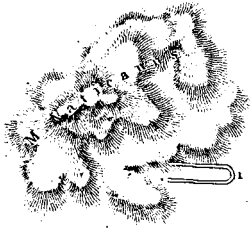
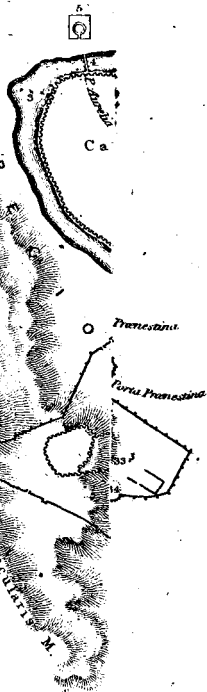


ANCIENT ROME



campus Martius



- 1 Circus Nervus
- 2 Circus Hadriani
- 3 Pons Triumphalis
- 4 Pons Aelius
- 5 Mausoleum Hadriani
- 6 Forum
- 7 Amphitheatrum Statili Tauri
- 8 Temp. Antonini Pii
- 9 Columna Etrusca
- 10 Porticus Etrusca
- 11 Aed. Palladis
- 12 Aed. Flaminiae
- 13 Mausoleum Augusti
- 14 Horti Domitii
- 15 Aed. Veneris
- 16 Aed. Augusti
- 17 Temp. Solis
- 18 Domus Martialis
- 19 Circus Florae
- 20 Horti Sallustii
- 21 Circus Brutus
- 22 Temp. Veneris
- 23 Campus Sclavorum
- 24 Temp. Veneris
- 25 Aed. Veneris Erycinae
- 26 Horti Elygabali
- 27 Pictus Aquae Martiae
- 28 Trophaeum Maris
- 29 Aed. Aquae Juliae
- 30 Sclavorum
- 31 Temp. Minervae Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 32 Aed. Aquae Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 33 Sclavorum
- 34 Amphitheatrum Caesariense
- 35 Amphitheatrum Nervus
- 36 Aqueductus in usum Amphitheatrum
- 37 Aed. Minervae Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 38 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 39 Forum Augusti
- 40 Amphitheatrum Flavium
- 41 Forum Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 42 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 43 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 44 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 45 Horti Metastasi
- 46 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 47 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 48 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 49 Temp. Concordiae
- 50 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 51 Forum Nervus
- 52 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 53 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 54 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 55 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 56 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.

- 56 Thomae Constantini
- 57 Forum et Columna Traiana
- 58 Peribolium
- 59 Aed. Juliae
- 60 Villa Publica
- 61 Amphitheatrum
- 62 Thomae Nervus et Alexandri
- 63 Circus Alexandri et Aed. Aed.
- 64 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 65 Thomae Agrippae
- 66 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 67 Pons Antonianus
- 68 Mausoleum Augusti
- 69 Pons Suburbanus
- 70 Pons Fulvianus
- 71 Pons Coelivus
- 72 Pons Fabricianus
- 73 Porticus Octaviae
- 74 Theatrum Marcellum
- 75 Amphitheatrum Flavium
- 76 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 77 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 78 Capitolium
- 79 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 80 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 81 Comitium
- 82 Temp. Faustinae
- 83 Temp. Faustinae
- 84 Temp. Faustinae et Romae
- 85 Via Sacra
- 86 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 87 Domus Calpurniae
- 88 Domus Aurea Nervus
- 89 Domus Augusti
- 90 Domus Tibullae
- 91 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 92 Temp. Faustinae Aed. Aed.
- 93 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 94 Temp. Faustinae
- 95 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
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- 104 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 105 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
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- 109 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.
- 110 Aed. Aed. Aed. Aed.

THE
HISTORY
OF
THE DECLINE AND FALL
OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.

~~~~~  
BY EDWARD GIBBON.  
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WITH NOTES BY DEAN MILMAN AND M. GUIZOT

A NEW EDITION, WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES,
BY WILLIAM SMITH D.C.L. & LL.D.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.—Vol. VIII.

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CONTENTS

OF

THE EIGHTH VOLUME.

CHAPTER LXIV.

CONQUESTS OF ZINGIS KHAN AND THE MOGULS FROM CHINA TO POLAND.—
 ESCAPE OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE GREEKS.—ORIGIN OF THE OTTOMAN
 TURKS IN BITHYNIA.—REIGNS AND VICTORIES OF OTHMAN, ORCHAN, AMU-
 RATH THE FIRST, AND BAJAZET THE FIRST.—FOUNDATION AND PROGRESS
 OF THE TURKISH MONARCHY IN ASIA AND EUROPE.—DANGER OF CONSTAN-
 TINOPLE AND THE GREEK EMPIRE.

A.D.	Page	A.D.	Page
1206-1227. Zingis Khan, first Emperor of the Moguls and Tartars	2	1326-1360. Reign of Orchan . . .	23
His Laws	4	1326-1339. His Conquest of Bithynia	23
1210-1214. His Invasion of China	7	1300. Division of Anatolia among the Turkish Emirs	24
1218-1224. Of Carizme, Transoxiana, and Persia	7	1312. Loss of the Asiatic Provinces	24
1227. His Death	9	1310-1523. The Knights of Rhodes	24
1227-1295. Conquests of the Moguls under the Successors of Zingis	9	1341-1347. First Passage of the Turks into Europe	25
1234. Of the Northern Empire of China	10	1346. Marriage of Orchan with a Greek Princess	26
1279. Of the Southern	11	1353. Establishment of the Ottomans in Europe	27
1258. Of Persia, and the Empire of the Caliphs	12	Death of Orchan and his Son Soliman	28
1242-1272. Of Anatolia	13	1360-1389. The Reign and European Conquests of Amurath I.	28
1235-1245. Of Kipzak, Russia, Poland, Hungary, &c.	13	The Janizaries	29
1242. Of Siberia	16	1389-1403. The Reign of Bajazet I., Ilderim	30
1227-1259. The Successors of Zingis	16	His Conquests from the Euphrates to the Danube	31
1259-1368. Adopt the Manners of China	17	1396. Battle of Nicopolis	32
1259-1300. Division of the Mogul Empire	18	1396-1398. Crusade and Captivity of the French Princes	32
1240-1304. Escape of Constantinople and the Greek Empire from the Moguls	19	1355-1391. The Emperor John Palæologus	35
1304. Decline of the Mogul Khans of Persia	20	Discord of the Greeks	35
1240. Origin of the Ottomans	21	1391-1425. The Emperor Manuel	36
1299-1326. Reign of Othman	21	1395-1402. Distress of Constantinople	36

CHAPTER LXV.

ELEVATION OF TIMOUR OR TAMERLANE TO THE THRONE OF SAMARCAND. — HIS CONQUESTS IN PERSIA, GEORGIA, TARTARY, RUSSIA, INDIA, SYRIA, AND ANATOLIA. — HIS TURKISH WAR. — DEFEAT AND CAPTIVITY OF BAJAZET. — DEATH OF TIMOUR. — CIVIL WAR OF THE SONS OF BAJAZET. — RESTORATION OF THE TURKISH MONARCHY BY MAHOMET THE FIRST. — SIEGE OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY AMURATH THE SECOND.

A.D.	Page	A.D.	Page
		Term of the Conquests of	
		Timour	6
1361-1370. His first Adventures	41	1404, 1405. His Triumph at Samarcand	6
1370. He ascends the Throne of Zagatal	43	1405. His Death on the road to China	6
1370-1400. His Conquests	43	Character and Merits of Timour	6
1380-1393. I. Of Persia	43	1403-1421. Civil Wars of the Sons of Bajazet	6
1370-1383. II. Of Turkestan	44	1. Mustapha	6
1390-1396. Of Kipzak, Russia, &c.	45	2. Isa	6
1398, 1399. III. Of Hindostan	46	1403-1410. 3. Soliman	6
1400. His War against Sultan Bajazet	48	1410, 4. Mousa	6
Timour invades Syria	51	1413-1421. 5. Mahomet I.	6
Sacks Aleppo	51	1421-1451. Reign of Amurath II.	6
1401. Damascus	53	1421. Reunion of the Ottoman Empire	6
And Bagdad	53	1402-1425. State of the Greek Empire	6
1402. Invades Anatolia	53	1422. Siege of Constantinople by Amurath II.	7
Battle of Angora	54	1425-1448. The Emperor John Paleologus II.	7
Defeat and Captivity of Bajazet	55	Hereditary Succession and Merit of the Ottomans	7
The Story of his Iron Cage disproved by the Persian Historian of Timour	56	Education and Discipline of the Turks	7
Attested, 1, by the French	57	Invention and Use of Gunpowder	7
—, 2, by the Italians	58		
—, 3, by the Arabs	58		
—, 4, by the Greeks	59		
—, 5, by the Turks	59		
Probable Conclusion	59		
1403. Death of Bajazet	60		

CHAPTER LXVI.

APPLICATIONS OF THE EASTERN EMPERORS TO THE POPES. — VISITS TO THE WEST OF JOHN THE FIRST, MANUEL, AND JOHN THE SECOND, PALEOLOGUS — UNION OF THE GREEK AND LATIN CHURCHES PROMOTED BY THE COUNCIL OF BASIL, AND CONCLUDED AT FERRARA AND FLORENCE. — STATE OF LITERATURE AT CONSTANTINOPLE. — ITS REVIVAL IN ITALY BY THE GREEK FUGITIVES. — CURIOSITY AND EMULATION OF THE LATINIS.

1339. Embassy of the Younger Andronicus to Pope Benedict XII.	77	1348. Negotiation of Cantacuzene with Clement VI.	7
The Arguments for a Crusade and Union	78	1355. Treaty of John Paleologus I. with Innocent VI.	8

CONTENTS OF VOL. VIII.

v

A.D.	Page	A.D.	Page
1369. Visit of John Palæologus to Urban V. at Rome . . .	82	Negotiations with the Greeks	101
1370. His Return to Constantinople . . .	84	1438. Eugenius deposed at Basil . . .	103
1400. Visit of the Emperor Manuel to the Court of France . . .	84	Reunion of the Greeks at Florence	103
to the Court of England . . .	85	1440. Their Return to Constantinople	104
1402. His Return to Greece . . .	86	1449. Final Peace of the Church . . .	104
Greek Knowledge and Descriptions—		1300-1453. State of the Greek Language at Constantinople	105
of Germany	86	Comparison of the Greeks and Latins	106
of France	87	Revival of the Greek Learning in Italy	107
of England	88	1339. Lessons of Barlaam	108
1402-1417. Indifference of Manuel towards the Latins	89	1339-1374. Studies of Petrarch	108
1417-1425. His Negotiations	89	1360. Of Boccace	110
His private Motives	90	1360-1363. Leo Pilatus, first Greek Professor at Florence and in the West	110
His Death	91	1390-1415. Foundation of the Greek Language in Italy by Manuel Chrysoloras	111
1425-1437. Zeal of John Palæologus II.	91	1400-1500. The Greeks in Italy	113
Corruption of the Latin Church	92	Cardinal Bessarion, &c.	113
1377-1429. Schism	92	Their Faults and Merits	114
1409. Council of Pisa	92	The Platonic Philosophy	115
1414-1418. Of Constance	92	Emulation and Progress of the Latins	116
1431-1443. Of Basil	93	1447-1455. Nicholas V.	116
Their Opposition to Eugenius IV.	93	1428-1492. Cosmo and Lorenzo of Medicis	117
1434-1437. Negotiations with the Greeks	94	Use and Abuse of ancient Learning	118
1437. John Palæologus embarks in the Pope's Galleys	94		
1438. His triumphal Entry at Venice	97		
— into Ferrara	98		
1438, 1439. Council of the Greeks and Latins at Ferrara and Florence	98		

CHAPTER LXVII.

SCHISM OF THE GREEKS AND LATIN. — REIGN AND CHARACTER OF AMURATH THE SECOND. — CRUSADE OF LADISLAUS KING OF HUNGARY. — HIS DEFEAT AND DEATH. — JOHN HUNIADES. — SCANDERBEG. — CONSTANTINE PALÆOLOGUS, LAST EMPEROR OF THE EAST.

Comparison of Rome and Constantinople	120	1443. Eugenius forms a League against the Turks	127
1440-1448. The Greek Schism after the Council of Florence	122	Ladislaus, King of Poland and Hungary, marches against them	129
Zeal of the Orientals and Russians	124	The Turkish Peace	129
1421-1451. Reign and Character of Amurath II.	125	1444. Violation of the Peace	130
1442-1444. His double Abdication	126	Battle of Varna	131
		Death of Ladislaus	132
		The Cardinal Julian	133

A.D.	Page	A.D.	Page
John Corvinus Huniades	133	His Valour	137
1456. His Defence of Belgrade, and Death	134	1467. And Death	138
1404-1413. Birth and Education of Scanderbeg, Prince of Albania	135	1448-1453. Constantine, the last of the Roman or Greek Emperors	139
1443. His Revolt from the Turks	137	1450-1452. Embassies of Phranza State of the Byzantine Court	140 142

CHAPTER LXVIII.

REIGN AND CHARACTER OF MAHOMET THE SECOND. — SIEGE, ASSAULT, AND FINAL CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS. — DEATH OF CONSTANTINE PALÆOLOGUS. — SERVITUDE OF THE GREEKS. — EXTINCTION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST. — CONSTERNATION OF EUROPE. — CONQUESTS AND DEATH OF MAHOMET THE SECOND.

Character of Mahomet II.	143	Distress of the City	165
1451-1481. His Reign	145	Preparations of the Turks for the general Assault	166
1451. Hostile Intentions of Ma- homet	146	Last Farewell of the Em- peror and the Greeks	167
1452. He builds a Fortress on the Bosphorus	148	The general Assault	168
The Turkish War	149	Death of the Emperor Con- stantine Palæologus	171
1452, 1453. Preparations for the Siege of Constantinople	150	Loss of the City and Empire	172
• The Great Cannon of Ma- homet	152	The Turks enter and pillage Constantinople	172
1453. Mahomet II. forms the Siege of Constantinople	153	Captivity of the Greeks	173
Forces of the Turks	154	Amount of the Spoil	174
— of the Greeks	155	Mahomet II. visits the City, St. Sophia, the Palace, &c.	176
1452. False Union of the Two Churches	156	His Behaviour to the Greeks	177
Obstinacy and Fanaticism of the Greeks	157	He repeoples and adorns Constantinople	178
1453. Siege of Constantinople by Mahomet II.	158	Extinction of the Imperial Families of Comnenus and Palæologus	180
Attack and Defence	160	1460. Loss of the Morea	181
Succour and Victory of four Ships	161	1461. — of Trebizond	182
Mahomet transports his Navy over Land	164	1453. Grief and Terror of Europe	183
		1481. Death of Mahomet II.	185

CHAPTER LXIX.

STATE OF ROME FROM THE TWELFTH CENTURY. — TEMPORAL DOMINION OF THE POPES. — SEDITIONS OF THE CITY. — POLITICAL HERESY OF ARNOLD OF BRESCIA. — RESTORATION OF THE REPUBLIC. — THE SENATORS. — PRIDE OF THE ROMANS. — THEIR WARS. — THEY ARE DEPRIVED OF THE ELECTION AND PRESENCE OF THE POPES, WHO RETIRE TO AVIGNON. — THE JUBILEE. — NOBLE FAMILIES OF ROME. — FEUD OF THE COLONNA AND URSINI.

1100-1500. State and Revolutions of Rome	186	Authority of the Popes in Rome	188
800-1100. The French and Ger- man Emperors of Rome	187	From Affection	188
		— Right	189

A.D.	Page	A.D.	Page
From Virtue	189	1281. Pope Martin IV.	205
— Benefits	189	1328. The Emperor Lewis of Ba-	
Inconstancy of Superstition	190	varia	205
Seditions of Rome against		Addresses of Rome to the	
the Popes	191	Emperors	205
1086-1305. Successors of Gre-		1144. Conrad III.	205
gory VII.	191	1155. Frederic I.	206
1099-1118. Paschal II.	192	Wars of the Romans against	
1118, 1119. Gelasius II.	192	the neighbouring Cities	209
1144, 1145. Lucius II.	193	1167. Battle of Tusculum	210
1181-1185. Lucius III.	193	1234. ——— Viterbo	210
1119-1124. Calistus II.	193	The Election of the Popes	211
1130-1143. Innocent II.	193	1179. Right of the Cardinals esta-	
Character of the Romans by		blished by Alexander III.	211
St. Bernard	194	1274. Institution of the Conclave	
1140. Political Heresy of Arnold		by Gregory X.	212
of Brescia	194	Absence of the Popes from	
1144-1154. He exhorts the Ro-		Rome	213
mans to restore the Re-		1294-1303. Boniface VIII.	214
public	196	1309. Translation of the Holy See	
1155. His Execution	197	to Avignon	215
1144. Restoration of the Senate	198	1300. Institution of the Jubilee,	
The Capitol	200	or Holy Year	217
The Coin	200	1350. The Second Jubilee	218
The Præfect of the City	201	The Nobles or Barons of	
1198-1216. Number and Choice of		Rome	219
the Senate	202	Family of Leo the Jew	219
The Office of Senator	202	The Colonna	221
1252-1258. Brancaleone	203	And Ursini	223
1265-1278. Charles of Anjou	204	Their hereditary Feuds	223

CHAPTER LXX.

CHARACTER AND CORONATION OF PETRARCH. — RESTORATION OF THE FREEDOM AND GOVERNMENT OF ROME BY THE TRIBUNE RIENZI. — HIS VIRTUES AND VICES, HIS EXPULSION AND DEATH. — RETURN OF THE POPES FROM AVIGNON. — GREAT SCHISM OF THE WEST. — REUNION OF THE LATIN CHURCH. — LAST STRUGGLES OF ROMAN LIBERTY. — STATUTES OF ROME. — FINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATE.

