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I.

THE CRUSADES.

BY PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D.

“No idle fancy was it when of yore,
Pilgrims in countless numbers braved the seas,
And legions battled on the farthest shore,

Only to pray at Thy sepulchral bed,
Only in pious gratitude to kiss
The sacred earth on which Thy feet did tread.”

—From the German of LUDWIG UHLAND (*An den Unsichtbaren*).

LITERATURE.

For the sources and works on the Crusades see MICHAUD'S *Bibliographie des Croisades*, and SYBEL'S *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs*. From WILKEN and MICHAUD we have the most learned and elaborate histories of all the Crusades; from SYBEL, the most critical history of the first Crusade, with an introduction on the contemporary accounts (1-143).

I. SOURCES.

JAC. BONGARS (b. at Orleans, d. 1612): *Gesta Dei* [we might add: *et Diaboli*] *per Francos, sive Orientalium Expeditionum et Regni Francorum Hierosolymitani Historia*, etc. Hanovix (Hanau, not Hanover, as given by Hallam and others), 1611, 2 vols. fol. (1206 and 361 pages. A copy in the Astor Libr.). The first printed collection of contemporary reports (chiefly of

the first Crusade) including: 1. *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitarum*, by an anonymous writer who took part in the first crusade. 2. *Historia Hierosolymitana*, by ROBERT, a monk of S. Remi. 3. *Historia Hierosolymitana*, by BALDRICH, the abbot, afterwards archbishop of Dol. 4. *Historia Francorum*, by RAYMOND DE AGILES, chaplain to the Count of Toulouse. 5. *Hist. Hierosol. Expeditionis* by ALBERTUS AGUENSIS (of Aix-la-Chapelle), who introduced the popular form of the legend of Peter, the Hermit. 6. *Gesta Perigrinantium Francorum*, by FULCHER, chaplain to the Count of Chartres and afterwards to Baldwin, the second king of Jerusalem. 7. *Gesta Dei per Francos*, by GUIBERT, abbot of Nogent. 8. *Hist. Hierosol.* by WILLIAM, archbishop of Tyre (WILLERMUS TYRENSIS, GUILLOME DE TYR). The last is the most important.

Archbishop WILLIAM of Tyre (b. probably in Jerusalem, 1130, d. after 1184) has shaped the accounts of later historians down to the critical researches of von Sybel who has somewhat invalidated his account of Peter the Hermit. The full title of his work is *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum a tempore successorum Mahumeth usque ad annum Domini 1184*. It was first printed at Basle under the title "*Belli sacri Historia*," 1540 fol. German transl. (*Gesch. der Kreuzzüge und des Königreichs Jerusalem*) by E. and R. KAUSLER, Stuttgart, 1840 (634 pages). A new Latin ed. in Migne's *Patrol. Lat.*, Tom. 201. French text by M. Paulin Paris, *Guilome de Tyr et ses continuateurs*, Paris 1879-'81, 2 vols. William is one of the ablest, if not the ablest, of mediæval historians, and his work is the monumental history of the first crusade and the kingdom of Jerusalem. He was probably of Italian descent, educated in Europe, familiar with Greek, Latin, Arabic, and Hebrew, well read in the Bible, the ancient classics, and Jerome. He stands between the credulous enthusiasm of his predecessors and the cold skepticism of later historians. In the first 15 books he depends on earlier reports and oral traditions; from the 16th to the 23rd book he speaks from his own observation and from reports of contemporaries. The last book is incomplete and consists only of a preface and one chapter. The criticism of Wilken, Ranke, Sybel and Hagenmeyer has shaken confidence in his originality, chronological accuracy, and his account of Peter the Hermit, but not in his general ability and trustworthiness as a historian. For a just estimate of William, see VON SYBEL, l. c. 108 sqq. (secd. ed.), and especially PRUTS, *Studien über Wilhelm v. Tyrus*, 1883, and his *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, p. 458-459; also WAGENMANN in Herzog,² Vol. XVII, 138-42.

ANNA COMNENA (1083-1148, daughter of Alexis I., emperor of Constantinople): *Alexias* or *Alexiad*. A biography of her father, in Greek, in the *Corpus Script. Hist. Byzantinæ*, Paris and Venice ed., Vol. XIII.; in the Bonn ed. by Reifferscheid, 1878. The portion which bears on Peter of Amiens and the First Crusade is also printed in the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Grecs*, Paris, 1873; and in Hagenmeyer, *Peter der Eremit* pp. 303-314. The Greek princess charges the Latin princes with

using the conquest of Jerusalem as a pretext for the conquest of the Greek empire.

RADULPHUS CADOMENSIS: *De Gestis Tancredi*, in MURATORI, *Berum Italicarum Scriptores* (Mediol. 1723-51, 25 Tom. in 28 vols. fol.), Tom. V. 285-333; and BERNARDUS THESAURARIUS: *De Acquisitione Terræ Sanctæ*, *ibid.* Tom. VII. 664-848.

MATTHEW OF EDESSA: *Recit de la première croisade*, translated from the Armenian into French by Edouard Delaurier, Paris, 1850.

MICHAUD: *Bibliothèque des Croisades*. Paris, 1829. The fourth part is also published under the separate title: *Extraits des historiens Arabes relatifs aux guerres des croisades* par R. REINAUD.

Chronicles of the Crusades, London, 1848, comprises the contemporary narratives of the Crusades of Richard Cœur de Lion by RICHARD OF DEVIZES and GODFREY DE VINCAUF; and of the Crusade of Saint Louis by Lord JOHN DE JOINVILLE.

J. H. PETERMANN: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge aus Armenischen Quellen*, Berlin, 1860.

Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Paris, 1844-'66, 3 vols. fol.

