duke of Juliers. *Magdalen* a Nun. *Catharine* first married to *Francis* Duke of Mantua, and afterwards to *Sigismund Augustus* King of Poland, after her sister's death. *Eleonora* married to *William* Duke of Mantua.

Mar-

MARCELLUS II, (*Cervin*) 1555, his exaltation lasted but twelve days.

PAUL IV, (*Caraffa*) 1555. elected after the age of fouricore: his nephews governed every thing. The inquisition was violent at Rome, and after his death the people burned the prisons of that tribunal.

PIUS IV, (*Medequino*) 1559. caused *Caraffa*, nephew to his predecessor, to be strangled: nepotism prevailed as much under him as under *Paul IV.*

Margaret a Nun: *Barbara* married to *Alphonfus II.* Duke of Ferrara. *Helen* a Nun. *Jane* wife of *Francis* Duke of Florence. *Ferdina* d Duke of Tyrol. *Charles* Duke of Stiria. *Jane* and *Ursula* died in their infancy.

43.

MAXIMILIAN II. of Austria, born August 1, 1527, Emp. 1564, d. Oct. 12. 1576. Wife. *Mary* daughter of *Charles V.* by whom he had fifteen children. *Rodolphus* afterwards Emperor. *Ernestus* Archduke. *Matthias* afterwards Emperor. *Maximilian* Archduke. *Albert* who married the Infanta *Clara Eugenia.* *Winceflaus* who died at the age of seventeen. *Anne* wife of *Philip II.* King of Spain. *Elizabeth* wife of *Charles IX.* King of France. *Margaret* a Nun, and six children that died in the cradle.

44.

RODOLPHUS II. born July 18, 1552, Emp. 1576, d. 1612, Jan^r. 10. unmar-

PIUS V, (Gisleri Dominican) 1566. caused *Zoannetti Carneseccli* and *Palearius* to be burnt: had great quarrels with *Queen Elizabeth.*

GREGORY XIII, (Buoncompagno) 1572. the first year of his Pontificate is famous for the Massacre of *St. Bartholomew*, for which two bonfires were made at Rome. He gave to *James Buoncompagno*, his bastard, abundance of wealth and dignities, but he did not dismember the ecclesiastical state in his favour.

SIXTUS V, son of a poor husbandman, called *Peretti*, 1585. finished the church of *St. Peter*: em-

EMPERORS.

unmarried, tho' he had five natural children.

45.

MATTHIAS, brother of *Rodolphus*, born 1557, Feb^y 24, Emp. 1612, d. 1619. March 20. Wife. *Anne* daughter of *Ferdinand* of Tyrol, died without posterity.

POPE S.

embellished Rome, and in the space of five years that he governed, left five millions of Crowns in the castle of St. Angelo.

URBAN VII. (Castagna) 1590.

GREGORY XIV. (Sfondrat) 1590. sent assistance to the league in France.

INNOCENT XI. (Santiquatro) 1591.

CLEMENT VIII. (Al-dobrandino) 1592. He gave absolution and discipline to Henry IV. king of France, on the backs of the Cardinals Du Peron and d'Ossat: And seized upon the dutchy of Ferrara.

PAUL V. (Borghese) 1605. excommunicated Venice, and afterwards repented of what he had done: built the palace of Borghese, and embellished the city of Rome.

46.

FERDINAND II. son of *Charles* Archduke of *Stiria* and *Carinthia* and grandson of the Emperor *Ferdinand I.* born July 9, 1578, Emp. 1619. d. 1637. Feb^r 15. Wives. *Mary Anne* daughter of *William* Duke of *Bavaria*. *Eleonora* daughter of *Vincent* Duke of *Mantua*. Children by *Anne*. *John Charles* died at fourteen. *Ferdinand* afterwards Emperor. *Mary Anne* wife of *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*. *Cecilia Renee* married to *Uladislaus* King of *Poland*. *Leopold William* who possessed several *Bishopricks*. *Christina* who died young.

47.

FERDINAND III. born July 13, 1608, Emp. 1637, d. 1657. Wives. *Mary Anne* daughter of *Philip III.* King of *Spain*. *Mary Leopoldina* daughter of *Leopold* Archduke of *Tyrol*. *Eleonora* daughter of *Charles II.* Duke of *Mantua*. Children. *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans* died at the age of twenty

GRÉGORY XV, (*Lü-dovisio*) 1621. helped to pacify the troubles of the *Valteline*.

URBAN VIII, (*Barberino*) a *Florentine*, 1623. passed for a good *Latin* poet. His nephews governed, and made war upon the *Duke of Parma*.

INNOCENT X, (*Pamphili*) 1644. his *Pontificate* was a long time governed by his sister-in-law *Dona Olympia*. TAM

ALEXANDER VII, (*Chigi*) 1655. made new embellishments in *Rome*.

EMPERORS.

twenty one. *Mary Annè* wife of *Philip IV.* King of Spain. *Philip Augustin* and *Maximilian Thomas* who died in their infancy. *Leopold* afterwards Emperor. *Mary* died in the cradle. *Charles Joseph* Bishop of Passau. *Teresa Maria* died young. *Eleonora Maria* who being widow of *Michael* King of Poland, married *Charles* Duke of Lorrain. *Mary Anne* wife of the Elector Palatine. *Ferdinand Joseph* died in his infancy.

48.

LEOPOLD, born 1640, June 9, Emp. 1658, d. May 5, 1705. Wives. *Margaret Teresa* daughter of *Philip IV.* of Spain. *Claudia Felicita* daughter of *Ferdinand Charles* Duke of Tyrol. *Eleonora Magdalen* daughter of *Philip William* Count Palatine Duke of Neubourg. Children by *Margaret Teresa*. *Ferdinand Winceslaus* died in the cradle. *Mary Antonietta* wife of *Maximilian Mary* Elector of Bavaria. Three other daughters who died in their infancy.

POPES.

CLEMENT IX, (Rospi gliosi) 1667. was desirous of putting the finances of Rome in order.

CLEMENT X, (Altieri) 1670. in his time began the quarrel of the *Regale* in France.

INNOCENT XI, (Odescalchi) 1676. was always an enemy to Lewis XIV. and espoused the party of the Emperor Leopold.

ALEXANDER VIII, (Ottononi) 1689.

INNOCENT XII, (Pignatelli) 1691. advised Charles II. King of Spain to

B 5

make

fancy. Children by *Eleonora Magdalen* of Neubourg. *Joseph* afterwards Emperor. *Mary Elizabeth* Gouvernante of the Low Countries. *Leopold Joseph* who died in his infancy. *Mary Anne* wife of *John V.* King of Portugal. *Mary Theresa* died at 12 years of age. *Charles* afterwards Emperor. And three daughters who died young.

make his will in favour of the house of Bourbon.

CLEMENT XI, (Albano) 1700. was obliged against his will to acknowledge *Charles VI.* as King of Spain.

EMPERORS.

49.

JOSEPH, born July 26, 1678, King of the Romans, 1690 at 12 years of age, Emp. 1705. d. 1711, April 17. Wife. *Amelia* daughter of *John Frederic* Duke of Hanover. Children. *Mary Josephina* married to *Frederic Augustus* King of Poland, Elector of Saxony. *Leopold Joseph* who died in the cradle. *Mary Amelia* married to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria.

50.

CHARLES VI. born Oct. 1, 1685, Emp. 1711, d. 1740. Wife. *Elizabeth Christina* daughter of *Lewis Rodolphus* Duke of Brunswick. Children. *Leopold* who died in his infancy. *Mary Theresa* who married *Francis* of Lorraine Febr. 12. 1736. *Mary Anne* married to *Charles* of Lorraine. *Mary Amelia* died in her infancy. CHARLES VI. was the last Prince of the House of Austria.



A N N A L S
O F T H E
E M P I R E
F R O M T H E T I M E O F
C H A R L E M A G N E .

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

OF all the revolutions which have changed the face of the earth, that alone, which transferred the Empire of the Romans to Charlemagne, seems to have been just, if the word *just* may be pronounced of events which partook so much of violence. Charlemagne was actually called to the Empire by the voice of the Roman people, whom he had at once saved from the tyranny of the Lombards, and the negligence of the eastern Emperors.

This is the great epocha of the western nations, at this time a new order of government began, the foundation of the temporal power of the church; for no bishop in the east had ever been a prince, or possessed any of the rights of royalty. This new Roman Empire bore no resemblance to that of the first Cæsars. In these annals will be seen the true nature

ture

ture of this Empire, how the Roman Pontiffs acquired that temporal power, with which they have been so much reproached, how so many western bishops, especially those of Germany, erected themselves into sovereigns; and in what manner the Roman people struggled to preserve their liberty between the Emperors and Popes, who disputed with one another the dominion of Rome.

All the west since the fifth century, was either barbarous or desolate, so many nations formerly subdued by the ancient Romans, had at least lived till the fifth century in a state of happy subjection. It is a singular example in all ages, that conquerors should have built for the conquered those vast baths, amphitheatres, and highways, which no nation since those times hath even presumed to imitate; there was in effect but one people, the Latin language in the time of Theodosius, was spoke from Cadiz to the Euphrates. Trade was carried on from Rome to Triers and Alexandria with more ease than many provinces now find in trafficking with their next neighbours. Even the tributes, tho' burdensom, were much less intolerable than since that time, when the people are obliged to pay for the luxury, and undergo the violence of so many particular masters. Let us only compare the state of Paris, while governed by Julian the philosopher, with its situation an hundred and fifty years after. Let us consider Triers the largest city of the Gauls, in the time of Theodosius, when it was called a second Rome, and then observe the state of that city after the inundation of the Barbarians. Autun under Constantine contained five and twenty thousand masters of families; Arles was still more populous. The Barbarians brought along with them devastation, poverty and ignorance. The Franks were of the number of those famished and ferocious people, who ran to the pillage of the Empire. They subsisted upon rapine and theft, although

although the country in which they settled, was very fair and fertile. They did not know how to cultivate the lands. That country is marked in an ancient carte still preserved at Venice. There we see the Franks settled from the mouth of the Maine, as far as Friseland, and in part of Westphalia, the *Franci seu Chamavi*. It is by means of the ancient Romans, and them only, that we have a distinct notion of our own origin. The Franks then were part of those people called Saxons, who inhabited Westphalia; and when Charlemagne made war upon them three hundred years after, he exterminated the Descendants of his own ancestors.

Those tribes of Franks, of which the Salians were the most illustrious, established themselves gradually in Gaul, not as allies of the Roman people, as generally supposed, but after having plundered the Roman Colonies, Triers, Cogn, Mentz, Tongres, Tournay, Cambrai; defeated indeed by Aëtius one of the last supports of the Roman grandeur, but afterwards, united with him, through necessity, against Attila: then taking the advantage of the anarchy to which those irruptions of the Huns, the Goths, the Vandals, and the Lombards and Burgundians reduced the Empire, they used against the Emperors themselves the rights and titles of masters of the militia; and the patriciate, which they had received from them. This Empire was torn into shreds, and every horde of those fierce savages seized upon part as its own prey. One incontestable proof that those people were a long time in a state of barbarity, is that they destroyed a great number of cities and founded none.

All these dominions were of small importance, till the end of the eighth century before the power of the Caliphs, which threatened the whole earth.

The first successors of Mahomet possessed the right of the throne and of the altar, of the sword and of Enthusiasm, their orders were so many oracles, their
soldiers

soldiers so many fanatics. In the year 651. they besieged Constantinople, destined to be one day Musfulman. The inevitable divisions among so many new chiefs, of so many peoples and armies, did not interfere with their conquests, the Mahometans in that particular resembled the ancient Romans, who subdued Asia minor and the Gauls, even in the midst of their civil wars.

In 711. we see them passing from Egypt into Spain, which was easily subdued successively by the Carthaginians, Romans, Goths and Vandals, and at last by those Arabs called Moors, who there established the Kingdom of Cordova. The Sultan of Egypt, indeed, shook off the yoke of the grand Caliph of Bagdat: And Abderame governor of conquered Spain, no longer acknowledged the Sultan of Egypt; nevertheless, every thing yielded to the arms of the Musfulmans.

This Abderam Grandson of the Caliph Hesham takes the kingdoms of Castile, Navarre, Portugal and Arragon; makes a settlement in Languedoc, conquers Guienne and Poitou, and if Charles Martel had not deprived him of his conquests and his life, France would have been a Mahometan Province.

As the Mahometans increased in power, they improved in politeness. Those Caliphs who were always acknowledged as the Sovereigns of religion by such as received their orders from afar, finding themselves at their ease in their new Babylon, revived the arts in that Capital.

Aaron Rachid cotemporary with Charlemagne, more illustrious than his predecessors, who caused himself to be respected even in Spain and at the river Indus, reanimated all the sciences, cultivated the agreeable and useful arts, invited and encouraged learned men, and saw politeness succeed barbarity through his vast dominions. Under him the Arabians who had already adopted the Indian Cyphers, carried

carried them into Europe. The first rudiments of astronomy known in Germany and France, were learned from the Arabians; the word *Almanac* is still a proof of this assertion. In a word during the second century after Mahomet, the Christians of the West, were obliged to go and take instructions from the Mussulmen.

The more Mahomet's Empire flourished, the more Constantinople and Rome were abased. Rome had never recovered that fatal stroke she received from Constantine, in his removing the seat of Empire: the Romans were no longer animated by glory and patriotism. The Inhabitants of that ancient capital had nothing more to hope from fortune. Courage became enervated; the arts sunk into oblivion; and nothing was now seen in the abodes of the Scipios and Cæsars, but contests between the secular judges and the Bishop. Taken, retaken and sacked so often by the Barbarians, Rome still obeyed the Emperors. After Justinian a viceroy governed it under the name of Exarch; but he no longer deigned to look upon it as the capital of Italy. He resided at Ravenna, and from thence sent his orders to the Prefect of Rome. The Emperors had nothing now remaining in Italy, but the country that extends from the Boundaries of Tuscany to the extremities of Calabria. The Lombards were in possession of Piedmont, the Milanese, Mantua, Genoa, Parma, Modena, Tuscany and Bologna: These dominions composed the kingdom of Lombardy. Those Lombards are said to have come from Pannonia, where they had embraced Arianism, which was the prevailing religion, having penetrated into Italy by the Tyrol; there they settled and confirmed their dominion by submitting to the catholic religion. Rome, whose walls were demolished and who had no other defence but the troops of the Exarch, was often menaced with subjection to the power of the Lombards. It was then so poor that the annual
impo-

imposition levied by the exarch, amounted to no more than a golden sol from every master of a family, and even this was a burdensom tax. It was like those barren and remote lands which are a charge to the owners.

The Roman diurnal of the seventh and eighth centuries, a precious monument, part of which is printed, shews in the most authentic manner what the Sovereign pontif was in those days. He was called *the Vicar of Peter, Bishop of the city of Rome*, as soon as he was elected by the citizens, the clergy in a body intimated his election to the exarch, in this form. " We intreat you who are charged with the imperial
" ministry, to order the consecration of our father and
" pastor." They likewise communicated the news of the election to the metropolitan of Ravenna in these words, " St. Peter, we beseech thy holiness
" to obtain of our Lord the exarch the ordination
" now depending." They were also obliged to send an account of it to the Judges of Ravenna, whom they stiled *your Eminences*.

At that time the new pope, before his ordination, was obliged to pronounce two confessions of faith; and in the second, he condemned among the heretics pope Honorius I. because at Constantinople the said Honorius bishop of Rome was supposed to have acknowledged but one will in Jesus Christ.

There is a great distance from this to the Tiara, but there is likewise a great difference between the first monk who preached on the banks of the Rhine, and the electoral Cap: as also between the first chief of the wandring Saliars and a Roman Emperor. All greatness is formed gradually; and the origin of every thing is small and inconsiderable.

The Pontif of Rome established his greatness insensibly, during the abasement of the city; the Romans were poor, but the Church was not. Constantine had given to the Basilique of the Lateran only,
above

above a thousand marks of gold, and about thirty thousand of silver, and assigned to it fourteen thousand Sols of yearly revenue. The Popes who fed the poor and sent Missions through all the west, having had occasion for more considerable supplies, had obtained them without difficulty. The Emperors and even the Lombard King had granted them lands: and they possessed in the neighbourhood of Rome, certain revenues and castles called the *justices of St. Peter*. Several citizens eagerly strove to enrich, by donation or will, a Church whose Bishop was looked upon as the Father of their Country. The Credit of the Popes was greatly superior to their wealth. It was impossible to fail in point of veneration for an almost uninterrupted succession of Pontifs, who had consoled the church, extended religion, and softened the manners of the Heruli, Goths, Vandals, Lombards and Franks.

Although the Roman Pontifs, in the time of the Exarchs, extended their right of Metropolitan no farther than the *suburbuary towns*, that is, over the towns subjected to the government of the prefect of Rome; nevertheless they were often dignified with the appellation of *universal Pope*, on account of the primacy and dignity of their see. Gregory the great refused that title, which however he merited by his virtues; and his successors extended their credit in the west; therefore we ought not to be surpris'd to find in the eighth century Boniface archbishop of Mentz, the same who consecrated Pepin, express himself thus in the form of his oath. *I promise to St. Peter, and his Vicar Gregory the happy &c.*

At length, in process of time, the Popes formed the design of delivering Rome at once from the Lombards by whom it was incessantly threatened, and the greek Emperors, by whom it was so ill defended. The Popes at that time perceived that which at other conjunctures would have been no other than a revolt

a revolt or impotent sedition, might now become a revolution excusable from necessity and respectable through success. This is the revolution which was, begun under Pepin II. usurper of the throne of France, and completed by his son Charlemagne, at a time when every thing was in confusion, and the face of Europe must have necessarily been changed.

The kingdom of France at that time extended from the Pyrenees and the Alps to the Rhine, the Maine and the Sall. Bavaria depended upon this vast kingdom. It was the King of the Franks who bestowed that dutchy, when he was strong enough to give it away. This kingdom of the Franks, which had been almost always divided since the time of Clovis, and torn by intestine wars, was nothing but a vast, barbarous province of the ancient Roman Empire, which Constantinople always reckoned among the rebellious states, tho' she treated with it as a powerful kingdom.

CHARLEMAGNE.

742.

CHARLEMAGNE born April 10th near Aix-la-Chapelle, was the son of Pepin, Mayor of the Palace, Duke of the Franks, and Grandson of Charles Martel. All that we know of his mother, is that her name was Bertha: but we are not even precisely acquainted with the place of his birth. He was born during the session of the council of Germany, tho' thanks to the ignorance of those times we know not where that famous council was held.

One half of the country, which is now called Germany, was idolatrous, from the banks of the Weser, and even of the Maine and Rhine, to the Baltick, and the other half christian.

There were already Bishops at Triers, Cologne and Mentz, frontier cities founded by the Romans and instructed

instructed by the Popes ; but, that country was then called Aufrasia, and belonged to the kingdom of the Franks.

One Villebrod an Englishman had in the time of Charles Martel's father gone to preach to the Idolaters of Friesland, what little Christianity he knew. There was towards the end of the seventh century a titular Bishop of Westphalia, who raised little children from the dead. Villebrod took the vain title of Bishop of Utrecht ; and there he built a small church which was destroyed by the pagan Frieslanders. At length in the beginning of the eighth century, another Englishman, known afterwards by the name of Boniface, went and preached in Germany, and was looked upon as an apostle. The English were at that time the preceptors of the Germans : and it was to the Popes that all those people as well as the Gauls owed the little learning and christianity which they knew.

743.

A Synod at Lestine in Hainault serves to shew the manners of those times. There it was regulated that those who had taken the effects of the church, in order to maintain a war, should give a crown to the church by way of farm. This regulation regarded the officers of Charles Martel and his son Pepin who enjoyed during life the abbey's they had seized. It was then equally usual to endow monks, and to deprive them of their endowments.

Boniface that apostle of Germany founded the Abbey of Fuld in the country of Hesse. At first it was no more than a church covered with thatch and surrounded with cabbins inhabited by some monks who grubbed an ingrateful soil. It is now a principality, and no man can be a monk unless he is a gentleman ; the Abbot has been long a sovereign, and since the year 1753 a Bishop.

744. Carloman

744.

Carloman uncle of Charlemagne, Duke of Aufrasia, reduces the Bavarian Vassals who were in rebellion against the King of France, and defeats the Saxons of whom he wants to make Vassals also.

745.

At this time Boniface was Bishop of Mentz. The dignity of metropolitan hitherto attached to the see of Worms, is transferred to Mentz.

Carloman brother of Pepin abdicates the duchy of Aufrasia; it was a powerful realm, which he governed under the name of Mayor of the palace, while his brother Pepin ruled in western France, and Childeric King of all France could scarce command the servants of his own family. Carloman renounces his sovereignty to go and turn monk at Montecassini.

Historians still affirm that Pepin loved him tenderly, but in all probability he loved better to rule alone. The cloister was then the asylum of those who had too powerfull competitors in the world.

747.

748.

In most towns of France, they renew the custom of the ancient Romans, known under the name of Patronage or Clientship. The citizens chose Patrons among the noblemen; and this circumstance alone proves that the people in Gaul were not divided, as it is pretended they were, into masters and slaves.

749.

Pepin at length undertakes what his father Charles Martel could not perform. He resolves to deprive the Merovean race of the crown; and the first step he takes is to gain the apostle Boniface over to his party, together with several Bishops, and at last Pope Zacharias himself.

750.

Pepin causes his King Hilderic or Childeric III. to be deposed and made a monk at St. Bertin, and seats himself on the Throne of the Franks.

751.

Pepin resolves to subdue the people then called Saxons, extending from the neighbourhood of the Maine to the Cimbric Chersonesus, who had already conquered England. Pope Stephen III. demands the protection of Pepin against Luitprand King of Lombardy, who wanted to make himself master of Rome. The Emperor of Constantinople was too remote and too weak to succour him; and the first domestic of the King of France, now become usurper, was the only person who could give him protection.

754.

The first known action of Charlemagne was, to go by order of his Father Pepin, and prostrate himself before Pope Stephen at St. Maurice in Valais. This was an eastern Custom. People often kneeled before Bishops, and these Bishops bended the knee not only before Emperors, but even before the Governors of provinces, when these last came to take possession.

As for the Custom of kissing feet, it was not yet introduced in the west. Dioclesian was the first, who exacted that mark of respect. Pope Adrian I. and Leo III. first arrogated to the pontificate that honour which Dioclesian had assumed to the Empire; after which, Kings and Emperors submitted like other people to that ceremony, in order to render the Roman religion the more venerable.

Pepin caused himself to be consecrated King of France, by the Pope in the month of August in the Abbey of St. Denis: he had already been consecrated by

by Boniface, but the hand of the Pope rendered his usurpation the more respectable in the eyes of the people. Eginard secretary to Charlemagne says in express terms, that Hilderic was deposed by order of Pope Stephen. Pepin is the first European King who was consecrated. This ceremony was an imitation of the unction applied to the Hebrew Kings: He at the same time took care to see his two sons Charles and Carloman consecrated. The Pope before he consecrated him king, absolved him of his perjury to his Sovereign Hilderic; and after the Consecration fulminated an Excommunication against whosoever should at any time attempt to take the crown from the family of Pepin. Neither Hugh Capet nor Conrad have shewn great respect to that excommunication. The new King in recompence for the Pope's complaisance, passes the Alps with his Vassal Thafillon Duke of Bavaria, besieges Astolphus in Pavia, and returns the same year without success either in making war or peace.

755.

Scarce had Pepin repassed the Alps, when Astolphus besieges Rome, Pope Stephen conjures the new King of France to come to his relief. Nothing can be a more convincing proof of the simplicity of those ignorant times, than a letter which the Pope causes to be written to the King of France in the name of St. Peter, as if it had come down from heaven, a simplicity, however, which did not exclude the frauds of policy and attempts of ambition.

Pepin delivers Rome, again besieges Pavia, makes himself master of the Exarchate, and gives it (as they say) to the Pope. This is the first title of the temporal power of the holy See, by which Pepin equally weakened the Kings of Lombardy and the Emperors of the east. This donation is very doubtful;

ful ; for, the Archbishops of Ravenna at that time took the title of Exarchs : consequently the Bishops of Rome and Ravenna were resolved to aggrandize themselves. It is very probable that Pepin gave some lands to the Popes, and favoured those in Italy who strengthened his dominion in France. If he really made that present to the Popes, it is very clear that he gave away what did not belong to him ; but he had also taken what was not his own. We find scarce any other source of the first rights. Time renders hem legitimate.

756.

Boniface Archbishop of Mentz goes upon a mission among the Friesland idolaters, from whom he receives the crown of martyrdom : but as Historians say that he was martyred in his camp, and that abundance of the Frieslanders were killed, it is reasonable to believe that the Missionaries were soldiers. Thasillon duke of Bavaria does homage for his dutchy to the king of France, in the form of those homages which have been since called *liegance*. By this time there were great hereditary fiefs, and Bavaria was one of that number.

Pepin once more defeats the Saxons. All the wars of those people against the Franks seem to have been little more than the incursions of Barbarians, who came by turns to carry off cattle and ravage the harvests. There was no place of strength, no policy, no formed design. This part of the world was still savage.

Pepin, by all his victories, gained no more than the payment of an old tribute of three hundred horses, to which were added five hundred cows : this was hardly worth the trouble of slaying so many thousand men.

758. 759. 760.

Didier successor of Astolphus, retakes the towns which Pepin gave to St. Peter ; but Pepin was so
formi-

formidable, that Didier is said to have restored them in consequence of his threats only. Hereditary Vassalage began to be so effectually introduced, that the Kings of France pretended to be lords Paramount of the dutchy of Aquitain. Pepin by force of arms compells Gaisfre Duke of Aquitain, to take the oath of fidelity to him in presence of the Duke of Bavaria, so that he had two great Sovereigns at his feet. We may easily perceive that these homages were no other than the submission of weakness to superior Power.

762. 763.

The Duke of Bavaria thinking himself strong enough, and seeing Pepin at a distance, revokes his homage: but, when the other is on the brink of making war upon him, renews his oath of fidelity.

766. 767.

The erection of the Bishoprick of Saltzbourg. Pope Paul I. sends to the King in a present books, chanters and a clock. Constantine Copronimus likewise sends to him an organ and some musicians. This would not be a fact worthy of history, if it did not shew how little the arts were known in that part of the world. At that time the Franks knew nothing but war, hunting and feasting.

768.

The preceding years are barren of events, consequently happy for the people; for almost all the great events of history are public misfortunes. The Duke of Aquitain revokes his homage after the example of the Duke of Bavaria. Pepin flies upon him and reunites Aquitain to the crown.

Pepin surnamed *the Short* died at Xaintes, Sept^r. 24th in the 54th year of his age. Before his death he makes his will by word of mouth and not by writing, in presence of the great officers of his house, his generals,

rals, and those who held extensive lands for life. He divides his dominions between his two sons Charles and Carloman. After Pepin's death the Nobles modify his will. They gave to Charles afterwards called Charlemagne, Burgundy, Aquitain, Provence and Neustria which then extended from the Meuse to the Loire and the Ocean. Carloman had Austria from Rheims to the extremities of Thuringia. It is plain that the kingdom of France at that time comprehended near one half of Germany.

770.

Didier King of the Lombards offers his daughter Desiderata in marriage to Charles who was already married: he espouses Desiderata, so it appears he had two wives at one time: this was not uncommon: Gregory de Tours says, that the Kings Gontram, Caribert, Sigebert, Chilperic, had several wives.

771.

His brother Carloman dies suddenly at the age of twenty: his widow flies into Italy with two Princes her children. This death and that flight do not absolutely prove that Charlemagne was resolved to reign alone, and entertained evil designs against his nephews; but neither do they prove that he deserved to have his festival celebrated as it is in Germany.

772.

Charles causes himself to be crowned King of Aufrasia, and reunites all the vast Realms of the Franks, without leaving any thing to his nephews. Posterity dazzled by the glare of his glory, seem to have forgot that injustice. He repudiated his wife the daughter of Didier in order to revenge himself for the asylum which the Lombard King had afforded to the widow of his brother Carloman.

He takes the field against the Saxons, and finds at their head a man worthy to fight against him; this was Vitikind, the greatest defender of the German liberty, next to Herman whom we call Arminius.

The King of France attacks him in that country, which is now called the county de la Lippe. Those people were wretchedly armed: for, in the capitularies of Charlemagne we see a most rigorous prohibition to sell cuirasses and helmets to the Saxons. The arms and discipline of the Franks could not fail of being victorious over ferocious courage. Charles cuts in pieces the army of Vitikind and takes the capital called Erresbourg. That capital was a number of huts surrounded with a ditch. The inhabitants are slaughtered. He demolishes the principal temple of the country, said to have been formerly dedicated to the god Tanfana *the universal principle*, if ever those Barbarians acknowledged an universal principle, but at that time dedicated to the god *Irminful* a temple revered in Saxony, like that of Sion among the Jews. The Priests were murdered upon the fragments of the idol which had been overthrown. The victorious army penetrated as far as the Weser. All those districts submitted. Charlemagne resolved to bind them to his yoke with the tie of christianity. While he hastened to the other end of his dominions and to other conquests, he left among them missionaries to persuade, and soldiers to compel them. Almost all the people who lived near the Weser found themselves in one year christians and slaves.

773.

While the King of the Franks restrains the Saxons on the banks of the Weser, he is recalled to Italy. The quarrels between the Lombards and the Pope still subsisted; and the King in succouring the church, might have made himself master of Italy, which was
better

better worth his trouble than the countries of Bremen, Hanover and Brunswick. He marched therefore against his father-in-law Didier who was then before Rome. His aim was not to avenge Rome, but to hinder Didier from accommodating matters with the Pope, in order to restore to the two sons of *Carloman* the kingdom which was their due. He ran to attack his father-in-law, and cloked his usurpation with piety. He was followed by seventy thousand men regularly trained to war, an almost incredible circumstance in those times. Armies of one-hundred and two-hundred thousand men had been assembled before this period, but then they consisted of Peasants who retired to their harvest after a battle was lost or won. Charlemagne retained them longer under his standard, and this discipline greatly contributes to his victories.

774.

31101

The French army besieges Pavia. The King goes to Rome, renews and augments the donations of Pepin, and with his own hands places a copy of it on the tomb, which, as they pretended, contained the ashes of St. Peter. Pope Adrian thanks him in panegyric verses of his own writing.

The Tradition of Rome says that Charles gave Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily; but surely he did not bestow any of these countries which were not in his possession. But there is still extant a letter from Adrian to the Empress Irene, which proves that Charles gave some dominions which are not specified in the letter. "Charles Duke of the Franks and Patrician, said he, hath given us provinces and restored the towns which the perfidious Lombards detain from the church, &c."

We find that Adrian still carefully husbanded his influence over the Empire, in giving Charles the title

of Duke and Patrician only, and seeking to fortify his possession with the name of restitution.

The King returns before Pavia. Didier surrenders himself, is made a Monk and sent to the Abbey of Corbie in France. Thus ended the kingdom of the Lombards, who had destroyed the Roman power in Italy, and substituted their own laws in the room of those made by the Emperors. Every King who had the misfortune to be dethroned, became a Monk in those days.

Charlemagne caused himself to be crowned King of Italy in Pavia, with a crown on which there was an iron circle still preserved in the little town of Monza.

Justice was still administered in Rome in the name of the Greek Emperor. Even the Popes received from him the confirmation of their election; for tho' the Emperor was deprived of the substance, he still retained the shadow of power. Charlemagne, like Pepin, assumed no other title but that of Patrician which Theodoric and Attila had deigned to receive: so that the name of Emperor which originally signified no more than the general of an army, still implied the master of the East and West. Unsubstantial as it was, they respected it and even were afraid to usurp it. They affected no more than the term Patrician, which formerly meant a Roman senator, and which at that time signified a lieutenant independent of an Emperor without power.

Nevertheless money was then coined at Rome in the name of Adrian: from whence what are we to conclude, but that the Pope delivered from the Lombards, and no longer obeying the Emperors, was himself master in Rome. Certain it is, the Roman Pontiffs, like the Bishops of the Franks and Germans, seized the regal rights as soon as they were in their power; all authority seeks to augment itself; and for that reason only, nothing but the name of Charlemagne

magne was stamp'd upon the new money coined at Rome in the year 800, when he was elected Emperor by the Pope and the Roman people.

775.

The second effort of the Saxons against Charlemagne for the recovery of their liberty, which is called a revolt. They are again defeated in Westphalia, and after abundance of blood had been shed, gave cattle and hostages, having nothing else to pay.

776.

An attempt of Adalgise the son of Didier, to recover the kingdom of Lombardy. Pope Adrian construes it into a horrible conspiracy. Charles hastens to take vengeance, flies from Germany into Italy, beheads a Duke of Friouli who was an accomplice, and every thing submits to his fortune.

During that very period the Saxons return to Westphalia, and he returns to defeat them. They submit and promise again to become christians. Charles builds forts in their country, before any churches were built among them.

777

He gives laws to the Saxons, and compels them to swear they will become slaves, should they ever cease to be christians and submissive. At a grand diet held at Paderbourn in tents, a Mussulman Emir who commanded at Saragossa, came to conjure Charlemagne to support his rebellion against Abderame King of Spain.

778.

Charles marches from Paderborn into Spain, espouses the cause of this Emir, besieges and takes Pampelune. We may observe that the spoils of the Saracens were divided between the King, his officers

and soldiers, according to the ancient custom of making war only for the sake of booty, and of dividing it equally among all those who had an equal share of the danger. But all that booty is lost in repassing the Pyrenees. The rear-guard of Charlemagne is cut in pieces at Roncevalles by the Arabians and Gascoons. There, it is said, perished his nephew Orlando so celebrated for his courage and incredible strength.

As the Saxons had recourse to arms while Charles was in Italy, so they take them up while he is in Spain. Vitikind who had retired to the Duke of Denmark his father-in-law, returns to reanimate his countrymen. He reassembles them, finds in Bremen the capital of the country which bears that name, a bishop, a church and his Saxons in despair of being dragged to new altars: he expels the bishop who has time to embark and get away: Charlemagne comes up with great expedition and defeats Vitikind again.

780.

Victor on all hands, he sets out for Rome with one of his wives, called Ildegarde, and two younger children Pepin and Lewis. Pope Adrian baptizes these two children, and consecrates Pepin King of Lombardy, and Lewis King of Aquitain. This Aquitain was erected into a kingdom for some time.

781.

782.

The King of France keeps his court at Worms, Ralisbon and Cuerci. There he is visited by Alcuin archbishop of York. The King who could scarce sign his own name, was resolved to make science flourish, because he would be great in every thing. Peter de Pifa taught him a smattering of grammar. It is not surprizing that the Italians should instruct the Gauls and Germans, but it is very extraordinary that they should have always had occasion for English-

Englishmen to learn that which at this day is not honoured with the name of science.

They held conference before the King, which may be called the origin of the academies, especially those of Italy, in which every academican assumed a new name. Charlemagne took the appellation of *David*, Alcuin of *Albinus* and a young man called Ilgeberd who wrote doggrel verses, boldly appropriated to himself the name of *Homer*.

783.

Mean while Vitikind, who did not learn grammar, raised an insurrection among the Saxons, and defeated the generals of Charles on the banks of the Weser. Charles comes to repair this loss. He is again victor over the Saxons who lay down their arms before him: he commands them to deliver up Viti-kind. They answer that he has escaped to Denmark. *His accomplices are still here*, replied Charlemagne, and ordered four thousand five hundred to be butchered before his eyes. In this manner he prepared Saxony for the reception of christianity.

784.

This massacre had the same effect as that produced a long time after by the massacre called St. Bartholemew in France. All the Saxons resumed their arms with fury and despair, and were joined by the Danes and neighbouring nations.

785.

Charles marches against this multitude, with his son of the same name. He obtains a new victory, and again imposes fruitless laws: establishing marquises or commanders of the militia upon the frontiers of his realms.

786.

Vitiking yields at length. He comes with a Duke of Friesland, and submits to Charlemagne at Attigni sur l'Aine. Then the kingdom of France extended as far as Holstein. The King of France repairs again to Italy and rebuilds Florence; it is very remarkable, that he is no sooner at one end of his dominions, than there are always revolts at the other; a sure sign that the King had not powerful bodies of troops on all his frontiers. The ancient Saxons joined the Bavarians; the King repasses the Alps.

787.

The Empress Irene who still governed the Greek Empire, at that time the only Empire, had formed a powerful league against the King of France. It was composed of those very Saxons and Bavarians, and the Huns so famous heretofore under Attila, who inhabited, as now, the banks of the Danube and the Drave; nay part of Italy itself had engaged in the association. Charles vanquished the Huns upon the Danube, and the whole was dissipated,

From 788 to 792.

During these four years of peace, he opened schools in the houses of Bishops and Monasteries. The Roman chanting was established in the churches of France. At the diet of Aix-la-chapelle he instituted those laws which are called *Capitulary*. Laws that favour strongly of that Barbarism which they were meant to reform, and in which the nation had been long buried.

These that follow are the customs, manners, laws and spirit, which then prevailed.

L A W S and C U S T O M S.

Observed in the time of Charlemagne.

Provinces were governed and troops levied by Dukes, some of whom were removeable and others hereditary vassals, much in the same manner as the Turkish provinces are now governed by Beglerbeys. These Dukes had been instituted in Italy by Diocletian. The Counts, whose origin appears to have been in the time of Theodosius, commanded under the Dukes, each assembling the troops in his own district. The farms, the towns and villages furnished a number of soldiers proportioned to their power. Twelve farms found one horseman armed with casque and cuirass. The other soldiers wore nothing but a long, square buckler, a battle-ax, a javelin and sword. Those who used arrows were obliged to have at least a dozen in their quivers. The province that furnished the soldiery, provided them with corn and provisions for six months. The king maintained them for the rest of the campaign. They were reviewed on the first of March and the first of May. It was usually at these seasons that the parliaments were held. In besieging towns they employed the Ram, the Balista, the Tortoise and almost all the machines of the Romans, for, of all their arts, that of war alone subsisted, and *that* for their own ruin.

The noblemen called Barons, Leudes, Richlomes, with their followers composed what little cavalry was then to be seen in armies. The Mussulmans of Africa and Spain had a greater number of horse. It appears that afterwards, they learned of them, to cover their men and horses with Iron, and fight with Lances.

Charles had naval forces at the mouths of all the
great

great rivers of his Empire, from the Elbe to the Tiber. Before his time they were not known among the Barbarians, and long after his death no such armaments were to be seen. By these means and the warlike police which he maintained on all the coasts, he put a stop to those inundations of northern people, who then exercised the trade of pirates. He contained them within their own frozen climates; but, under his pusillanimous descendants, they deluged all Europe.

The general affairs were regulated in those assemblies which represented the nation, according to the custom of the ancient Romans, the Gauls and people of the north. Under him, Parliaments had no will but that of their master who knew how to command and persuade.

He caused trade to flourish a little in his vast dominions, because he was master of the Seas. Thus merchants from the coast of Tuscany went to trade at Constantinople among the Christians, and at the port of Alexandria among the Mussulmans, by whom they were civilly received, and from whom they drew the riches of Asia.

Venice and Genoa so powerful in the sequel, by means of Trade, had not yet engrossed the riches of the nations, tho' Venice began to grow wealthy and great.

Rome, Ravenna, Lyons, Arles and Tours had a great many woolen manufactures, iron was damasked, Glass was made, but silk stufs were not woven in any city of the west.

The Venetians began to bring them from Constantinople where they were not known, till after the Emperor Justinian; but it was not till near four hundred years after Charlemagne, that the Moors fabricated silk at Cordova, and the Norman Princes who conquered the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, afterwards established a silk manufactory at Palermo.

Almost

Almost all the works of industry and craft were performed in the Empire of the East. Linen was very uncommon. St. Boniface in a letter written to a bishop settled in Germany, desires he will send him some shagged cloth to wipe his feet after washing. This want of linen, was in all probability, the cause of those diseases of the skin, known by the name of Leprosy, to rise in those days; for there was already a great number of those hospitals called Lazars.

It is pretended that even in the time of Charlemagne great projects were formed for the benefit of commerce, as they had actually begun the famous canal, which was to join the Rhine with the Danube, and thus open a communication between the black sea and the ocean. But the spirit of conquest might have had a greater share in this undertaking, than any view to public utility.

Money had nearly the same value as that of the Roman Empire after Constantine. The golden sol was the *solidum Romanum*, which the Barbarians called sol from their known habit of contracting all names. Thus of *Augustus* they made *Aotic*; of *Forum Julii* *Frejus*; and this golden sol was equivalent to forty deniers of silver through the whole extent of Charlemagne's dominions.

Continuation of the customs that prevailed
in the time of Charlemagne.

T H E C H U R C H.

The churches of France were rich, those of Germany began to be rich, and were destined one day to be more so, because they were endowed with larger territories. The Bishops and Abbots had a great number of slaves. The Abbot Alcuin preceptor to Charlemagne, is reproached with having had twenty

thousand. This number is not incredible. Alcuin possessed three Abbeys, the lands of which had been inhabited by twenty thousand men, all belonging to the lord or superior. These slaves known under the name of *Serfs* could not marry, nor change the place of their abode without the permission of the Abbot. They were obliged to go fifty leagues with their carts, if he commanded them. They worked for him three days in the week, and he shared all the fruits of the earth.

In France and in Germany the bishops more than once have been known to go to battle with their *Serfs*. Charlemagne in a letter to one of his wives called *Fraftada*, mentions a Bishop who had valiantly fought by his side, in a battle against the *Avari* a people descended from the *Scythians*, who were settled towards the country which is now called *Austria*.

We find in his time 14 Monasteries which were obliged to furnish Soldiers. If the Abbot was in the least inclined to war, nothing hindered him from heading them in person; true it is in the year 803, a Parliament complained to Charlemagne, that too great a number of priests had been slain in war. Then the ministers of the altar were forbid going to battle, but custom was the stronger law.

We see in the *Bavarian laws* and the *Capitularies* of Charlemagne, that priests were forbid to have any other women in their houses, but their mothers and sisters: this was one of those laws which are contradicted by custom.

No person was allowed to call himself clerk who was not really so, or to wear the tonsure without belonging to a bishop. Such clerks were called *Acephali* and punished as vagabonds. They were ignorant of that station so common in our days, which is neither secular nor ecclesiastic; The title of *Abbot* which signifies father, belonged to none but the chiefs of monasteries, or even to seculars constituted in dignity;

nity; for example, that title was given to the chief of the republic of Genoa.

The Abbots of that time had the pastoral staff which the Bishops carried, and which had been the mark of the augural dignity in pagan Rome. Such was the power those Abbots had over their monks, that they sometimes condemned them to the most cruel afflictive pains. They were the first who adopted the barbarous custom of the Greek Emperors, namely that of burning the eyes, and a council was obliged to prohibit this outrage which they began to look upon as a right and prerogative.

As to the ceremonies of the Church, the mass was different from what it is at present, and still more different from what it had been in the first ages; there was no more than one said in every church. And Kings very rarely caused them to be said in private.

The first auricular confession which is called general confession, is that of St. Eloy in the sixth century. The enemies of the Roman Church, who have revolted against such a salutary institution, seem to have divested mankind of the most effectual bridle to restrain their secret crimes. Even the very sages of antiquity had felt the importance of it; and tho' they had not been able to impose it as a duty on all men, they had established the practice of it among those who pretended to lead a life of purity: it was the first expiation of those who were initiated among the antient Egyptians, and in the Eleusinian Mysteries of Ceres. Thus the Christian Religion hath consecrated things, the shadow of which God had permitted human wisdom to perceive and embrace.

Religion was not yet extended to the north farther than the conquests of Charlemagne. Denmark and all the country of the Normans were plunged in gross Idolatry. The inhabitants adored Oden; they imagined that after death, the happiness of man consisted in drinking beer out of the skulls of their enemies in
Odin's

Odin's Hall. We have still translations of their old songs which express this notion. It was a great deal for them to believe another life. Poland was neither less barbarous, nor less idolatrous. The Moscovites more savage than all the other Inhabitants of great Tartary, knew scarce enough of Religion to be Pagans. Yet all these nations lived quietly and peaceably in their ignorance, happy in being unknown to Charlemagne who sold the knowledge of Christianity so dear.

Continuation of the Customs that prevailed in the time of Charlemagne.

L A W S and C U S T O M S.

Justice was usually administered by Counts appointed by the King. They had their respective districts assigned, and were supposed to be acquainted with the laws, which were neither so numerous nor obscure as ours: the proceedings were simple; and every man pleaded his own cause in France and Germany.

Rome alone and her dependencies still retained abundance of the laws and formalities of the Roman Empire; the Lombard laws prevailed through the rest of hither Italy.

Every Count had under him a Lieutenant called *Viguier*, seven assessors *Scabini* chosen in the city: Like the ancient Roman Senators, they were at once warriors and judges. Nay they were forbid to appear upon the tribunal without their bucklers; but, under Charlemagne, no other citizens or even soldiers were allowed to go armed in time of peace. This wise law conformable to that of the Romans and Mussulmans, prevented those quarrels and continual duels which afterwards desolated Europe, when the fashion was introduced of never quitting the sword, but of going armed into the houses of friends, courts of judicature
and

and churches; an abuse carried to such a length, that in Spain, Germany and Flanders, the judge, the counsellor, the solicitor and physician walk at this day with swords by their sides, as if they were going to fight.

Those Counts published in their jurisdiction the order of marching to war, enlisted soldiers under captains or companies of an hundred, conducted them to the rendezvous of the troops, and in the mean time left their lieutenants to act as judges in the boroughs, for I dare not call them cities.

The King sent commissaries with express letters, *Missi Domini*, to examine the conduct of the counts: but neither those commissaries nor counts scarce ever condemned a criminal to death or to any corporal punishment. For, excepting Saxony, where Charlemagne exacted sanguinary laws, almost all sorts of crimes were punished by fine through the rest of his Empire; that of rebellion alone was punished with death, and the Kings reserved the judgement to themselves. The Salique Law, that of the Lombards and of the *Ripuarii*, had set fixed prices upon the greatest part of all the other outrages which are now punished with the loss of life, or by severe penalties. This jurisprudence which appears humane, was in effect more cruel than our own: it left every body who could pay for it, at liberty to do mischief. The gentlest law is that which by bridling iniquity in the most terrible manner, prevents the frequent commission of crimes.

By the ancient laws reduced under Dagobert King of the Franks, it cost one hundred sols to cut off a man's ear, and if the loss of the ear was not attended with deafness, the perpetrator was quit for fifty.

The murder of a Deacon was taxed at four hundred sols, and that of a parish priest at six hundred.

The third chapter of the Ripuary law, allows the murderer of a bishop to atone the crime by paying

as much gold as will balance a leaden Tunique as long as the delinquent and of a determined thickness.

The Salique law revived under Charlemagne, fixes the price of a bishop's life at 400 sols. It is so true that a criminal could redeem his life in this manner, that a number of those laws are thus expressed. *Componat tercentum, ducentum, centum solidis.* The delinquent may compound for 300, 200, or 100. sols.

The torture was applied to slaves only, and he who by the torture occasioned the death of an innocent slave belonging to another man, was obliged to give him two by way of satisfaction.