1304-1374. Petrarch	225	His Vices and Follies	237
1341. His poetic Coronation at		The Pomp of his Knighthood	238
Rome	227	And Coronation	240
Birth, Character, and patri-		Fear and Hatred of the	
otic Designs of Rienzi	229	Nobles of Rome	240
1347. He assumes the Government		They oppose Rienzi in Arms	242
of Rome	231	Defeat and Death of the Co-	
With the Title and Office of		lonna	242
Tribune	232	Fall and Flight of the Tri-	
Laws of the Good Estate	232	bune Rienzi	243
Freedom and Prosperity of		1347-1354. Revolutions of Rome	244
the Roman Republic	234	Adventures of Rienzi	245
The Tribune is respected in		1351. A Prisoner at Avignon	246
Italy, &c.	235	1354. Rienzi Senator of Rome	246
And celebrated by Petrarch	237	His Death	248

A.D.	Page	A.D.	Page
1355. Petrarch invites and upbraids the Emperor Charles IV.	248	Election of Martin V.	256
He solicits the Popes of Avignon to fix their residence at Rome	248	1417. Martin V.	257
1367-1370. Return of Urban V.	249	1431. Eugenius IV.	257
1377. Final Return of Gregory XI.	250	1447. Nicholas V.	257
1378. His Death	251	1434. Last Revolt of Rome	257
Election of Urban VI.	251	1452. Last Coronation of a German Emperor, Frederic III.	258
Election of Clement VII.	251	The Statutes and Government of Rome	258
1378-1418. Great Schism of the West	253	1453. Conspiracy of Porcaro	260
Calamities of Rome	253	Last Disorders of the Nobles of Rome	261
1392-1407. Negotiations for Peace and Union	254	1500. The Popes acquire the Absolute Dominion of Rome	262
1409. Council of Pisa	255	The Ecclesiastical Government	264
1414-1418. Council of Constance	255	1585-1590. Sixtus V.	265

CHAPTER LXXI.

PROSPECT OF THE RUINS OF ROME IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. — FOUR CAUSES OF DECAY AND DESTRUCTION. — EXAMPLE OF THE COLISEUM. — RENOVATION OF THE CITY. — CONCLUSION OF THE WHOLE WORK.

1430. View and Discourse of Poggius from the Capitoline Hill	267	IV. The Domestic Quarrels of the Romans	278
His Description of the Ruins	268	The Coliseum or Amphitheatre of Titus	280
Gradual Decay of Rome	269	Games of Rome	282
Four Causes of Destruction	270	1332. A Bull-Feast in the Coliseum	282
I. The Injuries of Nature	270	Injuries	284
Hurricanes and Earthquakes	270	And Consecration of the Coliseum	284
Fires	271	Ignorance and Barbarism of the Romans	285
Inundations	271	1420. Restoration and Ornaments of the City	286
II. The hostile Attacks of the Barbarians and Christians	273	Final Conclusion	288
III. The Use and Abuse of the Materials	274		

INDEX 291

ANCIENT ROME *Frontispiece.*
 ENVIRONS OF ROME *End of Volume.*

LIST OF MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

PORTRAIT OF GIBBON	<i>Frontispiece to Vol. I.</i>
MAP OF EASTERN PART OF ROMAN EMPIRE } . . .	<i>At end of Vol. I.</i>
MAP OF WESTERN PART OF ROMAN EMPIRE }	
MAP OF THE MIGRATIONS OF THE BARBARIANS . . .	<i>Frontispiece to Vol. II.</i>
MAP OF PROPONTIS, HELLESPONT, AND BOSPHORUS } . . .	<i>At end of Vol. II.</i>
MAP OF CONSTANTINOPLE }	
MAP OF WESTERN ASIA, SHOWING THE MARCHES OF JULIAN AND HERACLIUS	<i>Frontispiece to Vol. III.</i>
EUROPE ABOUT THE END OF THE FIFTH CENTURY . . .	<i>Frontispiece to Vol. IV.</i>
MAP OF ITALY	<i>Frontispiece to Vol. V.</i>
EASTERN EMPIRE, divided into Themes	<i>At end of Vol. V.</i>
MAP OF THE MAHOMETAN EMPIRE	<i>Frontispiece to Vol. VI.</i>
MAP OF EUROPE AND PART OF ASIA AND AFRICA AT THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE	<i>At end of Vol. VI.</i>
MAP OF THE CRUSADES	<i>Frontispiece to Vol. VII.</i>
ANCIENT ROME	<i>Frontispiece to Vol. VIII.</i>
ENVIRONS OF ROME	<i>End of Vol. VIII.</i>

THE
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CHAPTER LXIV.

CONQUESTS OF ZENGIS KHAN AND THE MOGULS FROM CHINA TO POLAND. — ESCAPE OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE GREEKS. — ORIGIN OF THE OTTOMAN TURKS IN BITHYNIA. — REIGNS AND VICTORIES OF OTHMAN, ORCHAN, AMURATH THE FIRST, AND BAJAZET THE FIRST. — FOUNDATION AND PROGRESS OF THE TURKISH MONARCHY IN ASIA AND EUROPE. — DANGER OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE GREEK EMPIRE.

FROM the petty quarrels of a city and her suburbs, from the cowardice and discord of the falling Greeks, I shall now ascend to the victorious Turks; whose domestic slavery was ennobled by martial discipline, religious enthusiasm, and the energy of the national character. The rise and progress of the Ottomans, the present sovereigns of Constantinople, are connected with the most important scenes of modern history; but they are founded on a previous knowledge of the great eruption of the Moguls and Tartars, whose rapid conquests may be compared with the primitive convulsions of nature, which have agitated and altered the surface of the globe. I have long since asserted my claim to introduce the nations, the immediate or remote authors of the fall of the Roman empire; nor can I refuse myself to those events which, from their uncommon magnitude, will interest a philosophic mind in the history of blood.¹

¹ The reader is invited to review chapters xxii. to xxvi., and xxiii. to xxxviii., the manners of pastoral nations, the conquests of Attila and the Huns, which were composed at a time when I entertained the wish, rather than the hope, of concluding my history.

² The names of Mongols, Tartars, and natels, but it has been already shown that the Mongols and Turks are two distinct nations. VOL. VIII.

From the spacious highlands between China, Siberia, and the Caspian Sea the tide of emigration and war has repeatedly been poured. These ancient seats of the Huns and Turks were occupied in the twelfth century by many pastoral tribes, of the same descent and similar manners, which were united and led to conquest by the formidable Zingis.^a In his ascent to greatness that barbarian (whose private appellation was Temugin) had trampled on the necks of his equals. His birth was noble; but it was in the pride of victory that the prince or people deduced his seventh ancestor from the immaculate conception of a virgin. His father had reigned over thirteen hordes, which composed about thirty or forty thousand families: above two-thirds refused to pay tithes or obedience to his infant son; and at the age of thirteen Temugin fought a battle against his rebellious subjects. The future conqueror of Asia was reduced to fly and to obey; but he rose superior to his fortune, and in his fortieth year he had established his fame and dominion over the circumjacent tribes. In a state of society in which policy is rude and valour is universal, the ascendant of one

Zingis Khan,
first emperor
of the
Mongols and
Tartars,
A.D.
1206-1227.

tinnet races (Editor's note, vol. iii. p. 302, 303), and that the Tartars, more properly called *Tatars*, were probably a Mongolian tribe, who occupied so conspicuous a place in the army of Zingis Khan, that their name became synonymous with that of the Mongols (vol. iii. p. 294, 295, note). The Turks are one of the most considerable of the families of the world; and almost all the nomad Asiatic tribes that devastated Europe from the fourth to the twelfth century belonged to this race. The Huns, Avars, Chazars, Bulgarians, Petcheneges, and Comanians, were all Turks. The only Asiatic invaders of Europe during this period who did not belong to the Turkish race were the Hungarians or Magyars, and they were a Finnish or Tschudish people. The Mongols, on the contrary, are not mentioned in European history till the time of their national hero Zingis Khan. Unlike the Turks, the Mongols were not a numerous people. The armies of Zingis Khan and his successors were principally composed of Turks whom the Mongols had subdued; and they contained a comparatively small number of Mongols proper. The real Mongolian tribes are still found, with a few outlying exceptions, in the same seats which they occupied in the time of Zingis Khan. They inhabit the country northward of the great wall of China, and westward of the Mandshu country; and they extend northward as far as the northern extremity of the lake

Baikal, and westward to the frontier of the Turkish Ougours. The principal outlying exceptions are the Mongolian tribes in Thibet, and the Kalmuks of the Don, the Volga, and the Jaik. The tribes with which Zingis Khan was more immediately connected were called, after his conquests, Niroun or genuine Mongols. The Niroun Mongols dwelt between lake Baikal and the desert of Shamo.

With respect to the orthography of the name, Mongol is more correct than Mogul. The latter is only a Persian and Indian corruption of the true pronunciation. The Chinese write the name *Meng-kou*, and the Mandshus *Monggo*, or *Mongou*. See D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*; Rémusat, *Recherches sur les Langues Tartares*; Prichard, *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, vol. iv. p. 329, *seq.*—S.

^a On the traditions of the early life of Zingis, see D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*; Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, p. 66, &c., and notes.—M.

The proper orthography of the name, which is variously written by Europeans, is *Tchünggis*. It is so written in a letter addressed by one of his successors to the king of France; and this orthography is confirmed by his Chinese contemporaries, who wrote it *Tchüing-hi-see*. Khan is only a corruption of the Mongolian title *Khakan*. See Rémusat, *Recherches sur les Langues Tartares*, p. 170.—S.

man must be founded on his power and resolution to punish his enemies and recompense his friends. His first military league was ratified by the simple rites of sacrificing an horse and tasting of a running stream: Temugin pledged himself to divide with his followers the sweets and the bitters of life; and when he had shared among them his horses and apparel, he was rich in their gratitude and his own hopes. After his first victory he placed seventy caldrons on the fire, and seventy of the most guilty rebels were cast headlong into the boiling water. The sphere of his attraction was continually enlarged by the ruin of the proud and the submission of the prudent; and the boldest chieftains might tremble when they beheld, encased in silver, the skull of the khan of the Keraites;² who, under the name of Prester John, had corresponded with the Roman pontiff and the princes of Europe. The ambition of Temugin condescended to employ the arts of superstition; and it was from a naked prophet, who could ascend to heaven on a white horse, that he accepted the title of Zingis,³ the *most great*; and a divine right to the conquest and dominion of the earth. In a general *couroultai*, or diet, he was seated on a felt, which was long afterwards revered as a relic, and solemnly proclaimed great khan or emperor of the Moguls⁴ and 'Tartars.⁵ Of these kindred, though rival, names, the former had

² The khans of the Keraites were most probably incapable of reading the pompous epistles composed in their name by the Nestorian missionaries, who endowed them with the fabulous wonders of an Indian kingdom. Perhaps these Tartars (the Presbyter or Priest John) had submitted to the rites of baptism and ordination (Asseman. Biblioth. Orient. tom. iii. p. ii. p. 487-503).^a

³ Since the history and tragedy of Voltaire, *Gengis*, at least in French, seems to be the more fashionable spelling; but Abulghazi Khan must have known the true name of his ancestor. His etymology appears just: *Zin*, in the Mogul tongue, signifies *great*, and *gis* is the superlative termination (Hist. Généalogique des Tatars, part iii. p. 194, 195). From the same idea of magnitude the appellation of *Zingis* is bestowed on the ocean.

⁴ The name of Moguls has prevailed among the Orientals, and still adheres to the titular sovereign, the Great Mogul of Hindostan.^b

⁵ The Tartars (more properly Tatars) were descended from Tatar Khan, the brother of Mogul Khan (see Abulghazi, parts i. and ii.), and once formed a horde of 70,000 families on the borders of Kitay (p. 103-112). In the great invasion of Europe (A.D. 1238) they seem to have led the vanguard; and the similitude of the name of *Tartares* recommended that of Tartars to the Latins (Matt. Paris, p. 398 [p. 546, ed. Lond. 1640], &c.).^c

^a The Keraites were a numerous people, consisting of several tribes, who inhabited the mountains of Karakorum. They appear to have been a very powerful nation before the rise of the Mongols proper under Zingis Khan. They are said to have been converted to Christianity in the early part of the eleventh century, and their sovereigns, called Unch-khans, or Great Monarchs, were, as Gibbon states, the princes celebrated in Europe under

the famous title of Prester John. See Prichard, Physical History, vol. iii. p. 334.—S.

^b M. Rémusat (sur les Langues Tartares, p. 233) justly observes that Timour was a Turk, not a Mongul, and that probably there was not a Mongul in the army of Baber, who established the Indian throne of the "Great Mogul."—M.

^c This relationship, according to M. Klaproth, is fabulous, and invented by

given birth to the imperial race, and the latter has been extended by accident or error over the spacious wilderness of the north.

The code of laws which Zingis dictated to his subjects was adapted to the preservation of domestic peace and the exercise of foreign hostility. The punishment of death was inflicted on the crimes of adultery, murder, perjury, and the capital thefts of an horse or ox; and the fiercest of men were mild and just in their intercourse with each other. The future election of the great khan was vested in the princes of his family and the heads of the tribes; and the regulations of the chase were essential to the pleasures and plenty of a Tartar camp. The victorious nation was held sacred from all servile labours, which were abandoned to slaves and strangers; and every labour was servile except the profession of arms. The service and discipline of the troops, who were armed with bows, scimitars, and iron maces, and divided by hundreds, thousands, and ten thousands, were the institutions of a veteran commander. Each officer and soldier was made responsible, under pain of death, for the safety and honour of his companions; and the spirit of conquest breathed in the law that peace should never be granted unless to a vanquished and suppliant enemy. But it is the religion of Zingis that best deserves our wonder and applause.⁵ The Catholic inquisitors of Europe, who defended nonsense by cruelty, might have been confounded by the example of a barbarian, who anticipated the lessons of philosophy,⁶ and established by his laws a system of pure

⁵ A singular conformity may be found between the religious laws of Zingis Khan and of Mr. Locke (Constitutions of Carolina, in his works, vol. iv. p. 535, 4to. edition, 1777).

the Mahometan writers, who, from religious zeal, endeavoured to connect the traditions of the nomads of central Asia with those of the Old Testament, as preserved in the Koran. There is no trace of it in the Chinese writers. *Tabl. de l'Asie*, p. 156.—M.

⁶ Before his armies entered Thibet he sent an embassy to Bogdosott-nam-Daimmo, a Lama high priest, with a letter to this effect:—"I have chosen thee as high priest for myself and my empire. Repair then to me, and promote the present and future happiness of man: I will be thy supporter and protector: let us establish a system of religion, and unite it with the monarchy," &c. The high priest accepted the invitation; and the Mongol history literally terms this step the *period of the first respect for religion*; because the monarch, by his public profession, made it the religion of the state. Klaproth, *Travels in Caucasus*, ch. vii. Eng. Trans. p. 92. Neither Zingis

nor his son and successor Oegodah had, on account of their continual wars, much leisure for the propagation of the religion of the Lama. By religion they understand a distinct, independent, sacred moral code, which has but one origin, one source, and one object. This notion they universally propagate, and even believe that the brutes, and all created beings, have a religion adapted to their sphere of action. The different forms of the various religions they ascribe to the difference of individuals, nations, and legislators. Never do you hear of their inveighing against any creed, even against the obviously absurd Shaman paganism, or of their persecuting others on that account. They themselves, on the other hand, endure every hardship, and even persecutions, with perfect resignation, and indulgently excuse the follies of others, nay, consider them as a motive for increased ardour in prayer. Ch. ix. p. 109.—M.

theism and perfect toleration. His first and only article of faith was the existence of one God, the Author of all good, who fills by his presence the heavens and earth, which he has created by his power. The Tartars and Moguls were addicted to the idols of their peculiar tribes; and many of them had been converted by the foreign missionaries to the religions of Moses, of Mahomet, and of Christ. These various systems in freedom and concord were taught and practised within the precincts of the same camp; and the Bonze, the Imam, the Rabbi, the Nestorian, and the Latin priest, enjoyed the same honourable exemption from service and tribute: in the mosque of Bochara the insolent victor might trample the Koran under his horse's feet, but the calm legislator respected the prophets and pontiffs of the most hostile sects. The reason of Zingis was not informed by books: the khan could neither read nor write; and, except the tribe of the Igours, the greatest part of the Moguls and Tartars were as illiterate as their sovereign.^a The memory of their exploits was preserved by tradition: sixty-eight years after the death of Zingis these traditions were collected and transcribed;⁷ the brevity of their domestic annals may be supplied by the Chinese,⁸ Persians,⁹

⁷ In the year 1294, by the command of Casan, khan of Persia, the fourth in descent from Zingis. From these traditions his vizir Fadlallah composed a Mogul history in the Persian language, which has been used by Petit de la Croix (*Hist. de Genghizcan*, p. 537-539). The *Histoire Généalogique des Tatars* (à Leyde, 1726, in 12mo. 2 tomes) was translated by the Swedish prisoners in Siberia from the Mogul MS. of Abulgasi Bahadur Khan, a descendant of Zingis, who reigned over the Usbeks of Charasm, or Carizme (A.D. 1644-1663). He is of most value and credit for the names, pedigrees, and manners of his nation. Of his nine parts, the 1st descends from Adam to Mogul Khan; the 2d, from Mogul to Zingis; the 3d is the life of Zingis; the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th, the general history of his four sons and their posterity; the 10th and 11th, the particular history of the descendants of Sheibani Khan, who reigned in Maurenahar and Charasm.

⁸ *Histoire de Genghizcan, et de toute la Dinastie des Mongous ses Successeurs, Conquétrants de la Chine*; tirée de l'*Histoire de la Chine* par le R. P. Gaubil, de la Société de Jésus, Missionnaire à Peking; à Paris, 1739, in 4to. This translation is stamped with the Chinese character of domestic accuracy and foreign ignorance.

⁹ See the *Histoire du Grand Genghizcan, premier Empereur des Moguls et Tartares*, par M. Petit de la Croix, à Paris, 1710, in 12mo.: a work of ten years' labour, chiefly drawn from the Persian writers, among whom Nisavi, the secretary of sultan Gela-leddin, has the merit and prejudices of a contemporary. A slight air of romance is the fault of the originals, or the compiler. See likewise the articles of *Genghizcan*, *Mohammed*, *Gelaleddin*, &c., in the *Bibliothèque Orientale* of D'Herbelot.^b

^a The Igours, more correctly called Ouigours, were Turks and not Mongols. Respecting their language and alphabet see Editor's note, vol. iii. p. 307, 308.—S.

See the notice on Tha-tha-toung-o, the Ouigour minister of Zingis, in Abel Rémusat's 2nd series of *Recherch. Asiat.* vol. ii. p. 61. He taught the son of Zingis to write: "He was the instructor of the Moguls in writing, of which they

"were before ignorant;" and hence the application of the Ouigour characters to the Mogul language cannot be placed earlier than the year 1204 or 1205, nor so late as the time of Pâ-sse-pa, who lived under Khubilai. A new alphabet, approaching to that of Thibet, was introduced under Khubilai.—M.

^b The preface to D'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, gives a catalogue of the Arabic and Persian authorities.—M.