H. PRUTZ: *Quellenbeiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*. Danzig, 1876.

Auxiliary information, geographical and historical, may be derived also from the reports of pilgrimages (peaceful crusades) to Palestine before, during, and after the Crusades. There are several collections: Count RIAUT: *Expeditions et pèlerinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte au tempe des croisades*. Paris, 1865 and '67. TITUS TOBLER (d. 1871): *Pilgerreisen* (St. Gallen, 1865 sqq.); *Itinera et Descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ lingua latina sec. IV.-XI. exarata*, (Genev., 1877); *Bibliographia geographica Palæstinae*, (Leipzig, 1867). R. RÖHRICHT: *Die Pilgerfahrten vor den Kreuzzügen*, 1875. R. RÖHRICHT and H. MEISNER: *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem heil. Lande*. Berlin 1880 (from A. D. 1346-1588).

II. MODERN HISTORIES.

FRIEDRICH WILKEN (Libr. and Prof. in Berlin, d. 1840): *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*. Leipzig, 1807-'32, 7 vols. The most learned German work; still very valuable, especially in the later vols.

JOS. FR. MICHAUD (Member of the French Acad., d. 1839): *Histoire des Croisades*. Paris, 1812; 6th ed., 1840, 6 vols. *Bibliographie and Bibliothèque des Croisades*, in 4 Parts, Paris, 1829; added to the 5th and 6th editions of the *Histoire*. The best work in French. The History, without the bibliography and library, was poorly translated into English by W. Robson, Lond., 1854; reprinted N. York, 1880, in 3 vols.

G. Z. GRAY: *The Children's Crusade*. New York, 1870.

R. RÖHRICHT: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*. Berlin, 1874, '78, 2 vols.

BERNH. KUGLER (Prof. in Tübingen): *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*. Berlin, 1880 (with illustrations).

A. DE LAPORTE: *Les Croisades et le pays latin de Jérusalem*. Paris, 1881.

HANS PRUTZ (Prof. of History in Königsberg): *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*.

Berlin, 1883 (642 pages). Partly from MS. sources of the Vatican and the Order of St. John in Malta.

Popular Histories by CHARLES MILLS (*Hist. of the Crusades*. London, 1822; 4th ed. 1828, 2 vols.); JOH. SPORSCHIL (*Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*. Leipzig, 1843, illustrated); THS. KNEIGHTLEY (*Hist. of the Crusades*, Lond., 1847); Major PROCTOR (*H. of the Crus.* illustrated, Lond. 1858; reprinted in Philad., 1854); W. E. DUTTON (*A Hist. of the Crus.*, London, 1877); JOHN G. EDGAR (*The Crusades and the Crusaders*, Lond., 1860); GEORGE W. COX (*The Crusades*, Lond. and N. York, 1878, 228 small pages).

III. The Crusades are described by GIBBON, *Decline and Fall*, Chs. LVIII-LXI; HALLAM, *Middle Ages*, Ch. I., P. 1; MILMAN, *Latin Christianity*, Bk. VII. Ch., 6; GUIZOT, *History of Civilization* (Hazlitt's translation I. 149 sqq.); RAUMER, *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen* (5th ed. Leipzig, 1878); GIESEBRECHT, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit* (4th ed. 1874 sqq.); RANKE, *Weltgeschichte*, Bd. VIII. (publ. 1887), pp. 86-111; 150-161; 223-262; 280-307. On the history of the Greeks in the age of the Crusades, see the works of FINLAY, *History of the Byzantine and Greek Empires from 1057 to 1453*, Edinb., 1854; HOPF, *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginn des Mittelalters*, etc., Leipzig, 1868; and HERTZBERG, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, Gotha, 1877.

The Church Histories are meagre on this chapter.

IV. The poetry of the Crusades is represented chiefly by RAOUL DE CAEN, in *Gestes de Tancred*; TORQUATO TASSO, the Homer of the Crusades, in *La Jerusalem liberata*, and by WALTER SCOTT in several novels, as "Tales of the Crusades;" "Ivanhoe;" "Quentin Durward;" "Count Robert of Paris;" and "Castle Dangerous."

CHARACTER AND AIM OF THE CRUSADES.

The Crusades were armed pilgrimages to Jerusalem under the banner of the cross. They form one of the most salient and characteristic chapters of the Middle Ages, and have a romantic and sentimental, as well as a religious and military, interest. They exhibit the muscular Christianity of the new nations of the West which were just emerging from barbarism and heathenism. They made religion subservient to war, and war subservient to religion. They constitute the heroic age of the church; but it was the aggressive, warlike heroism of brute force, not the passive heroism of martyrdom, nor the moral heroism which secures victory by persuasion and conviction. We may compare it to the heroism of the Judges and the Macabees in the history of Israel, and to the heroism of the Greeks

in the Trojan war. But the Crusades were on a much larger scale, and of longer duration. They were a succession of tournaments between two Continents and two religions, struggling for supremacy. Such a spectacle the world has never seen before or since, and will never see again.

The aim of the Crusades was the conquest of the Holy Land, the victory over Islam, the rule of Christian Europe in Asia. The cross was the badge and banner of the Crusades—hence the name. Enthusiasm for Christ was the moving power, but largely mixed with lower motives of ambition, avarice, love of adventure, hope of earthly and heavenly reward. The whole chivalry of Europe, aroused by a pale-faced monk and encouraged by a Hildebrandian pope, threw itself steel-clad upon the Orient to execute the vengeance of heaven upon the cruelties of Moslems against Christian pilgrims, and to rescue the grave of the Redeemer of mankind from the polluting grasp of the False Prophet of Mecca.