Charlemagne who corrected the Salique and Lombard laws, did nothing but raise the price of crimes. They were all specified, and a distinction made between the price of a stroke that bared the brain, and one that only cut off one of table of the scull: the first was valued at 45 sols, and the other at 20.

A Witch convicted of having eaten human flesh, was condemned to pay 200. sols: And this article is a proof very humbling to human nature, of the excess to which we may be driven by superstition.

All outrages against chastity had likewise their fixed prices. The rape of a married woman cost but 200 sols. For having violated a girl on the highway, they payed but 40 Sols. Whosoever carried off a girl of servile condition, was fined in 4 sols, and obliged to restore her to her master. The most severe of those barbarous laws, was precisely that which ought to have been the most gentle. Charlemagne himself in the sixth book of his capitularies, says that a man's marrying his godmother, is a crime worthy of death, which can be atoned no other way but by spending his whole life in pilgrimage.

Among the Salique Laws there is one which strongly denotes the contempt into which the Romans were fallen with those barbarous people: The Franc who had slain a Roman citizen, payed no more than

1050 deniers; whereas the Roman payed 2500 for the blood of a Franc.

In criminal causes that could not be otherwise decided, the accused party purged himself by oath, and not only himself, but he was obliged to produce a certain number of witnesses to swear to the same effect. When both parties opposed oath to oath, the combat was sometimes permitted.

Those combats, we know were, appeals to the judgement of God: This is the name they gave to the most deplorable follies of those barbarous governments. The accused were subjected to the proof of cold water, boiling water, or red hot iron. The celebrated Stephen Baluze has collected all the ancient ceremonies of those trials. They began with the mass, the accused person was excommunicated, the cold water was blessed and exorcised, and then being bound with cords, he was thrown into the water: If he sunk to the bottom, he was reputed innocent; but if he floated on the surface, he was found guilty. Mr. de Fleuri, in his Ecclesiastic History, says it was a sure way to find no person criminal. I dare say, it was a way by which many innocent persons perished. There are many men whose breasts are so large and whose lungs are so light as to hinder them from sinking, especially when a thick cord with which they are tied in several circumvolutions, constitutes with the body a volume specifically lighter than the same quantity of water. This wretched custom, since proscribed in large cities, is preserved even to our days in many provinces; and those who incurred the imputation of sorcery, have been often subjected to it, even by the sentence of the Judge: for, nothing endures so long as superstition, and more than one unfortunate wretch has lost his life by the trial.

The judgement of God, by means of hot water, was executed by compelling the accused to plunge his

his naked arm into a tub of boiling water and take up from the bottom a consecrated ring. The Judge in presence of the priests and the people, inclosed the patient's arm in a bag sealed with his own seal: and if in three days after, no mark of a scald appeared, or if the mark was thought inconsiderable, his innocence was acknowledged. We plainly see that the Judges could warp these strange laws according to their own pleasure, seeing it was in their power to decide whether or not the cicatrix was considerable enough to constitute the crime.

793.

Charles being neighbour to the Huns, of consequence becomes their natural enemy. He levies troops against them, and girds his son Lewis with the sword in the fourteenth year of his age. He makes him what was then called *miles*, that is, instructs him in the art of war; but this was not creating him Knight, as some Authors have imagined. Chivalry was not established until a long time after this period. He again defeats the Huns upon the Danube and upon the Raab.

Charles assembles the Bishops to judge the doctrine of Elipand Archbishop of Toledo. One may be amazed to find an Archbishop of Toledo, at that time when the Mussulmans were masters in Spain: But we must know that the Mussulmans tho' victors, left liberty of conscience to the vanquished; that they did not think the Christians were worthy to be Mussulmans, and contented themselves with imposing a slight tribute upon them.

This Elipand imagined, like Felix d'Urgel, that Jesus Christ as man was the adopted Son, but as God the natural Son of God the Father. It was a difficult point to resolve by ones self; therefore it was referred to Judges, by whom the doctrine was condemned.

While

While Charles obtains victories, enacts laws and assembles Bishops, a conspiracy is formed against him. He had a son by one of his wives, or concubines, called Pepin *the Hunchbacked*, to distinguish him from his other son Pepin King of Italy. Such children as are now called bastards and deprived of inheritance, were capable of inheriting at that time, and were not reputed bastards. Hunchback, tho' the eldest of all the sons, had no portion, and this is the origin of the conspiracy. He is apprehended with his accomplices at Ratisbon, tried by a Parliament, shaved and sent to the monastery of Prum in the Ardennes. Some of his adherents have their eyes put out, and others are beheaded.

794.

The Saxons revolt again, and are again easily defeated. Vitikind was no longer at their head.

The famous Council of Frankfort. Here was condemned the second Council of Nicea, in which the Empress Irene had re-established the worship of images.

Charlemagne causes the *Carolin-Books* to be written against image worship. Rome did not then think like the kingdom of the Franks; but this difference of opinion did not create any quarrel between Charlemagne and the Pope, to whom his friendship was necessary.

795.

The Duke of Friuli, a vassal of Charles, is sent against the Huns, and makes himself master of their treasures, supposing they had any. Pope Adrian dies Dec. 25. Charlemagne is said to have written his epitaph in Latin verse: but one can hardly believe that this King of the Franks who could not write, should nevertheless be capable of making Latin verses.

796.

Leo III. succeeds Adrian, and Charles writes to him thus: "We rejoice at your election, and that you pay us that obedience and fidelity which is our due." In this manner he expresses himself as a Patrician of Rome, and thus his father expressed himself to the Franks as Mayor of the Palace.

797, 798.

Pepin King of Italy, is sent by his father against the Huns; a sure sign that the former victories were not very complete. He obtains a new one. The celebrated Empress Irene is shut up in a cloister by her son Constantine V. She re-ascends the throne, causes her son's eyes to be put out; he dies of the operation, and she laments his death. This Irene although the natural enemy of Charlemagne, was desirous of being allied to him.

799.

At this period the Normans, that is, *men of the North*, who inhabited the coasts of the Baltique, were pirates. Charles equips a fleet and clears the seas of them.

The new Pope Leo III. incurs the resentment of the Romans. His Canons resolve to put out his eyes and cut out his tongue. The attempt is made; but he recovers of his wounds. He comes to Paderborn to demand justice of Charles, who sends him back to Rome with an escorte. Charles follows him in a little time: Sends his son Pepin to seize the dutchy of Beneventum, which still held of the Emperor of Constantinople.

800:

He arrives at Rome: declares the Pope innocent of the crimes laid to his charge; and the Pope declares

clares him Emperor amidst the acclamations of the people. Charlemagne affects to conceal his joy, under the cloke of modesty, and seems astonished at his glory. He acts as the Sovereign of Rome, and renews the Empire of the Cæsars. But to render that Empire durable, there was a necessity for his remaining at Rome.

801.

Historians alledge that as soon as he was Emperor, Irene expressed a desire of being married to him. Such a marriage would rather have been between the two Empires than between Charlemagne and Irene who was an old woman.

802.

Charlemagne exerts all the authority of the old Emperors. No country from Beneventum to Bayonne, and from Bayonne to Bavaria, was exempted from his legislative power. John Duke of Venice having assassinated a Bishop, is accused before Charles and does not object to him as a Judge.

Nicephorus, successor to Irene, acknowledges Charles as Emperor, without coming to any agreement about the limits of the two Empires.

803, 804.

The Emperor applies himself to the establishment of police in his dominions, as much as the times would permit. He again disperses the factions of the Saxons, and at last transports part of that people to Flanders, Provence, Italy and Rome itself.

805.

He dictates his last will, which begins thus: " Charles, Emperor, Cæsar, the most invincible King of the Franks, &c. " He bequeaths to Lewis all the country from Spain to the Rhine: he leaves Italy

and

and Bavaria to Pepin; and to Charles, France from the Loire to Ingoldstadt, and all Aufrasia from the Scheld to the confines of Brandenbourg. In these three lots there was subject for eternal divisions. Charlemagne thought to prevent all dissensions, by ordaining that if any difference should happen about the limits of these kingdoms, which could not be decided by evidence, they should appeal to the *Judgment of the Cross*. This consisted in making the opposite Advocates stand with their arms extended, and he who was first wearied lost the cause. The natural good sense of so great a conqueror could not overbalance the customs of the age.

Charlemagne still retains the Empire and the Sovereignty, and was King of the kings his children. This famous will was made at Thionville with the approbation of a Parliament. The Parliament was composed of bishops, abbots, officers of the palace and the army, who attended for no other reason, but to attest the will of an absolute Master. The diets were not then what they are now; and that vast republic of princes, noblemen, and free towns, under one Chief, was not then established.

806.

The famous Aaron, Caliph of Bagdad, the new Babylon, sends Ambassadors and presents to Charlemagne. The nations bestowed upon Aaron a title superior to that of Charlemagne; the Emperor of the West was surnamed *the Great*, but the Caliph was surnamed *the Just*.

It is not surprising that Aaron Rachild should send Ambassadors to the French Emperor; they were both enemies to the Emperor of the East: But what would be surprising is that a Caliph, as our Historians allege, should propose the cession of Jerusalem to Charlemagne. It would have been a profanation in the Caliph to yield up to Christians a city full of Mosques,

Mosques, and this profanation would have cost him his throne and life. Besides, enthusiasm had not as yet summoned the Christians of the West to Jerusalem.

Charles convokes a council at Aix-la-chapelle. This council adds to the creed, *that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son.* This addition was not then received at Rome, but the Romans adopted it soon after. Thus some *Dogmas* are established by little and little.

At this period the people called Normans, Danes and Scandinavians, reinforced by the ancient Saxons who had retired among them, presumed to menace the coasts of the new Empire. Charles crosses the Elbe; and Godfrey chief of all those Barbarians, in order to defend himself, draws a large trench between the Ocean and the Baltique on the confines of Holstein the ancient Cimbrique Chersonesus, and fortifies this trench with a strong palisado. In the same manner the Romans had drawn an intrenchment between England and Scotland: feeble imitations of the famous Chinese wall.

807. 808. 809.

Treaties with the Danes. Laws for the Saxons. Police established in the Empire. Small fleets stationed at the mouths of rivers.

810.

Pepin that son of Charlemagne, to whom his father had given the kingdom of Italy, dies of the plague, in the month of July: leaving a bastard called Bernard. The Emperor, without difficulty, bestows Italy on this bastard, as the natural heir, according to the custom of the time.

811.

A fleet stationed at Boulogne in the Channel. A light-house rebuilt at Boulogne. Wurtzburg built. The death of prince Charles destined for the Empire.

813.

The Emperor associates his son Lewis in the Empire, in the month of March, at Aix-la-chapelle. All present are obliged to give their votes for this association. He gives the city of Ulm to the Monks who treat the inhabitants like slaves. He gives lands to Eginard the supposed lover of his daughter Emma. The Romances are full of fables worthy of Archbishop Turpin, concerning this Eginard and that pretended daughter of the Emperor; but, unfortunately for the author, Charlemagne never had a daughter of that name.

814.

He dies of a pleurisy after seven days illness, January 28, at three in the morning. He had no physician near him, who knew what a pleurisy was. Medicine like almost all the other arts, was known to none but the Arabians and Greeks of Constantinople.

LEWIS THE DEBONNAIRE, or THE WEAK.

SECOND EMPEROR.

814.

LEWIS hastens from Aquitain to Aix-la-chapelle, and puts himself in full possession of the Empire. He was born in 778 to Charlemagne, by one of his wives, called Ildegarde, daughter of a German

man Duke. He is said to have had beauty, strength, health and address at all his exercises, and to have understood Latin and Greek; but he was weak and unfortunate. His Empire was bounded on the North by the Baltick and Denmark, the Ocean on the West, the Mediterranean, Adriatic and Pyrenees on the South, and the Vistula and Tæissla on the East. The Duke of Beneventum was his feudatory, and payed him annually Seven thousand Crowns of gold for his Dutchy: a very considerable sum at that time. The territory of Beneventum extended much farther at that time than now, and constituted the Boundary of the two Empires.

815.

The first step that Lewis took, was to shut up all his sisters in convents, and all their lovers in jail; a measure for which he was not beloved either in his own family or in the state; the second was to augment the privileges of all the churches; and the third was to incense his nephew Bernard king of Italy, who came to take the oath of fidelity, and saw all his friends exiled.

816.

Stephen the IVth is elected bishop of Rome and pope by the roman people, without consulting the Emperor: but he makes the people swear obedience and fidelity to Lewis, to whom he carries the oath in person to Rheims. He crowns the Emperor and his wife Ermengarde; and returns to Rome in the month of October, with a decree importing that for the future the popes shall be elected in presence of the Emperor's ambassadors.

817.

Lewis associates his eldest son Lotharius, in the Empire. This was being in a great hurry. He makes Pepin his second son, king of Aquitain; and erects

Bavaria with some neighbouring countries into a kingdom for his youngest son Lewis. All three are dissatisfied; Lotharius, at being an Emperor without power; and the two others, with the smallness of their dominions; and Bernard king of Italy nephew to the Emperor, more dissatisfied than all the rest.

818,

The Emperor Lewis thought himself Emperor of Rome, and Bernard grandson of Charlemagne, would have no master in Italy. It is plain that Charlemagne in his division had acted more like a parent than a politician, and laid the foundation of civil wars for his family. The Emperor and Bernard had recourse to arms, and meet at Chaalons sur Sone. Bernard, who was probably more ambitious than warlike, loses part of his army without fighting; and submits to the mercy of Lewis the Debonnaire, who orders the Eyes of his nephew Bernard and all his partisans to be put out. The operation was not expertly performed upon Bernard, who dies three days after he had undergone it. This Custom of putting out the eyes of princes, was very much practised by the greek Emperors, unknown to the Caliphs, and prohibited by Charlemagne.

819.

The Emperor loses his wife Ermengarde; and hesitates whether he shall become a monk or marry again. He takes to wife one Judith daughter of a Bavarian count. He pacifies some troubles in Pannonia, and holds diets at Aix-la-chapelle.

820.

His generals retake Carniola and Carinthia from the Barbarians who had conquered these provinces.

821.

Several Ecclesiastics inspire the Emperor Lewis with remorse for the punishment he had inflicted upon his

his nephew king Bernard, and the monasterial captivity in which held three of his own brothers whose names were Drogon, Thierrî and Hugues, contrary to the promise he had made to Charlemagne to take care of their fortune. Those ecclesiasticks were in the right. It is a consolation to mankind, that there are every where men who can in the name of the Divinity inspire princes with remorse: but, there they ought to stop, without persecuting and debasing them.

822.

The bishops and abbots impose a public penance on the emperor. He appears, in the assembly of Attigni, covered with hair cloth. He gives bishopricks and abbeys to his brothers whom he had made monks against their inclination. He implores forgiveness of God for the death of Bernard: this might have been done without hair-cloth and public penance which rendered the emperor ridiculous.

823.

What were more dangerous circumstances, Lotharius whom he had associated in the empire, caused himself to be crowned at Rome by pope Paschal, the empress Judith his mother-in-law brought him a brother, and the Romans neither loved nor valued the emperor. One of the great faults of Lewis, was his neglecting to fix the state of empire at Rome. Pope Paschal without remission put out the eyes of all those who preached up obedience to emperors: but afterwards he swore before God, that he had no share in these executions, and the Emperor said not a word.

The empress Judith is delivered at Compiègne of a son who is called Charles. Lotharius was then returned from Rome. His father Lewis the emperor exacts of him an oath importing that he would consent to give some kingdom to this child: a kind of oath the violation of which he might have foreseen.

824.

Pope Paschal dies. The Romans will not allow him to be buried. Lotharius at his return to Rome, causes informations to be taken against his memory. The process is dropt. Lotharius as Emperor and Sovereign of Rome, makes laws for the protection of the Popes; but in these very laws, he names the pope before himself: a very dangerous piece of inattention.

Pope Stephen II. takes the oath of fidelity to the two emperors, but there it is expressly said it was of his own free will. The clergy and the Roman people swear they will never suffer a pope to be elected without the consent of the emperor. They swear fealty to their lords Lewis and Lotharius, but add "saving the fidelity we have promised to our lord
" the pope."

It seems that in all the oaths of those times, there were clauses by which they were in effect annulled.

Armorica or Brittany would not then acknowledge the empire. That people had no right but that in common to all men, to be free; but in less than forty days they were obliged to yeild to the stronger Power.

825.

One *Heriolt* duke of the Danes comes to the court of Lewis to embrace the christian religion; but, this was because he had been expelled from his own dominions. The emperor sends Ansharius a monk of Corbie, to preach christianity in the deserts where Stockholm is now actually built. He founds the Bishoprick of Hamburg for this Ansharius, and from Hamburg the Missionaries are to set out in order to convert the north.

New Corbie is founded in Westphalia for the same purpose. The Abbot instead of being a missionary, is now a prince of the empire.

856. While

826.

While Lewis is employed at Aix-la-chapelle, about the missions of the north, the Moorish kings of Spain send troops into Aquitain, and war is carried on near the Pyrenees between the Mussulmans and the Christians ; but it is soon terminated by agreement.

827.

The emperor Lewis causes councils to be held at Mentz, Paris and Toulouse. He repents of this measure. The council of Paris writes to him and his son Lotharius : “ We intreat your excellencies to remember, after the example of Constantine, that the bishops have a right to judge you, and that bishops cannot be judged by man.”

Lewis bestows upon his young son Charles in the cradle, what was then called Germany, situated between the Main, the Rhine, the Necker and the Danube, to this he added transjurane Burgundy comprehending the country of Geneva and Switzerland.

The three other children of Lewis, resent this partition, and at first excite the exclamations of the whole empire.

828.

Judith mother of Charles that infant king of Germany, governed her husband the emperor, and was governed by one Bernard count of Barcelona, her gallant whom she had placed at the head of affairs.

829.

So many weaknesses gave birth to factions. An abbot called Vala, a relation of Lewis, begins a conspiracy against the emperor. His three children, Lotharius associated by him in the empire, Pepin to whom he had given Aquitain, and Lewis who had received Bavaria from his bounty, declared against their father.

An Abbot of St. Dennis, who had at the same time, St. Medard de Soissons and St. Germain, promises to levy troops for their service. The bishops of Vienna, Amiens and Lyons, declare all those who will not join them, *rebels to God and the church*. This was not the first time the world had seen civil war, preached up in the name of God; but, it was the first time any father had at one time, seen three of his own children rebellious and unnatural in the name of God.

830.

Each of these rebellious sons had an army; and the father had but an handful of troops with which he fled from Aix-la-chapelle to Boulogne in Picardy. He set out on Ashwednesday, a circumstance trifling in itself, but become eternally memorable by it's having been imputed to him as a crime equal to sacrilege.

At first a remanant of respect for the paternal and imperial authority, which had mixed with the rebellion, induces them to give *Lewis the weak* the hearing in an assembly at Compiègne. There he promises to be ruled by the advice of his son king Pepin, and that of the priests, and to make his wife a nun. But until a decisive resolution can be taken, Pepin, according to the custom of the times, puts out the eyes of Bernard that gallant of Judith, who thought himself secure, and his brother underwent the same fate.

Those who have a taste for the researches of antiquity, are of opinion that Bernard preserved his eyes, and that his brother suffered for him. True knowledge does not consist in the investigation of these things; but in knowing the barbarous customs which prevailed at that time, the weakness of the government, the misery of nations, and the power of the clergy.

Lotharius arrives from Italy, he puts the Emperor his father in prison, in the hands of monks. One
of

of these whose name was Gombaud, having more address than his fellows, serves the Emperor with great dexterity and effects his deliverance. Lotharius at length begs pardon of his father at Nimeguen. The three brothers are divided among themselves, and the Emperor at the mercy of those by whom he is governed, leaves the whole Empire in confusion.

831.

Diets are assembled, and armies raised on all hands. The Empire becomes an Anarchy. Lewis of Bavaria enters the country called Germany, and makes his peace at the head of an army.

Pepin is made prisoner. Lotharius is taken into favour; and in every treaty a new rebellion is projected.

832.

The Empress Judith takes the advantage of a lucky moment, to strip Pepin of the kingdom of Aquitain, and give it to her son Charles, that is to herself in the name of her son. If the Emperor *Lewis the weak* had not given away so many kingdoms, he would have been able to keep his own.

Lotharius under pretext of dethroning his brother Pepin, arrives from Italy with an army, and with that army brings Pope Gregory IV. to inspire more respect and excite more trouble.

833.

Some Bishops attached to the Emperor Lewis, particularly those of Germany, write to the Pope: "If thou art come to excommunicate, thou shalt be turn excommunicated." But the party of Lotharius, of the other rebellious sons and the pope prevailed. The rebel and papal army advances to the neighbourhood of Basil against the imperial army. The Pope writes to the Bishops: "Know that the

“ authority of my Chair is greater than that of the throne of Lewis.” In order to prove that assertion, he negotiates with that Emperor and deceives him. The field in which they negotiated, is called *the field of deceit*. He seduced the Emperor’s officers and soldiers. That unfortunate father surrenders himself to his rebellious sons Lotharius and Lewis of Bavaria, on this single condition that they should not put out the eyes of his wife, and son Charles who was with him.

The rebellious Lotharius sends his mother in law prisoner to Tortona ; his father to the Abbey of St. Medard, and his brother Charles to the monastery of Prum. He assembles a diet at Compiègne, and from thence adjourns to Soissons.

An Archbishop of Rheims, called Ebbon, taken from a servile condition against the laws, and elevated to that dignity by Lewis himself, deposes his Sovereign and benefactor. The Monarch is compelled to appear before this Prelate, surrounded by thirty Bishops, Canons and Monks in the Church of Notre Dame at Soissons. Lotharius is present at the humiliation of the father. An hair cloth is spread before the altar. The Archbishop commands the Emperor to take off his baldrick, sword and habit and prostrate himself upon this hair-cloth. Lewis, with his face towards the earth, implores of his own accord, public penance, which he deserved but too well by this abject submission. The Archbishop compels him to read aloud the list of his crimes, among which it is specified that he had ordered his troops, to march on Ash-wednesday, and convoked a parliament on holy thursday. They constitute a verbal process of this whole transaction, a monument still extant of insolence and meanness. In this process they did not even deign to call Lewis by the name of Emperor.

Lewis the weak continues shut up for the space of a year, in a cell of the convent of St. Medard at Soissons, clothed

clothed in sackcloth, without servants, without consolation. Had he had but one son, he would have been lost for ever: but, his three children quarrelled about his spoils; and their dissensions soon restored liberty and the crown to their father.

At this time of Anarchy, the Normans, that is an assemblage of Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, Pomeranians and Livonians, infested the coasts of the Empire. They burned the new bishoprick of Hamburg, sacked and plundered Friesland, shewed by anticipation the miseries they would one day occasion, and there was no other way taken to expel them, than paying a sum of money, which invited them to return again.

834.

Lewis king of Bavaria, and Pepin king of Aquitain, resolve to deliver their father, because they are dissatisfied with their brother Lotharius, who is forced to consent to his enlargement. The Emperor is re-established in St. Denis near Paris, but he dares not resume the crown, till after he is absolved by the bishops.

835.

As soo as he is absolved, he is enabled to levy troops. Lotharius restores his wife Judith and his son Charles. An assembly at Thionville anathematizes that of Soissons. It costs the archbishop Ebbon no more than the loss of his see; besides he was only deposed in the vestry; whereas the Emperor had been degraded at the foot of the altar.

836.

This whole year is spent in fruitless negotiations, and marked by public calamities.

837.

Lewis the weak is taken ill. A comet appears; "fail not (said the Emperor to his astrologer) to let me know what that comet signifies." The astrologer answers that it portended the death of a great prince. The Emperor did not doubt but it was his own: prepares himself for death and recovers. That same year the comet had its effect upon his son king Pepin. This was a new source of trouble.

838.

The Emperor Lewis has now but two children to fear, instead of three. Lewis of Bavaria rebels again, and again begs pardon.

839.

Lotharius likewise begs pardon in order to have Aquitain. The Emperor makes a new partition of his dominions, takes every thing from the children of Pepin lately dead. To Italy possessed by the rebel Lotharius, he adds Burgundy, Lyons, Franche Comtè, part of Lorraine, of the Palatinate, of Triers, Cologne, Alsace, Franconia, Nuremberg, Thuringia, Saxony and Friesland. He gives to his beloved Charles the son of Judith, all that lies between the Loire, the Rhone, the Meuse and the ocean. By this partition, he again finds the secret to disgust his children and grand-children. Lewis of Bavaria takes arms against him.

840.

Lewis the Emperor dies at length of chagrin. Before his death he makes presents to his children. Some partisans of Lewis of Bavaria, expostulating with him on account of his having given nothing to that unnatural Son, "I forgive him, (said he) but, let him know he is the cause of my death."

His will confirms the donation of Pepin and Charlemagne to the church of Rome, which owes every thing

thing to the kings of the Franks. One is surpris'd in reading the charter called *Carta divisionis*, to find him adding Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily to those presents. Sardinia and Sicily were disputed between the Mussulmans and some christian adventurers, which last had recourse to the Popes from whom they received bulls and charity. They consented to hold of the Popes, but at that time, in order to acquire that right of fief or dependence, the popes ought to have demanded it of the Emperors. It is not known whether or not *Lewis the weak* actually ceded the superiority of Sardinia and Corsica. As for Sicily, it belonged to the Emperors of the east.

Lewis expires June 20, 840.

L O T H A R I U S.

THIRD EMPEROR.

841.

IN a little time after the death of his son, Charlemagne's Empire underwent the destiny of Alexander's, and of the greatness of the Caliphs. Raised with precipitation, it tumbled all at once, and was divided by intestine wars.

It is not at all surpris'ing that princes who had dethroned their father, should wish to exterminate each other. Every one vied in stripping his brother. Lotharius the Emperor wanted to have the whole. Lewis of Bavaria and Charles the Son of Judith united against him. They laid waste the Empire, and drained it of soldiers. The two kings fought a bloody battle with their brother at Fontenoy in the Auxerois. An hundred thousand men are said to have been lost on

this occasion. Lotharius was victor. Then he exhibited to the world an example of policy, quite contrary to that of Charlemagne. The conqueror of the Saxons and Frieslanders, had subjected them to Christianity as a necessary check. Lotharius in order to attach them to his interest, gives them free liberty of conscience, and one half of the country becomes idolatrous again.

842.

The two brothers Lewis of Bavaria and Charles of Aquitain unite by that famous oath, which is almost the only monument extant of the language called Romance: *Pro Deo amur & pro Christian poblo, & nostro commun salvament dinst di in avant, in quant Deos favir & podir me dunat &c. . . .* This Language is still spoken by the Grifons of the valley of Engadina.

843. 844.

An assembly is held at Verdun, for a treaty of partition between the three brothers. They fight and negotiate from the Rhine to the Alps. Italy waits in tranquillity, until the fate of arms shall give her a master.

845.

While the three brothers tear in pieces the bosom of the Empire, the Normans continue to lay waste the frontiers with impunity. At length, the three brothers sign the famous treaty of partition, terminated at Coblentz by an hundred and twenty deputies. Lotharius remains emperor. He possesses Italy, part of Burgundy, the course of the Rhine, the Scheld and the Meuse. Lewis of Bavaria keeps all the rest of Germany. Charles, afterwards surnamed *the bald*, is king of France. The emperor renounces all authority over these two brothers. Thus he is no more than emperor of Italy, without being master of Rome.

All

All the great officers and noblemen of the three kingdoms, acknowledge by an authentic act, the division of the three brothers, and the succession entailed upon their children.

Pope Sergius II. is elected by the Roman people, and takes possession of the chair, without waiting for the confirmation of the emperor Lotharius. That prince is not powerful enough to revenge the affront, but sends his son Lewis to Rome to confirm the Pope's election, in order to preserve his right, and that the youth may be crowned king of the Lombards or of Italy. He likewise procures a regulation at Rome in an assembly of bishops, importing that no pope shall be consecrated without the confirmation of the emperor.

Mean while, Lewis in Germany, is obliged to fight, sometimes with the Huns, sometimes with the Normans, and sometimes with the Bohemians. These Bohemians together with the Silesians and Moravians were idolatrous Barbarians who made incursions upon the Christian Barbarians with various success.

The emperor Lotharius and Charles *the bald* have still more to suffer in their dominions. The provinces from the Alps to the Rhine no longer know whom to obey.

There is a faction raised in favour of a son of that unfortunate Pepin king of Aquitain, who had been stripped by his father Lewis *the weak*. Several tyrants made themselves masters of several towns. Small battles were every where fought, and in these there was always a number of monks, abbots and bishops slain sword in hand. Hugues that son of Charlemagne, who was compelled to be a monk, afterwards abbot of St. Quentin, is killed before Toulouse, together with the abbot of Ferriere; two bishops are there made prisoners. The Normans ravage the coasts of France. Charles *the bald* makes no other opposition to them, but an obligation to pay them
fourteen

fourteen thousand silver marks, which was a sure way of inviting them to return.

847.

The emperor Lotharius no less unfortunate, cedes Friesland to the Normans, by the title of homage. This fatal custom of receiving enemies for vassals, paves the way for the settlement of those pirates in Normandy.

848.

While the Normans ravaged the coasts of France, the Saracens enter Italy : make themselves masters of Sicily, advance towards Rome by the mouth of the Tiber, and plunder the rich church of St. Peter without the walls.

Pope Leo IV. in such a dangerous conjuncture assuming an authority which the generals of the emperor Lotharius seemed to abandon, shews himself worthy in defending Rome to command as sovereign in that city. He had employed the riches of the church, in repairing the walls, building towers, and stretching chains across the Tiber. He armed the militia at his own expence, engaged the inhabitants of Naples and Gaietta to come and defend the coast and port of Ostia, without neglecting the wise precaution of taking hostages from them ; well knowing that those who are powerful enough to succour us, have also the power to do us harm. He in person visited all the posts, and received the Saracens at their descent, not in the equipage of a warrior, like Goslin bishop of Paris, upon a still more pressing occasion ; but as a pontif who exhorted a Christian people, and a king who watched over the safety of his subjects. In him the courage of the first ages of the republic revived in the age of cowardice and corruption, like a fair monument of old Rome, which is sometimes found in the ruins of the new.

The

The Arabians are defeated, and the prisoners employed in building a new wall round St. Peter's, and in aggrandising the city which they came to destroy.

Lotharius associates his son Lewis in his feeble empire. The Mussulmans are driven from Beneventum, but they remain in the Guarillan and in Calabria.

849.

New discord among the brothers, and among the bishops and noblemen, which renders the people still more unhappy. Some Franc and German bishops declare the emperor Lotharius has forfeited the empire. They had no right to make this declaration, either as bishops, or Germans and Franks, seeing he was only emperor of Italy. It was therefore a fruitless outrage. Lotharius was happier than his father.

850. 851. 852.

A reconciliation is effected among the three brothers. The Empire is harrassed by new incursions of all the Barbarians bordering upon the Empire.

In the midst of these horrors, the missionary Ansharius Bishop of Hamburg persuades one Eric, Chief or Duke or King of Denmark, to allow the christian religion in his dominions. He obtains the same permission in Sweden. But the Swedes and Danes, nevertheless, make incursions upon the Christians.

853. 854.

Amidst these desolations of France and Germany, the weakness of Italy threatened by the mussulmans, the misgovernment of Lewis of Italy, son of Lotharius, given up to debauchery at Pavia, and despised in Rome, the Emperor of Constantinople negotiates with the Pope for the recovery of Rome; but that Emperor was no other than Michael still more debauched

bauched and despised than Lewis of Italy; and all these circumstances had no other effect than that of increasing the power of the Pope.

855.

The Emperor Lotharius who had made his father Lewis *the Weak* a Monk, now makes himself a Monk in his turn, induced by the troubles of his Empire, the fear of death, and superstition. He takes the habit in the Abbey of Prum, and on the 18th of September dies like a simpleton, after having lived as a tyrant.

L E W I S II.

F O U R T H E M P E R O R.

856.

AFTER the death of this third Emperor of the West, new kingdoms arose in Europe. Lewis of Italy, his eldest son, remains at Pavia, with the vain title of Emperor of the West. The second son called Lotharius after his father, has the kingdom of Lotharingia afterwards called Lorrain, extended from Geneva to Strasburg and Utrecht. The third, whose name was Charles, possessed Savoy, Dauphiny with part of Lionnois, Provence and Languedoc. These dominions composed the kingdom of Arles from the name of the capital, a city formerly opulent and embellished by the Romans, but then small and poor like all the other towns on this side the Alps. In the flourishing times of the republic and in the reigns of the Cæsars, the Romans aggrandised and decorated the towns which they had subdued; but when left to themselves or to the Barbarians, all of them went

to

to wreck, and by their ruins attested the superiority of the Roman genius.

A Barbarian called Solomon, soon after made himself king of Britany, part of which was still pagan; but all these kingdoms fell almost as fast as they were raised.

857.

Lewis the Germanic begins by taking Alface from the new king of Lorrain. He bestows privileges upon Strasbourg already a powerful city, when there was nothing but villages in that part of the world on the other side of the Rhine. The Normans desolate France. *Lewis the Germanic* takes that opportunity to come and overwhelm his brother, instead of assisting him against the Barbarians. He defeats him near Orleans. The bishops of France in vain excommunicate him: he resolves to make himself master of France. The remains of the Saxons and other Barbarians who invade Germany, oblige him to come and defend his own dominions.

From 858, to 865.

Lewis II. that phantom of an emperor in Italy, takes no share in all these troubles, leaves the popes to strengthen their own power, and dares not reside at Rome.

Charles *the Bald* of France and *Lewis the Germanic* make peace, because they could no longer make war. The most memorable event of that time, relates to the amours of Lotharius king of Lorrain: that prince was willing to imitate Charlemagne who repudiated his wives and married his concubines. He divorces his wife called Thietberge, daughter of a Burgundian nobleman. She is accused of adultery and confesses the crime. He marries his mistress called Valdrade, who had been formerly promised to him as a wife. He procures the convocation of a
council

council at Aix-la-chapelle, which approves of his divorce from Thietberg. The decree of that council is confirmed by another at Metz, in presence of the pope's legates. Pope Nicholas I. annuls the councils of Metz and Aix-la-chapelle, and exercises an authority hitherto unknown. He excommunicates and deposes some bishops who espouse the party of the king of Lorrain : and finally, that king is compelled to quit the wife whom he loves, and to take back the other whom he could not love.

It were, doubtless, to be wished that there was a sacred tribunal to apprise sovereigns of their duty, and make them blush for their violences. But there does not seem to be any reason for a monarch's submitting the secrets of his marriage-bed to the authority of a stranger, and the orientals appear to have always maintained customs more conformable to nature, and more favourable for the domestic peace of families, in considering all the fruits of love as legitimate, and in rendering those amours impenetrable to the eyes of the public.

In those times, the descendants of Charlemagne, were always by the ears together : and their kingdoms were always attacked by the Barbarians.

Young Pepin great grandson of Charlemagne, son of the deposed Pepin king of Aquitain, who died without dominions, having for some time led a vagrant and unhappy life, joins the Normans, renounces the Christian religion, and finishes his career in being taken and shut up in a convent where he dies.

866.

It is to this year chiefly, that we can fix the schism which still continues between the Greek and Roman churches. Neither Germany nor France intermeddled in the affair. The people were too miserable to mind those disputes which are so interesting during the leisure of peace.

Charles

Charles king of Arles, dies without issue. The emperor Lewis and Lotharius divide his dominions.

It is a destiny fixed to the house of Charlemagne, that the children should take arms against their fathers. Lewis *the Germanic* had two sons. Lewis the younger dissatisfied with his portion, endeavours to dethrone him. His rebellion produces no other consequence than that of his asking pardon.

867. 868.

Lewis king of Germany defeats the Moravians and Bohemians, by the hands of his sons. These are not victories which augment a state and help it to flourish. This was nothing but repelling savages to their forests and mountains.

869.

The excommunicated king of Lorraine goes to visit the new pope Adrian at Rome, dines with him, promises to leave off living with his mistress; and dies on his return, at Placentia.

Charles *the Bald* seizes Lorraine and even Alface in despite of the right of a bastard of Lotharius to whom his father had given that province. Lewis *the Germanic* had taken Alface from Lotharius, but is restored; Charles *the Bald* took, but did not restore it.

870.

Lewis of Germany wants to have Lorraine, Lewis of Italy the emperor has the same inclination, and engages pope Adrian in his interest. No regard is paid either to the emperor or pope. Lewis of Germany and Charles *the Bald* divide all the dominions comprehended under the name of Lorraine in two equal parts. The Western falls to the king of France, and the Eastern to the king of Germany. Pope Adrian threatens excommunication. They had already
ready

ready begun to make use of these arms. But they were despised. The emperor of Italy was not powerful enough to render them formidable.

871.

This emperor of Italy could scarce get the better of a duke of Beneventum, who being at the same time vassal of the empires of the East and West, would obey neither the one nor the other, and indeed kept the balance equal between them.

The emperor Lewis ventures to go to Beneventum, and is put in prison by the duke: the very same adventure that afterwards happened to Lewis XI. with the duke of Burgundy.

872. 873.

Pope John VIII. who succeeded Adrian II. seeing the precarious situation of the emperor's health, privately promises the imperial crown to Charles *the Bald* of France, and sells that promise for a good price. This is the same John VIII. who paid such respect to the Patriarch Photius, suffering him to be named before himself in a council at Constantinople.

The Moravians, Huns and Danes continue to harass Germany; and that vast extent of dominion cannot as yet have the benefit of good laws.

874.

France was not more happy. Charles *the Bald* had a son called Carloman whom he had ordered to be shaved in his infancy, and created a deacon against his own inclination. At length he fled for refuge to Metz in the dominions of his uncle Lewis of Germany, where he levies troops, but being taken, his father orders his eyes to be put out according to the new fashion.

875.

The emperor Lewis II. dies at Milan. His brother Charles *the Bald*, king of France, passes the Alps, secures the passages against his brother Lewis of Germany, hastens to Rome, lavishes away his money, is proclaimed king of the Romans by the people, and crowned by the pope.

If the Salique law had been in force in the family of Charlemagne, the Empire must have belonged to the eldest branch of the house of Lewis *the Germanic*; but a number of troops, expedition, condescension, and a sum of money, constituted the right of Charles *the Bald*, and thereby he debased his own dignity to enjoy it. Pope John VIII. conferred the crown as sovereign, *the Bald* received it as a vassal, acknowledging that he held every thing of the pope, leaving to the successors of that pontif the power of bestowing the Empire, and promising to have always near him a vicar of the holy see, to determine all ecclesiastical affairs of consequence. The archbishop of Sens was in that quality, primate of Gaul and Germany: a title become altogether useless.

Assuredly the popes had reason to believe themselves vested with the right of bestowing the Empire, and even of selling it, seeing they found people to ask and to purchase it of their hands; and seeing Charlemagne himself had received the title of emperor from pope Leo III. But we have likewise reason to say, that Leo III. in declaring Charlemagne emperor, had declared him his master, and that prince having taken the rights attached to his dignity, it was the privilege of his successors to confirm the popes, not to be elected by them. Time, occasion, custom, prescription and power are the foundation of all right.

CHARLES THE BALD, FIFTH EMPEROR.

CHARLES causes himself to be crowned at Pavia, king of Lombardy, by the bishops, counts and abbots of that country: "We elect you (it is said in that act) with unanimous consent, seeing you have been raised to the imperial throne, by the intercession of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and their vicar John sovereign pontif, &c."

876.

Lewis of Germany falls upon France, in order to revenge himself upon his brother for having prevented him from buying the Empire: but death overtook him in the execution of his vengeance.

The custom (which leads men by the nose) at that time, was for princes to weaken their dominions in sharing them among their children. Accordingly Lewis *the Germanic* divided his dominions among his three sons. To Carloman he gave Bavaria, Carinthia and Pannonia: to Lewis, Friesland, Saxony, Thuringia and Franconia; and Charles *the Gross* or *the Fat*, afterwards emperor, had the half of Lorraine, with Suabia and the neighbouring countries at that time called Germany.

877.

This division renders the emperor Charles *the Bald* more powerful; and he is resolved to seize that half of Lorraine which is not in his possession. Here follows an example of the excessive superstition at that time joined to rapaciousness and deceit. Lewis of Germany sends thirty men to the camp of Charles *the Bald*,

Bald, to prove in the name of God, that his part of Lorrain, of right belongs to him. Ten of these thirty confessors, take up ten rings and ten flints out of a cauldron of boiling water without being scalded; the same number carry each a red hot iron the space of nine feet without being burnt; and the last ten, being tied with cords, are thrown into cold water and sink to the bottom; a sure proof of a righteous cause, for water expels those who are perjured to the surface.

History is so full of those proofs, that we can hardly deny the whole as apocryphal. Custom which made them common rendered also those arts common, which make the skin for sometime insensible to the action of fire, such as oil of vitriol and other corrosives. With regard to the miracle of going to the bottom of the water into which they were thrown, it would have been a greater miracle, had they floated on the surface.

Lewis would not confine himself to this ceremony. He engaged near Cologne with the emperor his uncle, who being defeated, retired to Italy, whither he was pursued by the conqueror.

Rome was then threatened by the Mussulmans who were still cantoned in Calabria. Carloman that king of Bavaria, leagued with his brother of Lorrain, pursues his uncle *the Bald* into Italy, who finds himself at one time, hard beset by his nephew, by the Mahometans, and the intrigues of the pope, and dies in October, at a village near Mount Cenis.

Historians say he was poisoned by his physician a Jew whose name was Sedecias. Certain it is, the christian part of Europe was then so ignorant, that kings were obliged to employ Jews or Arabians for their physicians.

It is in the reign of Charles *the Bald* that the great Feodal government began, and all things went to decay. It was under him that many possessors of
great

96 LEWIS THE STAMMERER.

great military offices, dutchies, marquifates and countships, attempted to make these honours hereditary.

LEWIS III. or the STAMMERER.

SIXTH EMPEROR.

878.

POPE John VIII. who thinks he has a right to nominate an Emperor, can scarcely support himself in Rome. He promises the Empire to Lewis *the Stammerer* King of France, Son of *the Bald*. He promises it to Carloman of Bavaria: and engages himself to one Lambert Duke of Spoleto a vassal of the Empire.

This Lambert of Spoleto finding himself deceived by the Pope, joins a Marquis of Tuscany, enters Rome, seizes his Holiness; but is afterwards obliged to release him. One Boson Duke of Arles likewise pretends to the Empire.

The Mahometans were nearer the conquest of Rome than all their competitors. The Pope agrees to pay them an annual tribute of twenty thousand marks of silver. Anarchy prevails in Germany, France and Italy.

Lewis *the Stammerer* dies at Compiègne on the tenth of April. He is put in the list of Emperors, only because he was son of a Prince who swayed the imperial sceptre.

CHARLES

 CHARLES III. OR THE GROSS.

SEVENTH EMPEROR.

879.

THE business was to make an Emperor and a King of France. Lewis *the Stammerer* left two children of fourteen and fifteen years of age. It was not then a decided point whether or not an infant or minor could be King. Several new noblemen of France offered the crown to Lewis of Germany. He took no more than the western part of Lorraine, which had been the share of Charles *the Bald*. Lewis and Carloman the two sons of *the Stammerer* are acknowledged Kings of France, although they are not unanimously acknowledged as legitimate children; but Boson causes himself to be consecrated King of Arles, augments his territory and claims the Empire. Charles *the Gross* King of the country still called Germany, presses the Pope to crown him Emperor. The Pope answers that he will bestow the imperial crown upon him who shall first come to his assistance against the Christians and Mahometans.

880.

Charles *the Gross*, King of Germany, Lewis King of Bavaria and Lorraine, unite with the King of France against Boson the new King of Arles and make war upon him. They besiege Vienne in Dauphiny; but Charles *the Gross* marches from Vienne to Rome.

881.

Charles is crowned and consecrated Emperor by Pope John VIII. in the church of St. Peter, on Christmas day.

882.

His brother Lewis King of Bavaria, Pannonia, what was called eastern France, and the two Lorrains, dies on the twentieth of January in that same year without issue. The Emperor Charles *the Gross* was natural heir of his dominions; but the Normans presented themselves in order to share in them. These frequent troubles of the north render the imperial power very problematic in Rome where ancient liberty still thrust out new roots: It was not known who should reign in that ancient capital of Europe, whether it should be the people, the Bishop or an Emperor who was a stranger.

The Pope sends him a branch of palm according to custom; but it was the only palm he obtained.

The Normans penetrate as far as Metz; they go to burn Aix-la-chapelle and destroy all the works of Charlemagne. Charles *the Gross* can find no other way of being delivered from them, than that of seizing all the plate belonging to the churches, and giving them 4160 marks of silver, with which they went away to fit out new Armaments.

883.

The empire was become so weak, that pope Martin II. who succeeded John VIII. begins with making a solemn decree, by which they were no longer to wait for the emperor's orders in electing popes. The emperor in vain complains of this decree. He had abundance of other affairs upon his hands.

A certain duke called Zuentibold laid waste Germany at the head of the Moravian pagans. The emperor made peace with him, as with the Normans. It is not known whether or not he had money to give him; but he acknowledged him as prince and vassal of the empire.

884.

884.

Great part of Italy is still laid waste by the duke of Spoleto and the Saracens, which last plunder the rich abbey of Monte Cassini and carry off all its treasure; but a duke of Beneventum had been before-hand with them.

Charles *the Gross* marches into Italy to put a stop to these disorders. But scarce is he arrived when hearing of the death of his two nephews the young kings of France, he repassed the Alps in order to claim the succession.

885.

Behold then Charles *the Gross* who reunites upon his head all the crowns of Charlemagne, which however he was not strong enough to bear.

A bastard of Lotharius, called Hugues, abbot of St. Denis, had for a long time laid a scheme for having Lorraine as his patrimony. He engages in a league with a Norman to whom Freisland had been ceded, and who marries his sister; and he calls other Normans to his assistance.

The emperor stifled this conspiracy. A count of Saxony called Henry and an archbishop of Cologne undertake to assassinate this Norman duke of Freisland in a conference. The abbot Hugues is apprehended in Lorraine on the same pretext, and the custom of putting out eyes is revived upon him.

He had better engaged the Normans with good armies. These finding themselves attacked by perfidy alone, penetrate from Holland into Flanders, pass the Somme and the Oise without resistance, take and burn Pontoise, and arrive at Paris by land and water. That city which is now so immense, was then neither large, strong, nor populous. The tower of the great chatelet was not yet entirely built when the Normans appeared. They were obliged to finish it in a

hurry with wood, so that the lower part was of stone and the upper of carpenter's work.