Armenians,¹⁰ Syrians,¹¹ Arabians,¹² Greeks,¹³ Russians,¹⁴ Poles,¹⁵ Hungarians,¹⁶ and Latins;¹⁷ and each nation will deserve credit in the relation of their own disasters and defeats.¹⁸

The arms of Zingis and his lieutenants successively reduced the hordes of the desert, who pitched their tents between the wall of

¹⁰ Haithonus, or Aithonus, an Armenian prince, and afterwards a monk of Premontré (Fabric. Biblioth. Lat. medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 34), dictated in the French language his book *de Tartaris*, his old fellow-soldiers. It was immediately translated into Latin, and is inserted in the *Novus Orbis* of Simon Gryneus (Basil, 1555, in folio).^a

¹¹ Zingis Khan, and his first successors, occupy the conclusion of the ixth Dynasty of Abulpharagius (vers. Pocock, Oxon. 1663, in 4to.); and his xth Dynasty is that of the Moguls of Persia. Assemannus (Biblioth. Orient. tom. ii.) has extracted some facts from his Syriac writings, and the lives of the Jacobite maphrians, or primates of the East.

¹² Among the Arabians, in language and religion, we may distinguish Abulfeda, sultan of Hamah in Syria, who fought in person, under the Mameluke standard, against the Moguls.

¹³ Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ii. c. 5, 6) has felt the necessity of connecting the Scythian and Byzantine histories. He describes with truth and elegance the settlement and manners of the Moguls of Persia, but he is ignorant of their origin, and corrupts the names of Zingis and his sons.

¹⁴ M. Levesque (*Histoire de Russie*, tom. ii.) has described the conquest of Russia by the Tartars, from the patriarch Nicon and the old chronicles.

¹⁵ For Poland I am content with the *Sarmatia Asiatica et Europæa* of Matthew à Michou, or De Michoviá, a canon and physician of Cracow (A.D. 1506), inserted in the *Novus Orbis* of Gryneus. Fabric. Biblioth. Latin. mediæ et infimæ Ætatis, tom. v. p. 56.

¹⁶ I should quote Thuroozius, the oldest general historian (pars ii. c. 74, p. 150), in the 1st volume of the *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, did not the same volume contain the original narrative of a contemporary, an eye-witness, and a sufferer (M. Rogerii, Hungari, Varadiensis Capituli Canonici, Carmen miserabile, seu Historia super Destructione Regni Hungariæ Temporibus Belæ IV. Regis per Tartaros facta, p. 292-321); the best picture that I have ever seen of all the circumstances of a barbaric invasion.

¹⁷ Matthew Paris has represented, from authentic documents, the danger and distress of Europe (consult the word *Tartari* in his copious Index). From motives of zeal and curiosity, the court of the great khan in the xiiiith century was visited by two friars, John de Plano Carpini, and William Rubruquis, and by Marco Polo, a Venetian gentleman. The Latin relations of the two former are inserted in the 1st volume of Hakluyt; the Italian original or version of the third (Fabric. Biblioth. Latin. medii Ævi, tom. ii. p. 198, tom. v. p. 25) may be found in the second tome of Ramusio.

¹⁸ In his great *History of the Huns* M. de Guignes has most amply treated of Zingis Khan and his successors. See tom. iii. l. xv.-xix. and in the collateral articles of the Seljukians of Roum, tom. ii. l. xi.; the Carizmians, l. xiv.; and the Mamelukes, tom. iv. l. xxi.: consult likewise the tables of the 1st volume. He is ever learned and accurate; yet I am only indebted to him for a general view, and some passages of Abulfeda, which are still latent in the Arabic text.^b

^a A précis at the end of the new edition of Le Beau, *Hist. des Empereurs*, vol. xvii., by M. Brosset, gives large extracts from the accounts of the Armenian historians relating to the Mongul conquests.—M.

^b To this catalogue of the historians of the Moguls may be added D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, from Arabic and Persian authorities; and Schmidt, *Geschichte*

der Ost-Mongolen, St. Petersburg, 1829. This curious work, by Ssanang Seetsen Chungtaidachi, published in the original Mongol, was written after the conversion of the nation to Buddhism: it is enriched with very valuable notes by the editor and translator; but, unfortunately, is very barren of information about the European, and even the western Asiatic conquests of the Mongols.—M.

China and the Volga; and the Mogul emperor became the monarch of the pastoral world, the lord of many millions of shepherds and soldiers, who felt their united strength, and were impatient to rush on the mild and wealthy climates of the south. His ancestors had been the tributaries of the Chinese emperors; and Temugin himself had been disgraced by a title of honour and servitude. The court of Peking was astonished by an embassy from its former vassal, who, in the tone of the king of nations, exacted the tribute and obedience which he had paid, and who affected to treat the *son of heaven* as the most contemptible of mankind. An haughty answer disguised their secret apprehensions; and their fears were soon justified by the march of innumerable squadrons, who pierced on all sides the feeble rampart of the great wall. Ninety cities were stormed, or starved, by the Moguls; ten only escaped; and Zingis, from a knowledge of the filial piety of the Chinese, covered his vanguard with their captive parents; an unworthy, and by degrees a fruitless, abuse of the virtue of his enemies. His invasion was supported by the revolt of an hundred thousand Khitans, who guarded the frontier: yet he listened to a treaty; and a princess of China, three thousand horses, five hundred youths and as many virgins, and a tribute of gold and silk, were the price of his retreat. In his second expedition he compelled the Chinese emperor to retire beyond the Yellow River to a more southern residence. The siege of Peking¹⁹ was long and laborious: the inhabitants were reduced by famine to decimate and devour their fellow-citizens; when their ammunition was spent, they discharged ingots of gold and silver from their engines; but the Moguls introduced a mine to the centre of the capital; and the conflagration of the palace burnt above thirty days. China was desolated by Tartar war and domestic faction; and the five northern provinces were added to the empire of Zingis.

In the West he touched the dominions of Mohammed sultan of Carizme, who reigned from the Persian Gulf to the borders of India and Turkestan; and who, in the proud imitation of Alexander the Great, forgot the servitude and ingratitude of his fathers to the house of Seljuk. It was the wish of Zingis to establish a friendly and commercial intercourse with the

His invasion
of China,
A.D.
1210-1214;
of Carizme,
Transoxiana,
and Persia,
A.D.
1218-1224.

¹⁹ More properly *Yen-king*, an ancient city, whose ruins still appear some furlongs to the south-east of the modern *Pekin*, which was built by Cublai Khan (Gaubil, p. 146). *Pe-king* and *Nan-king* are vague titles, the courts of the north and of the south. The identity and change of names perplex the most skilful readers of the Chinese geography* (p. 177).

* And likewise in Chinese history. See Rémusat, *Mélanges Asiat.* 2nd ser. tom. ii. p. 5.—M.

most powerful of the Moslem princes; nor could he be tempted by the secret solicitations of the caliph of Bagdad, who sacrificed to his personal wrongs the safety of the church and state. A rash and inhuman deed provoked and justified the Tartar arms in the invasion of the southern Asia.* A caravan of three ambassadors and one hundred and fifty merchants was arrested and murdered at Otrar, by the command of Mohammed; nor was it till after a demand and denial of justice, till he had prayed and fasted three nights on a mountain, that the Mogul emperor appealed to the judgment of God and his sword. Our European battles, says a philosophic writer,²⁰ are petty skirmishes, if compared to the numbers that have fought and fallen in the fields of Asia. Seven hundred thousand Moguls and Tartars are said to have marched under the standard of Zingis and his four sons. In the vast plains that extend to the north of the Sihon or Jaxartes they were encountered by four hundred thousand soldiers of the sultan; and in the first battle, which was suspended by the night, one hundred and sixty thousand Carizmians were slain. Mohammed was astonished by the multitude and valour of his enemies; he withdrew from the scene of danger, and distributed his troops in the frontier towns; trusting that the barbarians, invincible in the field, would be repulsed by the length and difficulty of so many regular sieges. But the prudence of Zingis had formed a body of Chinese engineers, skilled in the mechanic arts; informed perhaps of the secret of gunpowder, and capable, under his discipline, of attacking a foreign country with more vigour and success than they had defended their own. The Persian historians will relate the sieges and reduction of Otrar, Cogende, Bochara, Samarcand, Carizme, Herat, Merou, Nisabour, Balch, and Candahar; and the conquest of the rich and populous countries of Transoxiana, Carizme, and Chorazan.^b The destructive hostilities of Attila and the Huns have long since been elucidated by the example of Zingis and the Moguls; and in this more proper place I shall be content to observe, that, from the Caspian to the Indus, they ruined a tract of many hundred miles, which was adorned with the habitations and labours of mankind, and that five centuries have not been sufficient to repair the ravages of four years. The Mogul emperor encouraged or indulged the fury of his troops: the hope of future possession was

²⁰ M. de Voltaire, *Essai sur l'Histoire Générale*, tom. iii. c. 60, p. 8. His account of Zingis and the Moguls contains, as usual, much general sense and truth, with some particular errors.

* See the particular account of this transaction from the *Kholaussut el Ak-baur*, in Price, vol. ii. p. 402.—M.

^b Everywhere they massacred all classes, except the artisans, whom they made slaves. *Hist. des Mongols*.—M.

lost in the ardour of rapine and slaughter ; and the cause of the war exasperated their native fierceness by the pretence of justice and revenge. The downfall and death of the sultan Mohammed, who expired, unpitied and alone, in a desert island of the Caspian Sea, is a poor atonement for the calamities of which he was the author. Could the Carizmian empire have been saved by a single hero, it would have been saved by his son Gelaleddin, whose active valour repeatedly checked the Moguls in the career of victory. Retreating, as he fought, to the banks of the Indus, he was oppressed by their innumerable host, till, in the last moment of despair, Gelaleddin spurred his horse into the waves, swam one of the broadest and most rapid rivers of Asia, and extorted the admiration and applause of Zingis himself. It was in this camp that the Mogul conqueror yielded with reluctance to the murmurs of his weary and wealthy troops, who sighed for the enjoyment of their native land. Incumbered with the spoils of Asia, he slowly measured back his footsteps, betrayed some pity for the misery of the vanquished, and declared his intention of rebuilding the cities which had been swept away by the tempest of his arms. After he had repassed the Oxus and Jaxartes he was joined by two generals whom he had detached with thirty thousand horse to subdue the western provinces of Persia. They had trampled on the nations which opposed their passage, penetrated through the gates of Derbend, traversed the Volga and the desert, and accomplished the circuit of the Caspian Sea, by an expedition which had never been attempted, and has never been repeated. The return of Zingis was signalled by the overthrow of the rebellious or independent kingdoms of Tartary ; and he died in the fulness of years and glory, with his last breath exhorting and instructing his sons to achieve the conquest of the Chinese empire.^a

The haram of Zingis was composed of five hundred wives and concubines ; and of his numerous progeny, four sons, illustrious by their birth and merit, exercised under their father the principal offices of peace and war. Toushi was his great huntsman, Zagatai²¹ his judge, Octai his minister, and Tuli his general ; and their names and actions are often conspicuous in the history of his conquests. Firmly united for

His death,
A.D. 1227.

Conquests of
the Moguls
under the
successors of
Zingis,
A.D.
1227-1295.

²¹ Zagatai gave his name to his dominions of Maurenahar, or Transoxiana ; and the Moguls of Hindostan, who emigrated from that country, are styled Zagatais by the

^a Their first duty, which he bequeathed to them, was to massacre the king of Tangeoute and all the inhabitants of Ninhia, the surrender of the city being already agreed upon. Hist. des Mongols, vol. i. p. 286.—M.

their own and the public interest, the three brothers and their families were content with dependent sceptres; and Octai, by general consent, was proclaimed great khan, or emperor of the Moguls and Tartars. He was succeeded by his son Gayuk, after whose death the empire devolved to his cousins Mangou and Cublai, the sons of Tuli, and the grandsons of Zingis. In the sixty-eight years of his four first successors, the Mogul subdued almost all Asia and a large portion of Europe. Without confining myself to the order of time, without expatiating on the detail of events, I shall present a general picture of the progress of their arms; I. In the East; II. In the South; III. In the West; and IV. In the North.

I. Before the invasion of Zingis, China was divided into two empires or dynasties of the North and South;²⁹ and the difference of origin and interest was smoothed by a general conformity of laws, language, and national manners. The Northern empire, which had been dismembered by Zingis, was finally subdued seven years after his death. After the loss of Peking, the emperor had fixed his residence at Kaifong, a city many leagues in circumference, and which contained, according to the Chinese annals, fourteen hundred thousand families of inhabitants and fugitives. He escaped from thence with only seven horsemen, and made his last stand in a third capital, till at length the hopeless monarch, protesting his innocence and accusing his fortune, ascended a funeral pile, and gave orders that, as soon as he had stabbed himself, the fire should be kindled by his attendants. The dynasty of the *Song*, the native and ancient sovereigns of the whole empire, survived about forty-five years the fall of the Northern usurpers; and the perfect conquest was reserved for the arms of Cublai. During this interval the Moguls were often diverted by foreign wars; and, if the Chinese seldom dared to meet their victors in the field, their passive courage presented an endless succession of cities to storm and of millions to slaughter. In the attack and defence of places the engines of antiquity and the Greek fire were alternately employed: the use of gunpowder in cannon and bombs appears as a familiar

Of the
northern
empire of
China,
A.D. 1234.

Persians. This certain etymology, and the similar example of Uzbek, Nogai, &c., may warn us not absolutely to reject the derivations of a national, from a personal, name.^a

²⁹ In Marco Polo, and the Oriental geographers, the names of Cathay and Mangi distinguish the northern and southern empires, which, from A.D. 1234 to 1279, were those of the great khan and of the Chinese. The search of Cathay, after China had been found, excited and misled our navigators of the sixteenth century in their attempts to discover the north-east passage.

^a See a curious anecdote of Tschagatai, *Hist. des Mongols*, p. 370.—M.

practice;²³ and the sieges were conducted by the Mahometans and Franks, who had been liberally invited into the service of Cublai. After passing the great river the troops and artillery were conveyed along a series of canals, till they invested the royal residence of Hamcheu, or Quinsay, in the country of silk, the most delicious climate of China. The emperor, a defenceless youth, surrendered his person and sceptre; and before he was sent in exile into Tartary he struck nine times the ground with his forehead, to adore in prayer or thanksgiving the mercy of the great khan. Yet the war (it was now styled a rebellion) was still maintained in the southern provinces from Hamcheu to Canton; and the obstinate remnant of independence and hostility was transported from the land to the sea. But when the fleet of the *Song* was surrounded and oppressed by a superior armament, their last champion leaped into the waves with his infant emperor in his arms. "It is more glorious," he cried, "to die a prince than to live a slave." An hundred thousand Chinese imitated his example; and the whole empire, from Tonkin to the great wall, submitted to the dominion of Cublai. His boundless ambition aspired to the conquest of Japan: his fleet was twice shipwrecked; and the lives of an hundred thousand Moguls and Chinese were sacrificed in the fruitless expedition. But the circumjacent kingdoms, Corea, Tonkin, Cochinchina, Pegu, Bengal, and Thibet, were reduced in different degrees of tribute and obedience by the effort or terror of his arms. He explored the Indian Ocean with a fleet of a thousand ships: they sailed in sixty-eight days, most probably to the isle of Borneo, under the equinoctial line; and though they returned not without spoil or glory, the emperor was dissatisfied that the savage king had escaped from their hands.

Of the
southern,
A.D. 1279.

²³ I depend on the knowledge and fidelity of the Père Gaubil, who translates the Chinese text of the annals of the Moguls or Yuen (p. 71, 93, 153); but I am ignorant at what time these annals were composed and published. The two uncles of Marco Polo, who served as engineers at the siege of Siengyangfou^a (l. ii. c. 61, in Ramusio, tom. ii.; see Gaubil, p. 155, 157), must have felt and related the effects of this destructive powder; and their silence is a weighty, and almost decisive, objection. I entertain a suspicion that the recent discovery was carried from Europe to China by the caravans of the xvth century, and falsely adopted as an old national discovery before the arrival of the Portuguese and Jesuits in the xvith. Yet the Père Gaubil affirms that the use of gunpowder has been known to the Chinese above 1600 years.^b

^a Sou-houng-kian-lou. Abel Rémusat. —M.

^b La poudre à canon et d'autres compositions inflammantes, dont ils se servent pour construire des pièces d'artifice d'un effet surprenant, leur étaient connues depuis très long-temps, et l'on croit que des bombardes et des pierriers, dont ils avaient

enseigné l'usage aux Tartares, ont pu donner en Europe l'idée d'artillerie, quoique la forme des fusils et des canons dont ils se servent actuellement leur ait été apportée par les Français, ainsi que l'attestent les noms mêmes qu'ils donnent à ces sortes d'armes. Abel Rémusat, Mélanges Asiat. 2d ser, tom i, p. 23.—M.

II. The conquest of Hindostan by the Moguls was reserved in a later period for the house of Timour; but that of Iran, or Persia, was achieved by Holagou Khan,^a the grandson of Zingis, the brother and lieutenant of the two successive emperors, Mangou and Cublai. I shall not enumerate the crowd of sultans, emirs, and atabeks whom he trampled into dust; but the extirpation of the *Assassins*, or Ismaelians²⁴ of Persia, may be considered as a service to mankind. Among the hills to the south of the Caspian these odious sectaries had reigned with impunity above an hundred and sixty years; and their prince, or imam, established his lieutenant to lead and govern the colony of Mount Libanus, so famous and formidable in the history of the crusades.²⁵ With the fanaticism of the Koran the Ismaelians had blended the Indian transmigration and the visions of their own prophets; and it was their first duty to devote their souls and bodies in blind obedience to the vicar of God. The daggers of his missionaries were felt both in the East and West: the Christians and the Moslems enumerate, and perhaps multiply, the illustrious victims that were sacrificed to the zeal, avarice, or resentment of *the old man* (as he was corruptly styled) of *the mountain*. But these daggers, his only arms, were broken by the sword of Holagou, and not a vestige is left of the enemies of mankind, except the word *assassin*, which, in the most odious sense, has been adopted in the languages of Europe. The extinction of the Abbassides cannot be indifferent to the spectators of their greatness and decline. Since the fall of their Seljukian tyrants the caliphs had recovered their lawful dominion of Bagdad and the Arabian Irak; but the city was distracted by theological factions, and the commander of the faithful was lost in a haram of seven hundred concubines. The invasion of the Moguls he encountered with feeble arms and haughty embassies. "On the divine decree," said the caliph Mostasem, "is founded the throne of the sons of Abbas: and their foes shall surely be destroyed in this world and in the next. Who is this Holagou that dares to rise against them? If he be desirous of peace, let him instantly depart from the sacred territory; and perhaps he may obtain from

²⁴ All that can be known of the Assassins of Persia and Syria is poured from the copious, and even profuse, erudition of M. Falconet, in two *Mémoires* read before the Academy of Inscriptions (tom. xvii. p. 127-170).^b

²⁵ The Ismaelians of Syria, 40,000 Assassins, had acquired or founded ten castles in the hills above Tortosa. About the year 1280 they were extirpated by the Mamelukes.