The Crusaders sought the living among the dead. They mistook the visible for the invisible, the terrestrial for the celestial, Jerusalem, and returned disappointed. They learned in Jerusalem that Christ was not there, that He is risen, and ascended to heaven as the head of a spiritual and eternal kingdom. They conquered and lost, they reconquered and lost again, the city in which Christ was crucified. It is impossible to convert false religions by violence; it can only be done by the slow but sure process of persuasion and conviction. Hatred kindles hatred, and those who take the sword will perish by the sword. St. Bernard learned from the failure of the second crusade, that it is better to struggle against the sinful lusts of the heart than to conquer Jerusalem. But the temporal loss was a spiritual gain and a blessing in disguise for future generations.

The Crusades were migrations of nations from the West to the East under the influence of religion—a counter-movement of the migrations from the East to the West under the impulse of plunder and conquest. They were upheavals of society from the depths of human nature, and reveal with striking plasticity the

general state of thought and feeling. The Middle Ages present unmitigated contrasts: the pope with the triple crown deposing kings and emperors, and the monk imitating the voluntary poverty of Christ; the robber-lord in his castle indulging his passions without restraint, and, close by, the hermit in the forest renouncing all gratifications of his natural desires; or the saintly nun striving to realize the ideal of an angel on earth, and, not far off, the witch who had sold her soul to Satan, and boasted of the bargain. We see the bishop riding in princely attire, and the begging monk and coarse peasant walking beside him. The mighty cathedrals, with spires rising to the clouds, are surrounded by miserable hovels. A fierce and adventurous spirit of war, inherited from barbaric ancestors, the invaders of Europe, was associated with a crushing and helpless feeling of repentance which found expression in the penitential trains of the Flagellants, and filled the convents to overflowing. And these contrasts, characteristic of life in general, reached far into individual life, which often suffered shipwreck in a horrible struggle between the unbaptized passions of the heart, and the new light which had dawned upon the conscience. We see many a wild career of hatred, revenge, rapacity and sensuality, ending in a bottomless abyss of remorse and despair.

Between these contrasts the crusades acted as a mediator, as a *novum salutis genus*. The passions remained, but they entered into the service of religion. A spring of reconciliation was discovered, and thousands precipitated themselves to drink of its water. "God," says the abbot Guibert, "invented the Crusades as a new way for the laity to atone for their sins, and to merit salvation."

The Crusades began and ended in France. The French element was the ruling factor, from Urban II. (who was a native of Chatillon near Rheims) and Peter of Amiens to Saint Louis. The French are a mercurial, impulsive and generous nation, and enthusiastic for enterprises which promise glory and reward. Besides them, Italians, chiefly the Normans in Southern Italy, Germans, chiefly from Lorraine, and Englishmen took

a prominent part. Spain had a crusade of her own against the Moors, who were finally expelled from Granada under Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic, and then she entered upon a new kind of crusade against Jews and heretics at home, and heathen Indians in Cuba, Mexico, and Peru.

Emperors and kings led the expeditions; the popes stayed at home, but were represented in the army by legates, and acted as the power behind the throne.

PILGRIMAGES TO THE HOLY LAND.

The legends of the disinterment of the true cross, and the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre in the beginning of the fourth century, directed the devotional feelings of Christendom to the Holy Land. Constantine's mother, Helena, built a magnificent church over the Holy Sepulchre, and pilgrims began to direct their steps to Jerusalem. Several of the Fathers, such as Gregory of Nyssa, Augustin, and even Jerome, discouraged this movement and emphasized, with perfect truth, that man is no nearer to God in Jerusalem than in any other place, and that a holy life may be led in any part of the world. But these warnings had no effect. Every religion has its shrines; a desire to worship at these shrines is inherent in human nature, and the devotion, kindled by the actual presence of such divine remembrances, may be genuine and helpful. St. Jerome himself, with some pious ladies of Rome, spent his last years and performed his last works close by the Cave of the Nativity at Bethlehem. There he translated and explained the Scriptures, chanted the Psalter, taught monks and nuns, corresponded with distant friends, entertained the ever-increasing swarms of pilgrims, and prepared for eternity. The effect of his example was equal to his great reputation.

Once started, the movement steadily grew in extent and intensity. The Holy Land became to the imagination a land of wonders, filled with the divine presence of Christ. To have visited that land, to have seen Jerusalem, to have bathed in the Jordan, cast a halo of glory about a man. And as the pil-

grimage was connected with considerable difficulties and dangers, it became to the troubled conscience of a burdened soul a means of expiation.

So great was the multitude of pilgrims which annually visited Palestine, that special laws were enacted in their behalf, and public establishments founded for the comfort. Charlemagne ordered that they should every where in his realm be provided with lodging, fire, and water. Gregory the Great built a huge caravansary for their reception in Jerusalem. Hospitals and other beneficent institutions were erected by private piety all along the main route.

Special circumstances now and then added new impulses to the movement, such as the wide-spread belief that the world should come to an end in the year 1000; the high price which relics from Palestine brought in western Europe; the exemptions from toll which the pilgrims enjoyed, and which enabled them to start a very profitable commerce in silk, paper, spices, and other products of the East.

In this lively intercourse between Palestine and the Latin world, the conquest of Jerusalem in 637 by Caliph Omar made no serious interruptions. The Saracens were a more civilized people than either the Franks or the Goths; they considered Jerusalem one of their own holy cities, and treated it accordingly; pilgrimages were with them a sacred custom, and, by paying a small tribute, the Christian pilgrims were allowed to come and go without hindrance. Haroun al-Rashid, the most famous caliph of the Abbassides, even sent the keys of the Holy Sepulchre to Charlemagne, his great contemporary in the west, and thus secured the safety of the Christian pilgrims.