The Parisians who expected at that time an irruption of the Barbarians, did not abandon the city as heretofore. Odo or Eudes count of Paris, whose valour afterwards raised him to the throne of France, put the town in such order as animated the courage of the inhabitants, and served them instead of towers and ramparts. Sigefroi chief of the Normans carried on the siege with obstinate fury tho' not destitute of art. The Normans used the ram to batter the walls; effected a breach and gave three assaults, which the Parisians sustained with unshaken courage. They had at their head, not only count Eudes, but also their bishop Goslin who every day after having bestowed his benediction, posted himself at the breach with a helmet on his head, a quiver at his back, and a battle-ax at his belt, and fought in sight of the cross which he planted on the rampart. This bishop seems to have had at least as much authority in the city, as count Eudes, seeing it was to him that Sigefroi chief of the Normans first addressed himself for permission to enter Paris. This prelate died of fatigue in the middle of the siege, leaving his memory respected and regretted; for tho' he armed those hands which his religion reserved solely for the ministry of the altar, he armed them in defence of that very altar and of his countrymen in the justest of all causes, namely necessary self-preservation which is always above the laws.

His brethren were armed only in civil wars, and against christians. Perhaps if canonization is due to some men, it would have been better to raise that prelate to heaven, who fought and died for his country, than a great many obscure men whose virtue if they had any, was useless to the world.

886.

The Normans kept Paris besieged a whole year and an half. The Parisians experienced all the hor-

rors attending famine and contagion in a long siege, and still were unshaken. At the end of that period, the emperor Charles *the Gross*, king of France, came at length to their relief and appeared on the mount of Mars now called Mont-Martre, but he durst not attack the Normans; he came only to buy another shameful truce. Those Barbarians quit Paris to go and besiege Sens, and plunder Burgundy, while Charles goes to Germany to assemble those diets which deprived him of a throne of which he was so unworthy.

The Normans continue their devastations, but although enemies of the christian name, it never came into their minds to force any person whatever to renounce christianity. They resembled the Franks, the Goths, the Alains, the Hemes, the Heruli who in the fourth century being in quest of new settlements, far from imposing their religion upon the conquered Romans, adopted with great ease the religion of the vanquished; thus the Turks, while they plundered the empire of the Caliphs, submitted themselves to the Mahometan religion.

887.

There was nothing wanting to Charles *the Gross*, but to be unhappy in his family: contemned in the empire, he was said to be likewise despised by his empress Richarda. She was accused of infidelity; and he repudiated her, although she offered to justify herself by the judgment of God. He sent her to the abbey of Andelau which she herself had founded in Alsace.

Charles was afterwards prevailed upon (contrary to the custom of the times) to adopt the son of his enemy Boson that King of Arles. By that time his brain is said to have been affected, and certainly it was, seeing that although he possessed as many dominions as

Charlemagne, he brought himself to such a pass as to lose all without resistance. He is dethroned in a diet near Mentz.

888.

The deposition of Charles *the Gross* is a spectacle which merits great attention: Was he deposed by those who had elected him? Could a few Thuringian, Saxon, and Bavarian noblemen assembled in a village called Tribur, dispose of the Roman empire and the kingdom of France? No, sure: but, they could renounce their allegiance to a prince, to a chief who did not deserve to reign. They therefore abandon the grandson of Charlemagne for a bastard of Carloman son of Lewis *the Germaine*: this Bastard called Arnold they declare king of Germany. Charles *the Gross* dies without help near Constance, Jan. 8. in the year 888.

The fate of Italy, France and so many other states was then uncertain.

The right of succession was every where little regarded. Charles *the Gross* himself had been crowned king of France, to the prejudice of a posthumous son of Lewis *the Stammerer*; and in contempt of the rights of that same son, the French noblemen chose for their king Eudes count of Paris.

One Rodolphus son of another count of Paris, makes himself king of *Transjurane* Burgundy.

This son of Boson king of Arles, adopted by Charles *the Gross*, becomes king of Arles, by the intrigues of his mother.

The empire was now no more than a phantom, nevertheless they were desirous of seizing that phantom which the name of Charlemagne still rendered venerable. This pretended empire which took the appellation of Roman, ought to have been bestowed at Rome. One Gui duke of Spoleto and Berengarius duke of Friuli disputed the name and rank of the Cæsars.

Cæsars. Gui of Spoleto caused himself to be crowned at Rome. Berengarius assumes the vain title of king of Italy, and by a singularity worthy of the confusion of those times comes to Langres in order to be crowned king of Italy in Champagne.

It was in the midst of these troubles that all the noblemen cantoned themselves; every man fortified his own castle, great part of the towns are altogether without government, troops of Banditti scour the country from one end of Europe to the other, and Chivalry is established to restrain these robbers, and to defend ladies or carry them off.

889.

Several bishops of France and the archbishop of Rhimes in particular, offer the kingdom of France to the bastard Arnold, because he was descended from Charlemagne, and they hated Eudes who had none of that blood except by the woman.

Eudes king of France goes to wait upon Arnold at Worms, cedes to him part of Lorraine which was already in Arnold's possession, promises to acknowledge him as emperor, and puts into his hands the crown and sceptre of France, which he had brought with him for that purpose. Arnold restores them and acknowledges him king of France. This submission proves that the kings still considered themselves as vassals of the Roman empire. It likewise proves how much Eudes was afraid of the party which Arnold had in France.

890. 891.

The reign of Arnold in Germany is marked by unlucky events. The remains of the Saxons intermingled with Slaves called Abodrites inhabiting the districts towards the Baltick, between the Elbe and the Oder, ravage the North of Germany; the Bohemians the Moravians, and other bodies of the Slaves, desolate

the South and defeat the troops of Arnoid : the Hungs make incurfions : the Normans renew their ravages ; yet no conquest is eftablifhed by fo many invafions. Thefe tho' tranfient devaftations leave Germany in a very poor and miserable condition.

At length he in perfon defeats the Normans near Louvain ; and Germany refpires. The decay of Charlemagne's empire emboldens the feeble empire of the Eaft. A patrician of Conftantinople retakes the dutchy of Beneventum with fome troops, and threatens Rome. But as the Greeks were obliged to defend themfelve againft the Saracens, the conqueror of Beneventum could not march to the ancient capital of the empire.

We have feen what reafon Eudes king of France had to lay his crown at the feet of Arnold. It was his bufinefs to be well with all the world. The noblemen and bishops of France reftore the crown to Charles *the fimple* pofthumous fon of Lewis *the Stammerer*, whom they invite from England whither he had fled for refuge.

893.

As in thefe divifions king Eudes had implored the protection of Arnold, Charles *the Simple* comes to implore it in his turn at the diet of Worms. Arnold takes no ftep in his favour, but leaves him to difpute the kingdom of France, and marches into Italy, there to difpute the name of emperor with Gui of Spoletto, Lombardy with Berengarius, and Rome with the pope.

894.

He befieges Pavia in which was that emperor of Spoletto, who betakes himfelf to flight. He fecures Lombardy. Berengarius conceals himfelf ; but even at that time we fee how difficult it was for the emperors to make themfelves mafters of Rome. Arnold
instead

instead of marching to that capital goes and holds a council near Mentz.

895.

Arnold after this council, which was held with a view to conciliate the bishops, holds a diet at Worms in order to procure fresh troops and money, and that his son Zuentibold might be crowned king of Lombardy.

896.

Then he returns towards Rome. The Romans no longer desire an emperor; but they are incapable of defending themselves. Arnold attacks that part of the city called Leonini from the name of that famous pontif Leo IV. who had surrounded it with walls, and forces the place. The rest of the city on the other side of the Tiber surrenders; and pope Formosa consecrates Arnold emperor in the church of St. Peter. The senators (for there was still a senate) next day take the oath of allegiance to him in the church of St. Paul. It was the old equivocal oath. "I swear
" I will be faithful to the emperor, saving my fidelity
" to the pope."

A R N O L D .

E I G H T H E M P E R O R .

896.

A Woman of great courage, called Agiltrude, mother of that pretended emperor Gui of Spoleto, who had in vain armed Rome against Arnold, defends herself still against him. He besieges her in the city of Fermo. Authors pretend that this heroine sent him a poisoned beverage, in order to soften his disposition, and that he was weak enough to drink it.

It is incontestable that he raised the siege, that he was sick, that he repassed the Alps with the wreck of his army; that he left Italy in greater confusion than ever; and that he returned to Germany where he had lost all his authority in his absence.

897. 898. 899.

Germany was then in the same anarchy as France. The noblemen had fortified themselves in Lorraine, Alsace, the country now called Saxony, Bavaria and Franconia. The bishop and abbots seize the rights of regality: they maintain protectors or captains who swear fealty to them, and have lands for their service, and these sometimes protect and sometimes plunder them. They were formerly the advocates of the monasteries, and when the convents became principalities, the protectors became noblemen.

The bishops and abbots of Italy were never on the same footing: first, because the Italian noblemen had more address; the cities were more powerful and richer than the hamlets of Germany and France; and lastly because the church of Rome, tho' very ill conducted, would not suffer the other churches of Italy to be powerful.

Chivalry and the spirit of Chivalry spreads over all the West. There is hardly any suit decided but by champions. The priests bless their arms, and they are always obliged to swear before they engage, that their arms are not enchanted, and that they have not made any compact with the devil.

Arnold the emperor destitute of power dies in Bavaria in the year 899. Some authors make him die of poison, others of the lousy disease; but the lousy disease is a chimæra, and so is often the notion of poison.

900.

Confusion increases. Berengarius reigns in Lombardy,

bardy, tho' in the midst of factions. That son of Boson made king of Arles by the intrigues of his mother, is by the same intrigues acknowledged emperor at Rome. Women then disposed of every thing. They made emperors and popes, who, however, had nothing but the name.

Lewis IV. is acknowledged king of Germany. To this he joins Lorraine after the death of his brother Zuentibold, and is very little stronger for the acquisition.

From 901 to 907.

The Huns and Hungarians reunited, come and ravage Bavaria, Suabia and Franconia, where one would think there was very little more to be got.

One Moimir who had made himself duke of Moravia and a christian, goes to Rome to demand bishops.

One Adelbert marquis of Tuscany, famous for his wife Theodora, is despotic in Rome. Berengarius strengthens himself in Lombardy, makes an alliance with the Huns, in order to hinder the new king of Germany from coming to Italy, makes war upon the pretended emperor of Arles, takes him prisoner, puts out his eyes, enters Rome and compels pope John IX. to crown him emperor. The pope, after having consecrated him, flies to Ravenna, and consecrates another emperor called Lambert son of the vagrant and needy duke of Spoleto, who assumes the title of *invincible and always august*.

908. 909. 910. 911. 912.

Mean while Lewis IV. king of Germany takes also the title of emperor: Several authors give him that title; but Sigebert says, on account of the evils which in his time harrassed Italy, he did not deserve the imperial benediction; the true reason is, that he was not powerful enough to cause himself to be acknowledged emperor: he had no share in the troubles which harrassed Italy in his time.

LEWIS. IV.

NINTH EMPEROR.

UNDER this strange emperor Germany undergoes the most dismal desolation. The Huns hired by Berengarius to come and ravage Germany, are afterwards hired by Lewis IV. to return to their own country. Two factions arise, headed by the dukes of Saxony and Franconia, and do more mischief than the Huns. All the churches are plundered; the Hungarians return to have a share of the pillage. The Emperor Lewis flies to Ratisbon where he dies in the twentieth year of his age. Thus ended the race of *Charlemagne* in Germany.

CONRAD I.

TENTH EMPEROR.

912.

THE German nobles assemble at Worms to elect a king. These were such as being the most interested in the choice of a prince according to their mind, had power and credit enough to raise themselves to the rank of Electors. The right of inheritance was during this century hardly acknowledged in Europe. Election, either free or influenced, prevailed almost every where, witness those of Arnold in Germany, of Gui of Spoleto, of Berengarius in Italy,

Italy, of Don Sancho in Arragon, of Eudes, Robert, Raoul, Hugues Capet in France, and of the Emperors of Constantinople; for so many vassals and so many princes were desirous of having the right to choose a chief, and the hope of being chosen.

It is pretended that Otho duke of the new Saxony, was chosen by the diet, but that finding himself too old he himself proposed Conrad duke of Franconia tho' he was his own enemy, because he thought him worthy of the throne. This action is not at all in the spirit of those almost savage times. We find ambition, deceit and courage in this as in all ages; but to begin even from Clovis, we find not one action of magnanimity.

Conrad was never acknowledged emperor either in Italy or France. The Germans only accustomed to see emperors in their kings since Charlemagne, gave him, it is said, that title.

From 913 to 919.

The reign of Conrad makes no alteration in the state of Germany. He has wars with his vassals, and particularly with the son of that duke of Saxony to whom he is said to have owed the crown.

The Hungarians still make war upon Germany, and he is wholly ingrossed in repulsing them. During this period the French make themselves masters of Lorrain. If Charles had made that conquest, he would not have deserved the name of *simple*; but he had ministers and generals of another stamp. He creates a duke of Lorrain.

The bishops of Germany confirm themselves in the possession of their fiefs. Conrad dies in the year 919 in the little town of Veilbourg. It is pretended that before his death he named Henry duke of Saxony for his successor to the prejudice of his own brother. It is not very likely that he should think he had a right

110 HENRY THE FOWLER.

to choose a successor, or that he would have chosen his own enemy.

The name of this pretended emperor was not known in Italy, during his reign. Lombardy became a prey to divisions, Rome to the most horrible scandal, and Naples and Sicily to the devastations of the Saracens.

It was at this time that the prostitute Theodora at Rome raised to the Papal chair John X. who was as great a prostitute as herself.

HENRY THE FOWLER.

ELEVENTH EMPEROR.

920.

IT may be of consequence to observe that in this time of anarchy, several Hamlets of Germany began to enjoy the rights of natural liberty after the example of the Italian cities. Some purchased these rights of their lords, others had supported them sword in hand. The deputies of these towns concur with the bishops and noblemen, in order to choose an emperor, and are in the rank of electors. Thus Henry the Ist surnamed *the Fowler*, duke of Saxony, is elected by the three estates. Nothing is more natural than that all those who are concerned in being well governed should concur in establishing the government.

From 921 to 930.

One of the rights belonging to the kings of Germany, as well as to the king's of France, was always to fill the vacant bishopricks.

The

The emperor Henry has a short war with the duke of Bavaria, and puts an end to it by ceding to him the right of appointing bishops in his own dukedom.

These years produce very few events in which the fate of Germany is interested. The most important is the affair of Lorrain. It had been still undecided whether it should belong to Germany or France.

Henry *the fowler* subdues all high and low Lorrain in the year 925. and wrests it from the hands of duke Gislebert to whom it had been given by the kings of France. He afterwards restores it to that duke, that it might depend upon Germany. This Lorrain was no other than a dismembred part of the kingdom of Lotharingia. It was Brabant, part of the country of Liege afterwards disputed by the bishop of Liege, with the lands between Metz and Franche Comté, disputed also by the bishop of Metz. This country in the sequel returned to France, from which it was afterwards separated again.

Henry enacts laws which are more interesting than the events and revolutions with which history is loaded. He extricates what could be extricated from the feudal anarchy. Vassals and under vassals consent to furnish soldiers and corn for their subsistence. He changes into cities the depopulated towns, which the Huns, Bohemians, Moravians and Normans had laid waste. He builds Brandenburg, Misnia and Sleswich, where he settles Marquises to guard the marches of Germany. He reestablishes the ruined Abbeyes of Herfort and Corbie. He plans several cities, such as Gotha, Herfort and Goslar.

The ancient Saxons, Slaves, Abodrites and their neighbours the Vandals are repulsed. His predecessor Conrad had consented to pay a tribute to the Hungarians, and hitherto it was paid by Henry *the fowler*, who in a little time freed Germany from that disgrace.

From 930 to 936.

It is said, that when the Hungarian deputies came to demand their tribute, Henry gave them a mangy dog. It was a punishment inflicted upon German knights when they had committed crimes, to carry a dog for the length of a league. This coarse custom, worthy of those times, does not at all detract from the greatness of courage; true it is, the Hungarians come and do more mischief than the tribute would have cost; but at length they are repulsed and defeated.

Then he causes the towns to be fortified, as a check upon the barbarians. He leaves the ninth man in some provinces with which these towns are garrisoned. He exercises the nobility in jousts and a kind of tournaments: in one of these near a thousand gentlemen are said to have entered the lists.

These tournaments had been invented in Italy, by the Lombard kings, and were called *Bataglie*.

Having provided for the defence of Germany, he resolves at length to go to Italy, after the example of his predecessors, in order to receive the imperial crown.

The troubles and scandalous practices of Rome were increased. Marosia daughter of Theodora had raised to St. Peter's chair the young John XI. produced by her adultery with Pope Sergius III. and governed the church in the name of her son. Of all the tyrants which overwhelmed Italy the Germans were most hated at Rome.

Henry *the Fowler* reckoning upon his forces, thought to have made his advantage of those troubles; but he died upon the road in Thuringia in the year 936. The only reason for calling him emperor, is because he was desirous of receiving the imperial throne, and it was the custom to give him that appellation.

OTHO I.

 OTHO I. surnamed THE GREAT.

TWELFTH EMPEROR.

936.

AT length we come to a true emperor. The dukes, counts, bishops, abbots, and all the powerful noblemen assembled at Aix-la-chapelle, elect Otho, Son of Henry *the Fowler*. It is not mentioned that the deputies of the towns gave their votes. Perhaps the great noblemen having gained an acquisition of power, under Henry *the Fowler*, had deprived the towns of this right.

The archbishop of Mentz signifies this election to the people, consecrates the new emperor and sets the crown upon his head. It may be observed, that the prelates dine at the emperor's table, and that the dukes of Franconia, Suabia, Bavaria and Lorrain, serve at table; The duke of Franconia, for example, in quality of steward, and the duke of Suabia as cup-bearer. This ceremony is performed in a wooden gallery, in the midst of the ruins of Aix-la-chapelle which had been burnt by the Huns, and was not yet rebuilt.

The Huns and Hungarians come again to interrupt the festival. They advance to Westphalia, but are repulsed.

937.

Bohemia was then intirely barbarous, and but one half christian. Luckily for Otho, it is embroiled in civil wars, of which he takes the advantage as soon as possible. He renders Bohemia tributary to Germany, and there establishes Christianity.

938.

938. 939. 940.

Otho endeavours to make himself despotic, and the noblemen of the great fiefs, to render themselves independent. This great quarrel, sometimes open, sometimes concealed, still subsists in the minds of men, after a series of eight hundred years, as well as the quarrel between Rome and the empire.

This struggle between royal power which always seeks increase, and liberty which will not yield, hath for a long time agitated all the christian part of Europe. It subsisted in Spain as long as the Christians had to fight with the Moors, after which the sovereign authority got uppermost. It was this that involved France in troubles, to the middle of the reign of Lewis XI. This that has at length established in England the mixed government to which she owes her greatness; and this that hath cemented in Poland the liberty of the nobles and the slavery of the people. The same spirit hath troubled Sweden and Denmark, and founded the republicks of Swisserland and Holland: and the same cause hath every where produced different effects.

The Duke of Bavaria refusing to do homage, Otho enters that country with an army, and reduces the duke to some allodial territories. He creates one of the duke's brothers count Palatine in Bavaria, and another count Palatine towards the Rhine. This dignity of *count Palatine* is revived from the counts of the palace of the Roman emperors, and of the Franks.

He bestows the same dignity upon a duke of Franconia. These palatines are at first supreme judges. They judge in the last appeal in the name of the emperor. This supreme resource of justice is, next to an army, the greatest support of sovereignty.

Otho desposes at pleasure of dignities and lands. The first marquis of Brandenburg dying without Issue,
he

he gives the marquisate to one count Gerard who was not related to the defunct.

The more Otho affects absolute power, the more he is opposed by the noblemen of the great fiefs: and from that very time begins the custom of having recourse to France to support the foedal government in Germany against the authority of the German kings.

The dukes of Franconia and Lorrain and the prince of Brunswick address themselves to Lewis *ultramarine*, king of France, who enters Lorrain and Alsace and joins the allies.

Otho anticipates the French king; and upon the Rhine near Brisach defeats the dukes of Franconia and Lorrain who are slain in battle.

He deprives the house of Franconia of the title of *Palatine*: settles it upon the house of Bavaria, and annexes to it lands and castles. Thus was formed the present palatinate of the Rhine.

941.

As the German noblemen of the great fiefs had called the king of France to their assistance, the noblemen of France, in like manner, solicit the assistance of Otho. He pursues Lewis *ultramarine* through the whole country of Champagne; but is recalled into Germany by conspiracies.

942. 943. 944.

The despotism of Otho alienates the minds of men to such a degree, that his own brother Henry duke of one part of Lorrain had united with several noblemen to deprive him of his throne and life. He returns therefore to Germany, stifles the conspiracy, and pardons his brother who was in all probability powerful enough to be intitled to that favour.

He augments the privileges of bishops and abbots, in order to oppose them to the noblemen. He bestows the

the title of prince with all the rights of regality upon the bishop of Triers. He gives the dutchy of Bavaria to his brother Henry who had conspired against him, and leaves the natural heirs quite destitute. This is the greatest proof of his absolute power.

945. 946.

At that time the race of Charlemagne which still reigned in France, was reduced to the lowest state of degradation. They had in 912 ceded Neustria properly so called to the Normans, and even Britany which then became an under fief of France.

Hugues duke of the isle of France, of the blood of Charlemagne by the female line, father of Hugh Capet, son-in-law by his first marriage to Edward I. king of England, and brother in law of Otho by his second marriage, was one of the most powerful noblemen in Europe, and the king of France at that time one of the most inconsiderable. This Hugues had recalled Lewis *ultramarine* to crown and serve him, and was called Hugues or Hugh *the great*, because he had made himself powerful at the expence of his master.

He was allied with the Normans who had made the unfortunate *ultramarine* prisoner. That king released from captivity, was left almost without towns or territory. He was likewise brother in law of Otho whose sister he had married. He demands his protection in consequence of ceding all his rights over Lorrain.

Otho marches to the neighbourhood of Paris, besieges Rouen, but being abandoned by the count of Flanders, returns to his own dominions after a fruitless expedition.

947. 948.

Otho being unable to conquer Hugh *the great*, causes him to be excommunicated. He convoques a council at Triers, where the Pope's legate pronounces the sentence

sentence at the desire of Otho's cheif almoner. Nevertheless Hugh continues master in France.

There was, we have seen, a margrave at Sleswick, in the Cimbrique Chersonesus, to check the Incurfions of the Danes. They kill this margrave. Otho hastens thither in person, retakes the town, secures the frontiers; and makes peace with Denmark on condition that Christianity should be preached in that country.

949.

From thence Otho goes to hold a council at Ingelheim near Mentz. Lewis *ultramarine* who had no army, demanded this council of pope Agapetus; a poor resource against Hugh *the great*.

There the German bishops and Marini the pope's legate appear as judges, Otho as protector, and Lewis of France as a suppliant. Lewis demands justice, and says: "I have been acknowledged king by the suffrages of all the noblemen. If it is pretended that I have committed some crime which merits the treatment I suffer, I am ready to take my trial before the council according to Otho's order; or I will maintain my innocence in single combat."

This miserable address proves the custom of duels; the deplorable condition of the king of France, the power of Otho, and the election of kings. The right of blood seemed then no more than a recommendation to obtain votes. Hugh *the great* is summoned to this vain council: tho' nobody supposed he would appear.

950.

Otho gives the investiture of Suabia, Augsburg, Constance and Wirtenberg to his son Ludolphus, *saving the rights of the bishops*.

951.

Otho returns to Bohemia; defeats the duke Bol who is called Boleslaus. The word *Slas* among these people

people signified chief. From hence they were at first called *Slaves*, which name in the sequel fell to those whom they had conquered. The emperor confirms the vassalage of Bohemia, and there establishes the Christian religion. All beyond was still pagan, except some marches of Germany. From that time he resolved to renew the empire of Charlemagne; and a woman paved the way.

Adelaide sister of a petty king of transjurane Burgundy, widow of the king or usurper of the kingdom of Italy, being oppressed by another usurper Berengarius II. who besieges her in Canossa, calls Otho to her aid. Thither he marches, delivers, and being then a widower marries this princess. He enters Pavia in triumph with Adelaide: but it required both time and diligence to subdue the rest of the kingdom, and especially Rome which would by no means submit to him.

952.

He leaves his army to a prince called Conrad, his own son-in-law whom he had made duke of Lorraine; and, what was very common in those times, goes to hold a council at Augsburg instead of pursuing his conquests. There were Italian bishops at that council: perhaps he had no other view in this, but to dispose people to receive him in Italy.

953.

His marriage with Adelaide, which ought to have secured him in the possession of Italy, was like to have made him lose it in a very little time.

His son Ludolphus to whom he had given so many dominions, but who was afraid that his mother-in-law would give him a master, and his son-in-law Conrad to whom he had given Lorraine, but from whom he had taken the command in Italy, conspire against him; an Archbishop of Mentz, and a bishop of Augsburg join these confederates; he marches against his son,

son, and instead of making himself emperor at Rome, is obliged to maintain a civil war in Germany.

954.

His unnatural son calls the Hungarians to his assistance; and it costs him abundance of trouble to repel them from the banks of the Rhine and the neighbourhood of Cologne, whither they had advanced.

Otho had a brother called Bruno an ecclesiastic, whom he procures to be elected archbishop of Cologne, and to whom he gives Lorraine.

955.

The arms of Otho prevail. His sons and their adherents ask pardon; the archbishop of Mentz returns to his duty. The king's son deviates from it again: at length he comes barefoot and throws himself at his father's feet. The Hungarians whom he called in, far from following his example in asking forgiveness, lay waste the country. Otho gives them battle and defeats them at Augsburg: he seems to have been strong enough to defeat, but not to pursue and destroy them; although his army was composed of legions formed after the model of the ancient Roman legions.

The fears of the son of Otho are realized. Adelaide is delivered of a prince who is Otho II.

From 956 to 960.

The designs upon Rome ripen, but the affairs of Germany prevent their being disclosed. The slaves and other Barbarians deluge the north of Germany as yet but very ill secured in spite of all the cares of Otho. Inconsiderable wars towards Luxemburg and Hainault, which belonged to lower Lorraine, continue still to employ his arms.

Ludolphus that son of Otho, who was sent into Italy against Berengarius, dies in that country either of the plague or poison.

Berengarius,

Berengarius was then absolute master of the ancient kingdom of Lombardy, tho' not at Rome. But he necessarily had a thousand quarrels with her, like the ancient Lombard kings.

A son of Marofia, called Octavian Sporco, was elected pope at the age of eighteen by the credit of his family. He takes the name of John XII. in memory of his uncle John XI. This is the first pope who changed his name at his accession to the pontificate. He was not even in orders, when his family made him pontif. He was a young man who lived like a prince, and was a lover of arms and pleasure.

It is surprising that under so many scandalous popes, the Roman church lost neither her prerogatives nor pretensions; but at that time almost all the other churches were governed in this manner. The bishops having always something to ask of Rome, either orders or favours, did not abandon their interest for a few scandalous practices more than usual; and it was their interest to be always united to the Roman church, because that union made them more respected by the people, and more considerable in the eyes of the sovereigns. The clergy of Italy might then despise the popes; but they revered the papacy, the more as they aspired to that exalted station; finally in the opinion of mankind, the place was sacred when the person was damnable.

The Italians at length call Otho to their assistance. They wanted (says Luitprand a cotemporary writer) to have two masters, that they might not have one in reality. This is one of the principal causes of the long miseries of Italy.

960.

Otho, before he sets out for Italy, takes care to have his son Otho born of Adelaide, tho' but in the seventh year of his age, elected king of Germany. A new proof that the right of succession did not exist.

He

He takes the precaution of causing him to be crowned at Aix-la-chapelle by the archbishops of Cogn, Mentz and Triers, assembled for that purpose. The archbishop of Cogn performs the function first; this was Bruno the brother of Otho.

961.

He passes the Alps of the Tirol; once more enters Pavia which always falls to the first occupier; and receives the crown of Lombardy at Monza.

962.

While Berengarius flies with his family, Otho marches to Rome; and the gates are opened to him. John XII. crowns him emperor. He confirms the donations of Pepin, Charlemagne and Lewis *the weak*. He takes the pope's oath of allegiance on the body of St. Peter: and ordains that there shall be always commissaries of the emperor at Rome.

This instrument written in letters of gold, subscribed by seven bishops of Germany, five counts, two abbots, and several Italian prelates, is still kept in the castle of St. Angelo. The date is of the 13th of February, in the year 962. Lotharius king of France and Hugh Capet, afterwards king, are said to have been present at this coronation. These kings of France were indeed so weak, that they might have served as ornaments at the consecration of an emperor: but the names of Lotharius and Hugh Capet are not found in the signatures of this act.

All that was then done at Rome concerning the churches of Germany, was to erect Magdeburg into an archbishop's see and Mersbourg into a bishopric, for the conversion of the *slaves*, that is, the people who inhabited Moravia, part of Brandenburg, Silesia, &c.

Scarce had the Pope given himself a master when he repented of what he had done. He leagues with that same Berengarius who had fled for refuge among

the Mahometans cantoned upon the coast of Provence; and solicits the Hungarians to enter Germany; this was the step he ought to have taken before.

963.

The Emperor Otho having finished the conquest of Lombardy returns to Rome. He assembles a council. Pope John XII. hides himself. He is accused in full council in the church of St. Peter of having committed fornication with several women, particularly with one called *Etienetta* his father's concubine; of having conferred the bishopric of Lodi upon a child of ten years; of having sold ordinations and benefices, of having put out the eyes of his godfather, of having first castrated and then put to death a cardinal; and lastly of not believing in Jesus Christ, and of having invoked the devil: two articles that seem to contradict one another.

This young pontif, who was then but seven and twenty, was said to be deposed for his incests and scandalous practices; but, the true reason was his having endeavoured, like all the Romans, to destroy the German power in Rome.

A new pope called Leo VIII. is elected in his room. Otho was not able to secure the person of John XII. or, if he was, he committed a great error.

964.

The new pope Leo VIII. if we may believe the discourse of Arnold bishop of Orleans, was neither an ecclesiastic, nor even a christian.

John XII. a debauched pope, but an enterprising prince, excites an insurrection of the Romans, from the recesses of his retreat; and while Otho goes to besiege Camerino, the pontif assisted by his mistress reenters Rome. He deposes his competitor, orders the right hand of cardinal John to be cut off, because it had written the deposition against him; opposes council to council, and enacts a statute importing that

an inferior shall never have power to deprive his superior of his rank; or in other words, that no emperor shall ever have power to depose a pope. He flatters himself with the hope of driving the Germans from Italy; but, in the midst of his great design, he is assassinated in the embraces of one of his mistresses.

He had animated the Romans and raised their courage to such a pitch, that even after his death they ventured to support a siege, and did not surrender to Otho until reduced to the last extremity.

Otho twice conqueror of Rome, orders it to be declared in council, that *after the example of the blessed Adrian who gave to Charlemagne the right of electing popes and investing all bishops, the same rights were given to the emperor Otho.* This title still extant in Gratian's collection, is suspected; but, that which is not suspected, is the great care the victorious emperor took to secure himself in the possession of all his rights.

After so many oaths, the emperors ought to have resided at Rome to enforce the observation of them.

965.

He returns to Germany. He finds all Lorraine in rebellion against his brother Bruno archbishop of Cologne who at that time governed in Lorraine. He is obliged to abandon Triers, Metz, Toul and Verdun to their respective bishops. High Lorraine falls into the hands of a count of Bar, and this country alone is what we now call Lorraine. Bruno reserves no more than the provinces of the Rhine, the Meuse and the Scheld. This Bruno was a learned man, as much detached from Grandeur, as his brother Otho the emperor was ambitious.

The house of Luxembourg takes that name from the castle of Luxembourg, which they receive in exchange from an abbot of St. Maximin in Triers.

The Poles begin to embrace christianity.

966.

Scarce was the emperor Otho returned to Germany when the Romans resolve to be free. They expel pope John XIII. who was attached to the Emperor. The prefect of Rome, the tribunes and the senate think to revive the ancient republic. But that which at one time was an enterprise of heroes, at another season becomes a seditious insurrection. Otho flies back to Italy, and orders one half of the senate to be hanged. The prefect of Rome who wanted to be another Brutus, was scourged in the public street, carried in procession naked upon an ass, and thrown into a dungeon where he died in extreme misery. These executions do not at all recommend the German government to the Italians.

967.

The emperor sends for his young son Otho to Rome, and associates him in the empire.

968.

He negotiates with Nicephorus Phocas emperor of the Greeks a match between his own son and that emperor's daughter. The Greek deceives him: and Otho deprives him of Apulia and Calabria by way of dower to the young princess Theophania whom, however, he has not in his power.

969.

To this year almost all the chronologists place the adventure of Otho Archbishop of Mentz who was besieged in a tower in the middle of the Rhine by an army of mice that swam the river and devoured him. Probably those who still load history with such childish trifles, have no other design than that of leaving upon record those ancient monuments of weak superstition, to shew from what darkness Europe is scarce delivered.

970.

970.

John Zimiffes who dethrones the emperor Nicephorus, sends at length the princess Theophania to Otho, for his son: almost all authors agree that Otho had Apulia and Calabria with that Princess: but the learned and exact Giannoni has proved that he never received that rich dower.

971, 972, 973.

Otho returns victorious to Saxony, which was his native country.

The duke of Bohemia, vassal of the empire, invades Moravia which becomes an appendage to Bohemia.

A bishop is established at Prague. He is nominated by the duke of Bohemia, and consecrated by the archbishop of Mentz.

At that time the archbishops of Magdebourg laid the foundation of their power. The title of metropolitan of the north and their extensive territories were one day to make them great princes.

Otho dies at Minleben, May 7th. 973. with the glory of having reestablished the empire of Charlemagne in Italy. But Charles was the avenger of Rome; Otho, the conqueror and oppressor; nor had his empire such vast and firm foundations, as that of Charlemagne.

O T H O II.

THIRTEENTH EMPEROR.

974.

IT plainly appears that emperors and kings were now made by election. Otho II. having been already elected emperor and king of Germany, con-

tents himself with being proclaimed at Magdebourg by the clergy and nobility of the country, which composed a middling assembly.

The despotism of the father, the fear of absolute power perpetuated in one family; but, above all, the ambition of Henry duke of Bavaria, Otho's cousin, induces one third of Germany to rebel.

Henry of Bavaria causes himself to be crowned emperor by the bishop of Frisingen. Poland and Denmark espouse his party, not as members of Germany and the empire, but as neighbours whose interest it was to disturb its peace.

975.

The party of Otho II. is the first that arms, and by this diligence he preserves the Empire. His troops surmount the intrenchments which separated Denmark from Germany, and which serve no other purpose than that of demonstrating the weakness of that nation.

He enters Bohemia which had declared for Henry of Bavaria: He marches to the duke of Poland, who is said to have taken the oath of allegiance to Otho as a vassal.

It is to be observed that all these oaths were taken on the knee, with the hands joined together, and thus the bishops administered the oath to kings.

976.

Henry of Bavaria being abandoned is imprisoned at Quidlembourg; and from thence exiled to Elrick with the bishop of Augsborg who was his partisan.

977.

The limits of Germany and France were then very uncertain. There was no longer any mention made of eastern and western France. The kings of Germany extended their territorial superiority as far as the confines of Champagne and Picardy. By territorial

torial superiority we must not understand a direct dominion or possession of lands; but the superiority of the land, the right of Paramount, and of Fine. In the sequel this expression of territorial superiority hath by meer ignorance of the terms been applied to the actual possession of the Domains which hold of the empire, which is on the contrary, a territorial inferiority.

The dukes of Lorrain, Brabant and Hainault, had done homage for their lands to the last kings of Germany. Lotharius king of France revives his pretensions to these countries. The royal authority began to be a little vigorous in France at this time; and Lotharius took the advantage of the conjuncture to attack at once high and low Lorrain.

978.

Otho assembles near sixty thousand men, ravages all Champagne and penetrates even to Paris. At that time they neither knew how to fortify the frontiers, or make war in the open country. Military expeditions were no more than ravages.

Otho in his return is defeated in crossing the river Aine. Geoffroi count of Anjou, surnamed *Grisegonnelle*, pursues him without ceasing in the forest of Ardenne, and proposes, according to the rules of chivalry, to decide the quarrel by single combat. The emperor refuses the challenge, either because he thought it was beneath his dignity to fight hand to hand with *Grisegonnelle*, or, because being cruel, he wanted courage.

979.

The emperor and king of France make peace, in consequence of which Charles brother of Lotharius receives Low-Lorrain from the emperor, together with part of High-Lorrain. He does homage to him on his

knees, and this submission is said to have cost his posterity the kingdom of France; at least Hugh Capet made use of that pretext to make him odious.

980.

While Otho II. strengthened himself in Germany, the Romans had endeavoured to shake off the German yoke. One *Cencius* was declared consul; and he and his party had made a pope whose name was Boniface VII. A count of Toscanella, who was enemy to his faction, had elected another pope, and Boniface VII. had gone to Constantinople to invite the Greek emperors Basilius and Constantine to come and retake Rome. The Greek emperors were not strong enough for such an enterprize. To them the pope joined the Arabians of Africa choosing to make Rome Mahometan rather than German. The christian Greeks and mussulman Africans unite their squadrons and together take possession of the country of Naples.

Otho II. repairs to Italy and marches to Rome.

981.

As Rome was divided, he found immediate admission. He lodges in the pope's palace; invites several senators and the partisans of *Cencius* to dinner. Soldiers enter during the repast, and murder the guests. This was renewing the times of Marius, and this was all that remained of ancient Rome. But is the fact really true? Geofroi of Viterbo relates it two hundred years after it is supposed to have happened.

982.

After this bloody feast it is necessary to march into Apulia, to fight the Greeks and Saracens who came to revenge and serve the city of Rome. He had a number of Italian troops in his army; and they were good for nothing but treason.

The Germans are intirely defeated. The bishop
of

of Augsburg and abbot of Fuld are killed fighting in the field of battle. The emperor escapes in disguise; and embarks as a passenger in a Greek vessel. This vessel sails near Capua; the emperor throws himself into the sea, swims ashore and takes refuge in Capua.

983.

Things were now on the brink of a great revolution. The Germans had well nigh lost Italy. The Greek and Mussulmans were going to quarrel about Rome but Capua is still fatal to the conquerors of the Romans. The Greeks and Arabians cannot agree; their army is inconsiderable, they give Otho time to reassemble the wreck of his troops, and to declare his son Otho who was but ten years old, emperor at Verona.

One Otho duke of Bavaria, had been killed in the battle. Bavaria is given to his son. The emperor marches by Rome with his new army.

After having sacked the infidel Beneventum, he causes his chancellor of Italy to be elected pope. One would imagine he would have marched against the Greeks and Arabians. No such matter: he holds a council. All these circumstances plainly shew that his army was weak, that the conquerors were as weak; and the Romans weaker than either. Instead of going to fight, therefore he confirms the erection of Hamburg and Bremen into an archbishop's see. He makes regulations for Saxony; and dies in Rome Sept. 7, without glory, tho' he leaves his son emperor. The Greeks and Saracens retreat, after having ruined Apulia and Calabria; made as bad a figure in war as Otho, and raised the whole country against them.

O T H O III.

FOURTEENTH EMPEROR.

983.

HOW should Germany acknowledge an emperor and king of the Romans who was but ten years old, acknowledged only at Verona, and whose father was defeated by the Saracens. That same Henry of Bavaria who had disputed the crown with the father, escapes from the prison of Mastricht in which he was confined, and under pretence of acting as tutor to his cousin the young emperor Otho III. seizes his person and conducts him to Magdebourg.

984.

Germany is divided into two factions. Henry of Bavaria, is supported by Bohemia and Poland, but the greatest part of the lords of the great fiefs, and the bishops, hoping to be more their own masters under a prince of ten years of age, oblige Henry to set the young Otho at liberty, and acknowledge him as emperor, in consideration of which, he is at last reinstated in the possession of Bavaria.

Otho III. is then solemnly proclaimed at Weiffemstadt.

He is served at dinner, by the great officers of the empire. Henry of Bavaria performs the office of steward, count Palatine of great cup-bearer, the duke of Saxony of great master of the horse, the duke of Franconia of great Chamberlain. The dukes of Bohemia and Poland are present as great vassals.

The education of the emperor is committed to the care of the archbishop of Mentz and the bishop of Ildesheim.

During these troubles Lotharius king of France attempts to retake High-Lorraine: and makes himself master of Verdun.

986.

After the death of Lotharius, Verdun is restored to Germany.

987.

Lewis V. the last king in France of the race of Charlemagne, dying in the second year of his reign, Charles duke of Lorraine his uncle and heir of blood, in vain pretends to the crown of France. Hugh Capet, by his power and address, proves that the right of election was then in force.

988.

The abbot of Verdun obtains at Cologne permission to go without a sword, and refuses to command in person the soldiers he owes when the emperor raises forces.

Otho III. confirms all the privileges of the bishops and abbots. Their privilege and their duty was then to wear the sword, seeing the abbot of Verdun had occasion to lie for a particular dispensation.

989.

The Danes choose this opportunity to enter by the Elbe and the Weser. They now began to perceive in Germany, the necessity of negotiating with Sweden against Denmark; and the bishop of Sleswick is charged with this negotiation.

The Swedes defeat the Danes at sea. The north of Germany has a little respite.

990.

The rest of Germany becomes a prey to feuds between private noblemen; and these feuds which the sovereigns cannot appease, shew that they had more right than power. The case is still worse in Italy.

Pope John XV. son of a priest, at that time possessed the chair, and was favourable to the emperor.

Crescentius the new consul son of the consul Crescentius, whose father was John X. had a mind to maintain the shadow of the antient republic, and expelled the Pope from Rome. The empress Theophania mother of Otho III. had come with troops under the command of the marquis of Brandenburg, to maintain the imperial authority in Italy.

While the marquis of Brandenburg is at Rome, the *Slaves* seize his marquisate.

From 991 to 996.

The *Slaves* with a crew of other Barbarians besiege Magdebourg. They are repulsed with difficulty. They retire to Pomerania and cede some villages of Brandenburg, which extend the marquisate.

Austria was then a marquisate also, and no less unhappy than Brandenburg, being the frontier of the Hungarians.

The emperor's mother had returned from Italy, without having been able to appease the troubles of that country, and died at Nimeguen. The cities of Lombardy did not acknowledge the emperor.

Otho III. levies troops, besieges Milan where he is crowned, elects his relation pope Gregory V, as he had elected a bishop of Spire, and is consecrated in Rome by his kinsman, together with his empress Maria, daughter of Don Garcia king of Arragon and Castile.

997.

It is strange that the modern authors, Maimbourg and so many others should still relate the fable of the amours of this empress with a count of Modena, and the punishment of the gallant and his mistress. It is pretended that the emperor being more incensed against the mistress than against the gallant; ordered his wife to be burnt alive, and only condemned his rival to lose his head; and that the count's widow having

having proved her husband's innocence, had four fine castles by way of indemnification. This fable had already been invented upon one Andaberta wife of the emperor Lewis II. These are romances, the falsity of which is proved by the sage and learned Muratori. The emperor acknowledged at Rome, returns to Germany; finds the *Slaves* masters of Bernbourg; and deprives the archbishop of Magdebourg of the government of that country, because he had allowed himself to be defeated by the *Slaves*.

998.

While Otho III. is employed against the Barbarians of the north, the consul Crescentius at Rome, expels Gregory V. by whom he is excommunicated at Pavia: and Otho repairs to Italy in order to punish the consul.

Crescentius sustains a siege in Rome, which, however, he surrenders in a few days, and retires into Adrian's mole, then called the mole of Crescentius, and now the castle of St. Angelo. There he dies fighting, tho' the manner of his death is not known; but he seems to have deserved the name of consul, which he bore. The emperor takes his widow for a mistress, and by his orders the pope nominated by Crescentius has his tongue and eyes pulled out. But indeed Otho and his mistress are said to have done penance, to have gone in pilgrimage to a monastery, and even to have lain upon a rush mat.

999.

He makes a decree by which the Germans only shall have the right to elect a Roman emperor, and the popes shall be obliged to crown him. Gregory V. his relation, did not fail to sign this decree, and the following popes to reject it.

1000.

Otho returns to Saxony, and passes into Poland. He bestows the title of king, upon the duke, but not upon

upon his descendents. We shall see in the sequel, that the emperors created kings and dukes by breyiate. Boleslaus receives the crown from him, does homage to the empire, and obliges himself to pay a slight annual service.

Pope Sylvester II. some years after conferred the same title upon him, pretending that none but the pope had a right to bestow it. It is very strange that one sovereign should demand a title from another; but custom makes every thing familiar. Historians say that Otho going afterwards to Aix-la-chapelle, ordered the tomb of Charlemagne to be opened, and found that emperor still undecayed, sitting upon a throne of gold, with a crown of precious stones upon his head, and a great golden sceptre in his hand. If Charlemagne had been interred in this manner, the Normans who destroyed Aix-la-chapelle, would not have left him upon his throne of gold.

1001.

The Greeks then abandoned the country of Naples; but the Saracens often repeated their visits. The emperor repasses the Alps, in order to put a stop to their progress, and that of the defenders of the Italic liberty more dangerous than the Saracens.

1002.

The Romans besiege his palace in Rome; and all he can do is to fly with the pope and his mistress the widow of Crescentius. He dies at Paterno a small town of the Campagna of Rome, near thirty years of age. Several authors say he was poisoned by his mistress, because he would not make her empress; others, that he was poisoned by the Romans who wanted no emperor. This fact may be probable, but it is not at all proved. His death left as undecided as ever that long struggle of the papacy against the empire, of the Romans against both, and of the Italian

Italian liberty against the German power. This is what keeps Europe always attentive ; this is the clue that conducts us through the labyrinth of the history of Germany.

Those three Othos who reestablished the empire, have all three besieged Rome, and filled the streets with blood, and Arnold had sacked it before their time.

1003.

Otho III. left no children. Twenty noblemen pretend to the empire ; one of the most powerful was Henry duke of Bavaria ; and the most obstinate of his rivals was Ekard marquis of Thuringia. The marquis is assassinated to facilitate the election of the Bavarian, who at the head of an army causes himself to be consecrated at Mentz, July 19.

H E N R Y II.

F I F T E E N T H E M P E R O R .

1003.

SCARCE is Henry of Bavaria crowned, when he causes Ermand duke of Suabia and Alsace, who was his competitor, to be declared an enemy to the empire. He engages Strasbourg in his interest, it was already a powerful city. He ravages Suabia, marches into Saxony ; exacts the oath of allegiance from the duke of Saxony, the archbishops of Magdebourg and Bremen, the counts Palatine and even Boleslaus king of Poland. He is acknowledged by the *Slaves* who inhabit Pomerania.

He marries Cunegonda daughter of the first count of Luxembourg. He makes a progress through the provinces : receives the homage of the bishops of Liege and Cambray, who take the oath upon their knees

knees. At last he is acknowledged by the duke of Saxony, who like the rest takes the oath.

The efforts of the Italian weakness against the German government are incessantly renewed. A certain marquis de Ivrea, called Ardouin, attempts to make himself king of Italy. He is elected by the noblemen and takes the title of *Cæsar*. Then the archbishops of Milan, began to pretend that a king of Lombardy could not be made without their consent, as the popes pretended that an emperor could not be made without their's. Arnolphus archbishop of Milan addresses himself to king Henry; for it was always the Italians who invited the Germans whom they could neither bear with nor be without.