^a See the curious account of the expedition of Holagou, translated from the Chinese, by M. Abel Rémusat, *Mélanges Asiat.* 2d ser. tom. i. p. 171.—M.

^b Von Hammer's History of the Assassins has now thrown Falconet's Dissertation into the shade.—M.

“our clemency the pardon of his fault.” This presumption was cherished by a perfidious vizir, who assured his master that, even if the barbarians had entered the city, the women and children from the terraces would be sufficient to overwhelm them with stones. But when Holagou touched the phantom, it instantly vanished into smoke. After a siege of two months Bagdad was stormed and sacked by the Moguls; and their savage commander pronounced the death of the caliph Mostasem, the last of the temporal successors of Mahomet; whose noble kinsmen, of the race of Abbas, had reigned in Asia above five hundred years. Whatever might be the designs of the conqueror, the holy cities of Mecca and Medina²⁶ were protected by the Arabian desert; but the Moguls spread beyond the Tigris and Euphrates, pillaged Aleppo and Damascus, and threatened to join the Franks in the deliverance of Jerusalem. Egypt was lost had she been defended only by her feeble offspring; but the Mamalukes had breathed in their infancy the keenness of a Scythian air: equal in valour, superior in discipline, they met the Moguls in many a well-fought field; and drove back the stream of hostility to the eastward of the Euphrates.^b But it overflowed with resistless violence the kingdoms of Armenia^c and Anatolia, of which the former was possessed by the Christians and the latter by the Turks. The sultans of Iconium opposed some resistance to the Mogul arms till Azzadin sought a refuge among the Greeks of Constantinople, and his feeble successors, the last of the Seljukian dynasty, were finally extirpated by the khans of Persia.^d

Of Anatolia,
A.D.
1242-1272.

III. No sooner had Octai subverted the northern empire of China than he resolved to visit with his arms the most remote countries of the West. Fifteen hundred thousand Moguls and Tartars were inscribed on the military roll: of these the great khan selected a third, which he intrusted to the command of his nephew Batou, the son of Tuli; who reigned over his father's conquests to the north of the Caspian Sea.^e After a festival

Of Kipsak,
Russia,
Poland,
Hungary, &c
A.D.
1235-1245.

²⁶ As a proof of the ignorance of the Chinese in foreign transactions, I must observe that some of their historians extend the conquests of Zingis himself to Medina, the country of Mahomet (Gaubil, p. 42).

^a Compare Von Hammer, *Geschichte der Assassinen*, p. 283, 307; Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, vol. vii. p. 406; Price, *Chronological Retrospect*, vol. ii. p. 217-223.—M.

^b Compare Wilken, vol. vii. p. 410, 416.—M.

^c On the friendly relations of the Armenians with the Mongols, see Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, vol. vii. p. 402.

They eagerly desired an alliance against the Mahometan powers.—M.

^d Trebizond escaped, apparently by the dexterous politics of the sovereign, but it acknowledged the Mongul supremacy. Fallmerayer, p. 127.—M.

^e See the curious extracts from the Mahometan writers, *Hist. des Mongols*, p. 707.—M.

of forty days Batou set forwards on this great expedition; and such was the speed and ardour of his innumerable squadrons, that in less than six years they had measured a line of ninety degrees of longitude, a fourth part of the circumference of the globe. The great rivers of Asia and Europe, the Volga and Kama, the Don and Borysthenes, the Vistula and Danube, they either swam with their horses or passed on the ice, or traversed in leathern boats, which followed the camp and transported their waggons and artillery. By the first victories of Batou the remains of national freedom were eradicated in the immense plains of Turkestan and Kipzak.³⁷ In his rapid progress he overran the kingdoms, as they are now styled, of Astracan and Cazan; and the troops which he detached towards Mount Caucasus explored the most secret recesses of Georgia and Circassia. The civil discord of the great dukes, or princes, of Russia betrayed their country to the Tartars. They spread from Livonia to the Black Sea, and both Moscow and Kiow, the modern and the ancient capitals, were reduced to ashes; a temporary ruin, less fatal than the deep, and perhaps indelible, mark which a servitude of two hundred years has imprinted on the character of the Russians. The Tartars ravaged with equal fury the countries which they hoped to possess and those which they were hastening to leave. From the permanent conquest of Russia they made a deadly, though transient, inroad into the heart of Poland, and as far as the borders of Germany. The cities of Lublin and Cracow were obliterated: they approached the shores of the Baltic; and in the battle of Lignitz they defeated the dukes of Silesia, the Polish palatines, and the great master of the Teutonic order, and filled nine sacks with the right ears of the slain. From Lignitz, the extreme point of their western march, they turned aside to the invasion of Hungary; and the presence or spirit of Batou inspired the host of five hundred thousand men: the Carpathian hills could not be long impervious to their divided columns; and their approach had been fondly disbelieved till it was irresistibly felt. The king, Bela the Fourth, assembled the military force of his counts and bishops; but he had alienated the nation by adopting a vagrant horde of forty thousand families of Comans, and these savage guests were provoked to revolt by the suspicion of treachery and the murder of their prince. The whole country north of the Danube was lost in a

³⁷ The *Dashté Kipzak*, or plain of Kipzak, extends on either side of the Volga, in a boundless space towards the Jaik and Borysthenes, and is supposed to contain the primitive name and nation of the Cosacks.

³⁸ Olmütz was gallantly and successfully defended by Stenberg. *Hist. des Mongols*, p. 396.—M.

day and depopulated in a summer; and the ruins of cities and churches were overspread with the bones of the natives who expiated the sins of their Turkish ancestors. An ecclesiastic who fled from the sack of Waradin describes the calamities which he had seen or suffered; and the sanguinary rage of sieges and battles is far less atrocious than the treatment of the fugitives, who had been allured from the woods under a promise of peace and pardon, and who were coolly slaughtered as soon as they had performed the labours of the harvest and vintage. In the winter the Tartars passed the Danube on the ice and advanced to Gran or Strigonium, a German colony, and the metropolis of the kingdom. Thirty engines were planted against the walls; the ditches were filled with sacks of earth and dead bodies; and after a promiscuous massacre, three hundred noble matrons were slain in the presence of the khan. Of all the cities and fortresses of Hungary three alone survived the Tartar invasion, and the unfortunate Bela hid his head among the islands of the Adriatic.

The Latin world was darkened by this cloud of savage hostility: a Russian fugitive carried the alarm to Sweden; and the remote nations of the Baltic and the ocean trembled at the approach of the Tartars,²⁸ whom their fear and ignorance were inclined to separate from the human species. Since the invasion of the Arabs in the eighth century Europe had never been exposed to a similar calamity; and if the disciples of Mahomet would have oppressed her religion and liberty, it might be apprehended that the shepherds of Scythia would extinguish her cities, her arts, and all the institutions of civil society. The Roman pontiff attempted to appease and convert these invincible pagans by a mission of Franciscan and Dominican friars; but he was astonished by the reply of the khan, that the sons of God and of Zingis were invested with a divine power to subdue or extirpate the nations; and that the pope would be involved in the universal destruction, unless he visited in person and as a suppliant the royal horde. The emperor Frederic the Second embraced a more generous mode of defence; and his letters to the kings of France and England and the princes of Germany represented the common danger, and urged them to arm their vassals in this just and rational crusade.²⁹ The

²⁸ In the year 1238 the inhabitants of Gothia (*Sweden*) and Frise were prevented, by their fear of the Tartars, from sending, as usual, their ships to the herring-fishery on the coast of England; and, as there was no exportation, forty or fifty of these fish were sold for a shilling (*Matthew Paris*, p. 396). It is whimsical enough that the orders of a Mogul khan, who reigned on the borders of China, should have lowered the price of herrings in the English market.

²⁹ I shall copy his characteristic or flattering epithets of the different countries of Europe: *Furens ac fervens ad arma Germania, strenuæ militiæ genitrix et alumna Francia, bellicosa et audax Hispania, virtuosa viris et classe munita fertilis Anglia, impetuosus bellatoribus referta Alemannia, navalis Dacia, indomita Italia,*

Tartars themselves were awed by the fame and valour of the Franks: the town of Neustadt in Austria was bravely defended against them by fifty knights and twenty cross-bows; and they raised the siege on the appearance of a German army. After wasting the adjacent kingdoms of Servia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria, Batou slowly retreated from the Danube to the Volga to enjoy the rewards of victory in the city and palace of Serai, which started at his command from the midst of the desert.^a

IV. Even the poor and frozen regions of the north attracted the arms of the Moguls: Sheibani khan, the brother of the great Of Siberia, A.D. 1242, &c. Batou, led an horde of fifteen thousand families into the wilds of Siberia; and his descendants reigned at Tobolskoi above three centuries till the Russian conquest. The spirit of enterprise which pursued the course of the Oby and Yenisei must have led to the discovery of the Icy Sea. After brushing away the monstrous fables of men with dogs' heads and cloven feet, we shall find that, fifteen years after the death of Zingis, the Moguls were informed of the name and manners of the Samoyedes in the neighbourhood of the polar circle, who dwelt in subterraneous huts and derived their furs and their food from the sole occupation of hunting.³⁰

While China, Syria, and Poland were invaded at the same time by the Moguls and Tartars, the authors of the mighty mischief were content with the knowledge and declaration that their word was the sword of death. Like the first caliphs, the first successors of Zingis seldom appeared in person at the head of their victorious armies. On the banks of the Onon and Selinga the royal or *golden horde* exhibited the contrast of simplicity and greatness; of the roasted sheep and mare's milk which composed their banquets; and of a distribution in one day of five hundred waggons of gold and silver. The ambassadors and princes of Europe and Asia were compelled to undertake this distant and laborious pilgrimage; and the life and reign of the great dukes of Russia, the kings of Georgia and Armenia, the sultans of Iconium, and the emirs of Persia,

pacis ignara Burgundia, inquieta Apulia, cum maris Græci, Adriatici et Tyrrheni insulis pyratibus et invictis, Cretâ, Cypro, Sicilia, cum Oceano conterminis insulis, et regionibus, cruenta Hybernia, cum agili Wallia, palustris Scotia, glacialis Norvegia, suam electam militiam sub vexillo Crucis destinabunt, &c. (Matthew Paris, p. 498.)

³⁰ See Carpin's relation in Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 30. The pedigree of the khans of Siberia is given by Abulghazi (part viii. p. 485-495). Have the Russians found no Tartar chronicles at Tobolskoi? ^b

^a He was recalled by the death of Octai. —M. iii. p. 185, 205; and Rémusat, *Hist. des Langues Tartares*, p. 227; and preface to Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*.

^b See the account of the Mongol library in Bergman, *Nomadische Streifereyen*, vol. —M. . ●

were decided by the frown or smile of the great khan. The sons and grandsons of Zingis had been accustomed to the pastoral life ; but the village of Caracorum³¹ was gradually ennobled by their election and residence. A change of manners is implied in the removal of Octai and Mangou from a tent to an house ; and their example was imitated by the princes of their family and the great officers of the empire. Instead of the boundless forest, the enclosure of a park afforded the more indolent pleasures of the chase ; their new habitations were decorated with painting and sculpture ; their superfluous treasures were cast in fountains, and basins, and statues of massy silver ; and the artists of China and Paris vied with each other in the service of the great khan.³² Caracorum contained two streets, the one of Chinese mechanics, the other of Mahometan traders ; and the places of religious worship, one Nestorian church, two mosques, and twelve temples of various idols, may represent in some degree the number and division of inhabitants. Yet a French missionary declares that the town of St. Denys, near Paris, was more considerable than the Tartar capital ; and that the whole palace of Mangou was scarcely equal to a tenth part of that Benedictine abbey. The conquests of Russia and Syria might amuse the vanity of the great khans ; but they were seated on the borders of China ; the acquisition of that empire was the nearest and most interesting object ; and they might learn from their pastoral economy that it is for the advantage of the shepherd to protect and propagate his flock. I have already celebrated the wisdom and virtue of a mandarin who prevented the desolation of five populous and cultivated provinces. In a spotless administration of thirty years this friend of his country and of mankind continually laboured to mitigate, or suspend, the havoc of war ; to save the monuments, and to rekindle the flame, of science ; to restrain the military commander by the restoration of civil magistrates ; and to instil the love of peace and justice into the minds of the Moguls. He struggled with the barbarism of the first conquerors ; but his salutary lessons produced a rich harvest in the second generation.^b The northern, and by degrees the

adopt the
manners of
China.
A.D.
1259-1368.

³¹ The Map of D'Anville and the Chinese Itineraries (De Guignes, tom. i. part ii. p. 57) seem to mark the position of Holin, or Caracorum, about six hundred miles to the north-west of Pekin. The distance between Selingsky and Pekin is near 2000 Russian versts, between 1300 and 1400 English miles (Bell's Travels, vol. ii. p. 67).^a

³² Rubruquis found at Caracorum his countryman *Guillaume Boucher, orfèvre de Paris*, who had executed for the khan a silver tree, supported by four lions, and ejecting four different liquors. Abulghazi (part iv. p. 366) mentions the painters of Kitay or China.

^a Respecting this town, see Rémusat, *Nouv. Mém. de l'Académie des Inscr.* vol. vi.—S.

^b See the interesting sketch of the life VOL. VIII.

of this minister (Yelin-Thsou-thsai), in the second volume of the second series of *Recherches Asiatiques*, par A. Rémusat, p. 64.—M.

southern, empire acquiesced in the government of Cublai, the lieutenant, and afterwards the successor, of Mangou; and the nation was loyal to a prince who had been educated in the manners of China. He restored the forms of her venerable constitution; and the victors submitted to the laws, the fashions, and even the prejudices, of the vanquished people. This peaceful triumph, which has been more than once repeated, may be ascribed, in a great measure, to the numbers and servitude of the Chinese. The Mogul army was dissolved in a vast and populous country; and their emperors adopted with pleasure a political system which gives to the prince the solid substance of despotism, and leaves to the subject the empty names of philosophy, freedom, and filial obedience.²⁸ Under the reign of Cublai, letters and commerce, peace and justice, were restored; the great canal of five hundred miles was opened from Nankin to the capital; he fixed his residence at Pekin; and displayed in his court the magnificence of the greatest monarch of Asia. Yet this learned prince declined from the pure and simple religion of his great ancestor: he sacrificed to the idol Fo; and his blind attachment to the lamas of Thibet and the bonzes of China²⁹ provoked the censure of the disciples of Confucius. His successors polluted the palace with a crowd of eunuchs, physicians, and astrologers, while thirteen millions of their subjects were consumed in the provinces by famine. One hundred and forty years after the death of Zingis, his degenerate race, the dynasty of the Yuen, was expelled by a revolt of the native Chinese; and the Mogul emperors were lost in the oblivion of the desert. Before this revolution they had forfeited their supremacy over the dependent branches of their house, the khans of Kipzak and Russia, the khans of Zagatai or Transoxiana, and the khans of Iran or Persia. By their distance and power these royal lieutenants had soon been released from the duties of obedience; and after the death of Cublai they scorned to accept a sceptre or a title from his unworthy successors. According to their respective situation, they maintained the simplicity of the pastoral life, or assumed the luxury of the cities of Asia; but the princes and their hordes were alike disposed for the reception of a foreign worship. After some hesitation between the Gospel and the Koran, they conformed to the religion of Mahomet;

Division of
the Mogul
empire,
A.D.
1259-1300.

²⁸ The attachment of the khans, and the hatred of the mandarins, to the bonzes and lamas (Duhalde, *Hist. de la Chine*, tom. 1. p. 502, 503) seems to represent them as the priests of the same god, of the Indian Fo, whose worship prevails among the sects of Hindostan, Siam, Thibet, China, and Japan. But this mysterious subject is still lost in a cloud, which the researches of our Asiatic Society may gradually dispel.

²⁹ Compare *Hist. des Mongols*, p. 616.—M.

and while they adopted for their brethren the Arabs and Persians, they renounced all intercourse with the ancient Moguls, the idolaters of China.

In this shipwreck of nations some surprise may be excited by the escape of the Roman empire, whose relics, at the time of the Mogul invasion, were dismembered by the Greeks and Latins. Less potent than Alexander, they were pressed, like the Macedonian, both in Europe and Asia, by the shepherds of Scythia; and had the Tartars undertaken the siege, Constantinople must have yielded to the fate of Pekin, Samarcand, and Bagdad. The glorious and voluntary retreat of Batou from the Danube was insulted by the vain triumph of the Franks and Greeks;²⁴ and in a second expedition death surprised him in full march to attack the capital of the Cæsars. His brother Borga carried the Tartar arms into Bulgaria and Thrace; but he was diverted from the Byzantine war by a visit to Novogorod, in the fifty-seventh degree of latitude, where he numbered the inhabitants, and regulated the tributes, of Russia. The Mogul khan formed an alliance with the Mamalukes against his brethren of Persia: three hundred thousand horse penetrated through the gates of Derbend, and the Greeks might rejoice in the first example of domestic war. After the recovery of Constantinople, Michael Palæologus,²⁵ at a distance from his court and army, was surprised and surrounded in a Thracian castle by twenty thousand Tartars. But the object of their march was a private interest: they came to the deliverance of Az-zadin the Turkish sultan, and were content with his person and the treasure of the emperor. Their general Noga, whose name is perpetuated in the hordes of Astracan, raised a formidable rebellion against Mengo Timour, the third of the khans of Kipzak, obtained in marriage Maria the natural daughter of Palæologus, and guarded the dominions of his friend and father. The subsequent invasions of a Scythian cast were those of outlaws and fugitives; and some thousands of Alani and Comans, who had been driven from their native seats, were reclaimed from a vagrant life and enlisted in the service of the empire. Such was the influence in Europe of the invasion of the Moguls. The first terror of their arms secured rather than disturbed the peace of the Roman Asia. The sultan of Iconium solicited a personal interview with John Vataces; and his artful policy

²⁴ Some repulse of the Moguls in Hungary (Matthew Paris, p. 545, 546) might propagate and colour the report of the union and victory of the kings of the Franks on the confines of Bulgaria. Abulpharagius (Dynam. p. 310), after forty years beyond the Tigris, might be easily deceived.