In 980 Syria and Palestine passed from the possession of the Caliph of Bagdad into that of the Sultan of Egypt, and Hakim, the third ruler of the Fatimide dynasty and a fanatical Mohammedan, began, in 1010, a fierce persecution of the Christian residents of Palestine and the Christian pilgrims. The trouble, however, was short and transient.

CAUSES OF THE CRUSADES.

In 1076 the Holy Land was conquered by the Seljukian Turks, a rough and savage race, newly converted to Islamism, and like all young converts, fanatical beyond measure. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was destroyed; the Christian inhabitants of the country were massacred or sold as slaves; of the stream of pilgrims which steadily poured into Palestine from western Europe, only a few stragglers returned, and these were not, as formerly, loaded with relics and sacred memorials, but covered with wounds and broken in spirit and body from the cruelties to which they had been exposed.

These barbarous cruelties of the Turks were the immediate cause of the Crusades. The suffering of pilgrims excited everywhere sympathy and pity. The fact that Turks should possess the Holy Land, while Christians were excluded, roused the indignation of Europe. In touching the springs of action these feelings stirred up the passions of the age, and produced a tremendous explosion. War was still the profession, the business, the glory of every free man in western Europe; he knew no other occupation. The wild roving of whole nations from one end of the continent to the other had ceased, and everywhere the state was engaged in consolidating, and developing social organization; but as yet things were not settled, and pictures of daring adventures and warlike exploits were still floating before the imagination. The organized campaigns for robbery and piracy had ceased, and everywhere the Church was active in substituting the law for the feud; but as yet the principle of honor which ruled man's conscience was that of self-revenge. The Church had labored hard, and not without success, to transform the pagan viking into a Christian knight. From the beginning of the tenth century the investment with knighthood was accompanied with religious rites. The knight had begun to feel himself as the warrior of Christ, and thus the Crusade represented itself to the eyes of the Middle Ages, not only as the greatest duty, but also as the highest ideal.

Other elements active in creating and propagating this grand movement of the Crusades, will become apparent from the narrative of the events.

NUMBER OF CRUSADES.

There are at least seven (some number nine) Crusades, besides the Children's Crusade, and one or two which failed in the start. They are marked by the years 1096, (1101), 1147, 1189, (1197), 1204, 1228, 1248, 1270. The most important and successful was the first (1096-'99), which ended with the conquest of Jerusalem. The second (1147-'49) was inspired by St. Bernard, but proved a disastrous failure. The third (1189) was occasioned by the fall of Jerusalem (1187), and rendered famous by Frederick Barbarossa, Richard Cœur de Lion, and Saladin. The fourth (1204) was a conquest of Constantinople and the establishment of a Latin empire, which lasted nearly half a century (1261), and intensified the bitter feeling of the Greeks against Rome. The fifth embraces the expeditions from 1212-'30, in which the Popes Innocent III., Gregory IX., and Emperor Frederick II. are the leading figures. The sixth and seventh (or eighth and ninth) crusades of 1248 and 1270 were complete failures. They derive their chief interest from Saint Louis IX., of France, who revived the spirit of Godfrey of Bouillon, but met with disaster and died of the plague at Tunis in sight of the ruins of Carthage (Aug. 25, 1270), with unclouded trust in God, as expressed in his last utterance: "I will enter thy house, O Lord; I will worship in thy sanctuary." He was the truest and the purest of the crusaders, a wise, just, magnanimous and conscientious ruler, and a saint of the mediæval type, devout, superstitious, charitable and intolerant, adoring the cross on his knees and looking with composure at the torture of heretics. He defended the rights of the laity and defended the liberties of the Gallican Church, and, by the famous Pragmatic Sanction (1259), he forbade the Roman curia to levy money on France without royal consent. Nevertheless he was canonized by Boniface VIII. (in

1297).¹ With him died the enthusiasm for the Crusades. Several attempts of the popes to revive it proved abortive.

Jerusalem was conquered, 1099, lost, 1187, reconquered, 1229, finally lost, 1244, and still groans, with all the lands of the Bible, under the degrading bondage of the Turks.

PETER THE HERMIT.

On Peter the Hermit and the entire history of the First Crusade, see, besides the general works quoted above, the following modern treatises:

HEINRICH VON SYBEL: *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs*, Düsseldorf, 1841 (551 pp.); second ed. 1881 (slightly improved, 468 pp.). This work which originated in the historical exercises of Ranke, 1837, marks an epoch by its critical method of research and a careful examination of all the sources. Comp. *The History and Literature of the Crusades. From the German of von Sybel, ed. by Lady DUFF GORDON*, London, 1861. The first part is a translation of Sybel's four lectures on the Crusades delivered in March, 1855; the second part is a translation of the literary introduction to Sybel's History of the First Crusade (first ed.).

J. F. A. PEYRÉ: *Histoire de la première Croisade*. Paris, 1859.

H. HAGENMEYER: *Peter der Eremit*, Leipzig, 1879 (401 pp.). This is the first critical biography of Peter, including the contemporary records (pp. 301 sqq.). The older biographies, by P. P. d' OULTREMAN (1645), VION (Amiens, 1853), and LÉON PAULET (Paris, 1856), are largely legendary.