Henry sends troops to Italy under Otho duke of Carinthia. King Ardouin defeats these troops near the Tirol. The emperor Henry could not leave Germany; where he was detained by troubles of another nature.

1104.

The new christian king of Poland takes advantage of the weakness of Boleslaus duke of Bohemia; makes himself master of his dominions, and puts out his eyes, conforming himself to the practice of the Christian emperors of the east and west. He takes all Bohemia, Misnia and Lusatia. Henry II. contents himself with demanding that he will do him homage for the dominions he has invaded. The king of Poland laughs at the demand and engages in an alliance with several princes of Germany, against Henry, who therefore is resolved to preserve Germany, before he goes to oppose the new Cæsar of Italy.

1105.

He reconciles himself to the bishops; negotiates with the noblemen, levies soldiers and disconcerts the association.

The Hungarians began to embrace Christianity through the care of the missionaries whose sole aim is

to extend their religion ; while that of princes is to extend their dominions.

Stephen chief of the Hungarians, who had married the sister of Henry the emperor, becomes a Christian about this time ; and luckily for Germany makes war with his christian Hungarians against the idolatrous Hungarians.

The church of Rome, which had allowed itself to be anticipated by the emperors in the nomination of a king of Poland, is before-hand with them in regard to Hungary. Pope John XIX. confers upon Stephen of Hungary the title of king and apostle, with the right of having the cross carried before him like the archbishops ; and Hungary is divided into ten bishoprics much better filled with idolaters than with christians.

The archbishop of Milan presses Henry II. to come to Italy against his king Ardouin. Accordingly Henry sets out for that country by the way of Bavaria, the states or parliament of which are then electing a duke : and Henry of Luxembourg, the emperor's brother-in-law, is unanimously chosen. An important fact which shews the rights of the people were reckoned of some consideration.

Henry, before he passed the Alps, leaves his wife Cunegonda in the hands of the archbishop of Magdebourg. It is pretended, that he had made a vow of chastity with her : a vow of imbecillity in an emperor.

He is no sooner in the neighbourhood of Verona, than the *Cæsar* Ardouin betakes himself to flight. We always see the kings of Italy when the Germans are not there ; but as soon as these set foot in Italy, the kings are seen no more.

Henry is crowned at Pavia : There they conspire against his life. He stifles the conspiracy and after abundance of bloodshed pardons the conspirators.

He does not go to Rome, but, according to the custom of his predecessors, quits Italy with all possible dispatch. It

1006.

It is always the fate of the German princes to be recalled by troubles at home, when they might secure their dominion in Italy.

He goes to defend the Bohemians against the Poles. Being received in Prague, he gives the investiture of the duchy of Bohemia to Jaromir. He passes the Oder, pursues the Poles into their own country, and makes peace with them.

He builds Bamberg, and there founds a bishopric; but he gives the feudal lordship to the pope: He is said to have reserved to himself no more than the right of lodging in the castle.

He assembles a council at Frankfort upon the Main, solely on account of this new bishopric of Bamberg, which the bishop of Wurtzburg opposes as a dismembring of his bishopric. The emperor prostrates himself before the bishops: they discuss the rights of Bamberg and Wurtzburg without coming to any agreement.

1007.

The Prussians or Borussians begin to be talked of. They were Barbarians who lived upon horses blood, inhabiting latterly the deserts between Poland and the Baltick. They are said to have worshipped serpents. They frequently plundered the territories of Poland. There must have been something to be got among them, seeing the Poles also made incursions into their country.

1008, 1009.

Otho duke of Low-Lorrain, the last known descendent of Charlemagne, being dead, Henry II. gives that duchy to Godfrey count of the Ardennes. This donation is productive of troubles. The duke of Bavaria takes the advantage of them to disturb Henry, but is expelled from Bavaria.

1010.

Herman, son of Ekard of Thuringia, receives from Henry II. the Marquisate of Misnia.

1011.

War is still carried on with Poland. It is only since she is become feudatory to Germany, that Germany has wars with her.

Glogau already existed in Silesia, and is besieged: The Silesians were united with the Poles.

1012.

Henry, fatigued with all these troubles, is desirous of being made canon of Strasbourg. He makes a vow to that purpose, and in order to accomplish his vow founds a canonate, the possessor of which is called *King of the Choir*. Having laid aside the design of being a canon, he goes to fight the Poles and calms the troubles in Bohemia.

At this period is placed the adventure of Cunegonda, who being accused of adultery, after having made a vow of chastity, proves her innocence by handling red hot iron. This tale must be ranked with the funeral pile of the empress Mary of Arragon.

1013.

As soon as the emperor quitted Italy, Ardouin repossessed himself of it, and the archbishop of Milan incessantly intreats Henry II. to come and reign.

Henry repasses the Alps of Tirol a second time; and the *Slaves* seize that very conjuncture to renounce the little Christianity they knew, and ravage the whole territory of Hamburg.

1014.

As soon as the emperor is in the Veronais, Ardouin betakes himself to flight. The Romans are ready to receive Henry. He comes to Rome to be crowned with Cunegonda. Pope Benedict VIII. changes the form. He first asks him on the steps of St. Peter's:

“ *Will you be faithful in all things to me and my successors?* ” This was a kind of homage which the cunning of the pope extorted from the simplicity of the emperor.

The emperor goes to subdue Lombardy. He passes through Burgundy, visits the abbey of Clugni, and desires to be associated in the community. He afterwards repairs to Verdun, and desires to become a monk in the abbey of St. Vall. It is pretended that the abbot being wiser than Henry, said to him: “ *Monks owe obedience to their abbots: I order you to continue emperor.* ”

1015, 1016, 1017, 1018.

These years produce nothing but petty wars in Bohemia and on the frontiers of Poland. All that part of Germany from the Elbe, is more barbarous and miserable than ever. Every nobleman who could arm a few peasants *serfs*, made war upon his neighbour: and when the possessors of the great fiefs had wars of their own to maintain, they obliged their vassals to leave their own particular quarrels to come and serve them. This was called *the law of Truce*.

How could the emperors choose to live in the midst of such barbarity, instead of going to reside at Rome? because, in order to be acknowledged by the Romans, it was necessary to be powerful among the Germans.

1019, 1020, 1021.

The emperor's authority was strengthened in Lombardy by his lieutenants. But the Saracens still continued their depredations upon Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria, and this year fell upon Tuscany. But their incursions in Italy were like those of the *Slaves* and Hungarians in Germany. They were no longer in a condition to make great conquests, because they were divided and weakened in Spain. The Greeks still possessed great part of Apulia and Calabria governed

verned by a Catapan. One Millo prince of Bari and a prince of Salerno took arms against this Catapan.

Then appeared, for the first time, those Adventurers of Normandy, who afterwards founded the kingdom of Naples. They served Millo against the Greeks. Pope Benedict VIII. and Millo, being equally afraid of the Greeks and Saracens, go to Bamberg to demand succour of the emperor.

Henry II. confirms the donations of his predecessors to the see of Rome, reserving to himself the sovereign power. He confirms a decree made at Pavia, by which the clerks are restricted from having either wives, or concubines.

1022.

There being a necessity for opposing the Greeks and Mahometans in Italy, he goes thither in the Spring. His army is chiefly composed of bishops at the head of their own troops. This holy emperor, who would not suffer an under-deacon to have a wife, allowed the bishops to wallow in human blood: Inconsistencies too frequent among men.

He sends troops towards Capua and to Apulia, but does not make himself master of the country: and it was but an indifferent conquest to seize the abbot of Monte Cassini who had declared against him, and cause another to be elected in his room.

1023.

He very soon repasses the Alps according to the maxim of his predecessors, never to stay long from Germany. He agrees with Robert, king of France, to have an interview in a boat upon the Meuse between Sedan and Mouson. The emperor anticipates the king of France by frankly going to the camp. This was rather a visit of friends than a conference of kings; an example which hath been seldom imitated.

1024.

The Emperor afterwards makes the tour of great part of Germany in profound peace, leaving every where marks of justice and generosity.

He felt his end approaching, although he was but two and fifty years of age: and historians write that before his death he said to the parents of his wife: "*You gave me her a virgin, and I restore you her a virgin:*" a very strange declaration from an husband, and still more strange from a crowned husband. He died July 14, and his body is carried to Bamberg which was his favorite town. The canons of Bamberg canonized him an hundred years after his death.

C O N R A D II.

Surnamed T H E S A L I C.

S I X T E E N T H E M P E R O R.

1024.

ONE cannot sufficiently wonder at the prodigious number of dissertations upon the seven pretended electors who were supposed to be instituted at this time. Be this as it will, there never had been a greater assembly than that in which Conrad II. was elected. They were obliged to hold it in the open fields between Worms and Mentz. The dukes of Saxony, Bohemia, Bavaria, Carinthia, Suabia, Franconia, of high and of low Lorraine, together with a prodigious number of counts, bishops and abbots, gave their votes. It must be observed that the magistrates of the towns were present, tho' they did not give their suffrages. They incamped six weeks in the field of election, before it was determined.

At

At length the choice fell upon Conrad surnamed *the Salic*, because he was born on the river Sal. He was a nobleman of Franconia, whom they derived from Otho *the great* by the female line. In all probability he was chosen as the least dangerous of all the pretenders. Indeed, we fixed no great towns belonging to him; and he is no more the chief of powerful vassals, every one of whom is powerful as himself.

1025, 1026.

Germany was always considered as the center of the empire; and the name of the emperor seems to have been confounded with that of the king of Germany. The Italians snatched all opportunities to separate these two titles.

The Deputies of the great fiefs in Italy, come and offer the empire to Robert king of France; at that time it was the present of an unsubstantial title, and of substantial wars: therefore Robert wisely refuses the proffer. They address themselves to the duke of Guienne a peer of France, who accepts it, because he had less to lose. But pope John XX. and the archbishop of Milan bring Conrad *the Salic* into Italy. First of all his son Henry must be elected and renowned king of Germany. It was then the custom of France, and of every other nation.

He is obliged to besiege Pavia. He undergoes seditions at Ravenna. Every German emperor tho' invited to Italy, meets with a bad reception.

1027.

Scarce is Conrad crowned at Rome, when he finds himself no longer in safety. He returns to Germany where he finds a faction against him. These are the causes of the frequent journeys of the emperors.

1028, 1029, 1030.

Henry duke of Bavaria being dead, Stephen, king of Hungary his relation by his mother, demands Ba-
 varia

varia to the prejudice of the last duke's son. A proof that the rights of blood were not yet thoroughly established. Indeed, nothing was. The emperor gives Bavaria to the son. The Hungarians attempt to take it by force of arms. They fought, and then peace is made: and after the death of this Stephen, the emperor has credit enough to raise one Peter a kinsman of Stephen to the throne of Hungary: he has moreover power enough to exact homage and extort a tribute from the said Peter, whom the incensed Hungarians call *Peter the German*. The popes who still believed they had erected Hungary into a Kingdom, would not have wished to have heard him called *Peter the Roman*.

Ernest duke of Suabia, who had taken arms against the emperor, is put to ban of the empire. *Ban* at first signified *banner*, afterwards *edict* or *proclamation*; and then, *banishment*. This is one of the first examples of that proscription. The form was: "*We declare thy wife a widow, thy children orphans; and we send thee in the name of the devil to the four corners of the earth.*"

1031, 1032.

At this time the sovereigns of Silesia began to be known. They are neither under the yoke of Bohemia or of Poland. Poland insensibly detaches itself from the empire which it will no longer acknowledge.

1032; 1033, 1044.

If the empire loses one vassal in Poland, it acquires an hundred in the kingdom of Burgundy.

Cidolphius the last king who had no children, leaves at his death his dominions to Conrad *the Salic*. This was but a very small extent of dominion, with the territorial superiority; or at least pretensions to the superiority, that is right of paramount over the Swiss, the Grisons, Provence, Franche Comte, Savoy, Geneva and Dauphiny. From hence the lands on the other side of the Rhine are still

still called the Lands of the empire. All the noblemen of those Cantons, who formerly held of Radolphus, now hold of the emperor.

Some bishops were likewise erected into feudatory princes. Conrad gave them all the same rights. The emperors still raise the bishops in order to oppose them to the noblemen; for they were always at ease when those two bodies were divided, and very much disturbed when they were united.

The sees of Lyons, Besançon, Ambrun, Vienna, Lausanne, Geneva, Basil, Grenoble, Valence, Gap, and Die, were imperial fiefs.

Of all the feudatories of Burgundy one only lays the foundations of a durable power. That is humbert *with the white hands*, from whom the dukes of Savoy are descended. He had no more than the Morienne, when the emperor gave him the Chablais, the Valais, and St. Maurice: in the same manner, from Poland to the Scheld, and from the Saone to Garillan, the emperors every where created princes, and looked upon themselves as Lords Paramount of almost all Europe.

From 1035 to 1039.

Italy still involved in troubles recalls Conrad. That same archbishop of Milan, who had crowned the emperor, was for that very reason against him; because his rights and pretensions were augmented by it. Conrad causes him to be apprehended with three other bishops. He is afterwards obliged to besiege Milan, which, however, he could not take. There he loses part of his army, and of consequence, his credit at Rome.

He goes to make laws at Beneventum and Capua, but in the mean time the Norman adventurers make conquests in that country.

At length he re-enters Milan by means of negotiations, and returns to Germany according to custom.

He is taken ill and dies at Utrecht, June 4, 1039.

H E N R Y III.

SEVENTEENTH EMPEROR.

From 1039 to 1042.

HENRY III. surnamed *the Black*, son of Conrad, already crowned while his father was alive, is acknowledged without difficulty. He is crowned and consecrated a second time by the archbishop of Cologne. The first years of his reign are signalized by wars with Bohemia, Poland and Hungary, which however, produce no great event.

He bestows the archbishopric of Lyons, and invests the archbishop, by the cross and ring, without any contradiction; two circumstances very remarkable, which prove that Lyons was an imperial town, and that the kings possessed the right of investing bishops.

From 1042 to 1046.

Rome and Italy were involved as usual in great confusion.

The house of Toscanella had always the chief authority in Rome. It had purchased the pontificate for a child of twelve years of age belonging to that family. Two others having purchased it at the same time, these three pontiffs shared the revenues equally among them, and agreed to live peaceably, leaving all political affairs to the chief of the house of Toscanella.

This singular triumvirate continued as long as they had money to consult their pleasures; and when they had no more, each sold his part of the papacy to the deacon Gratian, whom father Maimbourg calls *an holy priest*, a man of quality, very rich. But as young Benedict XI. had been elected a long time before

fore the other two, he by a solemn agreement was allowed to enjoy the tribute which England then paid to Rome, under the appellation of *St. Peter's pence*; and to which the kings of England had long submitted.

This Gratian who took the name of Gregory VI. and who is reckoned to have conducted himself wisely, enjoyed the pontificate in peace, when the emperor Henry III. came to Rome.

Never emperor exercised more authority in that place. He deposed Gregory VI. as having been guilty of simony, and nominated to the papacy his own chancellor Suidger bishop of Bamberg, without any person's daring to murmur.

The chancellor become pope, consecrates the emperor and his wife, and promises all that the popes have at any time promised to the emperors, when these last happened to be the stronger.

1047.

Henry III. bestows the investiture of Apulia, Calabria and almost all the Beneventine, except the town of Beneventum and its territory, upon the Norman princes who had conquered these countries from the Greeks and Saracens. The popes did not, at that time, pretend to give these dominions. The town of Beneventum then belonged to the Pandolphi of Toscanella.

The emperor returns to Germany, and fills all the vacant sees.

1048.

The dutchy of Mosellanic Lorrain is given to Gerard of Aliace, and that of Low-Lorrain to the house of Luxembourg. The house of Alsace, since that time, is known only by the titles of marquises and dukes of Lorrain.

The pope being dead we again find the emperor giving a pope to Rome, just as he gave away any

other benefice. Henry III. sends a Bavarian called Popo, who is immediately acknowledged as pope under the name of Damasus II.

1049.

Damasus dying, the emperor in the assembly of Worms nominates Bruno bishop of Toul to the papacy and sends him to take possession. This is pope Leo IX. the first who kept his own bishopric together with that of Rome. It is not surprising that the emperors should thus dispose of the holy see. Theodora and Marosia had accustomed the Romans to this submission, and without Nicholas II. and Gregory VII. the pontificate would have been always dependent. Their feet would have been kissed, and they themselves would have been slaves.

1050, 1051, 1052.

The Hungarians kill their king Peter, renounce the christian religion and the homage they had done to the empire. Henry III. makes war upon them unsuccessfully; and cannot put an end to it any other way, but by giving his daughter in marriage to Andrew the new king, who was a christian although his subjects were not.

1053.

Pope Leo IX. comes to Worms, to complain to the emperor that the Norman princes were become too powerful.

Henry III. resumes the feudal rights of Bamberg, and gives the pope the town of Beneventum in exchange. He could give the pope no more than the town, as the Norman princes had done homage to the empire for the rest of the duchy: but the emperor furnished the pope with an army to expel these new conquerors who were become too near neighbours to Rome.

Leo IX. marches against them with this army, one half of which is commanded by ecclesiastics.

Humfroid, Richard, and Robert Guiscard or Guichard, those Normans so famous in history, cut in pieces the pope's army tho' three times as numerous as their own. They take the pope prisoner, prostrate themselves before him and lead him captive to the town of Beneventum.

1054.

The emperor affects absolute power. The duke of Bavaria being at war with the bishop of Ratisbon, Henry III. espouses the bishop's cause, summons the duke of Bavaria to appear before his privy council, strips him of his dominions and gives Bavaria to his own son Henry about three years of age. This is the famous Henry IV.

The duke of Bavaria takes refuge among the Hungarians, whom he in vain endeavours to interest in his revenge.

The emperor proposes to the noblemen who are most attached to his interest, to secure the empire to his son who was an infant. He is accordingly declared king of the Romans, in the castle of Tribur near Mentz. This was not a new title. It had been assumed by Ludolphus the son of Otho I.

1055.

He makes a treaty of alliance with Contarini duke of Venice. That republic was already rich and powerful; tho' it did not coin money 'till after the year 950; and was not enfranchised 'till after 998, from the acknowledgement of a mantle of cloth of gold, the only tribute which it had paid to the emperors.

Genoa was its rival in power and commerce. She was already in possession of Corsica which she had taken from the Arabians, but her trade was much more advantageous than the possession of Corsica, which the Pisans disputed with her.

There were no such towns in Germany; all beyond the Rhine was poor and wretched. The people of the North and those of the East still poorer, continued still to ravage these countries.

1056.

The *Slaves* make another irruption and desolate the duchy of Saxony.

Henry III. dies near Paderborn in the arms of pope Victor II. who before his death consecrates his son Henry emperor in the sixth year of his age.

H E N R Y IV.

E I G H T E E N T H E M P E R O R.

1056.

A Woman governs the empire. She was French, daughter of a duke of Guienne peer of France, called Agnes mother of the young emperor Henry IV. She who had by right of guardianship the patrimonial estates of her son, had that of the empire, because she was possessed of courage and address.

From 1057 to 1069:

The first years of the reign of Henry IV. are obscure times of trouble.

Private noblemen make war upon one another in Germany. The duke of Bohemia still vassal of the empire, is attacked by Poland which will no longer be a member of it.

The Hungarians so long formidable to Germany, are at length obliged to solicit succours of the Germans against the Poles become dangerous, and notwithstanding that succour they are defeated. King Andrew and his queen fly for refuge to Ratisbon.

No policy or great design seems to have influenced these wars, which are produced from the slightest causes: Sometimes they are derived from the spirit of Chivalry by this time introduced into Germany. A count of Holland, for example, goes to war against the bishops of Cologne and Liege, on account of a quarrel that happened in a tournament.

The rest of Europe takes no share in the affairs of Germany, there is no war with France, no influence in England and the north, and very little at that time in Italy, tho' Henry IV. was both king and emperor of that country.

The empress Agnes finds it difficult to maintain her regency.

At length, in 1061, the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria uncles of Henry IV. the archbishop of Cologne and other princes, carry off the emperor from his mother, who is accused of sacrificing every thing to the bishop of Augsbουργ her minister and gallant. She flies to Rome and there takes the veil; and the noblemen remain masters of the emperor and of Germany during his minority.

Mean while, after abundance of troubles in Italy, still excited on account of the pontificate, pope Nicholas II. in 1059, had decreed in a council of 113. bishops, that for the future the cardinals only should elect the pope who should afterwards be presented to the people to have the election confirmed. *“ Saving, added he, the honour and respect due to our dear son Henry now king, who, if it pleases God, shall be emperor, according to the right which we have already conferred upon him.”*

Thus advantage was taken of the minority of Henry IV. to establish the rights and pretensions, which the pontifs of Rome always maintained when they could.

At that time a custom was established, which the dread of the rapaciousness of a thousand petty tyrants

of Italy had introduced. A man gave his lands to the church under the title of *Oblata*, and continued feudatory possessor for a slight acknowledgement. This is the origin of the superiority of Rome, over the kingdom of Naples.

The same pope Nicholas II. after having in vain excommunicated the Norman conquerors, made protectors and vassals of them, and those who were feudatories of the empire, and less afraid of the popes than of the emperors, do homage for their lands to pope Nicholas, in the council of Melphi, in the year 1059. The popes in the beginning of their power resembled the caliphs in the decay of their dominion; they bestowed the investiture on the strongest competitor.

Robert receives of the pope the ducal crown of Apuglia and Calabria, and is invested by the standard. Richard is confirmed prince of Capua, and the pope moreover gives them Sicily *in case they expel the Saracens from that Island*.

In effect Robert and his brothers make themselves masters of Sicily in 1061, and thereby do the greatest service to Italy.

It was not till long after this period that the popes got possession of Beneventum left by the Norman princes to the Pandolphi of the house of Toscanella.

1069.

Henry IV. being now of age frees himself from the captivity in which he was detained by the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria.

Every thing was then in the most horrible confusion, This may be judged by the right of ransoming travellers; a right which all the noblemen from the Maine and the Weser to the country of the *Slaves*, reckoned among their feudal prerogatives.

The right of pillaging the emperor seemed likewise very natural to the dukes of Bavaria, Saxony and the
marquis

marquis of Thuringia, who form an association against him.

1070.

Henry IV. assisted by the rest of the empire dissipates this association.

Otho of Bavaria is put to the ban of the empire. He was the second sovereign of that duchy, who underwent this disgrace. The emperor gives Bavaria to Guelfe son of Azo marquis of Italy.

1071, 1072.

The emperor, tho' young and addicted to pleasure, makes a progress through Germany, to establish some sort of order.

The year 1072 is the first æra of the famous quarrel about the investitures.

Alexander II. had been elected pope without consulting the imperial court, in spite of which he had maintained his station. Hildebrand born at Soanne in Tuscany, of parents unknown, a monk of Clugni under the abbot Odilo, and afterwards cardinal, governed the pontificate. He is well known by the name of Gregory VII. a man of an enterprising genius, turbulent and fiery, but artful even in the midst of his impetuosity: the most insolent of men, and the most zealous of priests. He had already by his councils established and reinforced the authority of the church.

He persuades pope Alexander to summon the emperor to his tribunal. This would seem to have been a ridiculous piece of rashness; but if we consider the situation of the emperor, it was not. Saxony, Thuringia and great part of Germany had then declared against Henry IV.

1073.

Alexander II. dying, Hildebrand has credit enough to be elected by the people, without asking the votes of the cardinals, or waiting for the emperor's consent.

He writes to that prince, that he had been elected against his will, and was ready to resign. Henry IV. sends his chancellor to confirm the election of the pope, who having nothing further to fear takes off the mask.

1074.

Henry continues to make war upon the Saxons, and the association formed against him. Henry IV. is conqueror.

1075.

The Russians began to be Christians, and to be known in the West.

One Demetrius (for the Greek names had penetrated even to that part of the world) expelled from his dominions by his brother, comes to Mentz and implores the assistance of the emperor; and what is still more remarkable, sends his son to Rome to prostrate himself at the feet of Gregory VII. as the judge of the Christians. The emperor was counted the temporal, and the pope the spiritual chieftain of Europe.

Henry totally destroys the association, and restores peace to the empire.

He seems to have been afraid of new revolutions; for he writes a very humble letter to the pope; in which he accuses himself of debauchery, and simony; and we must believe his word. His confession gives Gregory the right of rebuking him. This is the fairest of all rights. But it does not give him that of disposing of crowns.

Gregory VII. writes to the bishops of Bremen, Constance, the archbishop of Mentz and others, and orders them to come to Rome. "*You have permitted clerks, says he, to keep concubines, and even to take new ones, we order you to appear at the first council in Rome.*"

It was also necessary to settle the affair of Tithes which

which the bishops and abbots of Germany disputed with one another.

Gregory VII. is the first who proposes a crusade. He writes on that subject to Henry IV. he pretends that he himself will go and deliver the holy sepulchre at the head of fifty thousand men, and desires the emperor to come and serve under him. The then prevailing spirit divests this idea of the pope, of the air of madness, and leaves nothing but that of greatness.

The design of commanding the emperor and all the kings, seems no less chimerical, yet this is what he undertakes, and not without some success.

Salomon king of Hungary, driven from part of his dominions, and being master of no more than what lies between Presburg and Austria, comes to Worms and renews the homage of Hungary to the empire.

Gregory VII. writes to him *“ You ought to know that the kingdom of Hungary belongs to the Roman church. Learn that you will incur the indignation of the holy see, if you do not acknowledge that you hold your dominions of it, and not of the king of Germany.”*

The pope exacts of the duke of Bohemia an hundred marks of silver an annual tribute, and gives him by way of recompense the right of wearing the mitre.

1076.

Henry IV. always enjoyed the right of nominating bishops and abbots, and of giving the investiture by the cross and the ring. This right he had in common with almost all princes. It naturally belongs to the people to choose their own pontiffs and magistrates: and it is but just that their choice should concur with the royal authority, but this authority had usurped the whole. The emperors filled vacant bishoprics and Henry IV. sold them. Gregory in opposing this abuse maintained the natural liberty of mankind;

but in opposing the concurrence of the imperial authority, he introduced a still greater abuse. Then broke out the divisions between the empire and the church.

The predecessors of Gregory VII. had sent legates to the emperors for no other purpose, but to intreat their succour and desire them to come and be crowned in Rome. Gregory sends two legates to summon Henry to appear before him as a delinquent.

The legates at their arrival at Goslar, are abandoned to the insults of the servants. By way of answer, a diet is held at Worms, at which almost all the noblemen, bishops and abbots of Germany are present.

There a cardinal, called Hugh, demands justice for all the crimes he imputes to the pope. Gregory is deposed by a majority of voices; but there ought to have been an army to go and support that judgement at Rome.

The pope on his side deposes the emperor by a Bull. "*I forbid him, says he, to govern the Teutonic kingdom and Italy, and release all his subjects from their oath of allegiance.*"

Gregory more cunning than the emperor, well knew that these excommunications would be seconded by civil wars. He brings over the German bishops to his party. These bishops engage the noblemen. They are joined by the Saxons Henry's old enemies. The excommunication of Henry IV. serves them as a pretext.

That same Guelfe to whom the emperor had given Bavaria, arms himself against him by means of his own bounty, and supports the malecontents.

At length the majority of the bishops and even of the princes who had deposed Gregory VII. subject their emperor to the judgement of that pope. They desire that the pope will come and judge the emperor definitively at Augsbourg.

1077.

The emperor would fain prevent this fatal judgement of Augsbourg, and in consequence of an unheard of resolution, goes, attended by a few domestics to implore absolution of the pope.

The pope was then in the fortrefs of Canossa, upon the Appennine, with the countess Mathilda the emperor's own cousin.

The countess Mathilda is the true cause of all the wars between the emperors and the popes, which have so long ravaged Italy. She possessed in her own right great part of Tuscany, Mantua, Parma, Reggio, Placentia, Ferrara, Modena, Verona and almost the whole of what is now called the Patrimony of St. Peter, from Viterbo to Orvietta, part of Ombria, Spoleto, and the march of Ancona. She was called the great countess, sometimes dutchess; there was not then any form of titles, used in Europe: People said to kings, “ *Your excellency, your serenity, your grandeur and your grace*, indifferently. The title of majesty was rarely given to the emperors, and was rather an epithet than a name of honour attributed to the imperial dignity. There is still extant the patent of a donation of Mathilda to the bishop of Modena, which begins thus. *In presence of Mathilda by the grace of God dutchess and countess*, Her mother who was sister of Henry III. and very ill treated by her brother, had brought up this powerful princess in an implacable hatred to the house of Henry. She was submissive to the pope who was her director, and as his enemies say her gallant. Her attachment to Gregory and her hatred to the Germans, she carried to such a length as to make a donation of all her territories to the pope.

It was in presence of this countess Mathilda, that the emperor in the month of January 1077, barefoot and in hair cloth prostrated himself at the pope's feet, swearing

swearing that he would be submissive to him in all things, and go and wait his decree at Augsbourg.

All the noblemen of Lombardy now began to be more dissatisfied with the pope than with the emperor. Mathilda's donation filled them with alarm. They promise to succour Henry IV. if he will break the shameful treaty he has made. Then the world saw what had never been seen before; a German emperor assisted by Italy and abandoned by his own country.

The noblemen and bishops assembled at Forcheim in Franconia, animated by the pope's legates, depose the emperor, and reunite their suffrages in favour of Rodolphus of Rhinfeld duke of Suabia.

1078.

Gregory then behaves like the supreme judge of kings. He has deposed Henry IV. but still it is in his power to pardon that monarch. He takes it amiss that they did not wait for his precise order to consecrate him, who was newly elected at Mentz. He declares from the fortress of Canossa where he was blocked up by the noblemen of Lombardy, that he will acknowledge for emperor and king of Germany him of the competitors who shall obey him the most implicitly.

Henry IV. returns to Germany, reanimates his party and levies an army. Almost all Germany is by means of the two factions involved in blood and flames.

1709.

All the bishops are in arms in this war. A bishop of Strasbourg, one of Henry's partisans, goes and plunders all the convents which had declared for the pope.

1080.

While they fight in Germany, Gregory VII. escapes from the Lombards, excommunicates Henry a new, and by his bull of the 7th of March, "We give

“ give, says he, *the Teutonick kingdom to Rodolphus,*
 “ *and we condemn Henry to be vanquished.*”

He sends to Rodolphus a crown of gold, with this wretched verse so well known :

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus Diadema Rodolpho.

Henry IV. on his side, assembles thirty bishops, with some German and Lombard noblemen at Brixen, and deposes the pope for the second time, as ineffectually as at first.

Bertrand count of Provence withdraws himself from his obedience to the emperors and does homage to the pope. The town of Arles continues faithful to Henry.

Gregory VII. fortifies himself with the protection of the Norman princes, and gives them a new investiture, on condition that they shall always defend the popes.

Gregory encourages Rodolphus and his party, and promises that Henry shall die within the year. But, in the famous battle of Mersbourg, Henry IV. assisted by Godfrey of Bouillon, retorts the pope's prediction upon his competitor Rodolphus who is mortally wounded by Godfrey's own hand.

1081.

Henry revenges himself upon Saxony which then becomes the most miserable of all countries.

Before his departure for Italy he gives his daughter Agnes in marriage to Frederick baron of Stauffen, who, as well as Godfrey of Bouillon, had helped him to gain the decisive battle of Mersbourg. The duchy of Suabia is her dower. This is the origin of the illustrious and unfortunate house of Suabia.

Henry being conqueror marches into Italy. The places belonging to the countess Mathilda make resistance. He carries along with him a pope of his own making called Guibert : but this very circumstance hinders him at first from being received in Rome.

1082.

The Saxons set up the shadow of an emperor, one count Herman scarce known in the world.

1083.

Henry besieges Rome. Gregory proposes to him to come once more and demand absolution, and promises to crown him on these terms. Henry instead of answering takes the city, and the pope shuts himself up in the castle of St. Angelo.

Robert Guiscard comes to his assistance, although he had some years before had his share of the excommunications which Gregory so liberally bestowed. A negotiation is set on foot, and the pope promises to crown Henry.

Gregory proposes to keep his promise by lowering down the crown with a rope from the walls of the castle of St. Angelo upon the emperor's head.

1084.

Henry is not satisfied with the pleasant ceremony. He exalts his antipope Guibert, and is solemnly crowned by his hands.

Mean while Robert Guiscard having received a reinforcement of troops, compels the emperor to retire, releases the pope from the castle of St. Angelo, becomes at once his protector and master, and carries him to Salerno where Gregory continues till his death the prisoner of his deliverers, but still talking as the master of kings and martyr of the church.

1085.

The emperor returns to Rome where he causes himself and his pope to be acknowledged, and retreats with great haste to Germany, like all his predecessors, who seem to have come and taken Rome meerly by way of ceremony. He is recalled by the divisions
of

of Germany; and there is a necessity for crushing the anti-emperor and taming the Saxons. But he never could raise great armies, consequently his success could never be compleat.

1086.

He subdues Thuringia; but Bavaria debauched by the ingratitude of Guelfe, and half of Suabia which would not acknowledge his son-in-law, declare against him; and a civil war rages through all Germany.

1087.

Gregory VII. being dead, Didier abbot of Monte Cassini, is pope under the name of Victor III. The countess Mathilda still faithful to her hatred of Henry IV. furnishes this Victor with troops to expel the emperor's garrison and his pope Guibert from Rome. Victor dies, and Rome continues subject to the imperial authority.

1088.

The anti emperor Hernan having now neither money nor troops, comes and throws himself on his knees before Henry IV. and dies at last in oblivion.

1089.

Henry IV. marries a Russian princess, widow of a marquis of Brandenburg of the house of Staden. This was by no means a political match.

He gives the marquisate of Misnia to the count of Lamberg one of the most ancient Saxon noblemen: From this marquis of Misnia is the whole house of Saxony descended.

Having pacified Germany he repairs again to Italy. The greatest obstacle he there finds is still that countess Mathilda lately remarried to young Guelfe son of that ungrateful Guelfe to whom Henry IV. had given Bavaria.

The countess maintains the war in her dominions against the emperor, who returns to Germany without having done any thing to purpose.

This Guelfe, Mathilda's husband, is said to have been the first origin of the faction of the *Guelfs*, by which name the party of the popes in Italy was afterwards called. The word *Gibelin* was long after applied to the faction of the emperors, because Henry son of Conrad III. was born at Ghibeling. This derivation of these two words of war is as probable and as uncertain as the others.

1090.

The new pope Urban II. author of the crusades, pursues Henry IV. with no less rancor than that of Gregory VII.

The bishops of Constance and Passau excite an insurrection of the people. His new wife Adelaide of Ruffia and his son Conrad born of Bertha revolt against him. Never was emperor, husband or father more unfortunate than Henry IV.

1091.

The empress Adelaide and her son-in-law Conrad pass into Italy. The countess Mathilda furnishes them with troops and money. Roger duke of Calabria gives his daughter in marriage to Conrad.

Pope Urban having made this powerful league, does not fail to excommunicate the emperor.

1092.

The emperor when he last departed from Italy, had left a garrison in Rome. He was still master of the palace of the Lateran, which was pretty strong, and in which his pope Guibert had taken refuge.

The commandant of the garrison sells both garrison and palace to the pope. Jeffrey abbot of Vendome, who was then at Rome, lends Urban money to make this bargain, and Urban reimburses him with

to

the title of cardinal which he settles upon him and his successors. Pope Guibert betakes himself to flight.

1093, 1094, 1095.

During these years, the minds of men in Europe are ingrossed by the idea of Crusades which the famous Peter the hermit preached up every where, with an enthusiasm which spread like contagion from town to town.

A great council, or rather a prodigious assembly is held at Placentia in 1095. There were above forty thousand men, and the council was held in the open field. There the pope proposes the crusade.

There the empress Adelaide and the countess Mathilda solemnly demand Justice of the emperor Henry IV.

Conrad comes and kisses the feet of Urban II. takes the oath of fidelity to him, and leads his horse by the bridle. Urban promises to crown him emperor on condition that he will renounce the right of investiture. He afterwards kisses him on the face, and dines with him in Cremona.

1096.

The crusade having been preached in France with more success than at Placentia, Walter *lack-means*, Peter the hermit, and a German monk called Godescald, take their march through Germany at the head of an army of vagabonds.

1097.

As these vagabonds wore the cross and had no money, and the Jews who carried on all the trade of Germany, had a great deal, the Crusards began their expeditions with them at Worms, Col6gn, Mentz, Triers, and several other cities. They are massacred and burnt. Almost the whole city of Mentz is reduced to ashes by these disorders.

The emperor Henry represses these excesses as much as he can, and leaves the Crusards to take their route through Hungary where they are almost all murdered.

Young Guelfe quarrels with his wife Mathilda. There is a separation between them, and this quarrel contributes a little to the reestablishment of the emperor's affairs.

1098.

Henry holds a diet at Aix-la-chapelle where he causes his son Conrad to be declared unworthy to reign.

1099.

He causes his second son Henry to be elected and crowned, never dreaming that he would have greater cause of complaint against the younger than against the elder.

1100.

The emperor's authority is absolutely destroyed in Italy, but reestablished in Germany.

1101.

The rebellious Conrad dies suddenly at Florence. Pope Paschal II. to whom the emperor's impotent lieutenants in Italy had in vain opposed Antipopes, excommunicates Henry IV. after the example of his predecessors.

1102.

The countess Mathilda having quarrelled with her husband, renews her donation to the Roman Church.

Bruno archbishop of Triers, primate of the Gauls of Germany, having been invested by the emperor, goes to Rome where he is obliged to ask pardon for having received the investiture.

1104.

1104.

Henry IV. promises to go to the Holy-land. This was the only way at that time of conciliating the affections of his subjects.

1105.

But at the same time the archbishop of Mentz and the bishop of Constance, the pope's legates perceiv'g the emperor's crusade was no more than a feint excite his son Henry against him. They release him from the excommunication which (say they) he has incurred *by being faithful to his father*. The pope encourages him; and several Saxon and Bavarian noblemen are gained over.

The Partisans of young Henry assemble a council and an army: and in this council wise laws are made. There they confirm what is called *God's truce*; a monument of the horrible barbarity which prevailed in those times. This truce was an edict forbidding the noblemen and barons who were at open war, to slay one another on Sundays and holidays.

Young Henry protests in the council, that he is ready to submit to his father, if his father will submit to the pope. The whole council cried *Kyrie eleyson*, which was the prayer used in armies and councils.

Mean while this rebellious son engages the marquis of Austria in his party, together with the duke of Bohemia. The duke of Bohemia sometimes took the title of king, since the pope had given them the mitre.

His party grows stronger and stronger. The emperor in vain writes to pope Paschal who will not listen to his proposals. A diet is summoned at Mentz in order to appease so many troubles.

Young Henry feigns a reconciliation with his father asks pardon of him with tears in his eyes; and having allured him into the castle of Bingenheim in the neighbourhood of Mentz causes him to be apprehended and detained in prison.

1106.

The diet of Mentz declares for this perfidious son against the unfortunate father. The emperor receives an intimation that he must send the imperial ornaments to young Henry. They are taken from him by force and carried to Mentz, where the unnatural usurper is crowned. But he protests with a sigh, it is against his own inclination, and that he will restore the crown to his father, as soon as Henry IV. shall be obedient to the pope.

We find in the constitutions of Goldast a letter from the emperor to his son, in which he conjures him to allow the bishop of Liege to grant him an asylum at least. *Allow me, says he, to continue at Liege, if not as emperor, at least as refugee. Let it not be said to my shame, or rather to yours, that I am forced to beg lodgings in Easter-time. If you grant me what I ask I shall be greatly obliged to you: if you refuse me, I will go and rather live as a poor cottager in a foreign country, than wander thus from one disgrace to another in an empire which was once my own.*"

What a letter is this from an emperor to his son! The hypocrisy and inflexible cruelty of this young prince restored some partizans to Henry IV. The new elected emperor in attempting to violate his father's asylum at Liege was repulsed. He went to exact the oath of allegiance in Alsace, and all the homage the Alsatians did was to beat the troops by which he was accompanied, so that he was compelled to betake himself to flight. But this slight check served only to incense him, and aggravate the miseries of his father.

The emperor was protected by the bishop of Liege, the dukes of Limburg and Low-Lorraine. The count of Hainault was against him. Pope Paschal wrote to the count of Hainault. *Persecute without ceasing Henry chief of the heretics, and his fautors: you cannot offer more agreeable sacrifices to God.*"

Henry IV. at length being almost quite destitute of relief, and on the brink of being forced in Liege, writes to the abbot of Clugni, and seems to have meditated a retreat in that convent. He dies at Liege August 7. overwhelmed with grief, and crying aloud *O God of vengeance! thou wilt revenge this parricide.*" It was an opinion equally ancient and vain, that God fulfilled the curses of dying men, especially those of parents: an error which would be very useful if it could terrify those who deserve such curses.

The unnatural son of Henry IV. comes to Liege, orders his father's body to be dug up from the church, as the carcase of an excommunicated wretch, and to be put in a vault at Spiere.

HENRY V.

NINETEENTH EMPEROR.

THE lords of the great fiefs then began to fortify themselves in the right of sovereignty. They assumed the name of *Coinperantes*, looking upon themselves as sovereigns in their fiefs and vassals of the empire, not of the emperor. They indeed received of him the vacant fiefs; but the same authority that bestowed them could not take them away. Thus in Poland the king confers the Palatinates; but the republic alone has the right of destitution. In effect one may receive through favour, but he ought not to be dispossessed but by justice. Several vassals of the empire had already intitled themselves dukes and counts *by the grace of God.*

This independence which the noblemen confirmed to themselves, and which the emperors endeavoured to reduce, contributed at least as much as the popes, to the troubles of the empire, and the rebellion of children against their own fathers.

The power of the grandees derived growth from the impotence of the throne. This feudal government was nearly the same in France and Arragon. There was no longer any kingdom in Italy. All the noblemen there fortified themselves separately. Europe was wholly roughened with castles and covered with banditti. Barbarity and ignorance prevailed. The inhabitants of the country were slaves, the burghers of the towns were despised and racked with impositions, and some trading towns in Italy excepted, Europe from one end to the other was nothing but a theatre of misery.

The first thing done by Henry V. after his coronation, is to maintain the same right of investiture against which he had taken arms to dethrone his father.

Pope Paschal being come to France goes as far as Chaalons in Champagne, to confer with the German princes and bishops who come thither in the emperor's name.

That numerous embassy at first refuses to make the first visit to the pope. At length, however, they go to his lodgings. Bruns archbishop of Triers supports the right of the emperor. It would have been much more natural for an archbishop to exclaim against those investitures and homages of which the bishops made such loud complaints; but private interest always overbalances that of the public.

1107, 1108, 1109, 1110.

These four years are almost wholly employed in wars against Hungary and part of Poland; wars without cause, and without any great success on either side, which ended in the weariness of all parties, and left things exactly as they were.

1111.

The emperor at the end of this war marries the daughter of Henry I. king of England, son and second

cond successor of William the conqueror. It is pretended that his wife had for dower, a sum amounting to about nine hundred thousand pounds sterling. This was equal to above five millions of German crowns, as they are now valued, or to twenty millions of France. All the historians fail in point of exactness in recording such facts, and the history of those times is too often a heap of exaggerations.

At length the emperor turns his thoughts upon Italy and the imperial crown; and pope Paschal II. in order to disturb him, renews the quarrel of the investitures.

Henry V. sends ambassadors to Rome, followed by an army. In the mean time he promises by a writing still preserved in the vatican to renounce the investitures, and to leave the popes in possession of all they had received from the emperors; and what is strange enough, after these submissions he promises not to kill or mutilate the sovereign pontif.

Paichal II. by the same act promises to order the bishops to abandon to the emperor all their fiefs holding of the empire; by this agreement the bishops lost a great deal; but the pope and emperor were considerable gainers.

All the bishops of Italy and Germany, who were at Rome, protesting against this agreement, Henry V. in order to appease them, proposes that they shall farm the lands, of which they were formerly in possession. But the bishops will by no means consent to be farmers.

Henry V. wearied with all these contests, declares he will be crowned and consecrated without any condition at all. This whole dispute passed in the church of St. Peter during mass, which being ended the emperor ordered his guards to take the pope into custody.

There is an insurrection in Rome in favour of the pope. The emperor is obliged to make his escape; but he returns immediately with troops; fights a

bloody battle in Rome, kills abundance of Romans, and especially priests, and carries off the pope prisoner with some cardinals.

Paschal was more complaisant in prison than at the altar; he does every thing that the emperor desires. At the end of two months Henry V. reconducts the holy father to Rome at the head of his troops. The pope crowns him emperor April 13th, and at the same time gives him the bull by which he is confirmed in the right of the investitures. It is remarkable that in this bull he gives him no other title but that of *dilection*. But it is still more so, that the emperor and pope should communicate of the same host, and that the pope should say, when he gave the half of the host to the emperor, *As this part of the sacrament is divided from the other, so may the first of us two, who shall break the peace be separated from the kingdom of Jesus Christ.*

Henry V. finishes the farce by asking the pope's permission to bury his father in consecrated ground, assuring him he died penitent: then he returns to Germany to perform the obsequies of Henry IV. without having established his power in Italy.

1112.

Paschal II. is not displeas'd to find his cardinals and legates in all kingdoms, disavowing his condescension for Henry V.

He assembles a council in the basilic of St. John of Lateran, where in presence of three hundred prelates he asks pardon for his weakness, offers to resign the pontificate, cancels and annuls all he had done, and debases himself in order to exalt the church.

1113.

Perhaps Paschal the second and his council would not have taken this step, if they had not depended upon one of those revolutions, which have always followed

followed the consecration of the emperors. In effect there were troubles in Germany about the imperial treasury; another source of civil wars.

1114.

Lotharius duke of Saxony, afterwards emperor, is at the head of the faction against Henry V. That emperor having occasion like his father to fight the Saxons, is like him defended by the house of Suabia. Frederic de Stauffen duke of Suabia and father of the emperor Barbarossa, prevents Henry V. from Succumbing.

1115.

The most dangerous enemies of Henry V. are three priests; the pope in Italy, the archbishop of Mentz, who sometimes defeats his troops, and Erlang bishop of Wirtzburg, who being sent by him to the confederates, betrays his master and espouses their cause.

1116.

Henry V. being conqueror puts Erlang bishop of Wirtzburg to the ban of the empire. The bishops of Wirtzburg pretended they were direct lords of all Franconia, although there were dukes of that country, and the duchy itself belonged to the imperial house.

The duchy of Franconia is given to Conrad nephew of Henry V. at present, there are no dukes, either of this great province, or of Suabia.

Bishop Erlang defends himself for a long time in Wirtzburg, disputes the ramparts sword in hand, and makes his escape when the town is taken.

The famous countess Mathilda dies, after having renewed the donation of all her estate to the Roman church.

1117.

The emperor Henry V. disinherited by his cousin, and excommunicated by the pope, goes to Italy to

take possession of Mathilda's lands, and be revenged upon his holiness. He enters Rome, and the pope flies for shelter among the Norman princes the new vassals and protectors of the church.