²⁵ See Pachymer, l. iii. c. 25, and l. ix. c. 26, 27; and the false alarm at Nice, l. iii. c. 27 (c. 28, tom. i. p. 244 ed. Bonn); Nicephorus Gregoras, l. iv. c. 6.

encouraged the Turks to defend their barrier against the common enemy.³⁶ That barrier indeed was soon overthrown, and the servitude and ruin of the Seljukians exposed the nakedness of the Greeks. The formidable Holagou threatened to march to Constantinople at the head of four hundred thousand men; and the groundless panic of the citizens of Nice will present an image of the terror which he had inspired. The accident of a procession, and the sound of a doleful litany, "From the fury of the Tartars, good Lord, deliver us," had scattered the hasty report of an assault and massacre. In the blind credulity of fear the streets of Nice were crowded with thousands of both sexes, who knew not from what or to whom they fled; and some hours elapsed before the firmness of the military officers could relieve the city from this imaginary foe. But the ambition of Holagou and his successors was fortunately diverted by the conquest of Bagdad and a long vicissitude of Syrian wars; their hostility to the Moslems inclined them to unite with the Greeks and Franks;³⁷ and their generosity or contempt had offered the kingdom of Anatolia as the reward of an Armenian vassal. The fragments of the Seljukian monarchy were disputed by the emirs who had occupied the cities or the mountains; but they all confessed the supremacy of the khans of Persia; and he often interposed his authority, and sometimes his arms, to check their depredations, and to preserve the peace and balance of his Turkish frontier. The death of Cazan,³⁸ one of the greatest and most accomplished princes of the house of Zingis, removed this salutary control; and the decline of the Moguls gave a free scope to the rise and progress of the OTTOMAN EMPIRE.³⁹

Decline of
the Mogul
khans of
Persia,
A.D. 1304,
May 31.

After the retreat of Zingis the sultan Gelaleddin of Carizme had returned from India to the possession and defence of his Persian

³⁶ G. Acropolita, p. 36, 37; Nic. Greg. l. ii. c. 6, l. iv. c. 5.

³⁷ Abulpharagius, who wrote in the year 1284, declares that the Moguls, since the fabulous defeat of Batou, had not attacked either the Franks or Greeks; and of this he is a competent witness. Hayton likewise, the Armenian prince, celebrates their friendship for himself and his nation.

³⁸ Pachymer gives a splendid character of Cazan Khan, the rival of Cyrus and Alexander (l. xii. c. 1). In the conclusion of his history (l. xiii. c. 36 [tom. ii. p. 651, ed. Bonn]), he *hopes* much from the arrival of 30,000 Tochars, or Tartars, who were ordered by the successor of Cazan to restrain the Turks of Bithynia, A.D. 1308.

³⁹ The origin of the Ottoman dynasty is illustrated by the critical learning of MM. de Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. iv. p. 329-337) and D'Anville (*Empire Turc*, p. 14-22), two inhabitants of Paris, from whom the Orientals may learn the history and geography of their own country.*

* They may be still more enlightened by the excellent abstract of this work in Professor the *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, by M. von Hammer Purgstall of Vienna, 1854.—8.
—M. The English reader will find an ex-

kingdoms. In the space of eleven years that hero fought in person fourteen battles; and such was his activity that he led his cavalry in seventeen days from Teflis to Kerman, a march of a thousand miles. Yet he was oppressed by the jealousy of the Moslem princes and the innumerable armies of the Moguls; and after his last defeat Gelaleddin perished ignobly in the mountains of Curdistan. His death dissolved a veteran and adventurous army, which included under the name of Carizmians or Corasmins many Turkman hordes that had attached themselves to the sultan's fortune. The bolder and more powerful chiefs invaded Syria, and violated the holy sepulchre of Jerusalem: the more humble engaged in the service of Aladin sultan of Iconium, and among these were the obscure fathers of the Ottoman line. They had formerly pitched their tents near the southern banks of the Oxus, in the plains of Mahan and Nesa; and it is somewhat remarkable that the same spot should have produced the first authors of the Parthian and Turkish empires. At the head, or in the rear, of a Cariznian army, Soliman Shah was drowned in the passage of the Euphrates: his son Orthogrul became the soldier and subject of Aladin, and established at Surgut, on the banks of the Sangar, a camp of four hundred families or tents, whom he governed fifty-two years both in peace and war. He was the father of Thaman, or Athman, whose Turkish name has been melted into the appellation of the caliph Othman;* and if we describe that pastoral chief as a shepherd and a robber, we must separate from those characters all idea of ignominy and baseness. Othman possessed, and perhaps surpassed, the ordinary virtues of a soldier; and the circumstances of time and place were propitious to his independence and success. The Seljukian dynasty was no more, and the distance and decline of the Mogul khans soon enfranchised him from the control of a superior. He was situate on the verge of the Greek empire: the Koran sanctified his *gazi*, or holy war, against the infidels; and their political errors unlocked the passes of Mount Olympus, and invited him to descend into the plains of Bithynia. Till the reign of Palæologus these passes had been vigilantly guarded by the militia of the country, who were repaid by their own safety and an exemption from taxes. The emperor abolished their privilege and assumed their office; but the tribute was rigorously collected, the custody of the passes was neglected, and the hardy mountaineers degenerated into a trembling crowd of peasants without spirit or discipline. It was on the twenty-seventh of July, in the year twelve

Origin of the
Ottomans,
A.D. 1240, &c.

Reign of
Othman,
A.D.
1299-1326.

* *Osman* is the real Turkish name, themselves *Osmanîs*, which has in like manner been corrupted into *Ottoman*.—S. The descendants of his subjects style

hundred and ninety-nine of the Christian æra, that Othman first invaded the territory of Nicomedia; ⁴⁰ and the singular accuracy of the date seems to disclose some foresight of the rapid and destructive growth of the monster. The annals of the twenty-seven years of his reign would exhibit a repetition of the same inroads; and his hereditary troops were multiplied in each campaign by the accession of captives and volunteers. Instead of retreating to the hills, he maintained the most useful and defensible posts, fortified the towns and castles which he had first pillaged, and renounced the pastoral life for the baths and palaces of his infant capitals. But it was not till Othman was oppressed by age and infirmities that he received the welcome news of the conquest of Prusa, which had been surrendered by famine or treachery to the arms of his son Orchan. The glory of Othman is chiefly founded on that of his descendants; but the Turks have transcribed or composed a royal testament of his last counsels of justice and moderation. ⁴¹

⁴⁰ See Pachymer, l. x. c. 25, 26, l. xiii. c. 33, 34, 36, and concerning the guard of the mountains, l. i. c. 3-6; Nicephorus Gregoras, l. vii. c. 1; and the first book of Laonicus Chalcocondyles, the Athenian.

⁴¹ I am ignorant whether the Turks have any writers older than Mahomet II., nor can I reach beyond a meagre chronicle (*Annales Turcici ad Annum 1550*), translated by John Gaudier, and published by Leunclavius (*ad calcem Laonic. Chalcocond. p. 311-350*), with copious pandects, or commentaries. The *History of the Growth and Decay (A.D. 1300-1683)* of the Othman Empire was translated into English from the Latin MS. of Demetrius Cantemir, prince of Moldavia (London, 1734, in folio). The author is guilty of strange blunders in Oriental history; but he was conversant with the language, the annals, and institutions of the Turks. Cantemir partly draws his materials from the Synopsis of Saadi Effendi of Larissa, dedicated in the year 1696 to sultan Mustapha, and a valuable abridgment of the original historians. In one of the *Ramblers* Dr. Johnson praises Knolles (*A General History of the Turks to the present Year: London, 1603*) as the first of historians, unhappy only in the choice of his subject. Yet I much doubt whether a partial and verbose compilation from Latin writers, thirteen hundred folio pages of speeches and battles, can either instruct or amuse an enlightened age, which requires from the historian some tincture of philosophy and criticism.

^a He had become chief of his race on the death of Orthogrul in 1288.—S.

^b We could have wished that M. von Hammer had given a more clear and distinct reply to this question of Gibbon. In a note, vol. i. p. 630, M. von Hammer shows that they had not only sheiks (religious writers) and learned lawyers, but poets and authors on medicine. But the inquiry of Gibbon obviously refers to historians. The oldest of their historical works, of which V. Hammer makes use, is the '*Tarichi Aschik Paschasade*,' i. e. the *History of the Great Grandson of Aschik Pasha*, who was a dervise and celebrated ascetic poet in the reign of Murad (Amurath) I. Ahmed, the author of the work,

lived during the reign of Bajazet II., but, he says, derived much information from the book of Scheik Jachahi, the son of Elias, who was imaum to sultan Orchan (the second Ottoman king), and who related, from the lips of his father, the circumstances of the earliest Ottoman history. This book (having searched for it in vain for five-and-twenty years) our author found at length in the Vatican. All the other Turkish histories on his list, as indeed this, were *written* during the reign of Mahomet II. It does not appear whether any of the rest cite earlier authorities of equal value with that claimed by the '*Tarichi Aschik Paschasade*.'—M. (*in Quarterly Review*, vol. xlix. p. 292).

From the conquest of Prusa we may date the true æra of the Ottoman empire. The lives and possessions of the Christian subjects were redeemed by a tribute or ransom of thirty thousand crowns of gold; and the city, by the labours of Orchan, assumed the aspect of a Mahometan capital; Prusa was decorated with a mosque, a college, and an hospital, of royal foundation; the Seljukian coin was changed for the name and impression of the new dynasty; and the most skilful professors of human and divine knowledge attracted the Persian and Arabian students from the ancient schools of Oriental learning. The office of vizir was instituted for Aladin, the brother of Orchan;^a and a different habit distinguished the citizens from the peasants, the Moslems from the infidels. All the troops of Othman had consisted of loose squadrons of Turkman cavalry, who served without pay and fought without discipline; but a regular body of infantry was first established and trained by the prudence of his son. A great number of volunteers was enrolled with a small stipend, but with the permission of living at home, unless they were summoned to the field: their rude manners and seditious temper disposed Orchan to educate his young captives as his soldiers and those of the prophet; but the Turkish peasants were still allowed to mount on horseback and follow his standard, with the appellation and the hopes of *freebooters*.^b By these arts he formed an army of twenty-five thousand Moslems: a train of battering engines was framed for the use of sieges; and the first successful experiment was made on the cities of Nice and Nicomedia. Orchan granted a safe-conduct to all who were desirous of departing with their families and effects; but the widows of the slain were given in marriage to the conquerors; and the sacrilegious plunder, the books, the vases, and the images, were sold or ransomed at Constantinople. The emperor Andronicus the Younger was vanquished and wounded by the son of Othman: ⁴² he subdued the whole province or kingdom of Bithynia as far as the shores of the Bosphorus and Hellespont; and the Christians confessed the justice and clemency of a reign which claimed the voluntary attachment of

Reign of
Orchan,
A.D.
1326-1360.

His conquest
of Bithynia,
A.D.
1326-1339.

⁴² Cantacuzene, though he relates the battle and heroic flight of the younger Andronicus (l. ii. c. 6, 7, 8), dissembles by his silence the loss of Prusa, Nice, and Nicomedia, which are fairly confessed by Nicephorus Gregoras (l. viii. 15; ix. 9, 13; xi. 6). It appears that Nice was taken by Orchan in 1330, and Nicomedia in 1339, which are somewhat different from the Turkish dates.

^a Von Hammer, Osm. Geschichte, vol. i. p. 82.—M.

^b Ibid. p. 91.—M.

^c For the conquests of Orchan over the

ten pashaliks or kingdoms of the Seljukians in Asia Minor, see V. Hammer, vol. i. p. 112.—M.

the Turks of Asia. Yet Orchan was content with the modest title of emir; and in the list of his compeers, the princes of Roum or Anatolia,⁴³ his military forces were surpassed by the emirs of Ghermian and Caramania, each of whom could bring into the field an army of forty thousand men. Their dominions were situate in the heart of the Seljukian kingdom: but the holy warriors, though of inferior note, who formed new principalities on the Greek empire, are more conspicuous in the light of history. The maritime country from the Propontis to the Mæander and the isle of Rhodes, so long threatened and so often pillaged, was finally lost about the thirtieth year of Andronicus the Elder.⁴⁴ Two Turkish chieftains, Sarukhan and Aidin, left their names to their conquests, and their conquests to their posterity. The captivity or ruin of the *seven churches of Asia* was consummated; and the barbarous lords of Ionia and Lydia still trample on the monuments of classic and Christian antiquity. In the loss of Ephesus the Christians deplored the fall of the first angel, the extinction of the first candlestick, of the Revelations; ⁴⁵ the desolation is complete; and the temple of Diana or the church of Mary will equally elude the search of the curious traveller. The circus and three stately theatres of Laodicea are now peopled with wolves and foxes; Sardes is reduced to a miserable village; the God of Mahomet, without a rival or a son, is invoked in the mosques of Thyatira and Pergamus; and the populousness of Smyrna is supported by the foreign trade of the Franks and Armenians. Philadelphia alone has been saved by prophecy, or courage. At a distance from the sea, forgotten by the emperors, encompassed on all sides by the Turks, her valiant citizens defended their religion and freedom above fourscore years, and at length capitulated with the proudest of the Ottomans. Among the Greek colonies and churches of Asia, Philadelphia is still erect—a column in a scene of ruins—a pleasing example that the paths of honour and safety may sometimes be the same. The servitude of Rhodes was delayed above two centuries by the establishment of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem: ⁴⁶ under the discipline of the order that island emerged into

Division of
Anatolia
among the
Turkish
emirs,
A.D. 1300, &c.

Loss of the
Asiatic
provinces,
A.D. 1312, &c.

The knights
of Rhodes,
A.D. 1310,
Aug. 15—
A.D. 1523,
Jan. 1.

⁴³ The partition of the Turkish emirs is extracted from two contemporaries, the Greek Nicephorus Gregoras (l. vii. 1) and the Arabian Marakeschi (De Guignes, tom. ii. P. ii. p. 76, 77). See likewise the first book of Laonicus Chalcocondyles.

⁴⁴ Pachymer, l. xiii. c. 13.

⁴⁵ See the Travels of Wheeler and Spon, of Pococke and Chandler, and more particularly Smith's Survey of the Seven Churches of Asia, p. 205-276. The more pious antiquaries labour to reconcile the promises and threats of the author of the Revelations with the *present* state of the seven cities. Perhaps it would be more prudent to confine his predictions to the characters and events of his own times.

⁴⁶ Consult the ivth book of the Histoire de l'Ordre de Malthe, par l'Abbé de Vertot.

fame and opulence; the noble and warlike monks were renowned by land and sea; and the bulwark of Christendom provoked and repelled the arms of the Turks and Saracens.

The Greeks, by their intestine divisions, were the authors of their final ruin. During the civil wars of the elder and younger Andronicus, the son of Othman achieved, almost without resistance, the conquest of Bithynia; and the same disorders encouraged the Turkish emirs of Lydia and Ionia to build a fleet, and to pillage the adjacent islands and the sea-coast of Europe. In the defence of his life and honour, Cantacuzene was tempted to prevent, or imitate, his adversaries, by calling to his aid the public enemies of his religion and country. Amir, the son of Aidin, concealed under a Turkish garb the humanity and politeness of a Greek; he was united with the great domestic by mutual esteem and reciprocal services; and their friendship is compared, in the vain rhetoric of the times, to the perfect union of Orestes and Pylades.⁴⁷ On the report of the danger of his friend, who was persecuted by an ungrateful court, the prince of Ionia assembled at Smyrna a fleet of three hundred vessels, with an army of twenty-nine thousand men; sailed in the depth of winter, and cast anchor at the mouth of the Hebrus. From thence, with a chosen band of two thousand Turks, he marched along the banks of the river, and rescued the empress, who was besieged in Demotica by the wild Bulgarians. At that disastrous moment the life or death of his beloved Cantacuzene was concealed by his flight into Servia; but the grateful Irene, impatient to behold her deliverer, invited him to enter the city, and accompanied her message with a present of rich apparel and an hundred horses. By a peculiar strain of delicacy, the gentle barbarian refused, in the absence of an unfortunate friend, to visit his wife, or to taste the luxuries of the palace; sustained in his tent the rigour of the winter; and rejected the hospitable gift, that he might share the hardships of two thousand companions, all as deserving as himself of that honour and distinction. Necessity and revenge might justify his predatory excursions by sea and land: he left nine thousand five hundred men for the guard of his fleet; and persevered in the fruitless search of Cantacuzene, till his embarkation was hastened by a fictitious letter, the severity of the season, the

First passage of the
Turks into
Europe,
A.D.
1341-1347.

That pleasing writer betrays his ignorance in supposing that Othman, a freebooter of the Bithynian hills, could besiege Rhodes by sea and land.

⁴⁷ Nicephorus Gregoras has expatiated with pleasure on this amiable character (l. xii. 7; xiii. 4, 10; xiv. 1, 9; xvi. 6). Cantacuzene speaks with honour and esteem of his ally (l. iii. c. 56, 57, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 86, 89, 95, 96), but he seems ignorant of his own sentimental passion for the Turk, and indirectly denies the possibility of such unnatural friendship (l. iv. c. 40 [tom. iii. p. 297, ed. Bonn]).