Peter the Hermit is the reputed originator of the first Crusade. His life has been embellished by Albertus Aquensis, William of Tyre, and later monastic historians, with romantic legends which cannot stand the test of examination. Modern criticism has sifted the facts from fiction, and reduced him to a secondary position in that movement. He was not the author of the Crusades. That honor belongs to the Pope. But he was the chief among the many pilgrims of his age who brought home the tales of their sufferings in the East, and fired the popular heart for the first crusade. His speeches in behalf of the Crusades were listened to as divine messages. He was more highly esteemed than any person of his age.²

¹ Joinville, *Histoire de St. Louis*, ed. by Natalie de Wailly (Paris, 1873); Tillemont, *Histoire de St. Louis*; Guizot, *Histoire de quatre grands Chrétiens français* (Paris, 1873).

² "Neminem meminere similem honore haberi," says Guibert, who attended the Council of Clermont, and saw and heard him. Bongars, 32, 56. Hagenmeyer, 120 sq.

Peter was born, according to the popular story, at Amiens, in the province of Picardy, first served in the army of Eustace of Bouillon, his feudal lord, but then gave up all worldly aspirations, and retired to a monastery. Hence he retreated into a neighboring wilderness where he lived as an anchorite. Finally he entered upon a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, some years before the First Crusade.¹ Here he not only witnessed, but experienced himself, the indignities and cruelties to which the Christians were exposed under the sway of the Seljukian Turks. The patriarch, Simeon of Jerusalem, and Christ himself, who appeared to him in a dream, urged him to rouse all Europe to a war for the conquest of the Holy Sepulchre.

According to Albert's account, Christ appeared to Peter in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre after he had fallen asleep, and said to him: "Peter, dearest son, arise, go to the patriarch and take from him the letter of my commission. Tell your countrymen of the miseries of the holy places and rouse their hearts, that they purify Jerusalem, and deliver the saints from the hands of the heathen. For the gates of paradise are open to those whom I have chosen and called." According to William of Tyre,² Peter had first an interview with the patriarch, and asked from him letters to the Pope, and the kings of the West. Then Christ appeared to him in a dream, after a night spent in prayer, and told him: "Peter, arise and hasten to fulfil thy mission without fear; for I shall be with thee. It is high time that the sanctuary be purged, and my servants be helped (*ut purgentur sancta, et servis meis subveniatur*)." Visions and dreams figure largely in the first crusade, especially the vision of the holy lance, which was discovered during the siege of Antioch in June, 1098, and decided the victory over Kerboga. This instrument, which pierced the side of the Saviour, was buried beneath the altar of St. Peter's Church at Antioch, and

¹ The contemporary historians give no date; later reports vary between 1090 and 1095. See Hagenmeyer, p. 88, note.

² Bk. I., ch. 11 and 12.

was revealed by St. Andrew to an humble person, Peter Bartholomew of Provence.

But the silence of Anna Comnena, and other contemporary reports, make it, at least, doubtful whether Peter reached Jerusalem on his first journey to the East. If he did not, the vision of Christ and the interview with the patriarch must be regarded as legends of a later age.¹

On his return to Europe, Peter presented himself before Pope Urban II., who was deeply impressed with the fiery enthusiasm of the hermit, and promised him support in his enterprise.

Thus provided with divine confirmation of his mission, Peter set out on a tour through France and Italy to preach the first crusade. Small and haggard, and with visible traces of the severest ascetic exercises; bare-footed and bare-headed, mounted on an ass and holding aloft a huge cross with his hands, he presented the appearance just fit to strike the popular imagination. Immense crowds gathered around him whenever he stopped to preach, on the roadside, or in the market-place, or from the steps of the church-door. Still more impressive was his eloquence, spasmodic and uncouth, but flaming with living fire, and lighting everything it struck. When he described the sufferings inflicted on the children of God by God's enemies, and explained the duty of taking up the cause of God against the power of Satan, the crowds bowed down before him, half in horror and half in rapture, and the frenzy of his own soul spread like an epidemic from town to town, from country to country.²

¹ So von Sybel, pp. 195 sqq., and especially Hagenmeyer, pp. 53-85, and 314-330. But the argument from silence is not conclusive. Anna Comnena, besides misconstruing the motives of the crusaders, makes several mistakes, and confounds Peter the Hermit once with Adhemar of Puy and once with Petrus Bartholomeus. See Hagenmeyer, p. 313, notes. She also makes the most exaggerated statement that Peter, on his second journey, arrived at Constantinople with an army of 80,000 horsemen and 100,000 footmen.

² William of Tyre (I. 11) thus describes the hermit: "*Pusillus, persona contemptibilis, vivacis ingenii, et oculum habens perspicacem gratumque, et sponte fluens ei non deerat eloquium.*" See other descriptions of contemporary writers in Hagenmeyer, pp. 114 sqq.

That Peter, on his return from the Orient, roused Europe by his speeches is confirmed by all contemporary reports, including that of Anna Comnena; but his acquaintance with the Pope probably dated from the Synod of Clermont, and he made his preaching tour through France, Lorraine and along the Rhine after that Synod in the winter from 1095 to 1096.¹

URBAN II. AND THE SYNOD OF CLERMONT.

VON SYBEL, pp. 183 sqq. HEFELE, V. 215-240.

The idea of an organized expedition of Christian Europe for the reconquest of the Holy Land, where our Lord and Saviour accomplished our redemption, originated with the revival of the Papacy, and grew with its power. Sylvester II. (999-1002) first suggested it at the close of the first millennium, but prematurely.