The first coronation of the emperor appearing equivocal, a second is performed which is still more so. An archbishop of Braga in Portugal, a Limousin by birth, called Bourdin, takes it in his head to consecrate the emperor.

1118.

After the ceremony Henry goes to secure Tuscany. Paschal II. returns to Rome with a small army belonging to the Norman princes. He dies, and the army goes home again after having taken care to see itself well paid.

The cardinals of themselves elect Caietan, Gelasus II. Cincio consul of Rome, marquis of Frangipani devoted to the emperor, enters the conclave sword in hand, seizes the pope by the throat, knocks him down and takes him prisoner. This brutal ferocity throws Rome into combustion. Henry V. goes thither; Gelasus retires to France, and the emperor gives the pontificate to his Limosin Bourdin.

1119.

Gelasus being dead at the council of Vienne in Dauphiny, the cardinals who were at that council, conjunctly with the Roman bishops and even the laity who were present, elect Guy of Burgundy, archbishop of Vienne, son of a duke of Burgundy, and of the blood royal of France. This is not the first prince elected pope. He takes the name of Calixtus II.

Lewis *the gross*, king of France, takes upon himself the office of mediator in that grand affair of the investitures, between the empire and the church. A council is assembled at Rheims. The archbishop of Mentz arrives at that city with five hundred men at

arms on horseback, and the count de Troye goes to receive him with the like number at the distance of half a league from town.

The emperor and pope repair to Mouzon, they are on the very brink of accommodation, when a dispute upon words sets them more than ever at variance. The emperor quits Mouzon, and is excommunicated by the council.

1120, 1121.

As there were in this council several German bishops who had excommunicated the emperor, the other bishops of Germany will no longer allow the emperor to bestow the investitures.

1122.

At length in a diet at Worms the peace of the empire and of the church is established. It is found that this long quarrel was founded on a misunderstanding. The question was not to know if the emperors conferred the bishoprick, but if they could invest with their imperial fiefs those bishops who were canonically elected at their recommendation. It was decided that the investitures for the future should be conferred, not by the crook but by the scepter and ring. But what was much more important, the emperor in express terms renounces the right of nominating to benefices those whom he was bound to invest. *Ego Henricus Dei gratia Romanorum imperator concedo in omnibus ecclesiis fieri electionem & liberam consecrationem.* This was an irreparable breach in the imperial authority.

1123.

Domestic troubles in Bohemia, Hungary, Alsace and Holland. At this miserable period there was nothing but discord in the church, civil wars among the great, and slavery among the common people.

1124.

This is the first time that the affairs of England were intermingled with those of the empire. Henry I. king of England and brother of the duke of Normandy is already involved in wars with France on account of that dutchy.

The emperor levies troops and advances towards the Rhine. We likewise see that even then all the German noblemen did not second the emperor in such quarrels. Several noblemen refuse to assist him against a power, which by its situation ought to be naturally the protector of the German lords of the great fiefs against the sovereign paramount; just as the kings of England, afterwards joined the great vassals of France.

1125.

The miseries of Europe were crowned with a pestilential disease, which attacks Henry V. who dies at Utrecht May 22, with the reputation of an unnatural son, a hypocrite in religion, a turbulent neighbour, and a bad master.

L O T H A R I U S II.

T W E N T I E T H E M P E R O R.

1125, 1126, 1127.

THIS is a very singular Æra. France for the first time since the decay of Charlemagne's family, intermeddles in the election of an emperor in Germany. The famous monk Suger abbot of St. Dennis, and minister of state to Lewis *the gross*, goes to the diet of Mentz with the retinue of a sovereign, to oppose at least the election of Frederic duke of Suabia. He succeeds, either by intrigue or good fortune.

fortune. The diet being divided chooses ten electors. These ten Princes are not named. They elect Lotharius duke of Saxony; and the lords then present elevate him upon their shoulders.

Conrad duke of Franconia of the house of Stauffen-Suabia and Frederic duke of Suabia, protest against this election. The abbot Suger was the first of the ministers of France, who excited civil wars in Germany. Conrad causes himself to be proclaimed king at Spire; but instead of supporting his faction he goes to make himself king of Lombardy at Milan. His towns in Germany are taken from him, but he acquires others in Lombardy.

1128, 1129.

Seven or eight wars rage at one time in Denmark, Holstein, Germany and Flanders.

1130.

At Rome the people still pretended to elect popes in spite of the cardinals who had reserved that right to themselves; and persisted in refusing to acknowledge the person elected as their sovereign, though they consented to own him as their bishop. Rome was totally divided into two factions. One elects Innocent II. the other chooses the son or grandson of a Jew called Leo, who takes the name of Anacletus. The Jew's son as being richest, drives his competitor from Rome. Innocent II. takes refuge in France, which is now become the asylum of oppressed popes. This pope goes to Liege, engages Lotharius II. in his interest, crowns him emperor together with his wife, and excommunicates his competitors.

1131, 1132, 1133.

Conrad of Franconia the anti-emperor, and Anacletus the anti-pope have a great faction in Italy. The emperor Lotharius and pope Innocent go to Rome.

The two popes submit to the decision of Lotharius, who decides in favour of Innocent. The anti-pope retires to the castle of St. Angelo which is still in his possession. Lotharius causes himself to be consecrated by Innocent II. according to the then established customs. One of these was, that the emperor should first take an oath to preserve the pope's life and limbs. But he made the same promise to the emperor.

The pope cedes the profits of the lands of the counts Mathilda to Lotharius and his son-in-law the duke of Bavaria for their lives only, in consideration of an annual service to the holy see.

This was sowing wars for their successors.

To facilitate the donation of these profits, Lotharius II. kissed the pope's feet, and led his mule some paces. Lotharius is supposed to be the first emperor who performed that double ceremony.

1134, 1135.

The two rivals of Lotharius, Conrad of Franconia and Frederic of Suabia, being abandoned by their parties, reconcile themselves to the emperor whom they acknowledge.

A celebrated diet is held at Magdeburg. The Greek emperor and the Venetians send thither ambassadors to demand justice against Roger king of Sicily; and there the ambassadors of the duke of Poland, take the oath of fidelity to the empire, in all probability to preserve Pomerania, of which they had made themselves masters.

1136.

Order and police are reestablished in Germany. Inheritance and customs of fiefs and under-fiefs are settled. Magistracy, burgomasters, mayors and provosts are subjected to the feudal lords: Privileges of churches, bishopricks and abbeys are confirmed.

1137.

The emperor's journey to Italy. Roger duke of Apuglia and new king of Sicily, espoused the party of the antipope Anacletus and threatened Rome. War is made upon Roger.

The city of Pifa was then very considerable in Europe, even above Venice and Genoa. These three trading towns furnished almost the whole West with all the delicacies of Asia. They had erected themselves quietly by liberty and commerce, while the desolation of the feudal government filled almost every other place with misery and servitude. The Pisans of themselves equipped a fleet of forty gallies to assist the emperor, and without these he could not have stood his ground. It is reported that the first copy of the digesta was then found in Apulia, and presented to the city of Pifa by the emperor.

Lotharius II. dies near Trent, in passing the Alps of the Tirol.

C O N R A D III.

TWENTIETH AND FIRST EMPEROR.

1138.

HENRY duke of Bavaria, surnamed *the proud* who possessed Saxony, Misnia, Thuringia, Verona, Spoleto, and almost the whole estate of Mathilda, seized the imperial ornaments, and imagined his great power would raise him to the imperial throne; but this was the very circumstance that prevented his success.

All the noblemen unite in favour of Conrad, the same who had disputed the empire with Lotharius II. Henry of Bavaria who seemed so powerful, is the third of that name who is put to the ban of the empire.

pire. He must have been still more imprudent than proud, seeing he could scarce defend himself notwithstanding his great power.

As the name of that prince's family, was Guelph, those who espoused his party were called *Guelphs*, and this name was afterwards usually given to the enemies of the emperors.

1139.

Saxony which belonged to the Guelphs, is given to Albert of Anhalt, surnamed *the Bear*, marquis of Brandenburg; and Bavaria is given to the marquis of Austria. But *Albert the bear* finding himself unable to take possession of Saxony, this affair is accommodated. Saxony remains with the house of the Guelphs, and Bavaria continues with the house of Austria: but that whole disposition hath since been changed.

1140.

Henry *the proud* dies, leaving Henry *the Lion* in the cradle. His brother Guelph supports the war, towards the maintenance of which Roger king of Sicily gives him a thousand marks of silver. We see that the Norman princes are no sooner become powerful in Italy, than they endeavour by all possible means to block up the emperor's road to Rome. Frederic Barbarossa Conrad's nephew so famous in the sequel, already signalizes himself in this war.

From 1140 to 1146.

No period ever appeared more favourable for the emperors, to come and establish at Rome that power which was always the object of their ambition and always contested.

Arnold of Bracia a disciple of Abelard, a man of an enthusiastic disposition, preached through all Italy against the temporal power of the popes and the clergy, and persuaded all those whose interest it was to be persuaded, especially the Romans.

In 1144 under the short pontificate of Lucius II. The Romans make another attempt to reestablish the ancient republic; they augment the Senate, elect as Patrician a son of the antipope Peter of Lion, called Jordani, and confer upon him the tribunitial power. Pope Lucius marches against them and is killed at the foot of the capitol.

Meanwhile Conrad III. neglects going to Italy, either being detained by a war, which the Hungarians carried on against the marquis of Austria, or because the epidemical passion for the Crusades had already taken possession of his mind.

1146.

St. Bernard abbot of Clervaux, having preached the Crusade in France, goes and preaches it again in Germany, but in what language did he preach it then? he did not understand the Teutonic, and he could not speak Latin to the people. He worked abundance of miracles, perhaps he did, but he did not add the gift of prophecy to these miracles; for he promised in the name of God that the enterprize would be crowned with the greatest success.

The emperor takes the cross at Spire, together with a good number of noblemen.

1147.

Conrad III. makes preparations for the Crusade, in the diet of Frankfort. Before his departure he causes his son Henry to be crowned king of the Romans. The imperial council of Rotwell is established to try causes in the last appeal. This council was composed of twelve Barons. The precedency was given as a fief to the house of Schults, that is on condition of fealty, homage and acknowledgement. These kind of fiefs begin to be introduced.

The emperor embarks upon the Danube with the celebrated bishop of Frisingen who has written the history of this period, together with those of Ratisbon,

Paffau, Bafil, Metz and Toul. Frederic Barbaroffa, the marquis of Austria, Henry duke of Bavaria, and the marquis of Montferat, are the chief of thofe princes by whom he was accompanied.

The Germans were the laft who came to thefe expeditions which were at firft fo fplendid, and foon after fo unfortunate. The little kingdom of Jerufalem was already erected: the ftates of Antioch, Edeffa and Tripoli in Syria, were formed. The counts of Joppa, and the marquifes of Galilee and Sidon were created: but the greateft part of thefe conquelts was loft.

1148.

Intemperance deftroys part of the German army. Hence arofe the report that the Greek emperor had poisoned the fountains in order to deftroy the Cruſards.

Conrad and Lewis *the young* king of France join their weakened armies near Laodicea. After ſome battles againft the Muſſulmans, he goes in pilgrimage to Jerufalem inſtead of making himſelf maſter of Damafcus, which he afterwards beſieges in vain. He returns almoſt without an army, in veſſels belonging to his brother-in-law Manuel Comnenus, and goes aſhore in the gulph of Venice, not daring to go to Italy, much leſs to preſent himſelf at Rome for his coronation.

1148, 1149.

The loſs of thoſe prodigious armies of Cruſards, in the country where Alexander had with forty thouſand men ſubdued an empire much more powerful than that of the Arabians and Turks, proves to demonſtration, that in theſe enterpriſes of the Chriſtians there was ſome radical vice by which they were neceſſarily ruined: this was the feudal government, the independence of the chiefs, attended of courſe by diſunion, diſorder, and indiſcretion.

The

The only reasonable Crusade of those times was that of some Flemish and English noblemen, but chiefly consisting of a number of Germans from the Banks of the Rhine, the Main, and the Weser, who embarked for the relief of Spain still usurped by the Moors. This was a real danger which called aloud for assistance: and it was certainly more reasonable to assist Spain against usurpers, than to go to Jerusalem, to which they had no pretension, and where there was nothing to be got. The Crusards took Lisbon, and gave it to king Alphonfus.

There was another Crusade raised against the Pagans of the North; for the spirit of the Christians of those times, was to go and fight those who were not of their religion. The bishops of Magdebourg, Halberstadt, Munster, Merzburg, and Brandenburg, together with several abbots, excited this Crusade. They march with an army of sixty thousand men to convert the *Slaves*, who inhabited Pomerania, Prussia and the coasts of the Baltick: This Crusade was set on foot without consulting the emperor, and even turns against him.

Henry *the Lion* duke of Saxony, whom Conrad had divested of Bavaria, was at the head of the Crusade against the Pagans, whom, however he soon left in in tranquillity, to go and attack the Christians, and retake Bavaria.

1150, 1151.

All the fruit then that the emperor reaped from his travels to Palestine, was a civil war, which at his return he found in Germany under the name of *the holy war*. He finds it very difficult, with the assistance of the Bavarians and the rest of Germany, to restrain Henry *the Lion* and the Guelphs.

1151.

Conrad III. dies at Bamberg, February 15, without having been able to receive the crown in Italy, or leave the kingdom of Germany to his son.

FREDE-

F R E D E R I C I. surnamed
B A R B A R O S S A.

T W E N T Y S E C O N D E M P E R O R.

1152.

FREDERIC I. is elected at Frankfort by the unanimous consent of all the princes. His secretary Amandus, in his annals, extracts of which are still preserved, reports that on this occasion, several noblemen of Lombardy gave their votes in these terms: *O you officiates (officiati) if you consent, Frederic shall have the force of his empire.*

Those *officiates* were then six in number; The archbishop of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne, were the three Chancellors. There was the great master of the horse, the great steward, the great chamberlain; and since that time they have added the great cup-bearer. It plainly appears that those *officiati* were the first who acknowledged the elected emperor, who signified the election to the people, and took charge of the ceremonial.

The Italian noblemen were present at this election of Frederic. Nothing is more natural. At Frankfort they thought the Roman empire was given, when they gave the crown of Germany; although the king was not called emperor, till after he was crowned at Rome. Barbarossa's predecessor had possessed no authority either in Rome or in Italy; and it was for the interest of the person elected, that the great vassals of the Roman empire should add their suffrages to the votes of the Germans.

The archbishop of Cologne crowns him at Aix-la-chapelle; and all the bishops give him to understand that he does not possess the empire by right of inheritance.

tance. This advertisement was superfluous; the son of the last emperor whom they abandoned, was a sufficient proof that the empire was not hereditary.

His reign begins with an action of great imposition. Two competitors Sueno and Canute had long disputed the kingdom of Denmark; Frederic makes himself umpire, and compels Canute to relinquish his right. Sueno does homage to the empire for Denmark in the city of Merzburg. He takes the oath of allegiance, and is invested by the sword. Thus, in the midst of so many troubles, we see the kings of Poland, Hungary and Denmark at the feet of the imperial throne.

1153.

The marquisate of Austria is erected into a duchy, in favour of Henry Jasamergot who is scarce known, and whose posterity is extinct in about one century after this period.

Henry *the Lion* that duke of Saxony of the house of Guelph, obtains the investiture of Bavaria which he had almost wholly reconquered, and becomes as zealous a partizan of Frederic Barbarossa, as he had been an inveterate enemy to Conrad III.

Pope Eugenius III. sends two legates to prosecute the archbishop of Mentz who is accused of having dissipated the revenue of his church, and the emperor permits the process.

1154.

In return for which condescension, Frederic Barbarossa repudiates his wife Mary of Voburg or Vohenburg, without incurring the displeasure of pope Adrian IV. who then filled the chair at Rome.

1155.

Frederic resumes the designs of his predecessor upon Italy. He reduces several towns of Lombardy, which
wanted

wanted to become republics; but Milan resists all his power.

He in the name of his ward Henry son of Conrad III. seizes the lands of the countess Mathilda, is crowned at Pavia, and sends deputies to desire Adrian IV. to crown him in Rome.

This pope is a great example of what may be done by personal merit and good fortune; born an Englishman, son of a mendicant, a long time mendicant himself, strolling from country to country before he could be received as a servant among the monks in Dauphiny, at length raised to the pinnacle of greatness, he had so much the more elevation of spirit, as he had raised himself from the most abject condition. He was inclined to crown a vassal, but afraid of giving himself a master. The preceding troubles had introduced a custom, that when the emperor came to be consecrated, the pope and people fortified themselves, and the emperor began by swearing that his holiness should be neither killed, mutilated nor despoiled.

The holy see was protected, as we have seen, by the king of Sicily and Naples, who was become a dangerous neighbour tho' a vassal.

The emperor and pope are aware of each other. Adrian shut up in the fortress of Citta di Castello, agrees to the coronation, as one capitulates with his enemy. A knight armed at all points, comes and swears to him on the Evangelists, that his life and limbs shall be safe; and the emperor delivers into his hands that famous Arnold of Brescia, who had excited the Roman people against the pontificate, and well nigh established the Roman republic. Arnold is burned at Rome as an heretic and a republican sacrificed by two sovereigns who pretended to despotic power.

The pope visits the emperor, who according to the new ceremonial was to kiss his feet, hold his stirrup, and

and lead his white mule for the space of nine Roman paces. The emperor made no scruple to kiss the feet; but he refused to take hold of the bridle. Then the cardinals fled to the Citta di Castello, as if Frederic Barbarossa had given the signal for a civil war. He was given to understand that Lotharius II. had accepted of this ceremonial of christian humanity; to which at length he submits, and mistaking the stirup, says he had not yet learned the business of a groom.

The deputies of the Roman people, being more emboldened since so many towns of Italy had sounded the trumpet of liberty, come and say to Frederic: *We have made you our citizen and prince, stranger as you are, &c.* Frederic commands them to be silent, and replies: *Charlemagne and Otho conquered you, I am your master, &c.*

Frederic is consecrated emperor in St. Peter's, June 18.

The nature of the empire was so little known, and all the pretensions were so contradictory, that on one hand the Roman people took to arms, and a great deal of blood had been shed, because the pope had crowned the emperor without the order of the senate and people: and on the other hand pope Adrian wrote in all his letters, that he had conferred upon Frederic the benefice of the Roman empire, *beneficium imperii Romani*. The word *beneficium* then signified a fief.

He moreover exposes in public a picture representing Lotharius II. on his knees before Alexander II. holding his hands clasped between those of the pontif, the distinguishing mark of vassalage. The inscription of the picture was thus,

*Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores:
Post, homo sit papæ; sumit, quo dante, coronam.*

“ The king comes to the door, previously swearing
“ he will maintain the honours of the city; then he
“ becomes

“ becomes the vassal of the pope, from whose bounty
 “ he receives the crown.”

1156.

We see Frederic already very powerful in Germany : for at his return he caused the count Palatine of the Rhine to be condemned in a diet for misdemeanours. According to the new law of Suabia the penalty was, that the delinquent should carry a dog upon his shoulders a german mile. The archbishop of Mentz is condemned to the same ridiculous punishment : but they are spared the mortification. The emperor causes several small castles belonging to banditti to be demolished. He marries at Wirtzburg the daughter of a count of Burgundy, that is of Franche Comté, and by this match becomes direct lord of that country holding of the empire.

1157.

The Poles refuse to pay their tribute which was then fixed at five hundred marks of silver. Frederic marches towards Poland. The duke of Poland gives his brother as hostage, submits to the tribute and pays the arrears.

Frederic repairs to Besançon now become his own demesne, and there receives the pope's legates together with ambassadors from almost all the princes. He complains to the legates with great haughtiness of the term *benefice* used by the count of Rome in mentioning the empire, and of the picture in which Lotharius II. was represented as a vassal of the holy see. This haughtiness was justified by his glory and his power, as well as by his right. One of the legates having said : *If the emperor does not hold the empire of the pope, of whom then does he hold it ?* The count Palatine by way of answer would have put them to death. However the emperor sends them back to Rome.

The

The rights of regality are confirmed to the archbishop of Lyons, acknowledged by the emperor, as primate of the Gauls. The archbishop's jurisdiction is by this memorable act extended over all the fiefs of Savoy. The original patent is still extant. The seal is in a little bull or box of gold. It is from this manner of sealing that the name of bull has been given to constitutions.

1158.

The emperor grants the title of king to Uladislaus duke of Bohemia for his life. The emperor then conferred titles for life, even that of monarch; and a person was king by the emperor's favour, although his dominions were not a kingdom; so that in these beginnings we sometimes find kings, and sometimes dukes of Hungary, Poland and Bohemia.

He marches into Italy; and at first, the count Palatine and the emperor's chancellor who must not be confounded with the chancellor of the empire, go and receive the oaths of several towns, which oaths were conceived in these terms: *I swear I will always be faithful to my lord the emperor Frederic against all his enemies, &c.* As he was then at variance with the pope, on account of the adventure of the legates at Besançon, these oaths seem to have been exacted against the holy see.

It does not appear that the popes were then sovereigns of the lands given by Pepin, Charlemagne and Otho I. The emperor's commissaries exercise all the rights of sovereignty in the march of Ancona.

Adrian IV. sends new legates to the emperor at Augsburg where he assembles his army. Frederic marches to Milan. This was already the most powerful town of Lombardy, in comparison with which Pavia and Ravenna were but inconsiderable. It had made itself free since the time of the emperor Henry V. and was enriched by the fruitfulness of its territory, but

but above all things in consequence of the liberty it enjoyed.

At the emperor's approach it sent to offer him money for the preservation of its liberty. But Frederic wanted both money and submission. The town is besieged and defends itself. The consuls in a little time capitulate. It is deprived of the privilege of coining, and all the rights of regality. The inhabitants are condemned to build a palace for the emperor, and pay 9000 marks of silver. All the citizens take the oath of allegiance. Milan without a duke or a count was governed as a conquered town.

Frederic begins to build the new Lodi on the river Adda. He enacts new laws in Italy, and begins by decreeing that every town convicted of transgressing these laws shall pay 100 marks of gold, a marquis shall pay 50, a count 40, and a lord of the manor 20. He likewise ordains that no fief shall be divided. And as the vassals in doing homage to the lords of the great fiefs, swore to serve them without distinction against every person whatsoever, he decrees that in these oaths the emperor shall always be excepted. A law wisely contrived, and contrary to the feudal customs of France, by which a vassal was obliged to serve his lord in war, even against the king.

The Genoese and Pisans had long ago wrested Corsica and Sardinia from the Saracens, and still disputed the possession with each other. A proof that they were very powerful. But Frederic more powerful than they, sends commissaries to these two cities, and because he is thwarted by the Genoese, makes them pay a fine of a thousand marks of silver, and hinders them from continuing to fortify their city.

He reestablishes order in the fiefs of the countess Mathilda, no part of which was possessed by the popes; and gives them to one Guelph cousin to the duke of Saxony and Bavaria. His own nephew the emperor Conrad's son is forgot. At this period the
univer-

university of Bologna, the first of all the European universities, began to be established, and the emperor bestows privileges upon it.

1159.

Frederic I. begun to be more master in Italy, than Charlemagne or Otho had been. He weakens the pope by supporting the perogatives of the Roman senators, and still more by putting troops in winter quarters in his dominions.

Adrian IV. the better to preserve his temporalities, attacks Frederic Barbarossa with spiritual weapons. The question is no longer about investitures performed with a crooked or straight staff, but about the oath which the bishops take to the emperor. He treats that ceremony as sacrilege, and in the mean time inflames the people by underhand insinuations.

The Milanese take this opportunity to recover a small share of liberty. Frederic orders them to be proclaimed *rebels and enemies to the empire*; and by an ordinance their effects are given up to plunder and their persons to slavery; an ordinance which resembles an order of Attila, rather than the constitution of a christian emperor.

Adrian IV. snatches this opportunity of trouble, to redemand all the fiefs of the countess Mathilda, the duchy of Spoleto, together with Sardinia and Corsica. The emperor will give him nothing. He besieges Crema which had taken part with Milan; it is taken and plundered. Milan has some respite, and for some time enjoys the happiness of owing its liberty to its own courage.

1160.

After the death of Adrian IV. the cardinals are divided. One half elects cardinal Rolando who takes the name of Alexander III. a declared enemy to the emperor: the other chooses Octavian his partisan, who calls himself Victor. Frederic Barbarossa, by
virtue

virtue of his rights as emperor, summons a council at Pavia, to decide between the two competitors. Alexander refuses to acknowledge that council. Victor appears, and the council decides in his favour. The emperor kisses his feet and leads his horse, as he had before behaved to Adrian.

Alexander III. retires to Agnani, excommunicates the emperor, and absolves his subjects of their oath of allegiance. It plainly appears that the pope depended upon the assistance of the kings of Naples and Sicily.

1161.

The Milanese take advantage of these divisions. They have the courage to attack the imperial army at Carantia a few miles from Loda, and obtain a great victory. If the other towns of Italy had seconded Milan, this was the moment to deliver that fine country for ever from a foreign yoke.

1162.

The emperor repairs his army and his affairs; the Milanese being blocked up are in want of provisions and capitulate. The consuls and eight knights come to Lodi and lay their swords at the emperor's feet. He revokes the decree by which the citizens were condemned to servitude, and their town to plunder. But as soon as he enters it, on the 27th of March, he orders the gates, ramparts and all the public edifices to be demolished, and the ruins to be sowed with salt. Neither Huns, Goths, nor Lombards had treated Italy in this manner.

The Genoese who pretended to be free, come and take the oath of allegiance; and while they protest they will not pay annual tribute, give him 1200 marks of silver. They promise to equip a fleet to assist the emperor in conquering Sicily and Apulia; and Frederic gives them as a fief what is called the Riviera of Genoa, from Monaco to Porto-venere.

He marches to Bologna which was confederate with Milan, and tho' he protects the colleges orders the walls to be dismantled. Every thing submits to his power.

Mean while the empire makes conquests in the North. The duke of Saxony conquers Mecklenburg the country of the Vandals, and transplants thither German colonies.

To make the triumph of Frederic Barbarossa complete, his enemy pope Alexander III. flies from Italy and retires to France. Frederic goes to Besançon, in order to intimidate the king of France, and detach him from Alexander's party.

It is in the zenith of his power, that he summons the kings of Denmark, Bohemia, and Hungary to come at his order, and give their votes in a diet, against a pope. Valdemar I. king of Denmark, obeys and repairs to Besançon, where he is said to have taken the oath of fidelity only for the rest of Vandalia, which was abandoned to his conquests. Others alledge he renewed the homage for Denmark. If that was the case he was the last king of Denmark, who did homage for his kingdom to the empire. By this circumstance the year 1162 becomes a very important Æra.

1163.

The emperor goes to Mentz, where the people excited by the Monks had murdered the archbishop. He orders the walls of the town to be rased, and they were not rebuilt for a long time.

1164.

Erfort the capital of Thuringia, a town which the archbishop of Mentz pretended to be lord of since Otho I. is surrounded with walls, at the very time when those of Mentz are destroyed.

The establishment of the society of the Hans-towns. This union had begun by Hamburg and Lubeck which carried on some trade in imitation of the maritime towns

towns of Italy. They soon became useful and powerful in furnishing at least the necessaries of life to the North of Germany. And since that time, when Lubeck which belonged to the famous Henry *the Lion* by whom it was fortified, was declared an imperial town by Frederic Barbarossa, and the first of the maritime towns; when it had the privilege of coining money; that money was the best coined in all that country, where till that time none had been struck, but of a very base alloy. Hence the money called *sterling* or *esterling*, is supposed to have been derived, and hence London counted by pounds sterling, when it was associated with the Hans-towns.

The same thing happens to the emperor, which had happened to all his predecessors. Leagues are formed against him in Italy, while he himself is in Germany. Rome leagues with Venice by means of Alexander III. Venice impregnable by its situation, is formidable for its wealth. It had acquired great riches in the Crusades, in which the Venetians had hitherto no share except as dextrous merchants.

Frederic returns to Italy and ravages the Veronese, which belonged to the league. His pope victor dies. He causes another to be consecrated by a bishop of Liege in contempt of all laws. This usurper takes the name of Paschal.

Sardinia was then governed by four Bailifs. One of these who had amassed wealth, comes and demands the title of king from Frederic, and actually receives it. He trebles the taxes every where, and returns to Germany with money enough to render him formidable.

1165.

A diet at Wurtzburg, against Alexander III. The emperor exacts an oath from all the princes and bishops, that they would not acknowledge Alexander. This diet is famous by the deputies of England who
come

come to give an account of the rights of the king and people against the pretensions of the church of Rome.

Frederic in order to make his pope Paschal more considerable, causes him to canonize Charlemagne. Aix-la-chapelle takes the title of capital of the empire, tho' in effect it was not so. It obtains the privilege of coining money.

1166.

Henry *the Lion* duke of Saxony and Bavaria, having prodigiously augmented his dominions, the emperor is not sorry to see a confederacy in Germany against that prince. A bold and enterprising archbishop of Cologn, joins with several other bishops, together with the count Palatine, the count of Thuringia and the marquis of Brandenburg. A bloody war is carried on against Henry *the Lion*. The emperor leaves them to fight it out, and repairs again to Italy.

1167.

The Pisans and Genoese plead at Lodi before the emperor for the possession of Sardinia, which neither obtains.

Frederic goes and lays the Pentapolis under contribution, although it had been solemnly ceded to the popes by so many emperors, and was incontestably the patrimony of the church.

The league between Venice and Rome, and the hatred inspired by Frederic's despotic power, engage Cremona, Bergamo, Mantua, Ferrara and other towns to unite with the Milanese. All these towns and the Romans took arms at the same time.

The Romans attack part of the imperial army near Tusculum. It was commanded by an archbishop of Mentz very famous in those days, called Christiern, and by the archbishop of Cologne. It was a strange spectacle, to see these two priests thundering out a german song to animate their troops to battle.

But what strongly denoted the decay of Rome, the Romans were entirely defeated, tho' ten times more numerous than the Germans.

Frederic then marches from Ancona to Rome which he attacks; he burns the town Leonini, and the church of St. Peter is almost consumed.

Pope Alexander flies to Beneventum. The emperor causes himself to be crowned with the empress Beatrice, by his antipope Paschal, in the ruins of St. Peter.

From thence Frederic marches back with great expedition against the confederate towns. The plague by which his army is desolated for some time, contributes to their safety. The German troops, tho' victorious over the Romans, were often vanquished by intemperance and the heat of the climate.

1168.

Alexander III. finds the secret of engaging at once in his party, Emanuel emperor of the Greeks, and William king of Sicily the natural enemy of the Greeks; so much did they think it was for their common interest, to unite against Barbarossa.

In effect these two powers send money and some troops to the pope. The emperor, at the head of an army very much diminished, sees the Milanese rebuild their Walls under his very nose, and almost all Lombardy in a conspiracy against him. He retires towards the country of Morienne. The Milanese emboldened, pursue him to the mountains. He escapes with great difficulty, and retreats to Alface, while he is excommunicated by the pope.

Italy breathes again in consequence of his retreat. The Milanese fortify themselves: and build at the foot of the Alps, the town of Alexandria in honour of the pope.

This year Lunenburg begins to be a town.

The

The bishop of Wirtzburg obtains civil jurisdiction in the duchy of Franconia. It was in consequence of this grant, that his successors have had the direction of the circle of that name.

Guelph ccousin-german of the famous *Henry the Lion*, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, on his death-bed, leaves to the emperor the dutchy of Spoleto and the marquisate of Tuscany, with his right to Sardinia a country claimed by so many competitors, abandoned to itself and its bailifs, one of whom called himself king.

1169.

Frederic causes his eldest son Henry to be elected king of the Romans, while he himself is on the brink of losing Rome and Italy for ever.

Some months after, he causes his second son Frederic to be elected duke of Germany, and secures to him the duchy of Suabia: foreign authors have imagined that Frederic had given all Germany to this son, but it was no more than ancient Germany properly so called. There was no other king of Germany than the emperor.

1170.

Frederic is no longer recognisable. Instead of going to fight, he negotiates with the pope. His armies and his treasure were then diminished.

The Danes take Stetin. *Henry the Lion*, instead of assisting the emperor to recover Italy, takes the cross with his Saxon knights, in order to go and fight in palestine.

1171.

Henry the Lion finding a truce established in Asia, returns by way of Ægypt. The Sultan had a mind to astonish Europe by his magnificence and generosity: he loads the duke of Saxony and Bavaria with presents, and among other things gives him fifteen hundred Arabian horses.

1172.

At length, the emperor convenes a diet at Worms, and demands assistance from Germany to reduce Italy under his power.

He begins by sending a small army commanded by that same archbishop of Mentz, who had defeated the Romans.

The towns of Lombardy were confederated, but jealous one of another. Lucea was a mortal enemy of Pisa; Genoa hated Pisa and Florence; and by these divisions Italy was lost.

Chiftiern archbishop of Mentz, dextrously succeeds in detaching the Venetians from the league, but Milan, Pavia, Florence, Cremona, Parma and Bologna are unshaken, and Rome supports them.

Meanwhile Frederic is obliged to go and appease the troubles in Bohemia, where he deposes Ladislaus, and gives the regency to the son of that prince. He could not be more absolute than he was in Germany, or more impotent than he was at that very time on the other side of the Alps.

1174.

At length he passes mount Cenis: Besieges that Alexandria which was built in his absence, and the name of which was odious to him; and begins by signifying to the inhabitants, that if they would have the presumption to defend themselves, he would spare neither age nor sex.

1175.

The Alexandrians assisted by the confederate towns, make a sally upon the imperialists whom they defeat in imitation of the Milanese. The emperor's disgrace is completed by his being abandoned by Henry *the Lion* who retires with his Saxons, very ill disposed towards Barbarossa, who kept for himself the lands of Mathilda.

Italy

Italy then seemed to be upon the eve of being freed for ever.

1176.

Frederic receives reinforcements from Germany. The archbishop of Mentz is at the other end of Italy, in the march of Ancona with his troops.

The war is pushed with great vivacity on both sides. The Milanese infantry armed with pikes, defeats the whole imperial household troops. Frederic escapes with difficulty from the pursuit of the conquerors. He conceals himself and at length takes shelter in Pavia.

This victory was the signal of the liberty of the Italians for several years; they could then be hurt by none but themselves. The haughty Frederic anticipates at last, and solicits pope Alexander who had retired long ago to Anagnia, equally afraid of the Romans who would have no master, and of the emperor who wanted to be master.

Frederic offers him his assistance to retrieve his authority in Rome, to restore the patrimony of St. Peter, and give him part of the lands of the countess Mathilda. A congress is assembled at Bologna.

1177.

The pope causes the congress to be transferred to Venice, where he arrives in the ships of the king of Sicily. The ambassadors of Sicily, and the deputies of the Lombard towns, are the first who go thither. Christiern archbishop of Mentz goes to conclude the peace.

It is difficult to explain how that peace which ought to have secured the repose of the popes and the liberty of the Italians, was no more than a truce of six years with the Lombard towns, and of fifteen with Sicily. There was no question about the lands of the countess Mathilda, which had been the basis of the treaty.

Every thing being concluded, the emperor repairs to Venice. The duke conducts him in his Gondola to St. Mark. The pope waited for him at the gate, with the tiara upon his head. The emperor without his cloke conducts him to the chair, with a beadle's staff in his hand. The pope preaches in Latin, which Frederic did not understand. After sermon the emperor comes and kisses the pope's feet, takes the communion from his hand, leads his mule in the square of St. Mark when he comes from church; and Alexander III. cries aloud: *It hath pleased God that an old man and a priest should triumph over a powerful and terrible emperor.* All Italy looks upon Alexander III. as its deliverer and father.

The peace was sworn upon the evangelists by twelve princes of the empire. These treaties were hardly ever written at that time. There were few clauses. The oaths were sufficient. Few of the German princes could read or sign their names, and the pen was seldom used but at Rome. This period resembles those savage times called heroic.

Nevertheless they exact from the emperor a particular act sealed with his own seal, by which he promises not to disturb the towns of Italy for six years.

1178.

How durst Frederic Barbarossa after that pass through Milan, the people of which had defeated him, after he had treated them as Slaves? thither he went, however, in his return to Germany.

Other troubles harrassed that vast, warlike, powerful and unfortunate country, in which there was not then one town comparable to any of the middling towns of Italy.

Henry the Lion master of Saxony and Bavaria, still made war upon several bishops, as the emperor had warred against the pope.

He sunk like him, and even by means of the emperor himself.

The

The archbishop of Cologne, assisted by one half of Westphalia, the archbishop of Magdeburg and a bishop of Halberstadt, were oppressed by Henry *the Lion*, and did him all the mischief in their power. Almost all Germany embraced their party.

1179.

Henry *the Lion* is the fourth duke of Bavaria that was put to the ban of the empire in the diet of Goslar. A powerful army was required to execute this decree. That prince was more powerful than the emperor. He at that time commanded from Lubeck to the middle of Westphalia. He had besides Bavaria, Stiria and Carinthia. His enemy the archbishop of Cologne, is charged with the execution of the ban.

Among the vassals of the empire, who bring troops to the archbishop of Cologne, we see one Philip count of Flanders, as well as a count of Hainault, a duke of Brabant &c. This circumstance might make one believe, that what is properly called Flanders, always considered itself as a member of the empire, although a part of France; such uncertainty attends the feudal right.

Duke Henry defends himself in Saxony, takes Thuringia and Hesse, and defeats the army of the archbishop.

The greatest part of Germany is ravaged by that civil war; the natural effect of the feudal government. It is even strange that it did not oftner produce this effect.

1180.

After various successs, the emperor holds a diet in the castle of Gelnhausen near the Rhine. There the proscription of Henry *the Lion* is renewed and confirmed. There Frederic gives Saxony to Bernhard d'Anhalt son of Albert the bear, marquis of Brandenburg. He gives him likewise part of Westphalia.

The house of Anhalt must then have become the most powerful in Germany.

Bavaria is granted to Otho count of Vitelsbach, chief of the emperor's court of justice. From this Otho Vitelsbach are descended the two electoral houses of Bavaria, which after so many misfortunes still subsist. They owe their greatness to Frederic Barbarossa.

As soon as those noblemen were invested, each falls upon Henry *the Lion*, and the emperor puts himself at the head of the army.

1181.

They take from duke Henry, Lunenburg, of which he was master; they attack Lubec, of which he was protector; and Waldemar king of Denmark assists the emperor in the siege.

Lubec which was already rich, dreading to fall under the power of Denmark, surrenders to the emperor, who declares it an imperial town, capital of the towns upon the Baltic, with permission to coin money.

Duke Henry being no longer able to resist, goes and throws himself at the feet of the emperor, who promises to maintain him in possession of Brunswic and Lunenburg, the remains of so many dominions which are taken from him.

Henry *the Lion* goes to London with his wife, to his father-in-law king Henry II. She brings him a son called Otho, who was afterwards emperor under the name of Otho IV. and from a brother of this Otho IV. are descended the princes who now reign in England. So that the dukes of Brunswic, the kings of England, and the dukes of Modena, are all derived from one common origin, and that origin is Italian.

1182.

Germany is then quiet. Frederic abolishes several barbarous customs; among others, that of plundering the

the moveables of the dead; an horrible right which all the citizens of the towns exercised at the decease of a burgher, at the expence of his heirs; and which always produced bloody quarrels, tho' moveables at that time were of small importance.

All the cities of Lombardy enjoy a profound peace, and respire new life.

The Romans still persist in the notion of withdrawing themselves from the power of the popes, as well as from that of the emperors. They expel from Rome pope Lucius III. the successor of Alexander.

The same christian archbishop of Mentz, still the emperor's general, marches with an army to the assistance of the pope, but dies at Tusculum.

The senate lords it in Rome. Some clerks supposed to be spies from pope Lucius III. are sent back to him without their eyes. A piece of inhumanity unworthy of the Roman name.

1183.

Frederic I. declares Ratibon an imperial town. He detaches Tirol from Bavaria, and likewise dismembers it of Stiria, which he erects into a duchy.

The celebrated congress held at Placentia April 30, between the emperor's commissaries and the deputies of all the towns in Lombardy. Even those of Venice were present. They agree that the emperor may exact the oath of fidelity from his vassals of Italy; and that they are obliged to march to his assistance, in case he should be attacked in his journey to Rome, which is called the Roman expedition.

They stipulate that the towns and the vassals shall furnish the emperor in his passage with nothing but ordinary forage, and provisions for the month.

The emperor grants them the right of having troops, fortifications, and tribunals without appeal, in causes to the amount of fifty marks of silver, and that no cause shall ever be reheard in Germany.

If in these towns the bishop has the title of count, he shall preserve the right of electing consuls in his episcopal town; and if the bishop is not in possession of that right, it is reserved to the emperor.

This treaty which made Italy free under a chief, has been long considered by the Italians as the foundation of their public right.

The marquis of Malaspina and the counts of Crema are therein specially named, and the emperor transacts with them as with the other towns. All the lords of the fiefs in general, are therein comprehended.

In all probability the deputies of Venice signed this treaty, only for the fiefs they possessed on the continent; as for the city of Venice it would not put its liberty and independence upon any such compromise.

1184.

A great diet at Mentz, where the emperor again causes his son Henry to be acknowledged king of the Romans.

He knights his two sons Henry and Frederic. He is the first emperor who thus knighted his sons with the ceremonies then used. The new knight watched his arms, afterwards he was put in the Bath, then he came to receive the kiss and cuff in a tunic; his spurs were buckled on by knights; he dedicated his sword to God and the saints; he was clothed with an epitoge or loose robe; but what was the most whimsical part of the farce, he was served at dinner without being allowed to eat or drink.

The emperor goes to Verona whither Lucius III. had retired on his expulsion from Rome, and there a small council was held. The question was not to re-establish Lucius at Rome. The subject of debate was the great quarrel about the lands of the countess Mathilda, and nothing was agreed upon. The pope likewise refused to crown young Henry emperor.

The emperor goes and causes him to be crowned king of Italy at Milan, to which place the iron crown was removed from Monza.

1185.

The pope who had already quarrelled with the Romans, is imprudent enough to quarrel with the emperor, upon the subject of that dangerous inheritance of Mathilda.

A king of Sardinia commands the troops of Frederic. This king of Sardinia is the son of that bailiff who had bought the title of king. He seizes some towns, of which the popes were still in possession. Lucius III. almost stripped of every thing, dies at Verona; and Frederic tho' the pope's conqueror, cannot be sovereign in Rome.

1186.

The emperor at Milan Feb. 6 marries his son king Henry to Constance of Sicily, daughter of Roger II. king of Naples and Sicily, and grand-daughter of Roger I. of that name. She was presumptive heiress of that fine kingdom; and this marriage was productive of the most tedious and dreadful misfortunes.

This year ought to be famous in Germany for the custom which one Bertrand bishop of Metz introduced, of having archives in every town to register the deeds and writings of private estates. Before that time, every thing was proved by evidence only, and almost all disputes were decided by combat.

1187.

Pomerania, which after having belonged to the poles, became vassal of the empire, and paid a slight tribute, is subdued by Canute king of Denmark, and becomes vassal to the Danes. Sleswick formerly holding of the empire, becomes a duchy of Denmark. Thus did that kingdom, which itself formerly held of
 I 6 Germany,

Germany, deprive the empire at once of two provinces.

Frederic Barbarossa heretofore so great and powerful, had nothing now but the shadow of authority in Italy, and saw the power of Germany greatly diminished.

He retrieves his reputation, in preserving the crown of Bohemia to a duke or king whom his subjects had deposed.

The Genoese build a fort at Monaco, and make the acquisition of Gavi.

Great troubles in Savoy. The emperor Frederic declares against the count of Savoy, detaches several fiefs from that county, and among others, the bishopricks of Turin and Geneva. The bishops of these towns become noblemen of the empire. Hence proceed perpetual quarrels between the bishops and counts of Geneva.

1188.

Saladin the greatest man of his time, having retaken Jerusalem from the christians, pope Clement III. causes a new crusade to be preached over all Europe.

The zeal of the Germans took fire; we can scarce conceive the motives that determined the emperor Frederic to march towards Palestine, and at the age of sixty-eight renew an enterprize, concerning which a wise prince ought to have been by this time disabused: What strongly marks the character of the times, he sends a count of the empire to Saladin to demand in a formal manner, Jerusalem and the true cross.

We here see a remarkable example of the spirit of the times. It was to be feared that Henry *the Lion* in the emperor's absence, would make an attempt to recover the dominions of which he had been despoiled. He is obliged to swear that he will make no attempt during the holy war. He swears, and his oath is believed.

1189.

Frederic Barbarossa with his son Frederic duke of Suabia, marches through Austria and Hungary with above a hundred thousand crusards. If he could have led such an army of volunteers to Rome, he would have been emperor indeed. The first enemies he finds are the christian Greeks of the empire of Constantinople. The Greek emperor and the crusards had always found subject of complaint against one another.

The emperor of Constantinople was Isaacus Angelus. He refuses to give the title of emperor to Frederic whom he regards as king of Germany only, and he signifies to him that if he had a mind to obtain a passage, he must give hostages. We see in the constitutions of Goldast the letters of these two emperors. Isaacus Angelus gives Frederic no other title than that of advocate of the Roman church. Frederic by way of answer calls Angelus a dog. Yet after this, we are astonished at the epithets given to one another by Homer's heroes in times still more heroic!

1190.

Frederic having opened the passage sword in hand defeats the Sultan of Iconium, takes his city, passes Mount Taurus, and dies of the plague after his victory, leaving a reputation famous for inequality and greatness, and a memory much more dear to Germany than to Italy.

He is said to have been buried in Tyre, but we do not really know what place contains the ashes of an emperor who made so much noise in his life-time. His success in Asia must have been much less solid than shining; for his son Frederic of Suabia had no more than an army of about seven or eight thousand fighting men left out of above an hundred thousand who arrived in those parts.

The son soon died of the plague like his father; and no body remained in Asia but Leopold duke of Austria with a few knights. Thus terminated every crusade.

HENRY VI.

TWENTY-THIRD EMPEROR.

1190.

HENRY VI. already twice acknowledged and crowned during his father's life, does not renew that ceremony, but reigns in full right and power.

Henry *the Lion* the old duke of Saxony and Bavaria, who possessed so many towns, had very little regarded the oath he took to abstain from all attempts to recover his fortune. He had already entered Holstein, and his party was espoused by bishops, particularly the bishop of Bremen.

Henry VI. gives him battle near Verden and is conqueror. At last peace is made with that prince who was so often proscribed and so often in arms. He is left in possession of Brunswick after it is dismantled. He divides with the count of Holstein the title of lord of Lubeck, which still continues a free town under its lords.

The emperor Henry VI. having secured Germany by this victory and peace, turns his thoughts towards Italy. There he might have been more powerful than Charlemagne and the Othos, as being direct possessor of the lands of Mathilda, king of Naples in right of his wife and lord paramount of all the rest.

1191.