clamours of his independent troops, and the weight of his spoil and captives. In the prosecution of the civil war, the prince of Ionia twice returned to Europe, joined his arms with those of the emperor, besieged Thessalonica, and threatened Constantinople. Calumny might affix some reproach on his imperfect aid, his hasty departure, and a bribe of ten thousand crowns which he accepted from the Byzantine court; but his friend was satisfied; and the conduct of Amir is excused by the more sacred duty of defending against the Latins his hereditary dominions. The maritime power of the Turks had united the pope, the king of Cyprus, the republic of Venice, and the order of St. John, in a laudable crusade; their galleys invaded the coast of Ionia; and Amir was slain with an arrow, in the attempt to wrest from the Rhodian knights the citadel of Smyrna.⁴⁸ Before his death he generously recommended another ally of his own nation, not more sincere or zealous than himself, but more able to afford a prompt and powerful succour, by his situation along the Propontis and in the front of Constantinople. By the prospect of a more advantageous treaty, the Turkish prince of Bithynia was detached from his engagements with Anne of Savoy; and the pride of Orchan dictated the most solemn protestations, that, if he could obtain the daughter of Cantacuzene, he would invariably fulfil the duties of a subject and a son. Parental tenderness was silenced by the voice of ambition: the Greek clergy connived at the marriage of a Christian princess with a sectary of Mahomet; and the father of Theodora describes, with shameful satisfaction, the dishonour of the purple.⁴⁹ A body of Turkish cavalry attended the ambassadors, who disembarked from thirty vessels, before his camp of Selymbria. A stately pavilion was erected, in which the empress Irene passed the night with her daughters. In the morning Theodora ascended a throne, which was surrounded with curtains of silk and gold: the troops were under arms; but the emperor alone was on horseback. At a signal the curtains were suddenly withdrawn, to disclose the bride, or the victim, encircled by kneeling eunuchs and hymeneal torches: the sound of flutes and trumpets proclaimed the joyful event; and her pretended happiness was the theme of the nuptial song, which was chanted by such poets as the age could produce. Without the rites of the

Marriage
of Orchan
with a Greek
princess,
A. D. 1346.

⁴⁸ After the conquest of Smyrna by the Latins, the defence of this fortress was imposed by Pope Gregory XI. on the knights of Rhodes (see Vertot, l. v.).

⁴⁹ See Cantacuzenus, l. iii. c. 95 [tom. ii. p. 586, ed. Bonn]. Nicephorus Gregoras, who, for the light of Mount Thabor, brands the emperor with the names of tyrant and Herod, excuses, rather than blames, this Turkish marriage, and alleges the passion and power of Orchan, *εγγύστατος, καὶ τῆ δυνάμει τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν ἦδη Περσικοῦ* (Turkish) *ὑπερβαίνον Σαρδηνίας* (l. xv. 5). He afterwards celebrates his kingdom and armies. See his reign in Cantemir, p. 24-30.

church, Theodora was delivered to her barbarous lord: but it had been stipulated that she should preserve her religion in the haram of Bursa; and her father celebrates her charity and devotion in this ambiguous situation. After his peaceful establishment on the throne of Constantinople, the Greek emperor visited his Turkish ally, who, with four sons, by various wives, expected him at Scutari, on the Asiatic shore. The two princes partook, with seeming cordiality, of the pleasures of the banquet and the chase; and Theodora was permitted to repass the Bosphorus, and to enjoy some days in the society of her mother. But the friendship of Orchan was subservient to his religion and interest; and in the Genoese war he joined without a blush the enemies of Cantacuzene.

In the treaty with the empress Anne the Ottoman prince had inserted a singular condition, that it should be lawful for him to sell his prisoners at Constantinople, or transport them into Asia. A naked crowd of Christians of both sexes and every age, of priests and monks, of matrons and virgins, was exposed in the public market; the whip was frequently used to quicken the charity of redemption; and the indigent Greeks deplored the fate of their brethren, who were led away to the worst evils of temporal and spiritual bondage.⁵⁰ Cantacuzene was reduced to subscribe the same terms; and their execution must have been still more pernicious to the empire: a body of ten thousand Turks had been detached to the assistance of the empress Anne; but the entire forces of Orchan were exerted in the service of his father. Yet these calamities were of a transient nature; as soon as the storm had passed away, the fugitives might return to their habitations; and at the conclusion of the civil and foreign wars Europe was completely evacuated by the Moslems of Asia. It was in his last quarrel with his pupil that Cantacuzene inflicted the deep and deadly wound which could never be healed by his successors, and which is poorly expiated by his theological dialogues against the prophet Mahomet. Ignorant of their own history, the modern Turks found their first and their final passage of the Hellespont,⁵¹ and

Establishment of the Ottomans in Europe, A.D. 1353.

⁵⁰ The most lively and concise picture of this captivity may be found in the history of Ducas (c. 8 [p. 32, ed. Bonn]), who fairly describes what Cantacuzene confesses with a guilty blush!

⁵¹ In this passage, and the first conquests in Europe, Cantemir (p. 27, &c.) gives a miserable idea of his Turkish guides; nor am I much better satisfied with Chalcocondyles (l. i. p. 12, &c. [ed. Par.; p. 25, ed. Bonn]). They forget to consult the most authentic record, the ivth book of Cantacuzene. I likewise regret the last books, which are still manuscript, of Nicephorus Gregoras.^a

^a Von Hammer excuses the silence with the earlier intercourse of the Ottomans which the Turkish historians pass over with the European continent, of which he

describe the son of Orchan as a nocturnal robber, who, with eighty companions, explores by stratagem an hostile and unknown shore. Soliman, at the head of ten thousand horse, was transported in the vessels, and entertained as the friend, of the Greek emperor. In the civil wars of Romania he performed some service and perpetrated more mischief; but the Chersonesus was insensibly filled with a Turkish colony; and the Byzantine court solicited in vain the restitution of the fortresses of Thrace. After some artful delays between the Ottoman prince and his son, their ransom was valued at sixty thousand crowns, and the first payment had been made when an earthquake shook the walls and cities of the provinces; the dismantled places were occupied by the Turks; and Gallipoli, the key of the Hellespont, was rebuilt and repopled by the policy of Soliman. The abdication of Cantacuzene dissolved the feeble bands of domestic alliance; and his last advice admonished his countrymen to decline a rash contest, and to compare their own weakness with the numbers and valour, the discipline and enthusiasm, of the Moslems. His prudent counsels were despised by the headstrong vanity of youth, and soon justified by the victories of the Ottomans. But as he practised in the field the exercise of the *jerid*, Soliman was killed by a fall from his horse; and the aged Orchan wept and expired on the tomb of his valiant son.^a

Death of
Orchan and
his son
Soliman.

But the Greeks had not time to rejoice in the death of their enemies; and the Turkish scimitar was wielded with the same spirit by Amurath the First, the son of Orchan, and the brother of Soliman. By the pale and fainting light of the Byzantine annals^b we can discern that he subdued without resistance the whole province of Romania or Thrace, from the Hellespont to Mount Hæmus and the verge of the capital; and that Adrianople was chosen for the royal seat of his government and religion in Europe. Constantinople, whose decline is almost coëval with her foundation, had often, in the lapse of a thousand years, been assaulted by the barbarians of the East and West; but never till this fatal hour had the Greeks been surrounded, both in

The reign
and Euro-
pean con-
quests of
Amurath I.,
A.D.
1360-1389,
Sept.

^a After the conclusion of Cantacuzene and Gregoras there follows a dark interval of a hundred years. George Phranza, Michael Ducas, and Laonicus Chalcocondyles, all three wrote after the taking of Constantinople.

enumerates sixteen different occasions, as if they disdained those peaceful incursions by which they gained no conquest, and established no permanent footing on the Byzantine territory. Of the romantic account of Soliman's first expedition he says, "As yet the prose of history had

"not asserted its right over the poetry
"of Tradition." This defence would scarcely be accepted as satisfactory by the historian of the Decline and Fall.—M. (in Quarterly Review, vol. xlix. p. 293.)

^b In the 75th year of his age, the 35th of his reign. V. Hammer.—M.

Asia and Europe, by the arms of the same hostile monarchy. Yet the prudence or generosity of Amurath postponed for a while this easy conquest; and his pride was satisfied with the frequent and humble attendance of the emperor John Palæologus and his four sons, who followed at his summons the court and camp of the Ottoman prince. He marched against the Sclavonian nations between the Danube and the Adriatic, the Bulgarians, Servians, Bosnians, and Albanians; and these warlike tribes, who had so often insulted the majesty of the empire, were repeatedly broken by his destructive inroads. Their countries did not abound either in gold or silver; nor were their rustic hamlets and townships enriched by commerce or decorated by the arts of luxury. But the natives of the soil have been distinguished in every age by their hardiness of mind and body; and they were converted by a prudent institution into the firmest and most faithful supporters of the Ottoman greatness.⁵³ The vizir of Amurath reminded his sovereign that, according to the Mahometan law, he was entitled to a fifth part of the spoil and captives; and that the duty might easily be levied, if vigilant officers were stationed at Gallipoli, to watch the passage, and to select for his use the stoutest and most beautiful of the Christian youth. The advice was followed: the edict was proclaimed; many thousands of the European captives were educated in religion and arms; and the new militia was consecrated and named by a celebrated dervish. Standing in the front of their ranks, he stretched the sleeve of his gown over the head of the foremost soldier, and his blessing was delivered in these words: "Let them be called Janizaries The Janizaries. (*Yengi cheri*, or new soldiers); may their countenance be "ever bright! their hand victorious! their sword keen! may their "spear always hang over the heads of their enemies; and whereso- "ever they go, may they return with a *white face!*"⁵⁴ Such was the origin of these haughty troops, the terror of the nations, and sometimes of the sultans themselves. Their valour has declined, their discipline is relaxed, and their tumultuary array is incapable of contending with the order and weapons of modern tactics; but at the time of their institution they possessed a decisive superiority in war; since a regular body of infantry, in constant exercise and pay,

⁵³ See Cantemir, p. 37-41, with his own large and curious annotations.

⁵⁴ *White* and *black face* are common and proverbial expressions of praise and reproach in the Turkish language. *Hic niger est, hunc tu Romane caveto*, was likewise a Latin sentence.

* According to Von Hammer, vol. i. p. 20, Gibbon and the European writers assign too late a date to this enrolment of the Janizaries. It took place not in the reign of Amurath, but in that of his predecessor Orchan.—M.

was not maintained by any of the princes of Christendom. The Janizaries fought with the zeal of proselytes against their *idolatrous* countrymen; and in the battle of Cossova the league and independence of the Slavonian tribes was finally crushed. As the conqueror walked over the field, he observed that the greatest part of the slain consisted of beardless youths; and listened to the flattering reply of his vizir, that age and wisdom would have taught them not to oppose his irresistible arms. But the sword of his Janizaries could not defend him from the dagger of despair; a Servian soldier started from the crowd of dead bodies, and Amurath was pierced in the belly with a mortal wound.^a The grandson of Othman was mild in his temper, modest in his apparel, and a lover of learning and virtue; but the Moslems were scandalised at his absence from public worship; and he was corrected by the firmness of the mufti, who dared to reject his testimony in a civil cause: a mixture of servitude and freedom not unfrequent in Oriental history.⁵⁵

The character of Bajazet,^b the son and successor of Amurath, is strongly expressed in his surname of *Ilderim*, or the lightning; and he might glory in an epithet which was drawn from the fiery energy of his soul and the rapidity of his destructive march. In the fourteen years of his reign⁵⁶ he incessantly moved at the head of his armies, from Boursa to Adrianople, from the Danube to the Euphrates; and, though he strenuously laboured for the propagation of the law, he invaded, with impartial ambition, the Christian and Mahometan princes of Europe and Asia. From Angora to Amasia and Erzeroum, the northern

⁵⁵ See the life and death of Morad, or Amurath I., in Cantemir (p. 33-45), the 1st book of Chalcocondyles, and the *Annales Turcici* of Leunclavius. According to another story, the sultan was stabbed by a Croat in his tent; and this accident was alleged to Busbequius (*Epist.* i. p. 98) as an excuse for the unworthy precaution of pinioning, as it were, between two attendants, an ambassador's arms, when he is introduced to the royal presence.

⁵⁶ The reign of Bajazet I., or Ilderim Bayazid, is contained in Cantemir (p. 46), the 2d book of Chalcocondyles, and the *Annales Turcici*. The surname of Ilderim, or lightning, is an example that the conquerors and poets of every age have felt the truth of a system which derives the sublime from the principle of terror.

^a Ducas has related this as a deliberate act of self-devotion on the part of a Servian noble, who pretended to desert, and stabbed Amurath during a conference which he had requested. The Italian translator of Ducas, published by Bekker in the new edition of the Byzantines, has still further heightened the romance. See likewise in Von Hammer (*Osmanische Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 138) the popular Servian account, which resembles that of Ducas, and may have been the source of that of

his Italian translator. The Turkish account agrees more nearly with Gibbon; but the Servian (Milosch Kobilovisch), while he lay among the heap of the dead, pretended to have some secret to impart to Amurath, and stabbed him while he leaned over to listen.—M.

^b Bajazet was the first of his family who assumed the title of Sultan. His three predecessors had been content with the inferior title of Emir.—S.

regions of Anatolia were reduced to his obedience: he stripped of their hereditary possessions his brother emirs of Ghermian and Caramania, of Aidin and Sarukhan; and after the conquest of Iconium the ancient kingdom of the Seljukians again revived in the Ottoman dynasty. Nor were the conquests of Bajazet less rapid or important in Europe. No sooner had he imposed a regular form of servitude on the Serrians and Bulgarians than he passed the Danube to seek new enemies and new subjects in the heart of Moldavia.³⁷ Whatever yet adhered to the Greek empire in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, acknowledged a Turkish master: an obsequious bishop led him through the gates of Thermopylæ into Greece; and we may observe, as a singular fact, that the widow of a Spanish chief, who possessed the ancient seat of the oracle of Delphi, deserved his favour by the sacrifice of a beautiful daughter. The Turkish communication between Europe and Asia had been dangerous and doubtful, till he stationed at Gallipoli a fleet of galleys, to command the Hellespont and intercept the Latin succours of Constantinople. While the monarch indulged his passions in a boundless range of injustice and cruelty, he imposed on his soldiers the most rigid laws of modesty and abstinence; and the harvest was peaceably reaped and sold within the precincts of his camp. Provoked by the loose and corrupt administration of justice, he collected in a house the judges and lawyers of his dominions, who expected that in a few moments the fire would be kindled to reduce them to ashes. His ministers trembled in silence: but an Ethiopian buffoon presumed to insinuate the true cause of the evil; and future venality was left without excuse by annexing an adequate salary to the office of *cadhi*.³⁸ The humble title of emir was no longer suitable to the Ottoman greatness; and Bajazet condescended to accept a patent of sultan from the caliphs who served in Egypt under the yoke of the Mamalukes:³⁹ a last and frivolous homage that was yielded by force to opinion; by the Turkish conquerors to the house of Abbas and the successors of the Arabian prophet. The ambition of the sultan was inflamed by the obligation of deserring this august title; and he turned his arms against the kingdom of Hungary, the

His conquests from the Euxine to the Taurus.

³⁷ Cantemir, who celebrates the victories of the great Stephen over the Turks (p. 47), had composed the ancient and modern state of his principality of Moldavia, which has been long promised, and is still unpublished.

³⁸ Leunclav. *Annal. Turcici*, p. 318, 319. The venality of the *cadhis* has long been an object of scandal and satire; and, if we distrust the observations of our travellers, we may consult the feeling of the Turks themselves (*D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orientale*, p. 216, 217, 229, 230).

³⁹ The fact, which is attested by the Arabic history of Ben Schounah, a contemporary Syrian (*De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. iv. p. 336*), destroys the testimony of Saad Ezzedi and Cantemir (p. 14, 15), of the election of Othman to the dignity of sultan.

perpetual theatre of the Turkish victories and defeats. Sigismund, the Hungarian king, was the son and brother of the emperors of the West: his cause was that of Europe and the church; and, on the report of his danger, the bravest knights of France and Germany were eager to march under his standard and that of the cross. In

Battle of
Nicopolis,
A.D. 1396,
Sept. 28.

the battle of Nicopolis Bajazet defeated a confederate army of a hundred thousand Christians, who had proudly boasted that if the sky should fall they could uphold it on their lances. The far greater part were slain or driven into the Danube; and Sigismund, escaping to Constantinople by the river and the Black Sea, returned after a long circuit to his exhausted kingdom.⁶⁰ In the pride of victory Bajazet threatened that he would besiege Buda; that he would subdue the adjacent countries of Germany and Italy; and that he would feed his horse with a bushel of oats on the altar of St. Peter at Rome. His progress was checked, not by the miraculous interposition of the apostle, not by a crusade of the Christian powers, but by a long and painful fit of the gout. The disorders of the moral are sometimes corrected by those of the physical world; and an acrimonious humour falling on a single fibre of one man may prevent or suspend the misery of nations.

Such is the general idea of the Hungarian war; but the disastrous adventure of the French has procured us some memorials which illustrate the victory and character of Bajazet.⁶¹ The duke of Burgundy, sovereign of Flanders and uncle of Charles the Sixth, yielded to the ardour of his son, John count of Nevers; and the fearless youth was accompanied by four princes, his cousins, and those of the French monarch. Their inexperience was guided by the Sire de Coucy, one of the best and oldest captains of Christendom;⁶² but the constable, admiral, and marshal of France⁶³ commanded an army which did not exceed the number

Crusade and
captivity of
the French
princes,
A.D.
1396-1398.

⁶⁰ See the *Decades Rerum Hungaricarum* (Dec. iii. l. ii. p. 379) of Bonfinius, an Italian, who, in the xvth century, was invited into Hungary to compose an eloquent history of that kingdom. Yet, if it be extant and accessible, I should give the preference to some homely chronicle of the time and country.

⁶¹ I should not complain of the labour of this work, if my materials were always derived from such books as the *Chronicle of honest Froissard* (vol. iv. c. 67, 69, 72, 74, 79-83, 85, 87, 89), who read little, inquired much, and believed all. The original *Mémoires of the Maréchal de Boucicault* (partie i. c. 22-28) add some facts, but they are dry and deficient, if compared with the pleasant garrulity of Froissard.

⁶² An accurate *Memoir of the Life of Enguerrand VII., Sire de Coucy*, has been given by the Baron de Zurlauben (*Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxv.). His rank and possessions were equally considerable in France and England; and, in 1375, he led an army of adventurers into Switzerland, to recover a large patrimony which he claimed in right of his grandmother, the daughter of the emperor Albert I. of Austria (*Sinner, Voyage dans la Suisse Occidentale*, tom. i. p. 118-124).