Gregory VII. resumed the project more seriously, and was ready to head an army of fifty thousand crusaders for the protection of the Greek empire, with the ulterior object of making it subject to the dominion of St. Peter. The last was the main point with him. He issued a call to Christendom for this purpose, March 1, and again December 16, 1074; but his quarrel with Henry IV. prevented the execution.²

This was left to his second successor, Urban II. He was urgently requested by the Greek emperor, Alexius Comnenus, to come to his aid against the invading Turks. The forward movement which Islam made in Asia Minor, in North Africa, in Sicily, and in Spain, threatened Christendom with a dangerous crisis. Urban took up the idea of Hildebrand with the same hope of uniting the Orient and the Occident under the dominion of the Holy See.

¹ Sybel, 198 sqq.; Hagenmeyer, 86 sqq. Hefeale, *Conciliengeschichte*, V. 233 (2d ed. 1886), agrees substantially with them. Hagenmeyer admits as very probable that Peter attended the Council of Clermont, but regards his rousing speech there as a fiction (pp. 103 sq.).

² He repeatedly refers to such a project in letters to Henry IV., Count William of Burgundy, Count William of Poitiers, and in two encyclicals, all from the year 1074. See Hefeale, V. 38 sq., and Sybel, pp. 168 sq.

In the month of March, 1095, Urban called a council at Piacenza, mostly consisting of Italian prelates. The ambassadors of Alexius Comnenus were present, and addressed the assembly, though with no great effect. The council was only a preparation for that which followed in November of the same year at Clermont (Claramonte), the capital of Auvergne in France. The year 1095 was a year of famine and pestilence, and called men to serious reflections.

The Synodus Claramontana lasted eight days, and comprised an immense number of ecclesiastics and laymen of all ranks from Italy, France and Germany. On the day of the opening there were counted fourteen archbishops, two hundred and fifty bishops, and four hundred abbots. Thousands of tents were pitched outside of the walls.¹

This synod is the mother of the Crusades. On the ninth day of the session, the Pope addressed the multitude from an elevated platform raised in the open air. It was the happiest moment, the world-historical occasion for Urban. His speech was the most effective sermon ever preached by a pope, or any other man; it roused the deepest enthusiasm; it resounded throughout all Europe, and its effects were felt for centuries to come. He probably spoke in the Provencal tongue which was his vernacular, but we have only Latin reports.² When we remember the general character of the crowd which stood listening around the platform, we cannot wonder at the response. There was not an idea in the brain of his hearers, not a passion in their hearts, to which Urban II. did not appeal. He quoted passages from the Psalms and the Prophets about the glory of Jerusalem, and the duty to remember her. He predicted that God Himself would lead his soldiers across mountains and rivers, feed them with bread and manna, and crown them with

¹ We have no complete acts of the Synod, but several documents and scattered reports of chroniclers. See the collections of Mansi, Harduin, and Labbe; also Hefle V. 220 sqq.; Pflugk-Harttung, *Acta Pontif. inedita* II, 161; and Jaffé-Wattenbach, *Regesta Pontif. Rom.*, p. 681.

² In three forms, by William of Tyre, William of Malmesbury, and in a Vatican MS.

victory; yea, he added, "the wealth of your enemies shall be yours; you shall plunder their treasures." He offered plenary indulgence to all who with pure motives embarked in the undertaking, and promised that any one who fell in the field, and died in true repentance, should reap eternal reward in heaven.¹

The answer was the unanimous cry: "God wills it, God wills it!"²

"It is," added the Pope, "it is indeed the will of God. Let these words be your war-cry when you unsheath your sword against the enemy. You are soldiers of the cross: wear, then, on your breasts, or on your shoulders, the blood-red sign of Him who died for the salvation of your souls. Wear it as a token that His help will never fail you: wear it as the pledge of a vow which can never be recalled."

These words were the sound of the trumpet of war against the Turks for the glory of Christ. Thousands at once made the vow, and sewed the red cross on their garments.³ Many more thousands throughout Europe followed the example, as soon as the report of the speech of the Pope, or of the hermit reached their ears. In a few months, whole armies were ready to march against the enemies of the cross.

The motives were very different. Pure and noble enthusiasm for Christ was the strongest and deepest motive. But multitudes were influenced in whole, or in part, by vulgar superstition, or love of adventure, glory, and gain. Plenary indulgence was

¹ According to William of Tyre, who gives a lively sketch of Urban's speech, lib. I. c. 14, Urban said: "*Nos autem de misericordia Domini, et beati Petri et Pauli Apostolorum auctoritate confisi, fidelibus Christianis, qui contra eos arma susceperint, et onus sibi huius peregrinationis assumerint, injunctas sibi pro suis delictis penitentias relaxamus. Qui autem ibi in vera penitentia decesserint, et peccatorum indulgentiam et fructum aeternae mercedis se non dubitent habituros.*" The Synod confirmed this promise, *Can. Claromontanus II.* (in Mansi XX. 816): "*Quicumque pro sola devotione, non pro honoris vel pecunie adeptione, ad liberandam Ecclesiam Dei Jerusalem profectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni penitentia [et] reputetur.*"

² *Deus vult; Deos lo volt; Diex ei volt.*

³ In the first crusade all the crosses were red; afterwards green and white colors came also into use.

offered to every penitent crusader; the debtor escaped his creditor, the convict the arm of justice, the serf the oppression of his feudal lord. An intoxicated feeling of freedom, yea, a wild craving for license was let loose. The feudal chieftain looked for the excitement of war, which was his favorite, perhaps his only, occupation, or for vast and permanent conquests, like those which Robert Guiscard and his Normans had won in Apulia and Sicily. The merchants and usurers favored the movement; for their losses in ordinary trade were more than made up by the gains from the sale of arms and horses at exorbitant prices, and from the purchase of mortgaged lands far below their value. Kings strengthened their power, in the absence of the nobles, by the absorption of the smaller into larger fiefs, and of these again into the royal domain. The chief promoter and gainer was the Pope himself, who superintended the crusaders by his legates, exercised the tremendous power of absolution, and acquired the protectorate of the temporal dominions of the crusading princes for the benefit of the Church.