He was obliged to look after this inheritance of Naples and Sicily. The noblemen of the country were

were not at all desirous of seeing that kingdom which had become flourishing in so little time, a subjected province of Germany. The blood of those french gentlemen who had by their courage become their kings and countrymen, was very dear to him. They elect Tancred, son of prince Roger, and grandson of their good king Roger. This prince Tancred was not born of a marriage deemed legitimate. But how many bastards have before him inherited the greatest kingdoms? Besides the will of the people and election seem the first of all rights.

The emperor treats with the Genoese about furnishing a fleet with which he may go and dispute Apuglia and Sicily. Merchants are able to do that which the emperor could not do of himself. He confirms the privileges of the towns of Lombardy, to engage them in his favour. He behaves respectfully to Pope Celestin III. an old man turned of fourscore, who, tho' not priest, had been elected.

The ceremony of the exaltation of popes, in those days, was performed in this manner; as soon as they were nominated, they were clothed with a red cope. They were conducted to a stone pulpit through which there was a hole, called *Stercorarium*: then to a pulpit of porphyry, where they were presented with two keys, that of the church of the Lateran, and that of the palace, the origin of the pope's arms; from thence to a third pulpit where he was presented with a silver girdle, and a purse with twelve stones, in imitation of the ephod of the high priest of the Jews. It is not known at what period these customs began. Thus was Celestin exalted before he was a priest.

On the emperor's arrival at Rome, the pope caused himself to be ordained priest on Easter eve, next day he is consecrated bishop, and the day after, consecrates Henry VI. with the empress Constance.

Roger Hoved, an Englishman, is the only author who relates that the pope kicked down the crown with
which

which the emperor was to be adorned, and that it was set up again by the cardinals. He mistakes an accident for a ceremony. It has been likewise supposed to be a mark of pride, equally brutal and ridiculous. Either the pope doted, or the adventure is not true.

The emperor, in order to render the pope favourable to him in his expedition of Naples and Sicily, restores to him the ancient town of Tusculum. The pope gives it to the Roman people, whose municipal government still subsisted. The Romans demolish it entirely: in this particular they seem to have adopted the destructive spirit of the Goths and Heruli who settled among them.

Nevertheless old Celestin III. as Paramount of Naples and Sicily, dreading a powerful vassal, who would not yield obedience, forbids the emperor to attempt that conquest: a prohibition as ridiculous as kicking the crown, seeing he could not hinder the emperor to march to Naples.

Diseases always destroy the German troops in hot and fruitful countries. One half of the imperial army dies upon the way to Naples.

Constance the emperor's wife is at Salerno delivered to king Tancred who generously sends her back to her husband.

1192.

The emperor postpones his enterprize upon Naples and Sicily, and goes to Worms. He makes Conrad one of his brothers, duke of Suabia. He gives to Philip another brother who was afterwards emperor, the duchy of Spoleto, which he takes from the house of the Guélphs.

The establishment of the knights of the Teutonic order, destined at first for the service of the sick in Palestine, and since become conquerors. The first house they have in Germany, is built at Coblantz.

Henry *the Lion* renews his pretensions and resumes his arms. He makes no attempt upon Saxony, or Bavaria,

varia, but falls again upon Holstein, and looses all that he had left elsewhere.

1193.

At that time Saladine the great, drove all the Christians from Syria. Richard *cœur de Lion*, king of England, after having performed exploits equally admirable and ineffectual, returns like the rest. He was upon bad terms with the emperor, and upon worse with Leopold duke of Austria, on account of a childish quarrel about a point of honour, which had happened between them in the unfortunate wars of the East. He passes through the duke's territories; and that prince puts him in irons, contrary to the oath of all the Crusards, contrary to the respect due to royalty, and contrary to the honour and law of nations.

The duke of Austria delivers his prisoner to the emperor. Eleonora wife of Richard *Cœur de Lion*, finding herself unable to revenge, offers to ransom her husband. This ransom is said to have amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver. That is about two millions of German crowns; and considering the scarcity of money and the price of provisions, that sum would be equivalent to forty millions of crowns in our time. Historians perhaps have taken one hundred and fifty thousand marks, *marcas*, for an hundred and fifty thousand marks which were no more than half livres. These mistakes are but too common. Whatever the ransom was, the emperor Henry VI. who had no other right to it than that of banditti, received it as basely, as he had unjustly detained Richard. It is likewise said that he compelled him to do homage for the kingdom of England. Vain homage indeed! Richard would have been far from deserving the surname of *Cœur de Lion*, if he had stooped to such abject submission.

A bishop of Prague is made duke or king of Bohemia. He purchases his investiture from Henry VI. for a sum of money.

Henry *the Lion* now seventy years of age, marries his son who bears the title of count of Brunswick, to Agnes daughter of Conrad count Palatine the emperor's uncle. Agnes loved the count of Brunswick: this marriage to which the emperor consents, reconciles him to the old duke who dies soon after, leaving Brunswick at least to his descendants.

1194.

It is probable that the emperor Henry VI. ransomed king Richard and invested the episcopal king of Bohemia, on purpose to have wherewithal to conquer Naples and Sicily. Tancred his competitor dies. The people choose his son William tho' an infant in his room: a plain proof that it was not so much Tancred as the nation which disputed the throne of Naples with the emperor.

The Genoese furnish Henry with the fleet they had promised, and to this the Pisans add twelve Gallies. The emperor with these forces furnished by the Italians to enslave Italy, appears before Naples which surrenders; and while he is besieging Palermo and Catania in Sicily, Tancred's widow being shut up in Salerno, capitulates and yields up the two kingdoms on condition that her son William shall have the principality of Tarentum. Thus an hundred years after Robert and Roger had conquered Sicily, the fruit of the toils of the French knights, falls into the hands of the house of Suabia.

The Genoese demand of the emperor the execution of the treaty he had made with them; the restitution of some lands, as therein stipulated, and the confirmation of their privileges in Sicily granted by king Roger. Henry VI. answers to this effect: *When you shall have convinced me that you are really free, and do not owe me a fleet in quality of vassals, I will keep the promise I have made.* Then joining the most atrocious cruelty to perfidy and ingratitude,

he

he orders Tancred's body to be dug up and decapitated by the hands of the hangman. He orders William the son of Tancred, to be castrated, and sent prisoner to Caire where his eyes are put out. The queen his mother and her daughters are conducted to Germany, and shut up in a convent of Alface. Henry carries off part of the treasure which had been amassed by the kings. And mankind allow such men to rule them !

1195.

Henry of Brunswick son of *the Lion*, obtains the Palatinate after the death of the Palatine Conrad his father-in-law.

A new crusade is published at Worms : Henry VI. promises to go and fight for Jesus Christ.

1196.

The zeal of those Ultramarine voyages increased by misfortune, just as religions have been strengthened by persecution. A sister of Philip Augustus king of France, widow of Bela king of Hungary, puts herself at the head of the German crusards, and goes to Palestine to experience the fate of all those who had gone before her. Henry VI. orders another part of the crusard army to march into Italy, where it could be more useful to him than at Jerusalem.

1197.

This is one of the most curious and interesting points of history. The great Belgic chronicle relates that Henry not only caused his son Frederic II. a child in the cradle to be elected by two and fifty noblemen or bishops ; but likewise declared the empire hereditary, and decreed that Naples and Sicily should be incorporated for ever with the empire. If Henry VI. could make such laws, he made them without doubt ; and he was formidable enough to
make

make them without contradiction. Certain it is, his epitaph at Panorma imports that he reunited Sicily to the empire. But the popes soon rendered that reunion ineffectual : and at his death it plainly appeared that the right of election was still dear to the noblemen of Germany.

Mean while Henry VI. marches to Naples over land ; all the noblemen of that country were incensed against him ; and a general insurrection was to be feared : he strips them of their fiefs which he bestows upon the Germans or Italians of his own party. Despair forms the conspiracy which the emperor wanted to prevent. One count Jordani of the house of the Norman princes, puts himself at the head of the people. He is delivered up to the emperor, who causes him to be put to death by a torture which one would imagine an imitation of the fabulous tyrants of antiquity. He is tied naked on a chair of red hot iron and crowned with a circle of the same metal burning hot, nailed to his head.

1198.

Then the emperor allows the rest of the German crusards to depart. They land in Cyprus. The Bishop of Wurtzburg by whom they are conducted, gives the crown of Cyprus to Emeri de Lusignan, who chose rather to be a vassal of the German than of the Greek empire.

This same Emeri de Lusignan king of Cyprus, marries Isabella daughter of the last king of Jerusalem, and from hence comes the title of king of Cyprus and Jerusalem which several sovereigns have disputed in Europe.

The German crusards meet with various fortune in Asia. In the mean time Henry VI. remains in Sicily with a small number of troops ; and this security is the cause of his ruin ; they conspire at Naples and in Sicily against the tyrant. His own wife Constance

is the soul of the conspiracy. They betake themselves to arms on all hands; Constance forsakes her cruel husband and puts herself at the head of the conspirators. All the Germans found in Sicily are murdered. This is the first stroke of the Sicilian vespers afterwards tolled under Charles of France. Henry is fain to capitulate with his wife. He dies, and it is said, of poison which his wife gave him; a crime perhaps excusable in a woman who revenged her family and country, if poisoning, and especially poisoning a husband, can ever be justified.

P H I L I P I.

T W E N T Y - F O U R T H E M P E R O R .

1198.

AT first the noblemen and bishops assembled at Arnberg in Thuringia, grant the administration of Germany to Philip duke of Suabia uncle to Frederic II. a minor, who had been already acknowledged as king of the Romans. Thus the true emperor was Frederic II. But other noblemen being incensed to see an elective empire become hereditary, choose another king at Cologne, and elect the least powerful, in order to be powerful under his name. This pretended king or emperor called Bertold duke of a small part of Swisserland, soon renounced the vain honour which he could not maintain. Then the assembly of Cologne, elect Otho duke of Brunswick son of Henry *the Lion*. The electors were the duke of Lorrain, a count of Kuke, the archbishop of Cologne, the bishops of Menden, Paderborn, the abbot of Corbie, and two other abbots who were benedictine monks.

Philip must likewise be nominated emperor, and is elected

electd at Erfort; here are four emperors in one year, but not one of them is an emperor indeed.

Otho of Brunfwick was in England; and Richard king of England who had been fo unworthily treated by Henry VI. and was juſtly the enemy of the houſe of Suabia, eſpouſed the party of Brunfwick. Of conſequence, Philip Auguſtus king of France declares for the other emperor Philip.

Here was another opportunity for the towns of Italy to ſhake off the German yoke. They became daily more and more powerful. But even that power creates diviſions among them. Some held for Otho of Brunfwick, and others for Philip of Suabia. Pope Innocent III. remains neuter between the competitors. Germany ſuffers all the miſchiefs of a civil war.

1199, 1200.

In theſe inteſtine troubles of Germany, nothing is ſeen but change of party, agreements made and infringed, and weakneſs on all ſides. Nevertheleſs Germany is ſtill called the Roman empire.

The empreſs Conſtance ſtays in Sicily with her ſon prince Frederic. There ſhe was in peace, there ſhe was regent; and nothing could more plainly prove that ſhe had conſpired againſt her huſband Henry VI. than her retaining in obedience to her ſon, thoſe very people who had taken arms againſt the father. Naples and Sicily, in young Frederic loved the ſon of Conſtance and the blood of their own kings. They did not even regard this Frederic II. as the ſon of Henry VI. and in all probability he really was not; ſeeing his mother, when ſhe demanded for him the inveſtiture of Naples and Sicily, of pope Celeſtin III. had been obliged to ſwear that Henry VI. was his father.

The famous pope Innocent III. ſon of a count of Segni, having taken poſſeſſion of the papal chair, a new inveſtiture was required. Here begins a very ſingu-

singular quarrel, which after the lapse of above five hundred years continues still undetermined.

We have seen those knights of Normandy who became princes and kings of Naples and Sicily, holding at first of the emperors, and afterwards doing homage to the pope. When Roger as yet no more than count of Sicily, gave new laws to that Island which he at one time won from the Mahometans and Greeks, when he restored so many churches to the Roman communion; pope Urban II. solemnly granted him the power of the legates à latère, and of legates born of the holy see. These legates judged all ecclesiastical causes in the last appeal, conferred benefices and levied tithes. Since that time the kings of Sicily were in fact legates and vicars of the holy see, and really popes in their own kingdom. They had in reality the power of the two swords. This sole privilege which so many kings might have arrogated to themselves, was no where known but in Sicily. The successors of pope Urban II. had confirmed this prerogative, either by good-will or compulsion. Celestin III. had not contested it. But Innocent III. opposes it, treated the legation of the kings of Sicily, as having been surreptitiously obtained, and demanded that Constance would renounce it in the name of her son, and do liege, pure and simple homage for Sicily.

Constance dies before this order is obeyed, and leaves to the pope the tutelage of king and kingdom.

Innocent III. will not own Philip for emperor, but acknowledges Otho, to whom he writes: *By the authority of God derived to us, we receive you and order you to be obeyed as king of the Romans; and after the usual preliminaries, we will give you the imperial crown.*

Philip Augustus king of France, partisan of Philip of Suabia, and enemy to Otho, writes to the pope
in

in favour of Philip: and Innocent III. answers: *Either Philip must lose the empire, or I lose the pontificate.*

1202.

Innocent III. publishes a new crusade, in which the Germans have no concern. It was in this crusade that the christians of the West took Constantinople, instead of assisting the holy land. It was this that extended the power and dominions of Venice.

1203.

The northern parts of Germany become weak in these troubles. The Danes make themselves masters of Vandalia, which is part of Russia and Pomerania. It is difficult to ascertain its limits. Were there any limits then in those barbarous countries! Holstein annexed to Denmark, no longer acknowledged the empire.

1204.

The duke of Brabant acknowledges Philip for emperor and does him homage.

1205.

Several noblemen follow that example. Philip is consecrated at Aix by the archbishop of Cologne. The civil war continues in Germany.

1206.

Otho being defeated by Philip near Cologne, flies for refuge to England. Then the pope consents to abandon him: he promises to take off Philip's excommunication incurred by every prince who calls himself emperor without the permission of the holy see. He will acknowledge him as lawful emperor, provided he will give his sister in marriage to a nephew of his holiness, and bestow upon her by way of dower, the duchy of Spoleto, Tuscany and the March of Ancona.

Ancona. These are strange proposals; the march of Ancona properly belonged to the holy see. Philip rejects the pope's proposal, choosing rather to be excommunicated, than to part with such a dower. Nevertheless by releasing an archbishop of Cologne, who was his prisoner, he obtains his absolution without making the match.

1207.

Otho returns from England to Germany; where he appears seemingly without partisans; tho' doubtless he must have had private friends, seeing he did return.

1208.

Count Otho who was palatine in Bavaria, assassinate the emperor at Bamberg, and makes his escape very easily.

O T H O IV.

TWENTY-FIFTH EMPEROR.

OTHO in order to strengthen his interest and unite the factions, marries Beatrice daughter of the murdered emperor.

Beatrice demands vengeance at Frankfort for her father's death. The diet puts the assassin to the ban of the empire. Count Papenheim does more: sometime after, he murders the emperor's murderer.

1209.

Otho VI. still more to corroborate his interest, confirms the rights and privileges of the Italian towns, and even acknowledges those which had been arrogated by the popes. He writes to Innocent III. *We will yield you that obedience which our predecessors have*

yielded to yours. He leaves him in possession of the countries which the pontiff had already recovered, namely, Viterbo, Orvieta and Perugia. He promises him all the famous inheritance of Mathilda; and he cedes to him the territorial superiority, that is, the supremacy and dependance of Naples and Sicily.

1210.

No greater harmony could possibly appear; but scarce is he crowned at Rome, when he makes war upon the pope for these very towns.

He had left to the pope the right paramount and charge of Naples and Sicily; and he goes to make himself master of Apuglia, the inheritance of young Frederic king of the Romans, who was stripped at once of the empire and his mother's inheritance.

1211.

Innocent III. can do no less than excommunicate Otho. Excommunication is a meer trifle against an established prince: but a very serious affair against a prince who has enemies.

The dukes of Bavaria and Austria and the Landgrave of Thuringia resolve to dethrone him. The archbishop of Mentz excommunicates him, and the whole faction acknowledges young Frederic II.

Germany is again divided. Otho on the brink of losing Germany for having attempted to seize Apuglia, repasses the Alps.

1212.

The emperor Otho assembles his adherents at Nuremberg. Young Frederic passes the Alps after him, and makes himself master of Alsace; the noblemen of which declare in his favour. He engages Ferri duke of Lorraine in his party. Germany is from one end to the other the scene of civil war.

Frederic II. at length receives the crown at Aix-la-chapelle from the archbishop of Mentz.

Mean while Otho supports himself and regains almost every thing, when he seems to be on the eve of losing the whole.

He was still protected by England: while his competitor Frederic II. enjoyed the protection of France. Otho reinforces his party by marrying the daughter of the duke of Brabant after the death of his wife Beatrix. John king of England gives him money to attack the king of France. This John was not yet John *Lackland*, tho' he was destined to be so, and became like Otho most unfortunate.

It seems very remarkable, that Otho who a year before could scarce defend himself in Germany, should now be able to make war upon Philip Augustus. But he was followed by the dukes of Limburg and Lorrain, the count of Holland with all the noblemen of that country, and the count of Flanders who had been interested by the king of England. It is still problematical, whether or not the counts of Flanders, who then did homage to France, were notwithstanding that homage considered as vassals of the empire.

Otho marches towards Valenciennes with an army of above an hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, while Frederic II. concealed somewhere about Swisserland, waited the issue of this great enterprise. Philip Augustus was hard pressed between the emperor and the king of England.

The Battle of Bovines.

Between Lile and Tournay there is a small village called Bovines, near which Otho IV. at the

head of an army said to be an hundred and twenty thousand strong, attacked the king who had scarce half the number. At that time they began to use cross-bows, machines which threw long and heavy arrows, and which were bent with a tourniquet. This weapon was in use under Lewis *the Gross*. But what decided the fate of a battle was the heavy cavalry quit covered with iron, consisting of all the lords of the fiefs and their squires. The knights wore a cuirass, buskins, knee-pieces, brassets, cuisses and an helmet. All this armour was made of iron, and above the cuirass they had a shirt of mail called *Haubert* from the word *Albus*. This coat of mail was adorned with a piece of stuff embroidered with the knight's coat of arms. These bearings which began to be in use were called coats of arms, because they were figured on the knight's arms, to distinguish him in battle. Squires had no right to wear the hauberts or haubergeon. Their helmet was not faced and closed, consequently not so good a defence. They had no brackets nor cuisses; thus armed more lightly they had more agility in mounting a horse, and could better raise up in battle, those heavy masses of knights, who could not move or even be wounded but with difficulty. Besides, the complete armour of knights was a prerogative of honour, to which the squires had no pretension; they were not allowed to be invulnerable. All that a knight had to fear, was being wounded in the face, when he lifted up his beaver, or in the flank, through any defect in his cuirass, when he was beaten down, or when his coat of mail was taken off; or lastly in the armpits when he raised his arms. There were likewise troops of cavalry draughted from the common soldiery, not so well armed as the knights. As for the infantry, every man had what defensive armour he pleased to wear, and his offensive arms were the sword, the arrow, the club and sling.

It was a bishop who drew up in line of battle the army of Philip Augustus. His name was Guerin, and he had been appointed to the see of Senlis. There was also at that battle a bishop of Beauvais, who had been long kept prisoner by Richard king of England; he used a club or mace, saying he should be irregular if he shed human blood. It is not known in what manner the emperor and king disposed their troops. Philip before the battle, ordered his army to sing the psalm, *Exurgat deus & dissipentur inimici ejus*, as if Otho had been fighting against God. Formerly the French sung verses in honour of Charlemagne and Orlando. The imperial standard of Otho, fixed in a waggon with four wheels, according to the custom of Germany and Italy, was a long pole supporting a wooden dragon painted, and above the dragon was a gilded eagle of wood. The royal standard of France was a gilded staff with an ensign of white silk powdered with golden flowers de lis; for this ornament called flowers de lis, which was no other than a fancy of the painter, began to be assumed as the armorical bearing of the kings of France. The ancient crowns of the Lombard kings, of which we have exact prints in Muratori, are surmounted with this ornament, which is nothing but the iron head of a lance, bound with two other crooked pieces of iron; this is likewise the figure of several sceptres of the old Lombard kings.

Besides the royal standard, Philip Augustus brought into the field the oriflame of St. Denis, which was a lance of gilded copper to which was fixed a red silk flag. When the king was in danger, they raised or lowered one or other of these standards. Every knight had likewise his own called a *pendant*, and the great knights who had other knights under them, were provided with another ensign called a *banner*. This term *banner* which is so honourable, was nevertheless common to the ensigns of the infantry which was

almost wholly composed of Serfs or people lately made free.

The cry of war commonly used by the French was, *Mon Joie St. Denis*: They said indifferently *Mon Joie*, or *Ma joie*, in the barbarous jargon of France. The German cry was still, *Kurie-eleyson*.

The Teutonic army, tho' very strong in infantry, had fewer knights than that of the king. It is to this difference chiefly that we must attribute the victory in this great battle. Those squadrons of horse caparisoned with steel, carrying men impenetrable to blows, and armed with long lances, could not fail to put in disorder the German soldiery almost naked and disarmed, in comparison of those moving citadels.

A proof that knights who were well armed, ran no other risk than that of being dismounted, and were never wounded except by great accident, is that king Philip Augustus thrown from his horse was for a long time surrounded by enemies, and received strokes from all kinds of arms without losing a drop of blood. It is even reported that as he lay upon the ground, a German soldier attempted to thrust a bearded javelin into his throat, but never could penetrate. No knight was killed in the battle, except William *de longs Champs*, who unluckily died of a thrust in the eye, which he received thro' the visor of his helmet.

They reckon on the side of the Germans, five and twenty knights bannerets, and seven counts of the empire prisoners, but not one wounded; the real danger at that time fell upon the light horse, and especially the infantry of slaves or freed men who endured all the fatigue and peril of the war.

The emperor Otho lost the battle. Thirty thousand Germans are said to have been killed; a number probably exaggerated. The custom then was to load the prisoners with chains. The counts of Flanders and Boulogne were carried to Paris, with shackles on

on their arms and legs. This was a settled, tho' barbarous custom. Richard *Cœur de Lion*, king of England, said himself, that when he was arrested in Germany, contrary to the law of nations, they loaded him with as heavy chains as he could possibly carry.

With regard to the consequences, we do not find that the king of France made any conquest on the side of Germany after his victory at Bovines: but he by this success acquired much more authority over his vassals.

- Philip Augustus sends to Frederic in Swisserland, whither he had retired, the imperial car that bore the German Eagle; this was a trophy and a pledge of the empire.

F R E D E R I C II.

T W E N T Y S I X T H E M P E R O R.

OTHO being vanquished and totally abandoned, retires to Brunswic where he is left in peace, because he is no longer formidable. He is not deposed, but forgot. He is said to have become a devotee: The resource of the unhappy, and the passion of weak minds. His penance is said to have consisted in his being thrown down and kicked by his kitchen-boys, as if the kicks of a turnspit could expiate the faults of a prince.

1215.

Frederic II. emperor in consequence of the victory at Bovines, is every where acknowledged.

During the troubles of Germany, we have seen that the Danes conquered a great deal of territory to the northward and eastward of the Elbe. Frederic II. began by abandoning these lands by treaty, in which Hamburg is comprehended. But, as a disadvantageous

geous treaty is renounced upon the first opportunity, he takes advantage of a quarrel between Otho's brother count Palatine of the Rhine and the Danes, receives Hamburg into his protection, and afterwards restores it. A shameful beginning of an illustrious reign.

The second coronation of the emperor at Aix-la-chapelle. He dispossesses the count Palatine, and the Palatinate reverts to the house of Bavaria Vitelsbach.

A new crusade. The emperor takes the cross. He must certainly have still doubted his own power, seeing he promised to pope Innocent III. that he would never reunite Naples and Sicily to the empire, but give them to his son as soon as he should be consecrated at Rome.

1216.

Frederic II. remains in Germany with his cross, and entertains more designs upon Italy, than upon Palestine. In vain the crusade is preached to all the kings. At this time no prince set out, but Andrew II. king of Hungary. That people who were scarcely Christians, take the cross against the Mussulmans whom they call infidels.

1217.

The German crusards depart, nevertheless under various chiefs by sea and land. The fleet of the low countries, being detained by contrary winds, affords the crusards another opportunity of employing their arms usefully in Spain. They join the Portuguese and defeat the Moors. That victory might have been pursued and Spain wholly delivered, but pope Honorius III. the successor of Innocent, will not allow it. The popes commanded the crusards as the soldiers of God, yet they could send them no where but to the east. Men must be ruled according to their prejudices; and those soldiers of the popes would not have obeyed them elsewhere.

1218.

Frederic II. had great reason to postpone his voyage. The towns of Italy and Milan in particular, refused to acknowledge a sovereign, who being master of Germany and the two Sicilies was powerful enough to enslave all Italy. They still held for Otho IV. who lived obscurely in a corner of Germany. Acknowledging him for emperor, was in fact declaring themselves entirely free.

Otho dies near Brunswic; and Lombardy has no longer a pretext.

1219.

A great diet at Frankfort, where Frederic II. causes his son Henry a child of nine years, by Constance of Arragon, to be elected king of the Romans. All those diets were held in the open field, as they are still in Poland.

The emperor renounces his right to the moveables of deceased bishops, and to the revenues of vacant sees. This is what the French call *la Regale*. He renounces the right of jurisdiction in episcopal towns, where the emperor shall happen to be, unless he there keeps his court. Almost all the first acts of this prince, are renunciations.

1220.

He goes to Italy in quest of that empire which Frederic Barbarossa had not been able to obtain. Milan at first shuts her gates, as to the Grandson of Barbarossa whose memory the Milanese detested. He pockets the affront, and goes to be crowned at Rome. Honorius III. at first demands that the emperor will confirm him in the possession of several territories of the countess Mathilda. To these Frederic adds the territory of Fondi. The pope desires him to renew his oath to go to the holy Land; the emperor renews that oath, after which he is crowned with all the ce-

remonies, whether humble or humbling, of his predecessor. He likewise signalizes his coronation by bloody edicts against heretics. Not that heresy was then known in Germany, where ignorance reigned with courage and disorder; but the inquisition had been established on account of the Albigenses, and the emperor, to please the pope, issued those cruel edicts, by which the children of heretics are excluded from the succession of their fathers.

These laws confirmed by the pope were visibly dictated in order to justify the seizure of the estates, taken by the church and by force of arms from the house of Tholouse in the war of the Albigenses. The counts of Tholouse had a great many fiefs of the empire. Frederic was absolutely resolved to please the pope. Such laws were neither of a piece with his age or character. Could they possibly have been suggested by his chancellor Peter de Vignes, who is accused of having written the pretended book of the three impostors, or at least of having harboured the opinion which the title of the book implies?

1221, 1222, 1223, 1224.

During these years Frederic did things more worthy of remembrance. He embellished and aggrandized Naples, makes it the metropolis of the kingdom, and in a little time it becomes the most populous town in Italy. There was still a number of Saracens in Sicily, and they frequently had recourse to arms: he transports them to Lucera in Apuglia, hence that town acquired the name of *Lucera* or *Nocera de Pagani*.

The academy or university of Naples is established and flourishes. There the law is taught, and the Lombard laws gradually give way to the Roman law.

The design of Frederic II. seems to have been to reside in Italy. One is attached to one's native country: his was already embellished; and that the
most

most delightful country of Europe. He spends fifteen years without going to Germany. Why should he have so much flattered the popes, and respected the towns of Italy, if he had not conceived the idea of establishing at last the seat of the empire at Rome? Was not that the only way of extricating himself from that æquivocal situation in which all the emperors reigned? A situation become still more perplexing, since the emperor was at once king of Naples and vassal of the holy see, and had promised to dismember Naples and Sicily from the empire. All this confusion would have been at last unravelled, had the emperor been master of Italy; but destiny otherwise ordained.

It likewise appears that the pope's great design was to rid his hands of Frederic by sending him to the holy Land. In order to accomplish this design, he had after the death of Constance of Arragon persuaded him to marry one of the pretended heiresses of the kingdom of Jerusalem, which had been long lost. John of Brienne, who assumed the empty title of king of Jerusalem, founded on his mother's claim, gave his daughter Jolanda or Violanta in marriage to Frederic, with Jerusalem as her dower, in other words, almost nothing at all: and Frederic married her, because she was handsome, and he chose to please the pope. Since that time, the kings of Sicily have always taken the title of king of Jerusalem. Frederic was in no hurry to go and conquer his wife's portion, which consisted only of a claim to a small maritime territory still possessed by the Christians in Syria.

1225.

During the preceeding and in the following years, young Henry the emperor's son resided constantly in Germany. A great revolution happens in Denmark and in all the provinces that border on the Baltic. The Danish king Waldemar had made himself master

of those provinces, which were inhabited by the *Western Slaves* and the Vandals. From Hamburg to Dantzic, and from Dantzic to Revel the whole country acknowledged Waldemar.

A count of Swerin in Mecklenburg, who had become vassal to that king, forms the design of carrying off Waldemar and the hereditary prince his son: and this design he executes at a hunting match, May 23, 1223.

The king of Denmark being prisoner implores the assistance of pope Honorius III. who commands the count of Swerin and the other German lords who were concerned in this enterprize to set the king and his son at liberty. The popes pretended to have bestowed the crown of Denmark, as well as those of Poland and Bohemia. The emperors likewise pretended to have bestowed it. The popes and emperors who were not masters in Rome, always disputed the right of making kings at the extremity of Europe. They paid no regard to the command of Honorius. The knights of the Teutonic order join the bishop of Riga in Livonia, and make themselves masters of part of the coast of the Baltic.

Lubec and Hamburg re-enjoy their liberty and rights. Waldemar and his son after having been stripped of almost all they had in that country, are set at liberty in consequence of giving a very large ransom.

Here we find a new power insensibly established: That is the Teutonic order which has already a grand master, together with fiefs in Germany, and conquers territories lying upon the Baltic.

1226.

This grand master of the Teutonic order solicits in Germany new succours for Palestine. Pope Honorius presses the emperor to leave Italy as soon as possible, and go and accomplish his vow in Syria. It must be observed

observed that there was at this time a truce of nine years subsisting between the sultan of Ægypt and the crusards. Frederic II. therefore had no vow to accomplish. He promises to maintain knights in Palestine and is not excommunicated. He ought to have established himself in Lombardy, and afterwards in Rome rather than in Palestine. The Lombard towns had time to enter into an association; they were called the confederate towns; Milan and Bologna were at their head, and they were no longer considered as subjects but as vassals of the empire. Frederic II was desirous of attaching them to him at least: and this was a difficult task. He convokes a diet at Cremona, and summons all the Italian and German noblemen to attend.

The pope fearing the emperor would assume too much authority in this diet, involves him in affairs at Naples. He appoints bishops to five vacant sees in that kingdom without consulting Frederic; he forbids several towns and noblemen to go to the assembly at Cremona; he supports the rights of the associated towns, and makes himself defender of the Italic liberty.

1227.

A fine triumph for Honorius III. the emperor having put Milan to the ban of the empire, and transferred to Naples the university of Bologna, admits the pope as judge. All the towns submit to his decision. The pope as umpire between the emperor and Italy, pronounces sentence: *We decree that the emperor shall forget his resentment against all the towns, and we decree that the towns shall furnish and maintain four hundred knights for the assistance of the holy Land during the term of two years.*

This was a declaration worthy at once of a sovereign and pontif.

Having determined in this manner between Italy and the emperor, he sits as judge of Waldemar king of

of Denmark who had taken an oath to pay the rest of his ransom to the German lords, and sworn that he would never retake what he had yielded. The pope absolves him of an oath taken in prison and upon compulsion. Waldemar reenters Holstein but is defeated. His nephew the lord of Lunenburg and Brunswic who fights for him, is taken prisoner: nor is he released until he hath yielded up some territories. All these expeditions are still civil wars. Germany is for some time quiet.

1228.

Honorius III. dying, and Gregory IX. brother of Innocent III. succeeding, the politics of the pontificate continued the same; but the humour of the new pontif was more haughty. He hastens the crusade, and presses the so often promised departure of Frederic II. He thought he must send that prince to Jerusalem in order to prevent his coming to Rome. This spirit of the times, made people look upon that prince's vow as an indispensable duty. Upon the first delay of the emperor he is excommunicated by the pope. Frederic still dissembles his resentment, excuses himself, prepares his fleet and exacts of each fief of Sicily and Naples eight ounces of gold for his voyage. Even the ecclesiastics supply him with money, notwithstanding the prohibition of the pope. At length he embarks at Brindisi, tho' his excommunication is not taken off.

1229.

What step does Gregory IX. take, while the emperor goes to the holy Land? He takes advantage of that prince's having neglected his absolution, or rather of his contempt for the excommunication; and joins with the Milanese and the other confederate towns, in order to wrest from him the kingdom of Naples which he was afraid would be incorporated with the empire.

Renaud duke of Spoleto and vicar of the kingdom, takes the march of Ancona from the pope. Then his holiness preaches a crusade in Italy, even against Frederic II. whom he had sent upon a crusade to the holy Land.

He sends an order to the titular patriarch of Jerusalem residing at Ptolemais, not to acknowledge the emperor.

Frederic still dissembling, concludes with Melescala, whom we call Meladin, sultan of Ægypt and master of Syria, a treaty by which the aim of his crusade seems to have been fulfilled. The sultan cedes Jerusalem to him with some small maritime towns, of which the christians were still in possession. But upon condition that he shall not reside at Jerusalem, that the mosques built in these holy places shall subsist, and that there shall be always an Emir in the city. Frederic is supposed to have had some collusion with the Sultan, in order to deceive the pope. He goes to Jerusalem with a very small escorte, and there crowns himself; for no prelate would crown a person who was excommunicated. He soon returns to the kingdom of Naples, where his presence was much wanted.

1230.

He finds in the territory of Capua his brother-in-law John de Brienne at the head of the papal crusade.

The pope's crusards who were called Guelphs, bore the sign of the Cross-keys on the shoulder, whereas the emperor's crusards who were called Ghibelins wore the cross. The keys fled before the cross.

All Italy was in combustion, and peace being greatly wanted, was made July 23, at San-Germano. All that the emperor got, was absolution. He consents that for the future, benefices shall be given by election

in Sicily ; that no clerk with in his two kingdoms, shall be brought before a lay-judge, that all ecclesiastical estates shall be exempted from taxes ; and in fine he gives money to the pope,

1231.

Hitherto Frederic II. who is painted as the most dangerous, seems to have been the most patient of men ; but it is pretended that his son was ready to rebel in Germany, and that this consideration made the father so flexible in Italy.

1232, 1233, 1234.

It is very clear that the emperor's sole design in staying so long in Italy, was to found a true Roman empire. Master as he was in Naples and Sicily, if he had assumed the authority of the Othos in Lombardy, he must have been master also in Rome. This was his only crime in the eyes of the popes ; and those popes who persecuted him with such violence, were always regarded by part of Italy as the supports of the nation. The party of the Guelphs, was that of liberty. In such circumstances Frederic ought to have had large treasures and a great and well-disciplined army always on foot. This is what he never had. Otho IV. much less powerful than he, had an army of near one hundred and thirty thousand men in the field against the king of France. But he did not keep it in pay ; and it was a transient effort of vassals and allies united for a moment.

Frederic might have caused his vassals to march from Germany to Italy. Pope Gregory IX. is said to have prevented this scheme, by exciting Henry king of the Romans, to revolt against his father, as Gregory VII. Urban II. and Paschal II. had armed the children of Henry IV.

The king of the Romans, at first engages in his party, several towns along the Rhine and the Danube.

The

The duke of Austria declares in his favour. Milan, Bologna and other towns of Italy, engage in that party against the emperor.

1235.

Frederic II. at length returns to Germany after an absence of fifteen years. The Marquis of Baden defeats the rebels. Young Henry comes and throws himself at his father's feet in the great diet at Mentz. It is in these famous diets, these parliaments of princes, where the emperors preside in person, that the greatest affairs of Europe are always treated of with the utmost solemnity. The emperor in this memorable diet at Mentz, deposes his son Henry king of the Romans, and dreading the fate of Lewis *the Weak* surnamed the *Debonnaire*, as well as that of the courageous and too easy Henry IV. he condemns his rebellious son to perpetual imprisonment. He in that diet secures the duchy of Brunswic to the house of Guelph, in whose possession it still remains. He solemnly receives the canon law published by Gregory IX. and orders the decrees of the empire, for the first time, to be published in the German language, tho' he himself did not love that tongue, but cultivated the romance to which the Italian succeeded.

1236.

He gives it in charge to the king of Bohemia, the duke of Bavaria, and some bishops who were enemies to the duke of Austria, to make war upon that duke, as vassals of the empire, who maintain its rights against rebels.

He returns to Lombardy, tho' with a few troops, consequently can undertake no effectual expedition. Some towns, as Vicenza and Verona, being abandoned to plunder, render him more odious to the Guelphs, without making him more powerful.

1237.

1237.

He comes to Austria which was defended by the Hungarians. He subdues it, founds a university at Vienna, confirms the privileges of some imperial towns, such as Ratisbon and Strasbourg; causes his son Conrad to be acknowledged king of the Romans in the room of Henry; and at length, after this success in Germany, thinks himself strong enough to accomplish his grand scheme of subduing Italy. Thither he flies, takes Mantua, and defeats the army of the confederates.

The pope who now saw him making long strides towards the execution of his great design, makes a diversion by the affairs of the church; and under pretence that the emperor had caused clerks to be tried in lay-courts, excites all Italy against him, and the church excites the people.

1238; 1239.

Frederic II. had a bastard called *Enzius* whom he had made king of Sardinia: another pretext for the pontif who pretended that Sardinia held of the holy see.

This was still pope Gregory IX. The different names of the popes never make any alteration in the state of affairs; it is always the same quarrel and the same spirit. Gregory IX. solemnly excommunicates the emperor, twice in passion week. They write bitterly against each other. The pope accuses the emperor of having affirmed that mankind had been deceived by three impostors *Moses, Jesus Christ and Mahomet*. Frederic calls Gregory *Antichrist, Balaam, and the prince of darkness*.

The emperor's patience was at length exhausted, and he believed himself powerful. The Dominicans and Franciscans, the spiritual militia of the pope, lately established, are expelled from Naples and Sicily. The Benedictines of Monte Cassini share the same

same fate, no more than eight being left to do duty, and the pope's letters are forbid to be received in the two kingdoms on pain of death.

All these proceedings tend more and more to inflame the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelins. Venice and Genoa join the towns of Lombardy. The emperor marches against them; and is defeated by the Milanese. This is the third signal victory, by which the Milanese have supported their liberty against the emperors.

1240.

There is now no room to negotiate, as the emperor had always done. He augments his troops and marches to Rome, where there was a strong party of Ghibelins.

Gregory IX. exposes the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul, harangues the people in their name, inflames their minds, and profits by that moment of enthusiasm to make a crusade against the emperor.

That prince finding it impracticable to enter Rome, goes and ravages the Beneventine. Such was the power of the popes in Europe, and the name of Crusade was become so sacred, that the pope obtains a twentieth of the ecclesiastical revenues in France, and a fifth in England, for his crusade against the emperor.

He offers by his legates the imperial crown to Robert d'Artois brother of St. Lewis. He says in his letter to the king and baronage of France: *We have condemned Frédéric who calls himself emperor, and deprived him of the empire. We have elected in his room prince Robert the king's brother, whom we will support with all our power and by all kinds of means.*

This indiscreet offer was refused. Some historians say, in quoting *Matthew Paris*, the Barons of France answered that it was enough for Robert d'Artois to be brother of a king who was above the emperor. They even

even pretend that the ambassadors of Lewis said the same thing in the same terms to Frederic. But it is by no means probable that they would make such an indecent rude answer, so little founded on truth, and which could be of no signification.

The answer of the barons of France, as *Matthew Paris* relates it, is not more likely. The chief of those Barons, were all the bishops of the kingdom. Now it is very improbable that all the barons and all the bishops in the time of St. Lewis should make this reply to the pope. *Tantum religionis in papa non invenimus, qui eum debuit promovisse, & Deo militantem protexisse, eum conatus est absentem confundere & nequiter supplantare.* “ We do not find so much religion
“ in the pope, who ought to have promoted and pro-
“ tected him as a soldier of God, whereas he hath
“ endeavoured to confound and wickedly supplant
“ him in his absence.”

A reader endowed with the least share of common sense, will see that a nation in a body could not return such an insolent answer to the pope who offered them the empire. How could the bishops write to the pope, that the unbelieving Frederic II. had more religion than his holiness. This particular should teach us to distrust those historians, who erect their own private notions into public monuments.

1241.

About this time the people of great Tartary, threatened the rest of the world. That vast reservoir of brutal and warlike men had vomited its inundations over almost our whole hemisphere from the fifth century of the christian æra. Part of those conquerors had come and wrested Palestine from the sultan of Ægypt, and the small number of christians who still remained in that country. More considerable Hordes of Tartars under Batoukam grandson of Genziskam, had been as far as Poland and Hungary.

The

The Hungarians mixed with the Huns formerly countrymen of those Tartars, had been vanquished by the new comers. This torrent had spread in Dalmatia, and thus extended its ravages from Pekin to the frontiers of Germany. Was this a time for a pope to excommunicate the emperor, and assemble a council to depose him?

Gregory IX. convokes that council. One can scarce conceive how he could propose to the emperor to make a total cession of the empire and all his dominions to the holy see, as the only effectual means of a reconciliation. The pope nevertheless, makes this proposal. What must have been the spirit of an age in which these proposals were made?

1242.

The eastern part of Germany is delivered from the Tartars who retreat like wild beasts after they have seized their prey.

Gregory IX. and his successor Celestin IV. dying almost in the same year, and the holy see having been long vacant, it is surprising that the emperor should press the Romans, even at the head of an army, to elect a new pope. One would think it was for his interest that the chair of his enemies should not be filled; but the motives that influenced the politics of those times, are very little known. Certain it is, Frederic II. must have been a wise prince, seeing that in those times of trouble Germany and his kingdom of Naples and Sicily were in tranquillity.

1243.

The cardinals assembled at Agnani, elect cardinal Fiesque a Genoese of the family of the counts of Lavagna attached to the emperor, who says; *Fiesque was my friend, the pope will be my enemy.*

1244.

Fiesque known by the name of Innocent IV. does not proceed so far as to demand that Frederic II. would yield

yield the empire to him; but he demands the restitution of all the towns of the ecclesiastical state, and of the countess Mathilda, and insists upon the emperor's doing homage for Naples and Sicily.

1245.

Innocent IV. upon the emperor's refusal, assembles at Lyons the council summoned by Gregory IX. This is the thirteenth general council.

It may be asked why this council was held in an imperial town? this town was protected by France; the archbishop was a prince; and in those provinces the emperor had nothing else than the vain title of lord Paramount.

There were but one hundred and forty bishops at this general council; but it was adorned with the presence of several princes, especially of Baldwin de Courtenai emperor of Constantinople, who was placed on the pope's right hand. That monarch was come to ask succours which he did not obtain.

Frederic did not neglect to send ambassadors for his defense at this council where he was to be accused. Innocent IV. pronounced against him two long harangues in the two first sessions. A monk of the order of Citeaux, bishop of Carniola near Garillan, who was expelled from the kingdom of Naples by Frederic accuses him in form. There is not now any regular tribunal which would admit of the accusations alledged by that monk. *The emperor, says he, believes neither in God nor in the saints.* But who had told the monk so? *The emperor has several wives living at one time.* But who were those wives? *He carries on a correspondence with the Sultan of Babylon.* But why may not the titular king of Jerusalem treat with his neighbour? *He is of opinion with Averroes, that Jesus Christ and Mahomet were impostors.* But in what place has Averroes said so much, and how is it proved that the emperor is of his opinion? *He is an heretic.* But
what

what is heresy? and how can he be an heretic, if he is no Christian?

Thadeus Sessa, Frederic's ambassador, answers that this monkish bishop has told a lie, that his master is a very good Christian, and does not tolerate simony. In these words he plainly enough accuses the court of Rome.

The ambassador of England goes farther. *You draw, says he, by your Italians, above sixty thousand marks a year from the kingdom of England: you tax all our churches, you excommunicate those who complain; we shall not long suffer such imposition.*

All these remonstrances serve only to hasten the pope's sentence. *I pronounce (says Innocent IV.) Frederic convicted of sacrilege and heresy, excommunicated and deprived of the empire. I order the electors to choose another emperor; and save to myself the disposal of the kingdom of Sicily.*

After having pronounced this sentence, he thunders a Te Deum, as it is now performed after a victory.

The emperor was at Turin which then belonged to the marquis of Susa. He calls for the imperial crown which the emperors always carried about with them, and setting it upon his head, *the pope, says he, has not yet deprived me of this; and before he does, there will be a great deal of bloodshed.* He sends a circular letter to all the christian princes. *I am not the first, said he, whom the clergy have treated in such an unworthy manner, and I shall not be the last. You are the cause of all this, in obeying those hypocrites whose boundless ambition you know. What a number of infamous practices will you not discover at Rome, at which human nature must shudder? &c.*

1246.

The pope writes to the duke of Austria expelled from his dominions, to the dukes of Saxony, Bavaria and Brabant, to the archbishops of Cologne, Trier and

and Mentz, and to the bishops of Strasbourg and Spire, ordering them to elect for emperor Henry landgrave of Thuringia.

The dukes refuse to come to the diet convoked at Wurtzbourg, and the bishops crown their Thuringian whom they call *the king of priests*.

Here are two important circumstances to be observed: first it is plain the electors were not seven in number; secondly Conrad the emperor's son, king of the Romans, was comprehended in the excommunication of his father, and divested of all his rights as an heretic, according to the law of the popes and that of his own father, who had published it at a time when he wanted to ingratiate himself with the popes.

Conrad supports his fathers cause and his own. He gives battle to the king of the priests near Frankfort, but is worsted.

The Landgrave of Thuringia dies in besieging Ulm, but the imperial schism does not end.

It was probably in this year, that Frederic II. having but too many enemies reconciles himself to the duke of Austria, and in order to attach him to his interest bestows upon him and his descendents the title of king, by a patent still preserved at Vienna. This patent is without a date. It is very strange that the dukes of Austria never made use of it. In all likelihood the princes of the empire opposed this new title bestowed by an excommunicated emperor, whom one half of Germany began to renounce.

1247.

Innocent IV. offers the empire to several princes. All refuse such a tempestuous dignity. It is accepted by one William count of Holland, a young nobleman twenty years of age. The greatest part of Germany does not acknowledge him; it is the pope's legate who appoints this emperor at Cologne, and invests him with the order of knighthood.

1248.

1248.

Two factions are formed in Germany, as violent as those of the Guelphs and Ghibelins in Italy. One sticks to Frederic and his son Conrad; the other, adheres to the new king William. This is what the popes wanted. William is crowned at Aix-la-chapelle by the archbishop of Cologne. The festivals that attended this coronation, are bloodshed on every hand, and towns reduced to ashes.

1249.

The emperor is now no more in Italy, than the chief of a faction in a civil war. His son Enzio whom we call Enzius, is defeated by the Poles, falls into their hands as a prisoner, and his father cannot obtain his liberty even for money.