⁶³ That military office, so respectable at present, was still more conspicuous when it was divided between two persons (*Daniel, Hist. de la Milice Française*, tom. ii. p. 5). One of these, the marshal of the crusade, was the famous Boucicault, who afterwards

of a thousand knights and squires.^a These splendid names were the source of presumption and the bane of discipline. So many might aspire to command, that none were willing to obey; their national spirit despised both their enemies and their allies; and in the persuasion that Bajazet *would* fly, or *must* fall, they began to compute how soon they should visit Constantinople and deliver the holy sepulchre. When their scouts announced the approach of the Turks, the gay and thoughtless youths were at table, already heated with wine: they instantly clasped their armour, mounted their horses, rode full speed to the vanguard, and resented as an affront the advice of Sigismond, which would have deprived them of the right and honour of the foremost attack. The battle of Nicopolis would not have been lost if the French would have obeyed the prudence of the Hungarians: but it might have been gloriously won had the Hungarians imitated the valour of the French. They dispersed the first line, consisting of the troops of Asia; forced a rampart of stakes which had been planted against the cavalry; broke, after a bloody conflict, the Janizaries themselves; and were at length overwhelmed by the numerous squadrons that issued from the woods and charged on all sides this handful of intrepid warriors. In the speed and secrecy of his march, in the order and evolutions of the battle, his enemies felt and admired the military talents of Bajazet. They accuse his cruelty in the use of victory. After reserving the count of Nevers and four-and-twenty lords,^b whose birth and riches were attested by his Latin interpreters, the remainder of the French captives, who had survived the slaughter of the day, were led before his throne; and, as they refused to abjure their faith, were successively beheaded in his presence. The sultan was exasperated by the loss of his bravest Janizaries; and, if it be true, that, on the eve of the engagement, the French had massacred their Turkish prisoners,^c they might impute to themselves the consequences of a just retaliation.^c A knight, whose life had been spared,

defended Constantinople, governed Genoa, invaded the coast of Asia, and died in the field of Azincour.

^a For this odious fact, the Abbé de Vertot quotes the *Hist. Anonyme de St. Denys*, l. xvi. c. 10, 11. (*Ordre de Malthe*, tom. ii. p. 310.)

^a Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, vol. ii. p. 104, makes the whole French army amount to 10,000 men, of whom 1000 were knights. The curious volume of Schiltberger, a German of Munich, who was taken prisoner in the battle (edit. Munich, 1813), and which V. Hammer receives as authentic, gives the whole number at 6000. See Schiltberger, *Reise in dem Orient.*, and V. Hammer, note, p. 610.—M.

^b According to Schiltberger there were only twelve French lords granted to the prayer of the "duke of Burgundy," and "Herr Stephan Synther, and Johann von Bodem." Schiltberger, p. 13.—M.

^c See Schiltberger's very graphic account of the massacre. He was led out to be slaughtered in cold blood with the rest of the Christian prisoners, amounting to 10,000. He was spared, at the interces-

was permitted to return to Paris, that he might relate the deplorable tale, and solicit the ransom of the noble captives. In the mean while the count of Nevers, with the princes and barons of France, were dragged along in the marches of the Turkish camp, exposed as a grateful trophy to the Moslems of Europe and Asia, and strictly confined at Bursa as often as Bajazet resided in his capital. The sultan was pressed each day to expiate with their blood the blood of his martyrs; but he had pronounced that they should live, and either for mercy or destruction his word was irrevocable. He was assured of their value and importance by the return of the messenger, and the gifts and intercessions of the kings of France and of Cyprus. Lusignan presented him with a gold saltcellar of curious workmanship, and of the price of ten thousand ducats; and Charles the Sixth despatched by the way of Hungary a cast of Norwegian hawks, and six horse-loads of scarlet cloth, of fine linen of Rheims, and of Arras tapestry, representing the battles of the great Alexander. After much delay, the effect of distance rather than of art, Bajazet agreed to accept a ransom of two hundred thousand ducats for the count of Nevers and the surviving princes and barons: the marshal Boucicault, a famous warrior, was of the number of the fortunate; but the admiral of France had been slain in the battle; and the constable, with the Sire de Coucy, died in the prison of Bursa. This heavy demand, which was doubled by incidental costs, fell chiefly on the duke of Burgundy, or rather on his Flemish subjects, who were bound by the feudal laws to contribute for the knighthood and captivity of the eldest son of their lord. For the faithful discharge of the debt some merchants of Genoa gave security to the amount of five times the sum; a lesson to those warlike times, that commerce and credit are the links of the society of nations. It had been stipulated in the treaty that the French captives should swear never to bear arms against the person of their conqueror; but the ungenerous restraint was abolished by Bajazet himself. "I dèspise," said he to the heir of Burgundy, "thy oaths and thy arms. Thou art young, and mayest be ambitious of effacing the disgrace or misfortune of thy first chivalry. Assemble thy powers, proclaim thy design, and be assured that Bajazet will rejoice to meet thee a second time in a field of battle." Before their departure they were indulged in the freedom and hospitality of the court of Bursa. The French princes

sion of the son of Bajazet, with a few others, on account of their extreme youth. No one under 20 years of age was put to death. The "duke of Burgundy" was obliged to be a spectator of this butchery,

which lasted from early in the morning till four o'clock P.M. It ceased only at the supplication of the leaders of Bajazet's army. Schiltberger, p. 14.—M.

admired the magnificence of the Ottoman, whose hunting and hawk-ing equipage was composed of seven thousand huntsmen and seven thousand falconers.⁶⁵ In their presence, and at his command, the belly of one of his chamberlains was cut open, on a complaint against him for drinking the goat's milk of a poor woman. The strangers were astonished by this act of justice; but it was the justice of a sultan who disdains to balance the weight of evidence or to measure the degrees of guilt.

After his enfranchisement from an oppressive guardian, John Palæologus remained thirty-six years the helpless, and, as it should seem, the careless, spectator of the public ruin.⁶⁶ Love, or rather lust, was his only vigorous passion; and in the embraces of the wives and virgins of the city the Turkish slave forgot the dishonour of the emperor of the *Romans*. Andronicus, his eldest son, had formed, at Adrianople, an intimate and guilty friendship with Sauzes, the son of Amurath; and the two youths conspired against the authority and lives of their parents. The presence of Amurath in Europe soon discovered and dissipated their rash counsels; and, after depriving Sauzes of his sight, the Ottoman threatened his vassal with the treatment of an accomplice and an enemy unless he inflicted a similar punishment on his own son. Palæologus trembled and obeyed, and a cruel precaution involved in the same sentence the childhood and innocence of John the son of the criminal. But the operation was so mildly or so unskilfully performed that the one retained the sight of an eye, and the other was afflicted only with the infirmity of squinting. Thus excluded from the succession, the two princes were confined in the tower of Anema; and the piety of Manuel, the second son of the reigning monarch, was rewarded with the gift of the Imperial crown. But at the end of two years the turbulence of the Latins and the levity of the Greeks produced a revolution,⁶⁷ and the two emperors were buried in the tower from whence the two prisoners were exalted

The emperor
John Palæo-
logus,
A.D. 1355,
Jan. 8—
A.D. 1391.

Discord of
the Greeks.

⁶⁵ Sherefeddin Ali (*Hist. de Timour Beo*, l. v. c. 13) allows Bajazet a round number of 12,000 officers and servants of the chase. A part of his spoils was afterwards displayed in a hunting-match of Timour:—1, hounds with satin housings; 2, leopards with collars set with jewels; 3, Grecian greyhounds; and 4, dogs from Europe, as strong as African lions (*idem*, l. vi. c. 15). Bajazet was particularly fond of flying his hawks at cranes (*Chalcondyles*, l. ii. p. 35 [p. 67, ed. Bonn]).

⁶⁶ For the reigns of John Palæologus and his son Manuel, from 1354 to 1402, see *Ducas*, c. 9-15; *Phranza*, l. i. c. 16-21; and the 1st and 2d books of *Chalcondyles* whose proper subject is drowned in a sea of episode.

⁶⁷ According to Von Hammer, it was the power of Bajazet: vol. i. p. 218.—M.

to the throne. Another period of two years afforded Palæologus and Manuel the means of escape; it was contrived by the magic or subtlety of a monk, who was alternately named the angel or the devil; they fled to Scutari; their adherents armed in their cause, and the two Byzantine factions displayed the ambition and animosity with which Cæsar and Pompey had disputed the empire of the world. The Roman world was now contracted to a corner of Thrace, between the Propontis and the Black Sea, about fifty miles in length and thirty in breadth: a space of ground not more extensive than the lesser principalities of Germany or Italy, if the remains of Constantinople had not still represented the wealth and populousness of a kingdom. To restore the public peace it was found necessary to divide this fragment of the empire; and while Palæologus and Manuel were left in possession of the capital, almost all that lay without the walls was ceded to the blind princes, who fixed their residence at Rhodosto and Selymbria. In the tranquil slumber of royalty the passions of John Palæologus survived his reason and his strength: he deprived his favourite and heir of a blooming princess of Trebizond; and while the feeble emperor laboured to consummate his nuptials, Manuel, with a hundred of the noblest Greeks, was sent on a peremptory summons to the Ottoman *Porte*. They served with honour in the wars of Bajazet; but a plan of fortifying Constantinople excited his jealousy; he threatened their lives; the new works were instantly demolished; and we shall bestow a praise, perhaps above the merit of Palæologus, if we impute this last humiliation as the cause of his death.

The earliest intelligence of that event was communicated to Manuel, who escaped with speed and secrecy from the palace of Bursa to the Byzantine throne. Bajazet affected a proud indifference at the loss of this valuable pledge; and while he pursued his conquests in Europe and Asia, he left the emperor to struggle with his blind cousin John of Selymbria, who, in eight years of civil war, asserted his right of primogeniture. At length the ambition of the victorious sultan pointed to the conquest of Constantinople: but he listened to the advice of his vizir, who represented that such an enterprise might unite the powers of Christendom in a second and more formidable crusade. His epistle to the emperor was conceived in these words:—"By the divine clemency, our invincible scimitar has reduced to our obedience almost all Asia, with many and large countries in Europe, excepting only the city of Constantinople; for beyond the walls thou hast nothing left. Resign that city; stipu-

The emperor
Manuel,
A.D.
1391-1425,
July 26.

Distress of
Constanti-
nople,
A.D.
1395-1402.

“late thy reward; or tremble, for thyself and thy unhappy people, at the consequences of a rash refusal.” But his ambassadors were instructed to soften their tone, and to propose a treaty, which was subscribed with submission and gratitude. A truce of ten years was purchased by an annual tribute of thirty thousand crowns of gold; the Greeks deplored the public toleration of the law of Mahomet; and Bajazet enjoyed the glory of establishing a Turkish cadhi, and founding a royal mosqué, in the metropolis of the Eastern church.⁶⁷ Yet this truce was soon violated by the restless sultan: in the cause of the prince of Selymbria, the lawful emperor, an army of Ottomans again threatened Constantinople, and the distress of Manuel implored the protection of the king of France. His plaintive embassy obtained much pity and some relief, and the conduct of the succour was intrusted to the marshal Boucicault,⁶⁸ whose religious chivalry was inflamed by the desire of revenging his captivity on the infidels. He sailed, with four ships of war, from Aiguesmortes to the Hellespont; forced the passage, which was guarded by seventeen Turkish galleys; landed at Constantinople a supply of six hundred men at arms and sixteen hundred archers, and reviewed them in the adjacent plain without condescending to number or array the multitude of Greeks. By his presence the blockade was raised both by sea and land; the flying squadrons of Bajazet were driven to a more respectful distance; and several castles in Europe and Asia were stormed by the emperor and the marshal, who fought with equal valour by each other's side. But the Ottomans soon returned with an increase of numbers; and the intrepid Boucicault, after a year's struggle, resolved to evacuate a country which could no longer afford either pay or provisions for his soldiers. The marshal offered to conduct Manuel to the French court, where he might solicit in person a supply of men and money; and advised, in the mean while, that, to extinguish all domestic discord, he should leave his blind competitor on the throne. The proposal was embraced: the prince of Selymbria was introduced to the capital; and such was the public misery that the lot of the exile seemed more fortunate than that of the sovereign. Instead of applauding the success of his vassal, the Turkish sultan claimed the city as his own; and, on the refusal of the emperor John, Constantinople was more closely pressed by the calamities of war and famine. Against such an enemy prayers and resistance

⁶⁷ Cantemir, p. 50-53. Of the Greeks, Ducas alone (a. 13, 15) acknowledges the Turkish cadhi at Constantinople. Yet even Ducas dissembles the mosque.

⁶⁸ Mémoires du bon Messire Jean le Maingre, dit *Boucicault*, Maréchal de France, partie 1^{re}, c. 30-35.

were alike unavailing ; and the savage would have devoured his prey f, in the fatal moment, he had not been overthrown by another savage stronger than himself. By the victory of Timour or Tamerlane the fall of Constantinople was delayed about fifty years ; and this important though accidental service may justly introduce the life and character of the Mogul conqueror.

CHAPTER LXV.

ELEVATION OF TIMOUR OR TAMERLANE TO THE THRONE OF SAMARCAND.— HIS CONQUESTS IN PERSIA, GEORGIA, TARTARY, RUSSIA, INDIA, SYRIA, AND ANATOLIA.— HIS TURKISH WAR.— DEFEAT AND CAPTIVITY OF BAJAZET.— DEATH OF TIMOUR.— CIVIL WAR OF THE SONS OF BAJAZET.— RESTORATION OF THE TURKISH MONARCHY BY MAHOMET THE FIRST.— SIEGE OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY AMURATH THE SECOND.

THE conquest and monarchy of the world was the first object of the ambition of TIMOUR. To live in the memory and esteem of future ages was the second wish of his magnanimous spirit. All the civil and military transactions of his reign were diligently recorded in the journals of his secretaries: ^{Histories of Timour, or Tamerlane.} ¹ the authentic narrative was revised by the persons best informed of each particular transaction; and it is believed in the empire and family of Timour that the monarch himself composed the *commentaries* ² of his life and the *institutions* ³ of his government. ⁴ But these cares

¹ These journals were communicated to Sherefeddin, or Cherefeddin, Ali, a native of Yezd, who composed in the Persian language a history of Timour Beg, which has been translated into French by M. Petit de la Croix (Paris, 1722, in 4 vols. 12mo.), and has always been my faithful guide. His geography and chronology are wonderfully accurate; and he may be trusted for public facts, though he servilely praises the virtue and fortune of the hero. Timour's attention to procure intelligence from his own and foreign countries may be seen in the Institutions, p. 215, 217, 349, 351.

² These Commentaries are yet unknown in Europe: but Mr. White gives some hope that they may be imported and translated by his friend Major Davy, who had read in the East this "minute and faithful narrative of an interesting and eventful period."

³ I am ignorant whether the original institution, in the Turki or Mogul language, be still extant. The Persic version, with an English translation, and most valuable index, was published (Oxford, 1783, in 4to.) by the joint labours of Major Davy and Mr. White the Arabic professor. This work has been since translated from the Persic into French (Paris, 1787) by M. Langlès, a learned Orientalist, who has added the Life of Timour and many curious notes.

⁴ Shaw Allum, the present Mogul, reads, values, but cannot imitate, the institutions

* The manuscript of Major Davy has been translated by Major Stewart, and published by the Oriental Translation Committee of London. It contains the life of Timour, from his birth to his forty-first year; but the last thirty years of western war and conquest are wanting. Major Stewart intimates that two manuscripts exist in this country containing the whole work, but excuses himself, on account of his age, from undertaking the

laborious task of completing the translation. It is to be hoped that the European public will be soon enabled to judge of the value and authenticity of the Commentaries of the Cæsar of the East. Major Stewart's work commences with the Book of Dreams and Omens—a wild, but characteristic, chronicle of Visions and Sortes Koranice. Strange that a Life of Timour should awaken a reminiscence of the diary of Archbishop Laud! The early

were ineffectual for the preservation of his fame, and these precious memorials in the Mogul or Persian language were concealed from the world, or, at least, from the knowledge of Europe. The nations which he vanquished exercised a base and impotent revenge; and ignorance has long repeated the tale of calumny^a which had disgraced the birth and character, the person, and even the name, of *Tamerlane*.^b Yet his real merit would be enhanced rather than debased by the elevation of a peasant to the throne of Asia; nor can his lameness be a theme of reproach, unless he had the weakness to blush at a natural, or perhaps an honourable, infirmity.^b

In the eyes of the Moguls, who held the indefeasible succession of the house of Zingis, he was doubtless a rebel subject; yet he sprang from the noble tribe of Berlass: his fifth ancestor, Carashar Nevian, had been the vizir^c of Zagatai, in his new realm of Transoxiana; and in the ascent of some generations, the branch of Timour is confounded, at least by the females,⁷ with the Imperial stem.⁸ He

of his great ancestor. The English translator relies on their internal evidence; but if any suspicion should arise of fraud and fiction, they will not be dispelled by Major Davy's letter. The Orientals have never cultivated the art of criticism; the patronage of a prince, less honourable perhaps, is not less lucrative than that of a bookseller; nor can it be deemed incredible that a Persian, the *real* author, should renounce the credit, to raise the value and price, of the work.

^a The original of the tale is found in the following work, which is much esteemed for its florid elegance of style: *Ahmedis Arabstade* (Ahmed Ebn Arabshah) *Vita et Rerum Gestarum Timuri. Arabice et Latine. Edidit Samuel Henricus Manger. Franequera, 1767, 2 tom. in 4to.* This Syrian author is ever a malicious, and often an ignorant, enemy: the very titles of his chapters are injurious; as how the wicked, as how the pious, as how the viper, &c. The copious article of TIMOUR, in *Bibliothèque Orientale*, is of a mixed nature, as D'Herbelot indifferently draws his materials (p. 877-888) from Khondemir, Ebn Schounah, and the *Lebtarikh*.

^b *Demir* or *Timour* signifies, in the Turkish language, Iron; and *Beg* is the appellation of a lord or prince. By the change of a letter or accent it is changed into *Lenc* or *Lame*; and a European corruption confounds the two words in the name of *Tamerlane*.^a

⁷ After relating some false and foolish tales of Timour *Lenc*, Arabshah is compelled to speak truth, and to own him for a kinsman of Zingis, per mulieres (as he peevishly adds) *laqueos Satanæ* (pars i. c. i. p. 25). The testimony of Abulghazi Khan (P. ii. c. 5, P. v. c. 4) is clear, unquestionable, and decisive.

⁸ According to one of the pedigrees, the fourth ancestor of Zingis, and the ninth of Timour, were brothers; and they agreed that the posterity of the elder should succeed

dawn and the gradual expansion of his not less splendid but more real visions of ambition are touched with the simplicity of truth and nature. But we long to escape from the petty feuds of the pastoral chieftain to the triumphs and the legislation of the conqueror of the world.—M.

^a According to the memoirs he was so called by a Shaikh, who, when visited by his mother on his birth, was reading the verse of the Koran, "Are you sure that he who dwelleth in heaven will not cause the earth to swallow you up? and

"behold, it shall shake, Tamurū." The Shaikh then stopped and said, "We have named your son *Timūr*." P. 21.—M.