THE FIRST CRUSADE AND THE CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM.

PETER THE HERMIT.

*Canto l' armi pietose e'l capitano,
 Che 'l gran sepolcro liberò di Cristo.
 Molto egli oprò col senno e con la mano,
 Molto soffrì nel glorioso acquisto
 E invan l' inferno a lui s'oppose, e invano
 S' armò d' Asia e di Libia il popol misto;
 Chè il ciel gli die' favore, e sotto ai santi
 Segni ridusse i suoi compagni erranti.*

—TORQUATO TASSO (Canto I. 1).

The fifteenth of August, 1096 (the Feast of the Assumption), had been fixed by the Council of Clermont for the departure of the crusaders; but the excitement was too strong; people could not wait. Early in the spring immense crowds of both sexes and all ages gathered together in Lorraine, and demanded of Peter, the Hermit, that he should immediately lead them to

Jerusalem. The crowd comprised a mixed multitude of enthusiasts, fanatics, knaves, idlers, and silly people, without discipline, organization, or preparation of any kind. The peasant placed his wife and children on a cart drawn by oxen, and thus went out to fight the Turk. When the crowd had swelled to some sixty thousand, it was necessary to divide it.

The first division comprising about twenty thousand under the lead of a Burgundian knight, Walter the Penniless,¹ marched safely through Hungary, but was completely cut up and destroyed in the Bulgarian forests; only the leader, and a few stragglers, reached Constantinople.

The second division, comprising more than forty thousand, under the lead of the Hermit himself, marched through Hungary, provided with all necessaries by the Hungarian king, and guarded by the Hungarian army. But when they reached the Bulgarian frontier they found one continuous streak of blood and fire, robbery and massacre, marking out the route of their predecessors. A spirit of excess and revenge seized the undisciplined host. They attacked Zemlin, and again Nissa, but in both places they were repulsed with fearful slaughter, and only a remnant of seven thousand finally reached Constantinople in a most pitiful condition (July, 1096). Here they were well treated by the emperor Alexius, and transferred by his aid across the Bosphorus to Asia, where they should wait for the arrival of the regular army; but they preferred to spread, marauding and plundering, through the rich provinces. Finally, a false rumor that the vanguard had captured Nicæa, the capital of the Turks in Asia Minor, allured them down into the plain of Nicæa; but they were surrounded and massacred by the Turkish cavalry, and their bones were piled into a ghastly pyramid—the first monument of the crusaders. Walter had fallen in the battle, but Peter the Hermit had fled back to Constantinople before the battle began.

A third swarm, mostly consisting of Germans, and comprising about fifteen thousand, under the lead of a German monk,

¹ *W. Sinchabere, Sensavehor, Sansavoir, Habenichts.*

Gottschalk, was closely watched, and at last massacred by the Hungarians at Belgrade.

A fourth swarm, comprising more than two hundred thousand men, women and children, from various countries, was led by banners with the likeness of a goose and a goat) which were considered as bearers of the divine Spirit. Three thousand horsemen, headed by some noblemen, attended them, and shared their spoils. They began their expedition by robbing and murdering the Jews in all the rich commercial places along the Rhine and the Danube, holding them personally responsible for the crucifixion.¹ When they arrived at the Hungarian frontier they had to encounter a regular army. A panic seized them, and a frightful carnage took place.

These preliminary expeditions of the first Crusade cost about three hundred thousand lives.

The regular army of the Crusaders consisted, according to the lowest calculations, of more than 300,000, and was divided into six divisions under several leaders. Adhemar (Aymer), bishop of Puy, the papal legate, was the first among the clergy to assume the cross, and had a sort of spiritual supervision of the whole army.² The military leaders were Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, and his brothers, Baldwin and Eustace; Hugh, count of Vermandois, a brother of King Philip I., of France; Robert, duke of Normandy, the eldest son of William the Conqueror; Raymond, count of Toulouse, a veteran warrior, who had a hundred thousand horse and foot at his command, and enjoyed a mingled reputation for wealth, wisdom, pride, and greed; Bohemond, Prince of Tarentum and son of Robert Guiscard; his cousin Tancred, the model

¹ Mannheimer, *Die Judenverfolgungen in Speier, Worms und Mainz im Jahre 1096, während des ersten Kreuzzuges*, Darmstadt, 1877. Hagenmeyer, p. 139, clears Peter of Amiens of the shameful glory of initiating this *Judenhetze*, and claims it for Count Esnich of Leiningen, and his mob, who began it at Mainz, May 27, 1096.

² Gibbon calls him "a respectable prelatè alike qualified for this world and the next."

cavalier; Robert, Count of Flanders, surnamed "the Sword and Lance of the Christians"; Stephen, Count of Chartres, Troyes, and Blois, the owner of 365 castles. These, and many others, constituted the strength and beauty of the French and Italian nobility.

The moral hero of the First Crusade is Godfrey of Bouillon.¹ He was a descendant of Charlemagne, in the female line, and deserved the first rank in war and council, but had no definite command, and was merely *primus inter pares*. He had fought in the war of Emperor Henry IV. against the rebel King Rudolph of Swabia, whom he slew in the battle of Mölsen (1080); he was the first to mount the walls of Rome, and forced Hildebrand to flee; but, by assuming the crusading vow, he placed himself on the side of Urban II. He mediated between the Germans and French, and spoke the languages of both. He had prodigious physical strength; with one blow of his sword he clove asunder a horseman from head to saddle. He was as humble and pious as brave, and took the cross for the single purpose of rescuing Jerusalem from the hands of infidels. He waived his prowess, and bent his pride to the general aim. In secular matters he was inferior to Bohemond and Raymond. Contemporary historians call him a holy monk in military armor and ducal ornament. His purity and disinterestedness was acknowledged by his rivals.