Another fatal adventure disturbs the last days of Frederic II. provided the adventure be such as it is related. His famous chancellor Peter de Vignes, or rather de la Vigna his counsellor, his oracle and friend of thirty years standing, restorer of the laws in Italy, is said to have attempted to poison him by the hands of his physician. Historians differ about the year of this event, and that difference may create some suspicion. Is it credible that the first magistrate in Europe, a venerable old man, should hatch such an abominable treason? and for what reason? to please the pope who was his enemy. Where could he hope for a more considerable fortune? what better post could the physician have than that of being physician to the emperor?

Certain it is, Peter de Vignes had his Eyes put out. This is not the punishment of one who poisons his master. Several Italian authors pretend that a court intrigue was the cause of his disgrace, and provoked Frederic II. to this cruelty; and the account is very probable.

1250.

Mean-while Frederic makes another effort in Lombardy, he even orders some troops to pass the Alps, and alarms the pope who was still at Lyons, under the protection of St. Lewis; for that king of France, while he blamed the excesses of the pope, respected his person and the council.

This was Frederic's last expedition.

1251.

He dies Dec^r 17. Some believe he felt remorse for the treatment he had given to Peter de Vignes; but it appears by his will, that he repented of nothing he had done. His life and death make a very important æra in history. Of all the emperors he was the man who endeavoured most to establish the empire in Italy, and who succeeded least, possessing all the requisites for success.

The popes who would have no masters, and the towns of Lombardy, which so often defended their liberty against a master, prevented the possibility of there being a Roman emperor.

Sicily, but especially Naples, was his favourite kingdom. He increased and embellished Naples and Capua, built Alitea, Monte Leone, Flagella, Dondona, Aquila and several other towns; founded Universities and cultivated the liberal arts in those climates where the fruit seems to come spontaneous; and one circumstance that endeared his native country to him was, that he himself was the legislator of it. In spite of his understanding, courage, application and labours, he was very unfortunate; and his death produced still greater misfortunes.

CONRAD IV.

T W E N T Y S E V E N T H E M P E R O R .

CONRAD IV. son of Frederic II. has a better title to be ranked among the emperors, than those who are placed between the descendants of Charlemagne and the Othos. He had been twice crowned king of the Romans. He succeeded a respectable father; and William count of Holland, his competitor, who was likewise called *the king of the priests*, as well as the Landgrave of Thuringia, had no other right than the pope's order and the suffrages of some bishops.

Conrad at first suffers a defeat near Oppenheim, but still supports himself. He forces his competitor to quit Germany. He goes to Lyons to visit pope Innocent IV. who confirms him king of the Romans, and promises to give him the imperial crown at Rome.

It was become usual to preach crusades against christian princes. The pope ordered one to be preached in Germany against the emperor Conrad, and another in Italy, against Manfred or Mainfroy natural son of Frederic II. at that time faithful to his brother, and the last will of his father.

This Mainfroy prince of Tarentum, governed Naples and Sicily in the name of Conrad. The pope caused Naples and Mantua to revolt against him. Conrad marches thither and seems to abandon Germany to his rival William, that he might go and second his brother Mainfroy against the crusards of the pope.

1252.

During that time William of Holland establishes himself in Germany. We may here observe an adventure, which proves how long all rights continued

uncertain, and all limits confounded. A countess of Flanders and Hainault is at war with John Davennes her son by a former marriage, for the right of succession of that very son to his mother's lands. St. Lewis is chosen arbitrator. He adjudges Hainault to Davennes, and Flanders to the son of the second marriage. John Davennes says to king Lewis. *You give me Hainault which does not depend upon you, it holds of the bishop of Liege, and is an under-fief of the empire. Flanders really holds of you, and you withhold it from me.*

It was not then decided, of what prince Hainault held. Flanders was another problem. All the country of Alost was fief of the empire, as well as all that bordered upon the Scheld. But the rest of Flanders from Ghent, held of the kings of France. Meanwhile William as king of Germany, puts the countess to the ban of the empire, and confiscates all her estate for the advantage of John Davennes, in the year 1252. This affair was at last accommodated; but it shews what inconveniences attend the feudal right. It was still worse in Italy, especially for the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.

1253, 1254.

These years, which as well as the following, are called the years of interregnum, tho' productive of confusion and anarchy, are nevertheless worthy of consideration!

The house of Morienne and Savoy, which espouses the party of William, receives from him the Investiture of Turin, Montcalier, Ivrea and several fiefs, which make it a very powerful family.

In Germany the towns of Frankfort, Mentz, Cologne, Worms and Spire, associate together for the benefit of trade, and to defend themselves from the country gentlemen who were so many robbers. This union of the towns upon the Rhine, was not so much

an imitation of the confederacy of the towns of Lombardy; as of the first hans-towns Lubec, Hamburgh and Brunswic.

In a little time the greatest part of the towns of Germany and Flanders, engage in the Hans. The principal object is to maintain vessels and barks at the common Expence for the security of commerce. A bill of one of these towns passes current in all the rest. The confidence of trade is established. Merchants by means of this alliance do more service to society, than ever was done by so many emperors and popes.

The city of Lubec alone is already so powerful, that in a civil war which was kindled in Denmark, it equips a fleet at its own expence.

While the trading towns procure these temporal advantages, the knights of the Teutonic order, resolve to procure that of christianity to the rest of the Vandals, who lived in Prussia and the neighbourhood. Ottocarus II. king of Bohemia takes the cross with them. All the kings of Bohemia took the name of Ottocarus, since they had espoused the party of Otho IV. They defeat the Pagans, and the two Prussian chiefs receive baptism. Ottocarus rebuilds Konigsberg.

Other scenes open in Italy. The pope still maintains the war, and insists upon disposing of Naples and Sicily. But he cannot recover his own demesnes, nor those of the countess Mathilda. We always see the popes powerful abroad, in consequence of the excommunications, which they thunder forth, and the divisions they foment, but very impotent in Italy, and especially in Rome.

The factions of the Ghibelins and the Guelphs divided and desolated Italy. They had begun from the quarrels between the popes and emperors; these names had been every where, a word of banter in the time of Fréderic II. Those who pretended to ac-

quire fiefs and titles which were bestowed by the emperors, declared themselves Ghibelins. The Guelphs seemed more the partisans of the Italic liberty. The Guelph party at Rome was indeed for the pope, when the business was to unite against the emperor, but that same party opposed the pope, when the pontiff freed from a master, wanted to become master himself in his turn. These factions were again subdivided into several different parties, and served to nourish discord in towns and families. Some old captains of Frederic II. employed these names of faction which inflamed the minds of men, to enlist people under their colours, and cloaked their robberies with the pretext of supporting the rights of the empire. Robberies of another gang pretended to serve the pope who gave them no such commission, and ravaged Italy in his name. Among those robbers who rendered themselves famous, there was a partizan of Frederic II. called Ezzelino who had well nigh established a great dominion, and intirely changed the face of affairs. He is still famous for the ravages he committed: booty enabled him to raise an army; and had he been always favoured by fortune, he must have become a conqueror. But at last he was taken in an ambuscade, and Rome which dreaded him was delivered of her fear. The Guelph and Ghibeline factions were not extinguished in him. They subsisted for a long time, and were very violent, even while Germany was without a real emperor, during the interregnum that succeeded Conrad's death, and could no longer serve as a pretext for these troubles. A pope in these circumstances had a very difficult place to fill. Obligated as a bishop to preach peace in the midst of war, being at the head of the Roman government, without power to attain absolute authority, under the necessity of defending himself against the Ghibelins, and of managing the Guelphs, and above all things, in fear of an imperial house that possessed Naples and Sicily;

Sicily; every part of his situation was precarious. The popes, since Gregory VII. had always this in common with the emperors; the title of masters of the world, and a power that was very circumscribed. And if we attentively consider the subject, we shall see that from the very first successors of Charlemagne, the empire and the church are two problems of very difficult solution.

Conrad sends for one of his brothers, to whom Frederic II. had given the duchy of Austria. This young prince dies, and is suspected of having been poisoned by Conrad. For at this time, the death of every prince who did not die of old age, was imputed to poison. Conrad IV. dies soon after, and Mainfroy is accused of having dispatched him by the same means.

The emperor Conrad IV. who died in the flower of his age, left a child, that unhappy Conradin, of whom Mainfroy becomes the Guardian. Pope Innocent IV. persecutes on this infant, the memory of his fathers. Finding he cannot make himself master of the kingdom of Naples, he offers it to the king of England: he offers it to a brother of St. Lewis, but he dies in the midst of his prospects, even in the city of Naples which his party had conquered. By the last enterprises of Innocent IV. one would think he was a warrior. No such matter. He was counted a profound divine.

1255.

After the death of Conrad IV. the last emperor, tho' not the last prince, of the house of Suabia, it was probable that young William of Holland who began to reign in Germany, without opposition, would raise a new imperial house. That feudal right which hath produced so many disputes and so many wars, induces him to arm against the Frielanders. It was pretended that they were vassals of the counts of Hol-

land, and under-vassals of the empire. He marches against them, and is slain about the latter end of 1255, or beginning of the following year; and this is the æra of the great anarchy of Germany.

The same anarchy prevails in Rome, Lombardy, and the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.

The Guelphs had been expelled from Naples by Mainfroy. The new pope Alexander IV. tho' but indifferently established in Rome, resolves like his predecessor, to wrest Naples and Sicily from the excommunicated house of Suabia, and strip at once young Conradin to whom the kingdom belonged, and Mainfroy who was his guardian.

Who could believe that Alexander causes a crusade to be preached in England against Conradin? and that in offering the dominions of the Infant to Henry III. king of England, he borrows even in the name of that English king, money enough to raise an army for himself? What conduct is this for a pontif to strip an Orphan! a legate of the pope commands this army, which is said to have amounted to near fifty thousand men. The pope's army is defeated and dispersed.

Let us moreover observe, that pope Alexander IV. who believed himself strong enough to conquer two kingdoms, tho' at the gates of Rome, dares not enter, and retires to Viterbo. Rome always resembled those imperial towns which dispute the rights of regality with their archbishops: as Cologne for example, the municipal government of which is independent of the elector. Rome continued in this precarious situation, till the time of Alexander VI.

1256, 1257, 1258.

In Germany it is resolved to make an emperor. The German princes then thought as the Polish Palatines of these days. They would not have a king from among their own countrymen. One faction choose

choose Alphonſus X. king of Caſtile; another elects Richard brother of Henry III. king of England. Theſe two ſend ſeverally to the pope, deſiring their election might be confirmed: the pope will confirm neither. Richard mean-while goes to Aix-la-chapelle where he is crowned May 17, 1257. without how-
ever being more obeyed in Germany on account of that ceremony.

Alphonſus of Caſtile, acts as ſovereign of Germany at Toledo. Frederic III. duke of Lorrain goes thither and receives on his knees, the inveſtiture of his duchy, together with the dignity of great *Senſchal* of the emperor, on the banks of the Rhine, and the right of laying the firſt diſh on the imperial table in plenary courts.

All the hiſtorians of Germany, as the more modern, ſay, that Richard never appeared again in the empire. But this was becauſe they were not acquainted with the chronicle of England, writ by Thomas Wik. That chronicle gives us to underſtand that Richard went three times to Germany, where he exerciſed the rights of emperor on more than one occaſion; that in 1263, he gave the inveſtiture of Auſtria and Stiria, to one Ottocarus king of Bohemia; and that in 1269, he married the daughter of a Baron called Falkemorit with whom he returned to London. That long interregnum, then ſo much talked of, did not really ſubſiſt. Although theſe years may be called an interregnum, becauſe Richard was ſeldom in Germany. In thoſe times we find nothing in Germany, but petty wars between petty ſovereigns.

1259.

Young Conradin was then educated in Bavaria with his couſin the titular duke of Auſtria, of the old branch of Auſtria. Bavaria which is now extinct. Mainfroy more ambitious than loyal, tired of being regent, cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed king of Naples and Sicily.

Thus he furnished the pope with a just handle for seeking his destruction. Alexander IV. as pontif, had a right to excommunicate a perjured person, and as lord paramount of Naples, to punish an usurper. But he had no title either as pope or paramount, to deprive the young and innocent Conradin of his inheritance.

Mainfroy, who believes himself firmly established, treats the pope's excommunications and enterprizes with contempt.

Erzelin another tyrant, lays waste the countries of Lombardy, which adhere to the Guelphs and the pontifs. At last he is wounded in a battle against the Cremonese. And the earth is delivered from his ravages.

From 1260 to 1266.

While Germany is either quite desolate, or languishes in anarchy; while Italy is divided into factions, England involved in civil wars, and St. Lewis redeemed from captivity in Egypt, meditates another crusade which was more unfortunate (if possible) than the first; the holy see still perseveres in the design of wresting Naples and Sicily from Mainfroy, and of stripping at once the guilty guardian and the innocent orphan.

Whatever pope sits on St. Peter's chair, it is still the same genius, and the same medley of greatness and impotence. The Romans will neither acknowledge the temporal authority of the pope, nor be ruled by emperors. The popes are scarce endured in Rome, and yet they bestow and take away kingdoms. Rome at that time chose one senator only, as protector of her liberty. Mainfroy, his son-in-law Peter of Arragon, and Charles duke of Anjou brother of St. Lewis, all three caballed for this dignity, which was that of patrician under another name.

Urban IV. the new pontif offers Naples and Sicily to Charles of Anjou, but he does not choose to see him

him senator; because then he would be too powerful.

He proposes that St. Lewis should equip the duke of Anjou with an armament for the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. St. Lewis hesitates. It was plainly a proposal to rob a ward of an inheritance derived from so many ancestors who had conquered those dominions from the Mussulmans. The pope quiets his scruples. Charles of Anjou accepts the donation from the pope, and causes himself to be elected senator of Rome in despite of the pope.

Urban IV. being now too far engaged to retract, makes Charles of Anjou promise that he will in five years renounce the title of senator. And as that prince was obliged to take an oath to the Romans for his whole life, the pope reconciles these two oaths, and absolves him of the one, provided he will take the other.

He likewise obliges him to swear in the hands of his legate, that he will never possess the empire together with the crown of Sicily. This was the law of the popes his predecessors; and this law shews how much they had been afraid of Frederic II.

The count of Anjou, above all things, promises to assist the holy see in recovering the patrimony which had been usurped by a number of noblemen together with the lands of the countess Mathilda. He engages to pay 8000 ounces of gold, as a yearly tribute; consenting to be excommunicated if ever that payment is delayed two months: he swears to abolish all the rights which the French conquerors and the princes of the house of Suabia had enjoyed over ecclesiastics, and in so doing renounces the singular prerogative of Sicily.

On these and a great number of other conditions he embarks at Marseilles with thirty gallies, and goes to Rome in June 1265, to receive the investiture of Naples and Sicily which he had bought so dear.

A battle fought in the plains of Beneventum, Feb. 26, 1266, decides the whole dispute. There Mainfroy is slain, and his wife, children and treasures fall into the hands of the victor.

The pope's legate who was in the army, deprives Mainfroy's body of christian burial; a revenge both cowardly and ill-timed, which served only to irritate the minds of men.

1267, 1268.

Charles of Anjou no sooner mounts the throne of Sicily, than he is dreaded by the pope and hated by his subjects. Conspiracies are formed against him. The Ghibelins who divided Italy, send to Bavaria to solicit young Couradin to come and take the inheritance of his fathers. Clement IV. successor of Urban forbids him to come to Italy, as a sovereign transmits his order to his subject.

Conradin at the age of sixteen, sets out with his uncle the duke of Bavaria, the count of Tirol whose daughter he had married, and particularly with his cousin the young duke of Austria, who was no more master in Austria, than Conradin was in Naples. Excommunications are not wanting. Clement IV. that he might oppose him the more effectually, appoints Charles of Anjou imperial vicar in Tuscany. That illustrious province which had recovered its liberty by its own spirit and courage, was divided into Guelphs and Ghibelins, and by this appointment the Guelphs assumed all the authority.

Charles of Anjou senator of Rome and chief of Tuscany, becomes still more formidable to the pope. But Conradin would have been more so.

The hearts of all men were inclined to Conradin, and by a very singular destiny the Romans and Mussulmans declared for him at the same time. On one hand, the infant Henry brother of Alphonfus X. king of Castile, a true knight-errant, goes to Italy, and there

there causes himself to be declared senator of Rome, in order to support the rights of Conradin: On the other hand, a king of Tunis lends them money and gallies, and all the Saracens who remained in the kingdom of Naples, take arms in his favour.

Conradin is received as emperor in the capital of Rome. His gallies anchor on the coast of Sicily, and there his troops are joyfully received by almost the whole nation. He marches from one success to another, as far as Aquila in the Abruzo. The French knights inured to war, entirely defeat in a pitched battle the army of Conradin, composed in a hurry, of different nations.

Conradin, the duke of Austria and Henry of Castile, are made prisoners.

The historians Villani, Guadelfiero, and Fazelli, affirm that pope Clement IV. demanded of Charles of Anjou, the death of Conradin. It was his last request, and he died soon after. Charles orders the sentence of death to be pronounced upon the two princes, by Robert de Bari his prothonotary. He sends Henry of Castile prisoner to Provence, which belonged to him in right of his wife.

On the 26th day of October 1268, Conradin and Frederic of Austria are executed in the market-place of Naples, by the hand of the hangman. This is the first example of such an outrage against crowned heads. Conradin before he received the stroke, threw his glove among the crowd, and begged that some body would carry it to his cousin Peter of Arragon Mainfroy's son-in-law, who would one day revenge his death. The glove was taken up by the chevalier Truchses de Walbourg who actually fulfilled his desire. Since that time the house of Walbourg bears the arms of Conradin which are those of Suabia. The young duke of Austria being first executed, Conradin who loved him tenderly, took up his head

which he was kissing when he received the fatal stroke.

Several noblemen were beheaded on the same scaffold; some time after, Charles of Anjou ordered Mainfroy's widow and his remaining son to be put to death in prison. What is very surprising, we do not find that St. Lewis who was brother of this Charles of Anjou, ever in the least reproached the barbarian for his horrible cruelty. On the contrary it was partly in favour of Charles, that he undertook his last unfortunate crusade against the king of Tunis who was Conradin's protector.

1269, 1270, 1271, 1272.

The petty wars still continued between the Noblemen of Germany. Rodolphus count of Habsburg in Swisserland had already signalized himself in these wars, and especially in that which he supported against the bishop of Basil, in favour of the abbot of St. Gal. About this time began the treaties of hereditary confraternity between the German houses. This is a mutual deed of the lands of one house to another, in case of survivorship in the male line.

The first of these treaties had been made in the last years of Frederic II. between the houses of Saxony and Hesse.

The Hanse-towns, during this period, augment their privileges and power. They establish consuls in all affairs of trade. For to what other tribunal could they at that time have had recourse?

The same necessity which inspired the invention of consuls in the trading towns, was the occasion of instituting *Austregues* for other towns and noblemen, who had no mind to decide their differences by the sword. These *Austregues* are either from the nobility or from the towns themselves chosen as umpires to determine without the expence of a law-suit. These two establishments so lucky and so wise, were the fruits

fruits of the unfortunate times which obliged people to have recourse to such expedients.

Germany still remained without a chief, but was resolved to have one at last.

Richard of England was dead. Alphonfus of Castile had now no party. Ottocarus III. king of Bohemia, duke of Austria and Stiria, was proposed, and is said to have refused the empire. He was then at war with Bela king of Hungary who disputed with him, Stiria, Carinthia and Carniola. He might have contested Stiria which depended upon Austria, but not Carinthia and Carniola, which he had actually purchased.

Peace is concluded. Stiria, Carinthia and Carniola remain in the possession of Ottocarus. We cannot conceive how he who was so powerful should refuse the empire: he who afterwards refused homage to the emperor. It is much more likely that they would not have him for emperor, for that very reason, because he was too powerful.

RODOLPHUS I. OF HABSBURG,

First Emperor of the House of Austria.

TWENTY-EIGHTH EMPEROR.

1273.

AT length they assemble at Frankfort to elect an emperor in consequence of letters from pope Gregory X. who threatens to appoint one. This was a new circumstance that a pope should be so desirous of having an emperor.

In this assembly they proposed no prince who possessed extensive dominions. They were too jealous of one another. The count of Tirol who was of the number of the electors, names three persons, a count de Goritz, lord of a small country in the Frioul, and absolutely

absolutely unknown; one Bernard as little known, who had nothing but some pretensions upon the duchy of Carinthia; and Rodolphus de Habsburg a celebrated captain and great marshal of the court of Ottocarus king of Bohemia.

The electors being divided between these three competitors, refer the affair to the decision of Lewis *the Severe*, count Palatine and duke of Bavaria, the same who had educated and in vain befriended the unhappy Conradin and Frederic of Austria. This is the first example of such an arbitration. Lewis of Bavaria names Rodolphus of Habsbourg emperor.

The burgrave or constable of Nuremberg carries the news to Rodolphus, who being no longer in the service of the king of Bohemia, was employed in his petty wars about Basil and Strasbourg.

Alphonfus of Castile and the king of Bohemia in vain protest against this election. This protest of Ottocarus is surely no proof of his having refused the imperial crown. Rodolphus was the son of Albert count of Habsbourg in Swisserland. His mother was Ulrike of Ribourg who had several lordships in Alsace. He had been long ago married to Anne of Hæneberg by whom he had four children. He was turned of fifty-five when he ascended the imperial throne. He had one brother, colonel in the service of the Milanese, and another a canon at Basil, but both died before his election.

He is crowned at Aix-la-chapelle; tho' we know not by what archbishop. It is reported that the imperial sceptre said to be that used by Charlemagne, being missing, this defect of formality began to serve as a pretext to several noblemen who did not chose to take the oath. He seized a crucifix. *This is my sceptre* said he, and all present did him homage. This action of fortitude alone rendered him respectable, and the rest of his conduct shewed him worthy of the empire.

He

He marries his son Albert to a daughter of the count of Tirol sister-in-law of Conradin. By this marriage Albert seems to acquire the right to Alsace and Suabia, the family inheritance of the famous emperor Frederic II. Alsace was then divided among several petty lords. It was necessary to make war upon them. He by his prudence procures the troops of the empire, and subdues the whole by his valour. A prefect is appointed to govern Alsace. This is one of the most important Æras with regard to the interior parts of Germany. The possessors of lands in Suabia and Alsace held of the imperial house of Suabia, but after the extinction of that house in the person of the unfortunate Conradin, they would hold of none but the empire. This is the true origin of the immediate nobility, and this is the reason that a greater number of this nobility is found in Suabia than in all the other provinces.

The emperor Rodolphus succeeds in subduing the gentlemen of Alsace, and creates a prefect in that province; but after him the barons of Alsace became for the most part free and immediate barons as much sovereigns in their small demesnes as the greatest German noblemen were in their extensive dominions. This, through the greatest part of Europe was the aim of every person who possessed a castle or country house.

1274.

Three Ambassadors of Rodolphus take the oath in his name to pope Gregory X. in the consistory. The pope writes to Rodolphus. *By the advice of the cardinals we appoint you king of the Romans.*

Alphonfus X. king of Castile at this time renounces the empire.

1275.

Rodolphus visits the pope at Lausanne. He promises to cause the march of Ancona, and the lands of Mathilda

Mathilda to be restored. He promises that which he could not perform. All this country was in the hands of the towns and noblemen who had seized it at the expence of the pope and the empire. Italy was divided into twenty principalities or republics like antient Greece, but more powerful. Venice, Genoa and Pifa had a greater number of ships than the emperor could maintain of ensigus. Florence became considerable, and was already the nurse of the liberal arts.

Rodolphus first of all applied his attention to Germany. Ottocarus III. the powerful king of Bohemia, duke of Austria, Carinthia and Carniola refused to do him homage. *I owe nothing to Rodolphus* (said he) *I have paid him his wages.* He associates with Bavaria.

Rodolphus supports the majesty of his rank. He puts this powerful Ottocarus to the ban of the empire, together with Henry duke of Bavaria who is leagued with him. The emperor is furnished with troops, and goes to avenge the rights of the German empire.

1276.

The emperor Rodolphus defeats, one after another all those who espouse the party of Ottocarus, or who attempt to take the advantage of this division, namely the count de Neubourg, the count de Fribourg, the marquis of Baden, the count of Wirtemberg, and Henry duke of Bavaria.

He all at once finishes this war with the Bavarians by giving one of his daughters in marriage to that prince's son, and receiving forty thousand ounces of gold instead of giving a portion with his daughter.

From thence he marches against Ottocarus whom he forces to a composition. The king of Bohemia cedes Austria, Stiria and Carniola. He consents to do liege homage to the emperor in the island of Camberg in the middle of the Danube, under a pavilion close covered

covered that he might be spared a public mortification.

Ottocarus repairs to the place quite covered with gold and jewels. Rodolphus superior in his pride, receives him in the most coarse and simple dress; and in the midst of the ceremony, the curtains of the pavilion fall back, and expose to the eyes of the people and the armies who lined the banks of the Danube, the haughty Ottocarus on his knees, with his hands joined between those of his conqueror whom he had so often called his steward, and to whom he now became cup-bearer. This story is well vouched, tho' the truth of it is of very little importance.

1277.

The wife of Ottocarus, more haughty than her husband, reproaches him so much for the homage he had done, and the cession of his provinces, that the king of Bohemia renews the war towards Austria.

The emperor obtains a complete victory August 26, and Ottocarus is slain in the battle. The victor uses his fortune like a legislator. He gives Bohemia to young Wincelaus the son of the vanquished, and the regency to the marquis of Brandenburg.

1278.

Rodolphus makes his entry into Vienna and establishes himself in Austria. Lewis duke of Bavaria who had more than one right to that duchy, wants to avail himself of that right. Rodolphus falls upon him with his victorious troops. Nothing now is able to resist him, and we see this prince whom the electors had called to reign in the empire, without power, become in effect the conqueror of Germany.

1279.

Tho' he reigns in Germany he is far from being master in Italy. Pope Nicholas III, easily gains from him

him that long process which so many pontifs had supported against so many emperors. Rodolphus by a deed dated February 15th, 1279, cedes to the holy see the lands of the countess Mathilda, renounces the right of Paramount, and disavows his chancellor who had received the homage in the course of this same year: The electors approve of this cession. This prince, in abandoning the rights for which they had fought so long, in effect yielded nothing but the right of receiving homage from noblemen who never did it without reluctance. This was all he could then obtain in Italy where the empire was no more. This cession must have been a matter of very little consequence, seeing all he had in exchange was the title of senator of Rome, and that for one year only.

The pope at length succeeded in taking this vain title of senator from Charles of Anjou, because that prince would not match his nephew with the pontif's neice, saying, *Although he was called Orsini, and had red feet, his blood was not made to mingle with the blood of France.*

Nicholas III. likewise deprives Charles of Anjou of the vicariat of the empire in Tuscany. This vicariat was no more than a name, and indeed this name could not subsist after there was an emperor elected.

The situation of Rodolphus in Italy was (according to Girolamo Briani) like that of a merchant when he fails, whose effects are divided among other traders.

1280.

The emperor Rodolphus accommodates matters with Charles of Sicily by the marriage of one of his daughters. He gives that princess called Clementia to Charles Martel the grandson of Charles of Anjou. The new married couple were still infants.

Charles, by means of this marriage, obtains of the emperor the investiture of the counties of Provence and Forcalquier.

After

After the death of Nicholas III. they chose a Frenchman called Brion, who takes the name of Martin IV. This Frenchman at first orders the dignity of senator to be restored to the king of Sicily, and is inclined to reinvest him likewise with the vicariat of the empire in Tuscany. Rodolphus seems to give himself very little concern about the matter; he has business enough of his own in Bohemia. That country had rebelled in consequence of the violent conduct of the Margrave of Brandenburg, who was regent; and besides, Rodolphus had more occasion for money than for titles.

1281, 1282.

These years are memorable for the famous conspiracy of the Sicilian vespers. John de Procida a rich young gentleman of Salerno, who, and not withstanding his rank, exercised the professions of physic and the law, was the author of this conspiracy which seemed so opposite to his way of life. He was a Ghibelin, passionately attached to the memory of Frederic II. and the house of Suabia. He had been several times in Arragon with queen Constance the daughter of Mainfroy. He glowed with impatience to revenge the blood which Charles of Anjou had spilt; but finding it impracticable to do any thing in the kingdom of Naples, restrained by the presence and dread of Charles, he hatched his scheme in Sicily which was governed by the provençals who were more detested and less powerful than their master.

The project of Charles of Anjou was to conquer Constantinople. The great fruit of the crusades of the west had been to take the empire of the Greeks in 1204, and they had lost it afterwards, together with the rest of the conquests they had made upon the Mussulmans. The rage of going to fight in Palestine was abated since the misfortunes of St. Lewis; but Constantinople seemed an easy prey, and Charles

of

of Anjou thought to dethrone Michael Paleologus who then possessed the remains of the eastern empire. John de Procida goes in disguise to Constantinople to warn Michael Paleologus, and excite him to be before-hand with Charles. Thence he hastens to Arragon where he has a private audience of king Peter. He received money from both these princes. He easily finds people to engage in the conspiracy. Peter of Arragon fits out a fleet on pretence of invading Afric, and keeps himself in readiness to make a descent upon Sicily. Procida finds no difficulty in preparing the minds of the Sicilians.

At length on the 3d day of Easter 1282, at the sound of the vesper bell, all the provençals in the island are massacred, some in churches, some at their doors, and in the public streets, and some in their own houses. Eight thousand persons are supposed to have been slaughtered. Three, nay four times the number of men has been killed in above an hundred battles, without attracting the notice of mankind. But in this case, the secret so long kept by a whole people, the conquerors exterminated by the conquered nation, women and children massacred, daughters of Sicilians with child by provençals, slain by their own fathers, and penitents murdered by their confessors, render this event for ever famous and execrable. It is always said that the persons murdered at those Sicilian vespers were french, because Provence now belongs to France; but it was then a province of the empire; and the people massacred were really imperialists.

This is the manner in which the revenge of Conradin and the duke of Austria began. Their death was occasioned by the guilt of one man, namely Charles of Anjou; and it was expiated by the murder of 8000 innocent persons.

Peter of Arragon then lands in Sicily with his wife Constance. The whole nation owns him as sovereign:

sovereign: And from that day Sicily remained with the house of Arragon; but the kingdom of Naples continued with a prince of France.

The emperor gives to his two eldest sons Albert and Rodolphus at one time the investiture of Austria, Stiria and Carniola on the 27th day of December 1282, in a diet at Augsburg, with the consent of all the noblemen, including that of Lewis of Bayaria who had pretensions to Austria. But how could he at one time give the investiture of the same dominions to these two princes? had they any thing more than the title? was the youngest to succeed his elder brother? or had the younger any thing but the name, while the other enjoyed the lands? or were they to possess those dominions in common? These are circumstances not explained. What is incontestible is, that we find a number of deeds in which the two brothers are named conjunctly dukes of Austria, Stiria and Carniola.

There is only one old anonymous chronicle which says that the emperor Rodolphus invested his son Rodolphus with Suabia, but there is no document or charter by which it appears that young Rodolphus ever possessed Suabia. All the Grants call him, as well as his brother, duke of Austria, Stiria and Carniola. Nevertheless, one historian having adopted that chronicle, all the others have followed him, and in the genealogical tables, Rodolphus is always called duke of Suabia. If he really was, how could his family have lost that duchy?

In the same diet the emperor gives Carinthia, and the march Trevisano to his son-in-law the count of Tirol. The advantage he reaped from the dignity of emperor, was to provide for all the branches of his family.

1283, 1284.

Rodolphus governs the empire as well as his own family. He makes up quarrels between several noblemen and several towns.

Historians say that his labours had weakened him greatly, and that when he was turned of his grand climateric, the physicians advised him to take a young wife of fifteen to strengthen his constitution. These historians are bad philosophers. He marries Agnes daughter of a count of Burgundy.

In this year 1284, Peter king of Arragon takes the prince of Salerno son of Charles of Anjou prisoner; but is not able to make himself master of Naples. The wars of Naples no longer concern the empire, until the reign of Charles V.

1285.

The Cumins, a remnant of the Tartars, lay waste Hungary.

The emperor invests John Davennes with the country of Alost, the country of Vass, Zealand and Hainault. The county of Flanders is not specified in this investiture; it was become incontestibly plain that it held of France.

1286, 1287.

To crown the glory of Rodolphus he ought to have established himself in Italy, as he was in Germany, but the opportunity was past. He would not even go to be crowned at Rome. He contented himself with selling liberty to those towns of Italy, which chose to purchase it at his hands. Florence paid forty thousand ducats of gold; Lucca, twelve thousand; Genoa and Bologna, six thousand. Almost all the other towns gave nothing, pretending they were not bound to acknowledge an emperor who was not crowned at Rome.

But in what did this gift or confirmation of liberty consist? Was it an absolute separation from the empire? There is no act of those times that expresses any such convention. This liberty consisted in the right

to appoint magistrates, to govern themselves according to their own municipal laws, to coin money, and maintain troops. It was no more than a confirmation or extension of the rights obtained from Frederic Barbarossa. Italy was then independent and as it were detached from the empire, because the emperor had little power and was at a great distance. Time might have secured to this country the full intire enjoyment of liberty. Already the towns of Lombardy, and even those of Swisserland, had left off taking the oath, and insensibly retrieved their natural right of independency.

With regard to the towns of Germany they without exception took the oath; but some were reputed *free*, such as Augsburg, Aix-la-chapelle, and Metz; others were called *imperial* as they paid tribute; a third sort had the name of *subject* as those who held immediately of the princes, and mediately of the empire; and a fourth obtained the appellation of *mixed*, because tho' they held of the princes, they enjoyed some imperial rights.

All the great imperial towns were differently governed. Nuremberg was ruled by nobles: in Strasbourg the citizens had the authority.

1288, 1289, 1290.

Rodolphus makes all his daughters subservient to his interest. He matches a daughter he had by his first wife, to young Winceflaus king of Bohemia, now come of age, and makes him swear he will never make any pretensions to the dutchies of Austria and Stiria; but by way of recompence he confirms him in the office of great cupbearer.

The dukes of Bavaria pretended to this office of the emperor's house. It seems the quality of elector was inseparable from that of a great officer of the crown, not that the lords of the principal fiefs had relinquished their right of electing, but the great offi-

cers insisted upon having this right in preference to others. It was for this reason the dukes of Bavaria disputed the office of grand master with the branch of Bavaria Palatine, tho' this last was the eldest.

A great diet at Erfort in which the division already, made of Thuringia is confirmed. The eastern continues in the house of Misnia, which is now that of Saxony. The western remains with the house of Brabant, which was heir of Misnia by the female line. This is the present house of Hesse.

Ladislaus III. king of Hungary, having been slain by the Cumin-Tartars, who still ravaged that country, the emperor who pretends that Hungary is a fief of the empire, resolves to bestow that fief upon his son Albert to whom he had already given Austria.

Pope Nicholas IV. who thinks that all kingdoms are fiefs of Rome, gives Hungary to Charles Martel, grandson of Charles of Anjou king of Naples and Sicily. But as this Charles Martel is the emperor's son-in-law, and as the Hungarians will not receive the emperor's son as their king for fear of being enslaved; Rodolphus consents that his son-in-law Charles Martel shall endeavour to obtain that crown of which he could not deprive him.

This is another great example of the uncertainty of the feudal right. The county of Burgundy, that is Franche Comté, pretended to hold of the kingdom of France, and in that quality had taken the oath of allegiance to Philip *the Fair*. Nevertheless before that period, all that made part of the old kingdom of Burgundy held of the emperors.

Rodolphus makes war upon him, but this is soon terminated by the count's doing the homage he demanded; so that this count of Burgundy at one time held both of the empire and of France.

Rodolphus confers the title of Palatine of Saxony upon his son-in-law Albert II. duke of Saxony. We must take care to distinguish that house of Saxony from the

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the present, which, as we have said, is from the house of Misnia.

1291.

The emperor Rodolphus dies at Germesheim July 15th in the 73d year of his age, and in the nineteenth of his reign.

ADOLPHUS OF NASSAU.

TWENTY-NINTH EMPEROR.

After an Interregnum of nine Months.

1292.

THE German princes afraid of rendering hereditary that empire of Germany which was always called the Roman empire, and not agreeing in their choice, make a second compromise, of which we have seen an example in the nomination of Rodolphus. The archbishop of Mentz to whom it is referred, names Adolphus of Nassau on the same principle as that on which they had chosen his predecessor. He was the most illustrious warrior, and the poorest of that time. He seemed capable of maintaining the glory of the empire at the head of German armies, without being powerful enough to enslave it. He possessed but three lordships in the county of Nassau.

Albert duke of Austria disgusted because he did not succeed his father, joins against the new emperor with that same count of Burgundy who would be no longer a vassal of Germany, and these two obtain succour from Philip *the fair* king of France. The house of Austria begins by inviting against the emperor those very French whom the princes of the empire have since so often invited against her. Albert of Austria, with the assistance of France, at first makes

war in Swisserland, the sovereignty of which was claimed by his house. He takes Zurich with the French Troops.

1293.

Albert of Austria excites Strasbourg and Colmar to rebel against Adolphus. The emperor at the head of some troops, furnished by the imperial fiefs, appeases these troubles. A difference between the count of Flanders and the citizens of Ghent is carried before the parliament of Paris, and decided in favour of the citizens. It was very clearly acknowledged that from Ghent to Boulogne, Arras and Cambray, Flanders held solely of the king of France.

1294.

Adolphus unites with Edward king of England against France; but as he dreaded such a powerful vassal as the duke of Austria, he undertakes nothing. We have seen this alliance more than once renewed in the like circumstances.

1295.

A shameful piece of injustice in the emperor is the first origin of his misfortunes and fatal end. A great example to sovereigns. Albert of Misnia Landgrave of Thuringia, one of the ancestors of all the princes of Saxony, who make such a great figure in Germany, son-in-law of the emperor Frederic II. had three children by the princess his wife. He had repudiated her for a mistress unworthy of him, and for that reason the Germans had justly bestowed upon him the surname *Depraved*. Having a bastard by that concubine, he resolved to disinherit his three legitimate children in his favour. He sets up his fiefs to sale in despite of the laws, and the emperor in despite of the laws purchases them with the money he had received from the king of England to make war upon France.

The

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The three princes boldly maintain their rights against the emperor. In vain does he take Dresden and several castles; he is driven from Misnia, and all Germany declares against such scandalous proceedings.

1296.

The rupture between the emperor and the king of England on one side and France on the other, still continued. Pope Boniface VIII. orders all three to agree to a truce on pain of excommunication.

1297.

The emperor had more need of a truce with the noblemen of the empire; for all of them resented his conduct. Wenceslaus king of Bohemia, Albert duke of Austria, the duke of Saxony, and the archbishop of Mentz assemble at Prague. There were two marquises of Brandenburg; not that both possessed the same marquisate, but being brothers both took the same title. This practice began to be customary. The emperor is formally impeached and a diet summoned to meet at Egra to depose him.

Albert of Austria sends to Rome to solicit the deposition of Adolphus. This is a right which was always allowed to the pope, when it was thought it could turn to advantage. The duke of Austria pretends to have received the pope's consent, which however he had not obtained. The archbishop of Mentz solemnly deposes the emperor in the name of all the princes. These are the terms in which he expressed himself. *We are told our envoys have obtained the pope's consent; others affirm the pope has refused it, but without regarding any other authority than that with which we have been invested, we depose Adolphus from the imperial dignity, and elect lord Albert duke of Austria for king of the Romans.*

1298.

Boniface VIII. forbids the electors on pain of excommunication to consecrate the new king of the Romans, and they answer that it is by no means an affair of religion.

Mean while Adolphus having some bishops and noblemen in his party was still at the head of an army. On the second day of July he gives battle to his rival near Spire; the two meet in the midst of the engagement. Albert of Austria thrusts a sword into his eye. Adolphus dies fighting and leaves the empire to Albert.

ALBERT I. OF AUSTRIA.

THIRTIETH EMPEROR.

1298.

ALBERT of Austria begins by referring his right to the electors the better to secure it. He is a second time elected at Frankfort, then crowned at Aix-la-chapelle by the archbishop of Cologne.

Pope Boniface VIII. will not acknowledge him. This pope had at that time violent quarrels with Philip *the fair* of France.

1299.

The emperor Albert forthwith unites himself to Philip, and marries his eldest son Rodolphus to Blanche that king's sister. The articles of this marriage are remarkable. He engages to give to his son Austria, Stiria, Carniola, Alsace, Fribourg in the Brisgau, and assigns Alsace and Fribourg as a jointure to his daughter-in-law, referring himself for the portion of Blanche intirely to the good-will of the king of France.

Albert

Albert sends an intimation of this marriage to the pope who makes no other answer, but that the emperor is an usurper, and that there is no other *Cæsar* but the sovereign pontif of the christians.

1300, 1301.

The houses of France and Austria seemed at that time closely united by this marriage, by their common hatred to Boniface VIII. and by the necessity they were under to defend themselves against their vassals; for at the same time Holland and Zeland which were vassals of the empire made war upon Albert, and the Flemings who were vassals of France had taken arms against Philip *the fair*.

Boniface VIII. who was still prouder than Gregory VII. and more impetuous, takes this opportunity to brave at once the emperor and the king of France. On one side he excites against Philip *the fair* his own brother Charles of Valois, on the other hand he foments a revolt of the princes of Germany against Albert.

No pope ever pushed farther the madness of giving away kingdoms. He invites Charles of Valois into Italy, and appoints him vicar of the empire in Tuscany. He makes a match between that prince and the daughter of Baldwin II. the deposed emperor of Constantinople, and boldly declares Charles of Valois emperor of the Greeks. Nothing is greater than such enterprises when they are well conducted and successful; and nothing more mean when they are ineffectual. This pope, in less than three years, gave away the empires of the east and west, and laid the kingdom of France under interdiction.

The circumstances in which Germany was involved, had well nigh insured his success against Albert of Austria. He writes to the archbishops of Mentz, Triers and Cologne: *We command Albert to appear before us in six months, to clear himself if he can of the*

crime of treason committed against his sovereign Adolphus. We forbid you to acknowledge him as king of the Romans, &c.

Those three archbishops who did not love Albert, agree with the count Palatine of the Rhine to proceed against him, as they had proceeded against his predecessor; and what shews that there were always two weights and two measures, they accuse him of being guilty of a crime, in having defeated and slain in fight that very Adolphus whom they had deposed, and against whom he had been armed by their own consent and direction.

The count Palatine actually lays informations against the emperor Albert. It is well known that the counts Palatine were originally judges in the palace, and judges in civil causes between the prince and subject, as is the practice in all countries under different denominations.

The Palatines thought they had a right to judge the emperor himself in criminal cases. And it is upon this pretension that we shall see a Palatine, and a ban of Croatia condemn a queen.

Albert having the other princes of the empire on his side, answers these proceedings with war.

1302.

The judges in a very little time ask pardon, and the elector Palatine is fain to pay a large sum of money for his proceedings.

Poland after a series of troubles elects for its king Wenceslaus king of Bohemia. This prince establishes some sort of order in a country where there was never any before. It was he who instituted the senate. This Wenceslaus gives his son as king to the Hungarians who demanded himself.

Boniface VIII. fails not to pretend that this is an outrage against him who alone has the right to give Hungary a king. He appoints to that station Carobert a descen-

a descendant of Charles of Anjou. One would think the emperor ought not to have accustomed the pope to give away kingdoms; yet this is what effected his reconciliation with him. He was more afraid of the power of Winceflaus than of the pope. He therefore protects Carobert and lays Bohemia waste. Authors say, his army was poisoned by the Bohemians who infected the water in the neighbourhood of the camp. But this is not a very credible circumstance.

1303.

What effectually engages the emperor in the interest of Boniface VIII. is the bloody quarrel between that pope and Philip *the fair*. Boniface being maltreated by Philip, and that very deservedly, at length acknowledges Albert whom he prosecuted, as lawful king of the Romans, and promises him the imperial crown, provided he would declare war against the king of France.

Albert repays the pope's complaisance with a still greater piece of condescension. He acknowledges *that the empire was transferred from the Greeks to the Germans by the holy see; that the electors hold their right of the pope, and that emperors and kings receive from him the regal power.* It was against such a declaration as this, that the count Palatine ought to have proceeded.

It was not worth the trouble, thus to flatter Boniface VIII. who died October 12. after he had with difficulty escaped from the prison in which he was detained by the king of France, at the very gates of Rome.

Mean-while the king of France confiscates Flanders from count Gui Dampiere, and after a bloody battle remains master of Lille, Douay, Orchies, Bethune and a very extensive country, without the emperor's giving himself any trouble about the matter.

He no longer thinks of Italy, still divided between the Guelphs and Ghibelins.

1304, 1305.

Ladislaus that son of the respectable Winceflaus king of Bohemia and Poland, is expelled from Hungary. His father (as it is pretended) died of grief for his expulsion, if kings can actually die of that distemper.

Otho duke of Bavaria causes himself to be elected king of Hungary, and is sent back again the very same year. Ladislaus returns to Bohemia where he is assassinated. Thus we see three elective kingdoms vacant at once, namely Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland.

The emperor Albert causes his son Rodolphus to be crowned in Bohemia by dint of arms. Carobert still supports his pretensions to Hungary, and a Polish nobleman called Uladislaus *Laeticus* is elected or rather reestablished in Poland: but the emperor has no share in the transaction.

1306.

Here follows a piece of injustice which one would not expect from a prince of ability. The emperor Adolphus of Nassau had lost his crown and life in consequence of having incurred the hatred of the Germans, and this hatred was chiefly founded on his attempt to strip the lawful heirs of Misnia and Thuringia for a sum of Money.

Philip de Nassau brother of this emperor reclaimed the countries which had been so unjustly purchased. Albert declares for him in hope of obtaining a share. The princes of Thuringia defend themselves, and are without ceremony put to the ban of the empire. This proscription furnishes them with partisans and an army. They cut in pieces the army of the emperor, who is glad to leave them in peaceable possession of their dominions. We generally find in the Germans a strong fund of attachment to their rights; and by this alone that mixed government hath so long subsisted;

sifted; an edifice often on the brink of tumbling, yet still firm and well founded.

1307.

Pope Clement V. sends a legate to Hungary, to give the crown to Carobert in the name of the holy see. Formerly this kingdom was in the gift of the emperors; but at this time the popes disposed of it, as well as of Naples. The Hungarians chose to be vassals of the unarmed popes, rather than of the emperors who might enslave them. But it would have been still better to be vassals to no power whatsoever.

Origin of the liberty of the Swiss.

Switzerland held of the empire, and part of that country belonged to the house of Austria, as Fribourg, Lucerne, Zug and Glaris. These small towns, although subjects, had great privileges, and were ranked with the *mixed* towns of the empire; others were imperial and governed by their own citizens, such as Zurich, Basil and Scaffhousen. The Cantons of Uri, Schwitz and Underwald, were under the patronage, but not the dominion of the house of Austria.

The emperor Albert wanted to be despotic through the whole country. The Governors and commissaries whom he sent thither, exercised a species of tyranny which at first produced abundance of misery, but in the end was productive of the blessing of liberty.

The founders of that liberty were called *Melchthal, Stauffacher and Walter Fust*. The difficulty of pronouncing such respectable names, has in some measure injured their fame. These three peasants, being men of sense and resolution, were the first conspirators; each of them engaged three others; and those nine brought over the cantons of Uri, Schwitz and Underwald.

All the historians alledge that while they were concerting the conspiracy, a governor of Uri, whose name was Geisler, took it in his head to exercise a kind of tyranny equally horrible and ridiculous. He commanded, say they, one of his caps to be placed upon the top of a pole erected in the market place, and decreed that every person should bow to the cap on pain of death. One of the conspirators, called *William Tell*, would not salute the cap. The governor condemned him to be hanged, and would not pardon him except upon condition that the convict, who was esteemed an expert archer, should bring down with an arrow an apple placed upon the head of his own son. The father shot in the utmost trepidation, and was so lucky as to hit the apple: *Geisler* perceiving another arrow under *Tell's* coat asked what he intended to do with it. *It was intended for thee* said the Swiss, *had I wounded my son.*

The story of the apple is I own very suspicious, and what follows is no less doubtful. But in short it is generally believed that *Tell* being put in irons, afterwards killed the governor with an arrow; that this was the signal for the conspirators; and that the people seized the fortresses and demolished those instruments of their slavery.

1308.

Albert being on the eve of venturing his forces against that courage inspired by the enthusiasm of new-born liberty, loses his life in a melancholy manner. His own nephew John improperly called duke of Suabia, who could not obtain from him the enjoyment of his patrimony, conspires his death with the help of some accomplices. He himself gives the emperor the fatal stab, while he was walking with him near Rheinsfeldt upon the banks of the river Rufs in the neighbourhood of Swisserland. Few sovereigns have died a more tragical death, and none was ever less regretted.

regretted. In all probability the deed by which Austria, Stiria and Carniola were conveyed by the emperor Rodolphus of Habsbourg to his two sons, was the cause of this association. John son of prince Rodolphus, having in vain demanded his share which was detained by his uncle Albert, resolved to obtain possession by committing the crime of *high* treason.

HENRY VII.

Of the house of Luxemburg.

THIRTY-FIRST EMPEROR.

1308.

AFTER the murder of Albert the throne of Germany continued vacant for seven months. Among the pretenders to this throne we reckon Philip *the fair* king of France: but there is no monument of the history of France, that makes the least mention of this circumstance.

Charles de Valois, that Monarch's brother, enters the lists of competition. He was a prince who went every where in quest of kingdoms. He had received the crown of Arragon from the hands of pope Martin IV. and done him homage, and taken the oath of fidelity which the popes exact from the kings of Arragon; but all he had was a vain title. Boniface VIII. had promised to make him king of the Romans, but could not keep his word.

Bertraud de Got a Gascoon, archbishop of Bourdeaux, being raised to the pontificate of Rome by the protection of Philip *the fair*, promises the imperial crown to that prince. The popes could do a great deal at this period, in spite of their impotence, because their refusing to acknowledge a king of the Ro-

mans

mans elected in Germany, was often a pretext for faction and civil war.

This pope Clement V. acts in diametric opposition to his promise. He underhand presses the electors to choose Henry count of Luxemburg.

That prince is the first who was chosen by six electors only, all the six great officers of the crown: the archbishops of Mentz, Triers and Cologne, as chancellors: the count Palatine, of the present house of Bavaria, as grand-master of the household: the duke of Saxony of the house of Ascania as great master of the horse; and the marquis of Brandenburg of the same house of Ascania, as great chamberlain.

The king of Bohemia as great cup-bearer was not present, nor did any person represent him by proxy. The kingdom of Bohemia was then vacant, for the Bohemians would not acknowledge the duke of Carinthia whom they had elected, but made war upon him as a tyrant.

It was the count Palatine who in the name of the six electors, nominated *Henry count of Luxemburg, king of the Romans, future emperor, protector of the Roman catholic church, and defender of widows and orphans.*

1309.

Henry VII. begins by revenging the assassination of the emperor Albert. He puts the murderer John the pretended duke of Suabia to the ban of the empire. Frederic and Leopold of Austria his cousins, descended like him from Rodolphus of Habsburg, execute the sentence and receive the investiture of his domains.

One of the assassins called Rodolphus de Warth, a considerable nobleman is taken, and with him begins the custom of breaking on the wheel. As for John, after having wandered a long time from place to place, he obtains the pope's absolution, and turns monk.

The

The emperor confers upon his son of Luxemburg, the title of duke, without, however, erecting Luxemburg into a duchy. There were dukes by breviate, as we now see them in France, but they were all princes. We have already seen that the emperors created kings by breviate.

The emperor with a view to establish his family, causes his son John of Luxemburg to be elected king of Bohemia. There was a necessity for conquering it from the duke of Carinthia; and this was no difficult task, as the whole nation were against the said duke.

All the Jews are expelled from Germany, and great part of them stripped of their effects. That people devoted to usury ever since it had been known, having always exercised that profession at Babylon, Alexandria, Rome and through all Europe, had every where rendered themselves equally necessary and execrable. There was scarce a town in which the Jews were not accused of sacrificing a child on Friday, and stabbing the host. Processions are still made in several towns, in remembrance of the hosts which have been stabbed and shed blood. These ridiculous impeachments served as pretexts to strip them of their wealth.

1310.

The order of templars is treated more cruelly than the Jews. This is one of the most incomprehensible events. Knights who made a vow to fight for Jesus Christ, are accused of renouncing him, adoring a copper head, and of committing the most horrible debauches by way of secret ceremonies at their reception into the order. In France they are condemned to the stake, in consequence of a bull of pope Clement V. and of their great possessions. Molai Gui brother of the dauphin D'Auvergne great master of the order and seventy four knights, in vain make oath that the order is innocent of the charge. Philip the fair incensed
against

against them, causes them to be found guilty: they are condemned by the pope who is devoted to the king of France; and fifty nine are burnt at Paris. They are persecuted every where. Two years after this event the pope abolishes the order; but in Germany nothing is done to their prejudice; perhaps because they were too much persecuted in France. In all probability the debauchery of some young knights had given occasion to calumniate the whole order.

Henry VII. resolves to reestablish the empire in Italy.

No emperor had been there since Frederic II.

A diet is held at Frankfort in order to establish John of Luxemburg king of Bohemia, vicar of the empire, and to provide for the emperor's journey. This journey is well known by the name of *the Roman expedition*. Every state of the empire contributes a certain sum to furnish soldiers, horsemen, or money.

The emperor's commissaries by whom he is preceded, take the usual oath to the pope's commissaries at Lausanne on the 11th of October. An oath always considered by the popes as an act of homage and obedience; and by the emperors as a promise of protection; but the words of it were favourable to the pretensions of the popes.

1311.

Italy is still divided by the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelins. But these factions had no longer the same aim as heretofore; they no longer fought for the emperor and pope: It was a word of reproach to which there was no precise idea affixed. We have seen an example of the same kind in the factions of the whigs and tories of England.

Pope Clement V. fled from Rome where he had no power, and settled his court at Lions with his mistress the countess of Perigord, where he amassed money to the utmost of his power.

Rome

Rome was in the anarchy of popular government. The Colonnas, the Ursini and the Roman barons divide the city, and this division is the cause of the long abode of the popes upon the banks of the Rhone ; so that Rome seemed equally lost to the popes and the emperors.

Sicily remained with the house of Arragon. Carobert king of Hungary disputed the kingdom of Naples with his uncle Robert son of Charles II. of the house of Anjou.

The house of Este had established itself at Ferrara : and the Venetians wanted to make themselves masters of that country.

The old league of the Italian towns, was far from subsisting. It had been made with no other view but to oppose the emperors. But since these had left off coming to Italy, the towns were wholly employed in aggrandizing themselves at the expence of one another. The Florentines and Genoese made war upon the republic of Pisa. Besides every town was divided into factions within itself : Florence between the blacks and the whites, and Milan between the Visconti and the Turriani.

It was in the midst of these troubles that Henry VII. at length appears in Italy. He caused himself to be crowned king of Lombardy at Milan. The Guelphs conceal the old iron crown of the Lombard kings, as if the right of reigning, were attached to a small iron circlet. The emperor orders a new crown to be made.

The Turriani and the emperor's own chancellor conspire against his life in Milan. He condemns his chancellor to the flames. Most of the towns of Lombardy, such as Crema, Cremona, Lodi and Brescia, refuse to obey him ; he subdues them by force, and there is abundance of blood shed.

He marches to Rome. Robert king of Naples, in concert with the pope, shuts the gates against him,
order-

ordering his brother John prince of Morea to march towards Rome with the men of arms and the infantry.

Several towns, namely Florence, Bologna, and Lucca, privately associate with Robert. In the mean time the pope writes from Lions to the emperor, that he wishes for nothing so much as his coronation; and the king of Naples makes the same profession, assuring him that the prince of Morea, is at Rome for no other purpose than to establish order in the city. Henry VII. presents himself at the gate of the city Leonini which contains the church of St. Peter; but he is obliged to besiege it before he can enter. He is defeated instead of being crowned. He negotiates with another part of the city, and desires he may be crowned in the church of St. John de Lateran. The cardinals oppose his demand, saying it cannot be done without the permission of the pope.

The people of that district espouse the emperor's cause; and he is crowned in a tumult by some cardinals. Then he orders the lawyers to discuss the question, *Whether or not the pope can command the emperor in any case? And whether the kingdom of Naples holds of the empire or of the holy see?* His lawyers fail not to decide in his favour, and the pope takes care to have a contrary decision by the lawyers of his own party.

1313.

We have already seen, that it is the destiny of the emperors to want force sufficient to maintain their dominion at Rome. Henry VII. is obliged to quit that city. He in vain besieges Florence, and as vainly summons Robert king of Naples to appear before him; and no less vainly does he put that king to the ban of the empire as a person guilty of treason: *Banishing him for ever on pain of losing his head.* This decree is dated April 25.

He

He issues decrees of the same nature against Florence and Lucca, permitting the inhabitants to be murdered. Wenceslaus in his madness would not have published such rescripts. He orders his brother the archbishop of Triers to levy troops in Germany. He obtains fifty galleys from the Genoese and the Pisans. There is a conspiracy at Naples in his favour. He entertains the notion of conquering Naples and afterwards Rome; but when ready to depart, he dies near the town of Sienna.

The decree against the Florentines, was an invitation to take him off by poison. A dominican called Politian de Montepulciano, who gave him the sacrament, is said to have mixed poison in the consecrated wine. It is difficult to prove such crimes. But the dominicans did not obtain of his son John king of Bohemia letters patent declaring their innocence, till thirty years after the emperor's death. It would have been more prudent to have obtained those letters at the very time when people began to accuse them of this sacrilegious murder.

An interregnum of fourteen months.

In the last years of Henry VII. the Teutonic order aggrandized itself, and made conquests upon the idolaters and christians who inhabited the coast of the Baltic. They even made themselves masters of Dantzick, which the afterwards gave up. They purchased the country of Prussia called Pomerania from a margrave of Brantenburg in whose possession it was. While the Teutonic knights became conquerors the Templars were destroyed in Germany as in other countries, and tho' they supported themselves some years longer towards the Rhine, their order was at last intirely abolished.

1314.

Pope Clement V. condemns the memory of Henry VII. and declares the oath which that emperor had taken

at

at his coronation to be an *oath of fidelity*, consequently the act of a vassal doing homage.

He dissolves the sentence which Henry VII. had pronounced against the king of Naples, *because*, says he justly, *king Robert is our Vassal*.

But the pope adds very astonishing clauses to this reason : *We have*, said he, *the superiority of the empire, and we succeed to the emperor during a vacancy by the full power we have received from Jesus Christ*.

By virtue of that pretension the pope created Robert king of Naples vicar of the empire in Italy. Thus the popes who feared nothing so much as an emperor, were themselves aiding and assisting in perpetuating that dignity, by acknowledging that a vicar was wanted during an interregnum. But they nominated this vicar in order to vest themselves with the right of appointing an emperor.

The electors are long divided in Germany. It was already an established opinion that the right of voting, belonged solely to the great officers of the household, namely the three ecclesiastical chancellors, and the four secular princes. These officers had long possessed the chief influence. They declared the nomination by the majority of votes ; and gradually arrogated to themselves the sole right of electing.

This is so true that Henry duke of Carinthia, who assumed the title of king of Bohemia, disputed in that quality alone the right of elector with John of Luxemburg son of Henry VII. who was in effect king of Bohemia.

John and Rodolphus dukes of Saxony, who had each a part of that province, pretended to share the rights of elector, and even to be both electors, because both took the appellation of grand marshal.

Lewis duke of Bavaria, the same who was emperor, head of the Bavarian branch, wanted to share

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the right of voting, with his eldest brother Rodolphus count palatine.

In that case, there would have been ten electors who represented seven officers holding the seven principal posts of the empire. Of these ten electors, five name Lewis duke of Bavaria, who adding his own vote, is thus elected by a majority of one.

The other four chose Frederic duke of Austria son of the emperor Albert; and this duke of Austria did not reckon his own vote; an evident proof that Austria, as it did not furnish a great officer, had no right of voting.

LEWIS V. OR LEWIS OF BAVARIA.

THIRTY-SECOND EMPEROR.

1315.

LEWIS of Bavaria is reckoned emperor, because he was elected by the majority, but chiefly, because his rival Frederic *the fine* was unfortunate.

Frederic is consecrated at Cologne by the archbishop of that place; and Lewis at Aix-la-chapelle by the archbishop of Mentz who arrogates that privilege to himself, although the archbishop of Cologne is metropolitan of Aix.

These two consecrated competitors necessarily produce civil wars; and this is the more so, because Lewis of Bavaria was uncle to his rival Frederic. Some of the Swiss Cantons already confederated take arms in favour of Lewis of Bavaria; and by these means defend their liberty against the house of Austria.

The memorable battle of Mortgat.

If the Swiss had possessed the eloquence as they did
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the courage of the Athenians, this day would have been as famous as that of Thermopylæ. Sixteen hundred Swiss from the Cantons of Uri, Schwitz and Unterwald, defeat a formidable army belonging to the duke of Austria at the passage of the mountains. The field of the battle of Morgat is the true cradle of their liberty.

1316.

Pope John XXII, residing at Avignon and Lions, like his two predecessors, tho' he durst not set foot in Italy, but was obliged to abandon Rome, nevertheless declares that the empire depends upon the Roman church, and summons the two pretenders to his tribunal. There had been greater revolutions on the face of the earth, but none more singular in the mind of man, than to see the successors of the Cæsars, who were created on the banks of the main, submit the rights which they had not over Rome to a pontif of Rome created at Avignon: While the kings of Germany pretend to have the right of bestowing the kingdoms of Europe, the popes pretend to nominate emperors and kings, and the Roman people reject both emperor and pope.

1317.

We must imagine that Italy was now as much divided as Germany. It was still torn in pieces by the Guelphs and Ghibelins. The Guelphs with Robert king of Naples at their head, adhere to Frederic of Austria: the Ghibelins were on the side of Lewis. The chiefs of this faction are the viscomtis of Milan. This house established its own power under the pretext of maintaining that of the emperors. France already intermeddled, tho' feebly, in the affairs of the Milanese.

1318.

War between Erick king of Denmark and Waldemar Margrave of Brandenburg, who alone supports the

the war, unassisted by any prince of the empire. When a weak state holds out against a stronger we may be assured it is governed by a superior man.

In the course of this short quarrel which was soon accommodated, the duke of Lawemburg is made prisoner by the margrave, and redeems himself for sixteen thousand marks of silver. From these ransoms we may nearly guess the quantity of specie which then circulated in those countries where the princes had every thing, and the people almost nothing.

1319.

The two emperors consent to decide their most important quarrel by thirty champions. An old custom which chivalry hath sometimes renewed.

This combat of fifteen against fifteen, fighting man to man, was like that of the Greek and Trojan heroes. It decided nothing, and was only a prelude to the battle which was fought by the two armies after they had been spectators of the combat of thirty. Lewis is conqueror in this battle, but his victory is not decisive.

1320, 1321.

Philip of Valois, nephew of Philip *the fair*, king of France, accepts of pope John XXII, the quality of lieutenant-general of the church against the Ghibelins in Italy. Philip of Valois goes thither in hope of establishing some party among so many divisions. The viscontis find means to make him repass the Alps by sometimes furnishing his little army, and sometimes having recourse to negotiation.

Italy continues divided between Guelphs and Ghibelins, without engaging heartily either for Frederic of Austria or Lewis of Bavaria.

1322.

Another battle which proved decisive is fought between the two emperors near Muldas Sept. 28, 1322.

The

The duke of Austria is taken together with his brother Henry and Ferri duke of Lorrain. From that day there was but one emperor.

Leopold of Austria, brother of the two prisoners, in vain continues the war.

John of Luxemburg king of Bohemia, tired of the contradictions he daily underwent in his own country, sends his son to be educated in France at the court of king Charles *the fair*. He exchanges his crown with the emperor for the palatinate of the Rhine. The circumstance seems incredible. The possessor of the palatinate of the Rhine was Rodolphus of Bavaria the emperor's own brother. This Rodolphus had embraced the party of Frederic of Austria against his brother, and the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, who had made himself master of the palatinate, gains Bohemia by the bargain.

It is not in every country that men may be bought and sold like cattle. The whole noblesse of Bohemia rise as one man against this agreement, which they declare void and injurious, and accordingly it was of no effect; but Rodolphus was left deprived of his palatinate.

1323.

An event still more extraordinary happens in Brandenburg. The margrave of that county descended from the ancient house of Ascania, quits his margraviate to go in pilgrimage to the holy Land, leaving his dominions to his brother who dies in four and twenty days after the pilgrim's departure. There was a number of relations capable of succeeding. The ancient house of Saxe-Lawenburg and that of Anhalt had pretensions. The emperor, in order to make all the competitors agree, and without waiting for news of the true possessor's pilgrimage, resolved to appropriate to his own family the dominions of Brandenburg, with which he accordingly invests his own son Lewis.

The

The emperor takes for his second wife, the daughter of the count of Hainault and Holland, who brings him by way of dower these two provinces, together with Zealand and Friesland. No state near the low countries was looked upon as a masculine fief. The emperors did not forget their own houses, while they provided for the good of the empire.

The emperor having vanquished his competitor has the pope still to conquer. John XXII. from the banks of the Rhone did not fail to influence a great part of Italy, and animate the faction of the Guelphs against the Ghibelins. He declares the viscomtis; heretics, and as the emperor favours the viscomtis, declares the emperor a favourer of heretics; nay, by a bull dated October 9, he orders Lewis of Bavaria to resign in three months the administration of the empire *for having assumed the title of king of the Romans without waiting until the pope had examined his election.* The emperor contents himself with protesting against this bull. As yet he could do no better.

1324.

Lewis of Bavaria supports the remainder of the war against the house of Austria while he is attacked by the pope.

John XXII. by a new bull dated July 15, declares the emperor *contumacious*, and deprives him of all right to the empire, if he does not appear before his holiness by the first of October. Lewis of Bavaria publishes a rescript inviting the church to depose the pope, and appeals to a future council.

Marcilius of Padua and John de Gent a franciscan, come and offer their pens to the emperor against the pope, pretending to prove the holy father an heretic. He actually had very singular opinions which he was obliged to retract.

1325.

When we thus see the popes who are not possessed even of one town, talk dictatorially to emperors, we may easily guess that their sole aim is to take the advantage of popular prejudice and the interests of princes. The house of Austria had still a party in Germany, although the head of it was in prison; and it is only at the head of a party that a bull can be dangerous.

Alsace for example and the county of Messin held for that house. The emperor made an alliance with his prisoner the duke of Lorraine, the archbishop of Triers, and the count de Bar in order to take Metz. This city was actually taken, and paid about forty thousand livres tournois to its conquerors.

Frederic of Austria being still in prison, the pope resolves to give the empire to Charles *the fair* king of France. It would have been natural for a pope to name an emperor in Italy. It was thus they proceeded with regard to Charlemagne; but long custom prevailed, and it was necessary that Germany should make the election. Some German princes are gained over to the interest of the king of France, who were to meet him at Bar-sur-aube. The king of France goes thither and finds no-body but Leopold of Austria.

The king of France goes home again very much chagrined at his own misconduct. Leopold of Austria finding himself without resource, sends the lance, sword and crown of Charlemagne to Lewis of Bavaria. Public opinion still attached to these symbols a certain right which confirmed that of election.

Lewis of Bavaria at length releases his prisoner, and makes him sign a renunciation of the empire for the life of Lewis. It is pretended that Frederic of Austria still preserved the title of king of the Romans.

1326.

Leopold of Austria dies. It must be observed that in spite of the laws the constant custom was, that
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the great fiefs should still be divided among the heirs. Thirty children would have divided the same estate into thirty parts, and all of them bore the same title. All the male descendants of Rodolphus of Habsburg bore the name of dukes of Austria.

Leopold had enjoyed for his share, Alsace, Switzerland, Suabia and the Brisgau. His brothers disputed this inheritance with one another; and at length chose John of Luxemburg king of Bohemia for Austregue or Arbitrator.

1327.

At length Lewis of Bavaria goes to Italy, in order to head the Ghibelins, and the pope from afar animates the Guelphs against him. The old quarrel between the empire and papacy is renewed with great fury.

Lewis marches at the head of a small army to Milan, and is accompanied by a croud of Franciscan friars. These monks were excommunicated by pope John XXII. for having maintained that their cowl ought to be more pointed, and that their victuals and drink did not peculiarly belong to them.

The same Franciscans treated the pope as a damned heretic for his opinion touching the beatific vision.

The emperor is crowned king of Lombardy at Milan, not by the archbishop who refuses to perform the ceremony, but by the bishop of Arezzo.

As soon as that prince prepares for going to Rome, the faction of the Guelphs press the pope to return to that city. But his holiness dares not go thither, so much is he afraid of the Ghibelin party and the emperor.

The Pisans offer the emperor sixty thousand livres, provided he will not pass through their city in his march to Rome. Lewis of Bavaria besieges Pisa, and at the end of three days, compels them to give him an addition of thirty thousand livres, to stay there

no longer than two months. Historians say they were livres of gold; but in that case the whole would have been equal to six millions of German crowns, a sum more easily produced in writing, than in actual payment.

A new bull is published by John XXII. dated at Avignon Oct. 23. *We reprobate the said Lewis as an heretic. We strip the said Lewis of all his estate moveable and immoveable, of the palatinate of the Rhine, and of all right to the empire; and we forbid all persons whatever to supply the said Lewis with corn, linen, wine, wood, &c.*

The emperor's heresy consisted in his going to Rome.

1328.

Lewis of Bavaria is crowned in Rome without taking the oath of fidelity. The famous Castruccio Castracani tyrant of Lucca, at first created by the emperor, count of the palace of the Lateran and governor of Rome, conducts him to St. Peter's, with the four chief Roman barons, Colonna, Urfini, Savelli and Conti.

Lewis is consecrated by a bishop of Venice, assisted by a bishop of Aleria, both excommunicated by the pope. There was little disturbance in Rome at this coronation.

April 18, the emperor holds a general assembly, where he presides clothed with the imperial mantle, the crown upon his head and the sceptre in his hand. One Nicholas Fabriano an Augustin monk there accuses the pope, and asks, *If any one present has a mind to defend the priest of Cahors who calls himself pope John.* The order of Augustins was doomed to produce one day a man much more dangerous to the popes.

Then the sentence was read, by which the emperor deposes the pope. *We will, says he, follow the ex-*

ample

ample of Otho I. who with the clergy and people of Rome deposed pope John XII. &c. We depose from the see of Rome James de Cahers convicted of heresy and treason, &c.

Young Colonna secretly attached to the pope publishes his opposition in Rome, by fixing it to the church door, and betakes himself to flight.

At length Lewis pronounces sentence of death upon the pope, and even upon the king of Naples who had accepted of the pope, the vicariate of the empire in Italy. He condemns both to be burnt alive. Extravagant resentment often becomes ridiculous. May 22d he by his own authority elevates to the papal chair Peter Reinalucci of the town of Corbiero or Corbario, a dominican, and makes the Roman people agree to his exaltation. Instead of kissing his feet, he invests him by the ring, and causes himself to be crowned again by this new pontif.

That which happens to all the emperors since the Othos, happened to Lewis of Bavaria. The Romans conspire against him. The king of Naples arrives with troops at the gates of Rome. The emperor and his pope are obliged to fly with precipitation.

1329.

The emperor takes shelter in Pisa, which however he is obliged to quit. He returns without an army to Bavaria, accompanied by two Franciscans called Michael de Cesena and William Okam who wrote against the pope. The antipope Peter de Corbiero sculks from town to town.

Robert king of Naples reduces Rome and several cities of Italy under the domination or rather the protection of the pope.

The viscomtis who are still powerful in Milan, abandon the emperor who can no longer protect them, and espouse the party of John XXII. who tho' still a

refugee at Avignon, seems to give laws to Europe, and actually gives them, when these laws are executed by the strong against the weak.

Lewis of Bavaria while at Pavia, makes a memorable treaty with his nephew Robert son of Rodolphus elector palatine who died an exile in England, and from whom the whole Palatine branch is descended. By this treaty he divides with his nephew, the lands of the Palatine house; he restores to him the palatinate of the Rhine and the high palatinate, and keeps Bavaria for himself. He stipulates that after the extinction of one of the houses of Palatine and Bavaria, which come from the same common stock, the survivor shall enter into possession of all the lands and dignities of the other; and in the mean time the vote in the election of emperors, shall belong alternately to the two houses. The right of voting, thus granted to the house of Bavaria, was not of long duration: but the quarrel occasioned by this agreement between the two houses was of longer continuance.

1330.

Pope Peter of Corbiero, concealed in a castle of Italy, and surrounded by soldiers, sent thither by the archbishop of Pisa, begs pardon of John XXII. who promises to spare his life and give him a pension of three thousand florins of gold for his subsistence.

This pope Frier Peter goes with a rope about his neck, and presents himself before the pope who sends him to prison where he dies in less than three years. It is not known whether or not he had stipulated that he should not be imprisoned.

Christopher king of Denmark is deposed by the states of the country, and has recourse to the empire. The dukes of Saxony, Mecklenburg and Pomerania are appointed by the emperor, to try and decide this cause between that prince and his subjects.

This was a revival of the emperor's right over Denmark, which had been extinct. But Gerard count of Holstein, regent of the kingdom, would not acknowledge the commission. King Christopher with the forces of those princes and the assistance of the margrave of Brandenburg, expels the regent and reascends the throne.

Lewis of Bavaria wants to be reconciled to the pope, and sends an embassy to him for that purpose. John XXII. by way of answer commands the king of Bohemia to dethrone the emperor.

1331.

John king of Bohemia, instead of obeying the pope, joins the emperor, and marches to Italy with an army, as vicar of the empire. Having reduced Cremona, Parma, Pavia and Modena, he is tempted to keep them for himself, and with this view unites himself privately with the pope. The Guelphs and Ghibelins alarmed at this union, join against John XXII. and John king of Bohemia.

The emperor dreading such a dangerous vicar, excites against him Otho of Austria brother of that very Frederic who was his rival for the empire; so much are interests varied in a little time.

He instigates the marquis of Misnia, and Carobert king of Hungary, and even Poland itself. A plain proof that he could then do very little of himself. The empire was seldom weaker than at this very period. But Germany in the midst of all these troubles is still respected by strangers, and still uninvaded.

The king of Bohemia on his return to Germany, defeats all his enemies one after another. He leaves his son Charles vicar in Italy in spite of Lewis of Bavaria, and he himself marches into Poland. John king of Bohemia was then the real emperor by means of his power.

The Guelphs and Ghibelins, notwithstanding their mutual antipathy, join in Italy against prince Charles of Bohemia. The king his father being victor in Germany, passes the Alps to support his son. He arrives just when that prince had obtained a signal victory near Tirol, Nov. 25.

He re-enters Prague in triumph with his son, and gives him the march or marquisate or margraviatè of Moravia, for which he exacts liege homage.

1332.

The pope continues to employ religion for the success of his intrigues. Otho duke of Austria gained over by him, quits the emperor's party, and being cajoled by the monks submits his dominions to the holy see, declaring himself a vassal of Rome. What a conjuncture was this, when such an action was neither punished nor abhorred!

This was indeed a time of anarchy. The king of Bohemia renders himself formidable to the emperor, and endeavours to establish his credit in Germany. He and his son had obtained victories in Italy, but they were not at all decisive. All Italy was in arms. Ghibelins against Guelphs, and both against the Germans; all the towns agreed in their hatred to Germany, and all of them made war upon one another, instead of uniting to break their chains for ever.

During these troubles, the Teutonic order continues still a body of conquerors towards Russia. The Poles take some of their towns; and John king of Bohemia marches to their assistance. He penetrates as far as Cracovia. He appeases the troubles in Silesia. At that time he made all Europe tremble, being master of Bohemia, Silesia and Moravia.

Straßburg, Fribourg in Brisgau and Basl, unite in these troublesome times against the neighbouring tyrants; and several other towns join in the association. The neighbourhood of four Swiss Cantons become

come free, inspire those people with sentiments of liberty.

Otho of Austria besieges Colmar which is supported against him by the emperor. The count of Wirtemberg and the king of Bohemia furnish the emperor with troops. We see on both sides an army of thirty thousand men, but this for one campaign only. The emperor was then no more than any other prince of Germany, who uses his friends against his enemies. What would have been the case, if the whole had united in order to subdue all Italy in an effectual manner?

But Germany is ingrossed by nothing but internal quarrels. The duke of Austria reconciles himself to the emperor. The face of affairs continually changes, and the misery of the people continues.

1333.

We have seen John king of Bohemia fighting for the emperor; now behold him in arms for the pope. We have seen Robert king of Naples the pope's defender; now he is his enemy. The same king of Bohemia who had besieged Cracovia, goes to Italy in concert with the king of France, to establish the pope's power in that country. Thus men are led about by ambition.

What is the consequence? He gives battle near Ferrara to Robert king of Naples, united with the Viscontis and the Escales princes of Verona. He is twice defeated; and returns to Germany after having lost his troops, his money and his reputation.

Troubles and wars in Brabant on account of the property of Mechlin, which the duke of Brabant and the count of Flanders dispute with each other. The king of Bohemia intermeddles again. An accommodation is effected, and Mechlin remains with the count of Flanders.

1334.

Mean while the emperor Lewis of Bavaria lives quietly at Munich, and seems to meddle no more with any affairs whatsoever.

Pope John XXII. being more restless, still solicits the German princes to rise against Lewis of Bavaria; and the Franciscans who sided with Michael de Cesena, being condemned by the pope, press the emperor to assemble a council to declare the pope heretic, and depose him accordingly.

The emperor is more speedily revenged by death than by a council. John XXII. dies at Avignon, Dec. 2, in the nintieth year of his age.

Villani pretends that in his treasury was found the value of five and twenty millions of gold florins, eighteen millions of which were in specie. *I know it*, says Villani, *from my brother Romona who was the pope's banker.* We may boldly answer Villani that his brother was a great exaggerator. That sum would have been equal to about two hundred millions of German crowns of these days. At that time such a sum would have purchased all Italy, and yet John XXII. never set foot in that country. In vain did he add a third crown to the pontifical Tiara; he was not the more powerful on that account. True it is, he sold a great number of benefices; he invented annats, reserves and reversions, and set a price upon dispensations and absolutions. All these expedients are much more ineffectual than one would imagine, and produce a great deal more scandal than money; the exactors of such tributes generally pay but a very small share to their employers.

One thing worthy of observation, is that he had some scruples on his death-bed about the manner in which he had affirmed God to be seen in heaven; but he had none about the treasures he had amassed upon earth.

1335.

Old king John of Luxemburg marries a young princess of the house of France and Bourbon branch, and by the contract of marriage settles the duchy of Luxemburg upon the son of the marriage. Almost all the clauses of contracts are so many seeds of war.

Here is another marriage which produces a war, almost as soon as it is consummated. The old king of Bohemia had a second son called John of Luxemburg duke of Carinthia, The young prince took the title of duke of Carinthia, because his wife had pretensions to that duchy. That princess of Carinthia, called Margaret *great Mouth*, pretends that her husband John of Luxemburg is impotent. She finds a bishop of Frisingen who dissolves the marriage without formalities, and she gives herself in marriage to the marquis of Brandenburg.

Interest has as great a share as love in this adultery. The margrave of Brandenburg was son of the emperor Lewis of Bavaria. Margaret *great Mouth* brought him Tirol by way of dower, together with her claim upon Carinthia: thus the emperor made no difficulty of taking this lady from the prince of Bohemia and giving her to his son of Brandenburg. This marriage excites a war that lasts a whole year, and after abundance of bloodshed the parties come to a very singular accommodation: Namely, that young John of Luxemburg shall confess his wife had reason to forsake him, and approve of her marriage with the emperor's son of Brandenburg. A petty war waged by the Strasburgers against the gentlemen of the neighbourhood. Strasburg acts as a real independent republic, except that the bishop frequently put himself at the head of troops in order to make the citizens dependent upon the see.

1336, 1337.

Abundance of negotiations are begun in Germany, for the famous war which Edward III. king of England meditated against Philip de Valois. The business was to know who should be possessor of France.

True it is that country much more confined than it is at present, weakened by the divisions of the feudal government, and without any considerable maritime trade, was not the greatest theatre of Europe, tho' always an object of great importance,

Philip de Valois on one side, and Edward on the other, endeavour to engage the German princes in their quarrel; but the Englishman seems to have played his part better than the Frenchman. Philip de Valois has the king of Bohemia for his ally; and Edward has all the princes that border upon France. In particular he has the emperor on his side; tho' indeed he got nothing from him, except letters patent, but these create him vicar of the empire. The proud Edward willingly consents to exercise that vicariat in hope of seeing the war against France declared the war of the empire. His commission imports that he may coin money in all the territories of the empire; nothing more evidently proves that secret respect which all Europe had for the imperial dignity.

While Edward strengthens himself with the temporal forces of Germany, Philip de Valois tries to put in action the spiritual forces of the pope, which were then of little signification.

Pope Benedict XI still residing at Avignon like his predecessors, was wholly dependent on the king of France.

It must be remembered that the emperor who never received absolution from the pope, continued still in a state of excommunication, and deprived of all his rights in the vulgar opinion of those times.

Philip

Philip de Valois who could do any thing with a pope of Avignon, forces Benedict XI. to delay the absolution of the emperor. Thus the authority of a prince often directs the pontifical ministry, and that ministry rouses other princes in its turn. There is one Henry duke of Bavaria related to Lewis the emperor, and still according to custom, taking the title of duke without having the duchy, tho' he possessed part of lower Bavaria. This Henry by deputation asks pardon of the pope for having acknowledged his kinsman emperor. This meanness produces none of those revolutions which were expected from it in the empire.

1338.

Pope Benedict XI. owns he is hindered by Philip de Valois king of France from reconciling the emperor Lewis to the church. We see how almost all the popes have been no more than the instruments of a foreign power. They frequently resembled the Gods of the Indians, from whom their adorers demand rain upon their knees, but when these prayers are not heard, their godships are ducked in the river.

There is a great assembly of the princes of the empire at Rens upon the Rhine, where they declare what there ought to have been no occasion for declaring, *that he who has been chosen by the majority is the true emperor; that the pope's confirmation is altogether unnecessary; that the pope is still less intitled to the right of deposing the emperor, and that the contrary opinion is high treason.*

This declaration passes into a perpetual law, on the eighth day of August at Frankfort.

Albert of Austria, at first surnamed *the counterfeit*, and afterwards *the sage*, one of the brothers of Frederic of Austria who had disputed the empire, and the only one of all his brothers, by whom the Austrian race is perpetuated, attacks the Swiss again without success.

success. These people who had no riches but liberty, always defend it with unshaken courage. Albert miscarries in his enterprise, in abandoning which, he deserves the name of *Sage*.

1339.

Lewis the emperor thinks of nothing but living quietly at Munich, while his vicar Edward king of England engages fifty princes of the empire in the war against Philip de Valois, and goes to conquer part of France. But before the end of the campaign all those princes go home; and Edward assisted by the Flemings pursues his ambitious aim.

1340.

The emperor who had formerly repented of giving the vicariat of Italy, to a powerfull and warlike king of Bohemia, repents again of having given the vicariat of Germany to a more powerful and more warlike monarch. The emperor was the pensioner of his vicar; and the proud Englishman acting the master and neglecting to pay the pension, Lewis deprives him of the vicariat which was become a very useles title.

The emperor negotiates with Philip de Valois. Meanwhile the imperial authority is quite annihilated in Italy, notwithstanding the perpetual law of Frankfort.

The pope by his own private authority grants to the two brothers viscontis the government of Milan which they had without his confirmation, and makes them vicars of the Roman church. They had formerly been imperial vicars.

King John of Bohemia goes to Montpelier to be cured by the salubrity of the air of a distemper which had attacked his eyes. Nevertheless he loses his eyesight, and is afterwards known by the name of *John the blind*. He makes his will by which he leaves Bohemia and Silesia to Charles afterwards emperor, Moravia to John, and to Winceflaus born of
Beatrice

beatrice de Bourbon, he leaves Luxemburg and the lands he possessed in France in right of his wife.

In the mean-time the emperor enjoys the glory of deciding as arbiter in the quarrels of the house of Denmark. The Duke of Sleswic Holstein by this accommodation renounces his pretensions to the kingdom of Denmark: he gives his sister in marriage to king Waldemar III. and remains in possession of Jutland!

1341, 1342, 1343.

Lewis of Bavaria seems to have forgotten Italy, and gives tournaments at Munich.

The new pope Clement VI. born a Frenchman and residing at Avignon, is at length solicited to go and reestablish the pontificate in Italy, and there complete the annihilation of the imperial authority. He follows the footsteps of John XXII. in his proceedings against Lewis. He solicits the archbishop of Triers to cause a new emperor to be elected in Germany. He privately stirs up against him that king of Bohemia John *the blind* still restless, together with the duke of Saxony and Albert of Austria.

Lewis the emperor who has still reason to fear that the want of absolution, may arm the princes of the empire against him, flatters the pope whom he detests, and writes to him, *that he submits his person, dominions, liberty and titles to the disposition of his holiness.* What expressions are these, to come from an emperor who had condemned John XXII. to be burnt alive.

The princes assembled at Frankfort are not so complaisant, and maintain the rights of the empire.

1344, 1345.

John *the blind* seems to have become more ambitious since the loss of his eyesight. On one side he wants to pave the way to the empire for his son Charles;

Charles; on the other hand he makes war upon Cafimir king of Poland for the dependence of the dutchy of Schweidnitz in Silefia.

This is the ordinary effect of the feudal establishment. The duke of Schweidnitz had done homage to the king of Poland. John of Bohemia reclaims the homage in quality of duke of Silefia. The emperor privately supports the interest of the pole, but in spite of the emperor the war is successful to the house of Luxemburg. Prince Charles of Luxemburg, marquis of Moravia, son of John *the blind*, being a widower, marries the niece of the duke of Schweidnitz, who does homage to Bohemia; and this is a new confirmation of Silefia's being annexed to the crown of Bohemia.

The empress Margaret wife of the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, and sister of John of Brabant, finds herself heiress of Holland, Zealand and Friesland; and enjoys the succession. The emperor her husband ought to have been much more powerful by means of this acquisition, and yet he is not.

At this period Robert count Palatine founds the university of Heidelberg on the model of that of Paris.

1346.

John *the blind* and his son Charles make a great party in the empire in the pope's name.

The imperial and papal factions at length disturb Germany, as the Guelphs and Ghibelins had troubled Italy. Clement VII. takes advantage of these disorders. He publishes a bull against Lewis of Bavaria, dated April 13. *May the curse of God, says he, and that of St. Peter and St. Paul, light upon him in this world as well as in the next; may the earth open and swallow him alive; may his memory perish and all the elements be his foes; and may his children fall into the hands of his enemies even before the eyes of their father.*

There

There was no precedent for such bulls; they depended intirely on the caprice of the datary by whom they were expedited. The caprice on this occasion, is a little violent.

There were at that time two archbishops of Mentz, one vainly deposed by the pope; the other elected at his instigation, by part of the canons. It was to this last that Clement VI. addresses another bull, for the election of an emperor.

John *the blind*, king of Bohemia, and his son Charles marquis of Moravia, who was afterwards the emperor Charles IV. go to Avignon to bargain for the empire with Clement VI. Charles engages to annul all the decrees of Lewis of Bavaria, to acknowledge that the county of Avignon rightfully belonged to the holy see, as well as Ferrara and the other territories, (he meant those of the countess Mathilda) the kingdoms of Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, and Rome in particular; and that in case the emperor should go to Rome to be crowned, he should quit the city the same day, and never return without the express permission of the pope, &c.

After these promises Clement VI. recommends it to the archbishops of Cologne and Triers and to the new archbishop of Mentz to elect the marquis of Moravia as emperor, These three prelates, with John *the blind*, assemble at Rens near Coblentz, July 1, and elect Charles of Luxemburg marquis of Moravia, who was known by the name of Charler IV.

Father Maimbourg positively affirms that he bought the vote of the archbishop of Cologne for eight thousand marks of silver, and he adds that the duke of Saxony who was richer, gave his vote at a cheaper rate, contenting himself with two thousand marks.

1. What father Maimbourg affirms, is related only as an hearfay by Cuspinian.

2. How could these secret bargains be discovered.

3 This is certainly a fine proof of the disinterested conduct of the duke of Saxony, to disgrace himself for the paltry consideration of two thousand marks only, because he is rich. The circumstance of being rich is precisely the reason for a mans selling himself at a higher price, provided he is resolved to sell himself to the best bidder.

4. Will common sense allow us to believe that Charles IV. would buy so dear an uncertain title and a certain civil war?

Although Germany was divided, the party of Lewis of Bavaria, is so much the stronger, that the new emperor and his old father, instead of supporting their claim in Germany, go to fight in France for Philip de Valois against Edward of England.

Old king John of Bohemia is killed in the famous battle of Creci, won by the English, on the 25th or 26th day of August. Charles returns to Bohemia, destitute of troops and money: He is the first king of Bohemia who caused himself to be crowned by the archbishop of Prague; and it was in consequence of this coronation, that the see of Prague hitherto suffragan of Mentz, was erected into an archbishopric.

1347.

Then Lewis of Bavaria and Charles the anti-emperor, make war upon one another. Charles of Luxemburg is every where defeated.

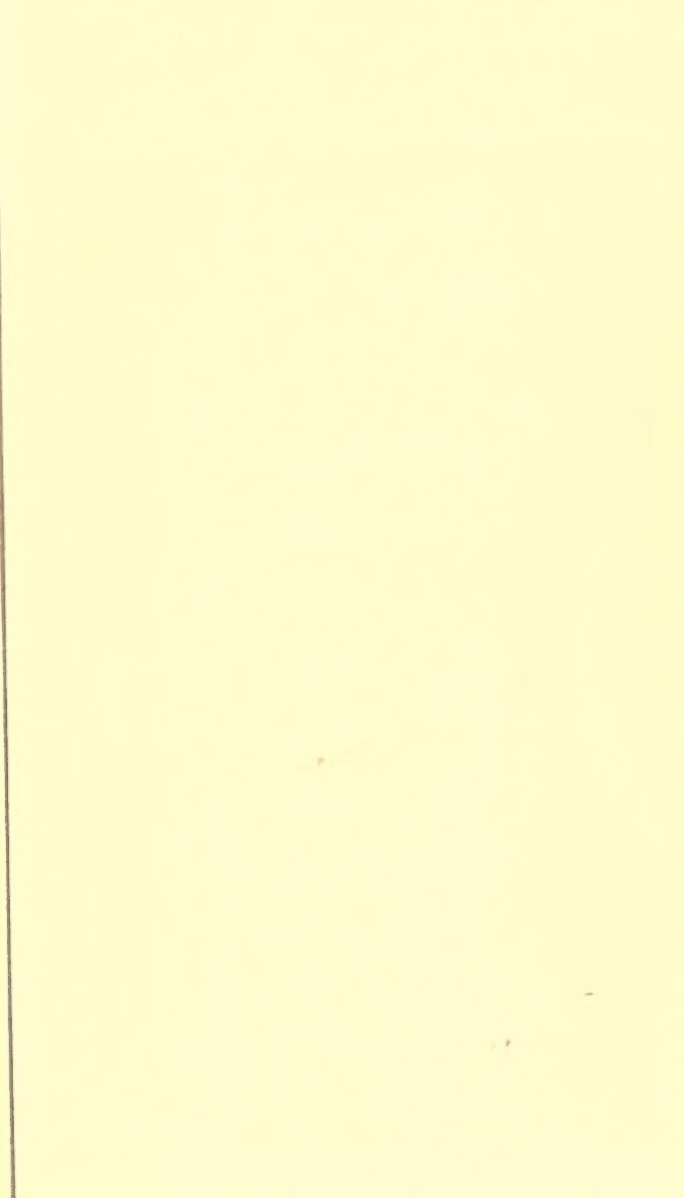
A very singular scene was at this period exhibited in Italy. Nicholas Rienzi notary at Rome, an eloquent, bold, insinuating man, seeing Rome abandoned by the emperors and the popes who durst not return, had been chosen Tribune of the people. He reigned some months with absolute power; but the people who had raised, soon destroyed this idol. A long time had elapsed since Rome was rendered unfit for Tribunes. But we still see that ancient love of liberty

liberty produce divers shocks, and quarrel with its chains. Rienci entitled himself *the candid knight of the holy Ghost, the severe tho' merciful deliverer of Rome, the zealous stickler for the liberty of Italy, lover of the universe and august tribune*. These fine titles prove him to have been an enthusiast, and consequently capable of seducing the lowest class of the people; but altogether unworthy to command men of spirit and understanding. He in vain attempted to imitate Gracchus, as Crescentius had before vainly attempted to imitate Brutus.

Certain it is, Rome was then a republic tho' very weak, as having nothing of the ancient Roman republic, but party and faction. All its glory consisted in its ancient name.

It is difficult to determine whether or not any times had been more unfortunate, from the inundations of the barbarians to the fifth century. The popes were driven from Rome; all Germany was harassed with civil war; Italy was torn in pieces by the Guelphs and Ghibelins; Jane queen of Naples after having strangled her husband, underwent the same fate; Edward III. ruined France over which he wanted to reign; and lastly the plague, as we shall see, destroyed a great part of those who had escaped famine and the sword.

Lewis of Bavaria dies of an apoplexy near Augsburg on the eleventh day of October. Others alledge he was poisoned by a duchess of Austria. Andrew the priest, and others pretend this duchess of Austria was the same called *great mouth*; but Andrew the priest does not consider that Margaret *great mouth* is the very same who had quitted her husband for the emperors son. The historians of those days, must have entertained a great hatred to princes; for they cause almost all of them to be poisoned. One Hocsemius expresses himself to this effect: *The damned Bavarian emperor dies of poison, administered by the duchess of Ostrogotia or Austria,*





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