Tancred, his intimate friend, likewise engaged from pure motives in the enterprise. He is the poetic hero of the first Crusade, and nearly approached the standard of "the gentle and perfect Knight" of Chaucer. He distinguished himself at Niceæ, Dorylæum, Antioch, and was one of the first to climb the walls of Jerusalem. In the carnage which followed, he, almost alone among the Christian knights, showed the spirit of mercy, and saved thousands of the captured, at the risk of his

¹ Bouillon (not to be confounded with Boulogne-sur-Mère, on the English Channel) is a town in Belgian Luxemburg, and was formerly the capital of the lordship of Bouillon which Godfrey mortgaged to the bishop of Liège in 1095. It belongs to Belgium since 1831.

own life. He died in Antioch, 1112. His deeds were celebrated by Raoul de Caen and Torquato Tasso.¹

The several divisions marched at different times, and along various routes, to meet at Constantinople. The Emperor Alexius, who had so urgently solicited the aid of Western Europe, became alarmed when he saw the hosts arrive. He wished to reap the benefit, without sharing the risks, of the Crusade. He began to tremble for himself, and took good care to transfer each division to Asia before the next one arrived. The selfish jealousy and greed of the leaders became, day by day, more manifest, and retarded and diminished the success of the enterprise. The hardships and privations were terrible; nevertheless, the army pressed slowly forward.

Nicæa was taken June 19, 1097, and the Turks were routed at Doryleum in Phrygia, July 4. But it took a whole year before Antioch in Syria was captured, June 28, 1098, and still another year before Jerusalem was conquered, July 15, 1099. During the siege of Antioch, the ranks of the crusaders were decimated by famine, pestilence, and desertion, and immediately after the capture of the city they were besieged themselves by an army of about 200,000 Mohammedans under Kerboga.

After the fall of Nicæa, Baldwin, a brother of Godfrey, went with one detachment to Edessa, where he established himself, and began to operate on his own account. After the fall of Antioch, Bohemond did the same in that place. Others followed the example, and out of the immense army which arrived in Asia, only 20,000 reached Jerusalem.²

When they came in sight of the holy city, the fierce warriors fell on their knees, kissed the earth, laid aside their armor, and advanced as pilgrims, with sighs and tears and penitential hymns.

The siege lasted five weeks, and was marked by all the hor-

¹ Gibbon: "In the accomplished character of Tancred we discover all the virtues of a perfect knight, the true spirit of chivalry, which inspired the generous sentiments and social offices of man far better than the base philosophy, or the baser religion, of the times."

² The figures differ. See Sybel, p. 412.

rors of savage warfare. After the capture, the Mohammedan population was massacred to the extent of more than seventy thousand; the Jews were burnt in their synagogues. When the crusaders went bare-footed to the the place of the Holy Sepulchre to offer up their prayers and thanks, they were wading in blood.¹

The Christians entered Jerusalem on a Friday at three in the afternoon, the day and hour of the crucifixion. This should have inspired them with sentiments of mercy, but it only enflamed their fanatical hatred of the enemies of the cross.

After the acts of devotion at the reputed tomb of the Saviour, another deliberate massacre followed, and men, women, and children, who had retreated to the Mosque of Omar, were mowed down in the delirium of fanaticism and vengeance. Neither the tears of women, nor the cries of infants, nor the protests of Tancred, who was concerned for the honor of chivalry, could soften or restrain the ferocity of the conquerors. The Saracen prisoners were forced to clean the city, and to save it from pestilential diseases. "They wept," says Robert the Monk, "and transported the carcasses out of Jerusalem."

The contemporary historians recite these scenes of barbaric cruelty without excuse, and without an expression of horror or pity. They saw in it only the righteous judgment of God over his enemies. Such was the piety of the Crusaders!

The spirit of the Middle Ages combined, among other striking contrasts, self-denying charity to Catholic Christians with heartless cruelty to infidels, Jews, and heretics. It was the spirit of the Old Testament rather than that of the New. It followed the rule: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy," and forgot the law of Christ: "Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you."

A week later Godfrey of Bouillon was chosen King of Jerusalem. He accepted the office, but refused the title; he was

¹ Raymond d' Agiles reports, with incredible exaggeration, that in the temple and portico of Solomon the blood reached to the knees of the riders and the bridles of the horses (*usque ad genua et usque ad frenos equorum*).

unwilling to "wear a crown of gold where his Saviour had worn a crown of thorns." He called himself simply the Defender of the Holy Sepulchre. He founded a monastery in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, died in Jerusalem July 18, 1100, and was buried on Calvary. He was succeeded by his brave brother Baldwin I., who accepted the title of King of Jerusalem.

Most of the other leaders returned home, weary and disappointed.

Among those who returned, was also Peter the Hermit. The closing incident of his connection with the Crusades is an address he delivered to the victorious army on Mount Olivet, and the homage offered to him. He founded a monastery at Huy in the diocese of Liège, in honor of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and died July 8, 1115. A statue of Peter was erected on the Place Saint Michael at Amiens, June 29, 1854. It represents him as a monk, preaching the crusade, with a rosary suspended on his girdle, holding a cross in his right hand, the left on his breast.¹

¹ There are several pictures of Peter, of which Hagenmeyer gives an account, pp. 116 and 300. Some of his admirers pulled the hairs out of his donkey and kept them as relics.