^b He was lamed by a wound at the siege of the capital of Sistan. Sherefeddin, lib. iii. c. 17, p. 136. See Von Hammer, vol. i. p. 260.—M.

^c In the memoirs, the title *Gurgūn* is in one place (p. 23) interpreted the son-in-law; in another (p. 28) as Kurkan, great prince, generalissimo, and prime minister of Jagtai.—M.

was born forty miles to the south of Samarcand, in the village of Sebzar, in the fruitful territory of Cash, of which his fathers were the hereditary chiefs, as well as of a toman of ten thousand horse.⁹ His birth¹⁰ was cast on one of those periods of anarchy which announce the fall of the Asiatic dynasties, and open a new field to adventurous ambition. The khans of Zagatai were extinct; the emirs aspired to independence, and their domestic feuds could only be suspended by the conquest and tyranny of the khans of Kashgar, who, with an army of Getes or Calmucks,¹¹ invaded the Transoxian kingdom. From the twelfth year of his age Timour had entered the field of action; in the twenty-fifth^b he stood forth as the deliverer of his country, and the eyes and wishes of the people were turned towards an hero who suffered in their cause. The chiefs of the law and of the army had pledged their salvation to support him with their lives and fortunes, but in the hour of danger they were silent and afraid; and, after waiting seven days on the hills of Samarcand, he retreated to the desert with only sixty horsemen. The fugitives were overtaken by a thousand Getes, whom he repulsed with incredible slaughter; and his enemies were forced to

His first
adventures,
A.D.
1361-1370.

to the dignity of khan, and that the descendants of the younger should fill the office of their minister and general. This tradition was at least convenient to justify the first steps of Timour's ambition (Institutions, p. 24, 25, from the MS. fragments of Timour's History).

⁹ See the preface of Sherefeddin, and Abulfeda's Geography (Chorasmiæ, &c., Descriptio, p. 60, 61), in the third volume of Hudson's Minor Greek Geographers.

¹⁰ See his nativity in Dr. Hyde (Syntagma Dissertat. tom. ii. p. 466) as it was cast by the astrologers of his grandson Ulugh Beg. He was born A.D. 1336, April 9, 11° 57' P.M. lat. 36. I know not whether they can prove the great conjunction of the planets from whence, like other conquerors and prophets, Timour derived the surname of Sahab Keran, or master of the conjunctions (Biblioth. Orient. p. 878).

¹¹ In the Institutions of Timour, these subjects of the khan of Kashgar are most improperly styled Ouzbegs or Uzbeks, a name which belongs to another branch and country of Tartars (Abulghazi, P. v. c. 5; P. vii. c. 5). Could I be sure that this word is in the Turkish original, I would boldly pronounce that the Institutions were framed a century after the death of Timour, since the establishment of the Uzbeks in Transoxiana.*

* Col. Stewart observes that the Persian translator has sometimes made use of the name Uzbek by anticipation. He observes, likewise, that these Jits (Getes) are not to be confounded with the ancient Getæ: they were unconverted Turks. Col. Tod (History of Rajasthan, vol. i. p. 166) would identify the Jits with the ancient race.—M.

^b He was twenty-seven before he served his first wars under the emir Houssein, who ruled over Khorasan and Mawerainnehr. Von Hammer, vol. i. p. 262. Neither of these statements agrees with the Memoirs. At twelve he was a boy. "I fancied that I perceived in myself all

the signs of greatness and wisdom, and "whoever came to visit me I received "with great hauteur and dignity." At seventeen he undertook the management of the flocks and herds of the family (p. 24). At nineteen he became religious, and "left off playing chess," made a kind of Buddhist vow never to injure living thing, and felt his foot paralysed from having accidentally trod upon an ant (p. 30). At twenty, thoughts of rebellion and greatness rose in his mind; at twenty-one he seems to have performed his first feat of arms. He was a practised warrior when he served, in his 27th year, under emir Houssein.

exclaim, "Timour is a wonderful man: fortune and the divine favour are with him." But in this bloody action his own followers were reduced to ten, a number which was soon diminished by the desertion of three Carizmians.* He wandered in the desert with his wife, seven companions, and four horses; and sixty-two days was he plunged in a loathsome dungeon, from whence he escaped by his own courage and the remorse of the oppressor. After swimming the broad and rapid stream of the Jihoon or Oxus, he led, during some months, the life of a vagrant and outlaw on the borders of the adjacent states. But his fame shone brighter in adversity; he learned to distinguish the friends of his person, the associates of his fortune, and to apply the various characters of men for their advantage, and, above all, for his own. On his return to his native country Timour was successively joined by the parties of his confederates, who anxiously sought him in the desert; nor can I refuse to describe, in his pathetic simplicity, one of their fortunate encounters. He presented himself as a guide to three chiefs, who were at the head of seventy horse. "When their eyes fell upon me," says Timour, "they were overwhelmed with joy, and they alighted from their horses, and they came and kneeled, and they kissed my stirrup. I also came down from my horse, and took each of them in my arms. And I put my turban on the head of the first chief; and my girdle, rich in jewels and wrought with gold, I bound on the Joins of the second; and the third I clothed in my own coat. And they wept, and I wept also; and the hour of prayer was arrived, and we prayed. And we mounted our horses, and came to my dwelling; and I collected my people, and made a feast." His trusty bands were soon increased by the bravest of the tribes; he led them against a superior foe, and, after some vicissitudes of war, the Getes were finally driven from the kingdom of Transoxiana. He had done much for his own glory; but much remained to be done, much art to be exerted, and some blood to be spilt, before he could teach his equals to obey him as their master. The birth and power of emir Houssein compelled him to accept a vicious and unworthy colleague, whose sister was the best beloved of his wives. Their union was short and jealous; but the policy of Timour, in their frequent quarrels, exposed his rival to the reproach of injustice and perfidy, and, after a final defeat, Houssein was slain by some sagacious friends, who presumed, for the last time, to disobey the com-

* Compare Memoirs, page 61. The imprisonment is there stated at 53 days. "At this time I made a vow to God that I would never keep any person, whether guilty or innocent, for any length of time, in prison or in chains." P. 63 —M.

mands of their lord.^a At the age of thirty-four,¹² and in a general diet or *couroultai*, he was invested with *Imperial* command; but he affected to revere the house of Zingis; and while the emir Timour reigned over Zagatai and the East, a nominal khan served as a private officer in the armies of his servant. A fertile kingdom, five hundred miles in length and in breadth, might have satisfied the ambition of a subject; but Timour aspired to the dominion of the world, and before his death the crown of Zagatai was one of the twenty-seven crowns which he had placed on his head. Without expatiating on the victories of thirty-five campaigns; without describing the lines of march which he repeatedly traced over the continent of Asia; I shall briefly represent his conquests in, I. Persia, II. Tartary, and III. India,¹³ and from thence proceed to the more interesting narrative of his Ottoman war.

He ascends
the throne
of Zagatai,
A.D. 1370,
April.

I. For every war a motive of safety or revenge, of honour or zeal, of right or conveniencè, may be readily found in the jurisprudence of conquerors. No sooner had Timour re-united the patrimony of Zagatai the dependent countries of Carizme and Candahar, than he turned his eyes towards the kingdoms of Iran or Persia. From the Oxus to the Tigris that extensive country was left without a lawful sovereign since the death of Abousaid, the last of the descendants of the great Holacou. Peace and justice had been banished from the land above forty years, and the Mogul invader might seem to listen to the cries of an oppressed people. Their petty tyrants might have opposed him with confederate arms: they separately stood, and successively fell; and the difference of their fate was only marked by the promptitude of submission or the obstinacy of resistance. Ibrahim, prince of Shirwan or Albania, kissed the footstool of the Imperial throne. His peace-offerings of silks, horses, and jewels, were composed, according to the Tartar fashion, each article of nine pieces; but a critical

His con-
quests,
A.D.
1370-1400.
I. Of Persia,
A.D.
1380-1393.

¹² The 1st book of Sherefeddin is employed on the private life of the hero; and he himself, or his secretary (*Institutions*, p. 3-77), enlarges with pleasure on the thirteen designs and enterprises which most truly constitute his *personal* merit. It even shines through the dark colouring of Arabshah (P. i. c. 1-12).

¹³ The conquests of Persia, Tartary, and India are represented in the iid and iiid books of Sherefeddin, and by Arabshah (c. 13-55). Consult the excellent Indexes to the *Institutions*,^b

^a Timour, on one occasion, sent him this message: "He who wishes to embrace the bride of royalty must kiss her across the edge of the sharp sword;" p. 83. The scene of the trial of Houssein, the resistance of Timour gradually becoming more feeble, the vengeance of the

chiefs becoming proportionably more determined, is strikingly portrayed. Mem. p. 130.—M.

^b Compare the seventh book of Von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*.—M.

spectator observed that there were only eight slaves. "I myself am "the ninth," replied Ibrahim, who was prepared for the remark, and his flattery was rewarded by the smile of Timour.¹⁴ Shah Mansour, prince of Fars, or the proper Persia, was one of the least powerful, but most dangerous, of his enemies. In a battle, under the walls of Shiraz, he broke, with three or four thousand soldiers, the *coul* or main-body of thirty thousand horse, where the emperor fought in person. No more than fourteen or fifteen guards remained near the standard of Timour; he stood firm as a rock, and received on his helmet two weighty strokes of a scimitar; ¹⁵ the Moguls rallied; the head of Mansour was thrown at his feet; and he declared his esteem of the valour of a foe by extirpating all the males of so intrepid a race. From Shiraz his troops advanced to the Persian Gulf, and the richness and weakness of Ormuz ¹⁶ were displayed in an annual tribute of six hundred thousand dinars of gold. Bagdad was no longer the city of peace, the seat of the caliphs; but the noblest conquest of Holacou could not be overlooked by his ambitious successor. The whole course of the Tigris and Euphrates, from the mouth to the sources of those rivers, was reduced to his obedience; he entered Edessa; and the Turkmen of the black sheep were chastised for the sacrilegious pillage of a caravan of Mecca. In the mountains of Georgia the native Christians still braved the law and the sword of Mahomet; by three expeditions he obtained the merit of the *gazie*, or holy war; and the prince of Tefis became his proselyte and friend.

II. A just retaliation might be urged for the invasion of Turkestan, or the Eastern Tartary. The dignity of Timour could not endure the impunity of the Getes: he passed the Sihoon, ¹⁷ subdued the kingdom of Kashgar, and marched seven times into the heart of their country. His most distant camp was two months' journey, or four hundred and eighty leagues, to the north-east of Samarcand; and his emirs, who traversed the river Irtish, engraved

¹⁴ The reverence of the Tartars for the mysterious number of *nine* is declared by Abulghazi Khan, who, for that reason, divides his Genealogical History into nine parts.

¹⁵ According to Arabahah (P. i. c. 28, p. 183), the coward Timour ran away to his tent, and hid himself from the pursuit of Shah Mansour under the women's garments. Perhaps Sherefeddin (l. iii. c. 25) has magnified his courage.

¹⁶ The history of Ormuz is not unlike that of Tyre. The old city, on the continent, was destroyed by the Tartars, and renewed in a neighbouring island without fresh water or vegetation. The kings of Ormuz, rich in the Indian trade and the pearl fishery, possessed large territories both in Persia and Arabia; but they were at first the tributaries of the sultans of Kerman, and at last were delivered (A.D. 1505) by the Portuguese tyrants from the tyranny of their own vizirs (Marco Polo, l. i. c. 15, 16, fol. 7, 8; Abulfeda, Geograph. tabul. xi. p. 261, 262; an original Chronicle of Ormuz, in Texeira, or Stevens' History of Persia, p. 376-416; and the Itineraries inserted in the 1st volume of Ramusio; of Ludovico Barthema, 1503, fol. 167; of Andrea Corsali, 1517, fol. 202, 203; and of Odoardo Barbessa, in 1516, fol. 315-318).

in the forests of Siberia a rude memorial of their exploits. The conquest of Kipzak, or the western Tartary,¹⁷ was founded on the double motive of aiding the distressed, and chastising the ungrateful. Toctamish, a fugitive prince, was entertained and protected in his court: the ambassadors of Auruss Khan were dismissed with an haughty denial, and followed on the same day by the armies of Zagatai; and their success established Toctamish in the Mogul empire of the North. But, after a reign of ten years, the new khan forgot the merits and the strength of his benefactor; the base usurper, as he deemed him, of the sacred rights of the house of Zingis. Through the gates of Derbend he entered Persia at the head of ninety thousand horse: with the innumerable forces of Kipzak, Bulgaria, Circassia, and Russia, he passed the Sihoon, burnt the palaces of Timour, and compelled him, amidst the winter snows, to contend for Samarcand and his life. After a mild expostulation, and a glorious victory, the emperor resolved on revenge: and by the east, and the west, of the Caspian, and the Volga, of Kipzak, Russia, &c., A.D. 1390-1396. he twice invaded Kipzak with such mighty powers, that thirteen miles were measured from his right to his left wing. In a march of five months they rarely beheld the footsteps of man; and their daily subsistence was often trusted to the fortune of the chase. At length the armies encountered each other; but the treachery of the standard-bearer, who, in the heat of action, reversed the Imperial standard of Kipzak, determined the victory of the Zagatais; and Toctamish (I speak the language of the Institutions) gave the tribe of Toushi to the wind of desolation.¹⁸ He fled to the Christian duke of Lithuania; again returned to the banks of the Volga; and, after fifteen battles with a domestic rival, at last perished in the wilds of Siberia. The pursuit of a flying enemy carried Timour into the tributary provinces of Russia: a duke of the reigning family was made prisoner amidst the ruins of his capital; and Yeletz, by the pride and ignorance of the Orientals, might easily be confounded with the genuine metropolis of the nation. Moscow trembled at the approach of the Tartar, and the resistance would have been feeble, since the hopes of the Russians were placed in a miraculous image of the Virgin, to whose protection they ascribed the casual and voluntary retreat of the conqueror. Ambition and prudence recalled him to the South, the desolate country was exhausted, and the Mogul soldiers were enriched with an immense spoil of precious furs, of linen

¹⁷ Arabshah had travelled into Kipzak, and acquired a singular knowledge of the geography, cities, and revolutions of that northern region (P. i. c. 45-49).

¹⁸ Institutions of Timour, p. 123, 125. Mr. White, the editor, bestows some animadversion on the superficial account of Sherefeddin (l. iii. c. 12, 13, 14), who was ignorant of the designs of Timour and the true springs of action.

of Antioch,¹⁹ and of ingots of gold and silver.²⁰ On the banks of the Don, or Tanais, he received an humble deputation from the consuls and merchants of Egypt,²¹ Venice, Genoa, Catalonia, and Biscay, who occupied the commerce and city of Tana, or Azoph, at the mouth of the river. They offered their gifts, admired his magnificence, and trusted his royal word. But the peaceful visit of an emir, who explored the state of the magazines and harbour, was speedily followed by the destructive presence of the Tartars. The city was reduced to ashes; the Moslems were pillaged and dismissed; but all the Christians who had not fled to their ships were condemned either to death or slavery.²² Revenge prompted him to burn the cities of Serai and Astrachan, the monuments of rising civilisation; and his vanity proclaimed that he had penetrated to the region of perpetual daylight, a strange phenomenon, which authorised his Mahometan doctors to dispense with the obligation of evening prayer.²³

III. When Timour first proposed to his princes and emirs the invasion of India or Hindostan,²⁴ he was answered by a murmur of discontent: "The rivers! and the mountains
III. Of Hindostan, A.D. 1398, 1399. "and deserts! and the soldiers clad in armour! and the "elephants, destroyers of men!" But the displeasure of the emperor was more dreadful than all these terrors; and his superior reason was convinced that an enterprise of such tremendous aspect was safe and easy in the execution. He was informed by his spies of the weakness and anarchy of Hindostan: the soubahs of the provinces had erected the standard of rebellion; and the perpetual infancy of

¹⁹ The furs of Russia are more credible than the ingots. But the linen of Antioch has never been famous; and Antioch was in ruins. I suspect that it was some manufacture of Europe, which the Hanse merchants had imported by the way of Novogorod.

²⁰ M. Levesque (*Hist. de Russie*, tom. ii. p. 247; *Vie de Timour*, p. 64-67, before the French version of the *Institutes*) has corrected the error of Sherefeddin, and marked the true limit of Timour's conquests. His arguments are superfluous; and a simple appeal to the Russian annals is sufficient to prove that Moscow, which six years before had been taken by Toctamish, escaped the arms of a more formidable invader.

²¹ An Egyptian consul from Grand Cairo is mentioned in Barbaro's *Voyage to Tana* in 1436, after the city had been rebuilt (*Ramusio*, tom. ii. fol. 92).

²² The sack of Azoph is described by Sherefeddin (l. iii. c. 55), and much more particularly by the author of an Italian chronicle (*Andreas de Redusis de Quero*, in Chron. Tarvisiano, in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. xix. p. 802-805). He had conversed with the Mianis, two Venetian brothers, one of whom had been sent a deputy to the camp of Timour, and the other had lost at Azoph three sons and 12,000 ducats.

²³ Sherefeddin only says (l. iii. c. 13) that the rays of the setting, and those of the rising sun, were scarcely separated by any interval; a problem which may be solved, in the latitude of Moscow (the 56th degree), with the aid of the Aurora Borealis and a long summer twilight. But a *day* of forty days (*Khondemir apud D'Herbelot*, p. 880) would rigorously confine us within the polar circle.

²⁴ For the Indian war, see the *Institutions* (p. 129-139), the fourth book of Sherefeddin, and the history of *Ferishta* (in Dow, vol. ii. p. 1-20), which throws a general light on the affairs of Hindostan.

sultan Mahmoud was despised even in the haram of Delhi. The Mogul army moved in three great divisions; and Timour observes with pleasure that the ninety-two squadrons of a thousand horse most fortunately corresponded with the ninety-two names or epithets of the prophet Mahomet.^a Between the Jihoon and the Indus they crossed one of the ridges of mountains which are styled by the Arabian geographers The stony Girdles of the Earth. The highland robbers were subdued or extirpated; but great numbers of men and horses perished in the snow; the emperor himself was let down a precipice on a portable scaffold—the ropes were one hundred and fifty cubits in length; and before he could reach the bottom, this dangerous operation was five times repeated. Timour crossed the Indus at the ordinary passage of Attok; and successively traversed, in the footsteps of Alexander, the *Punjab*, or five rivers,²⁵ that fall into the master stream. From Attok to Delhi the high road measures no more than six hundred miles; but the two conquerors deviated to the south-east; and the motive of Timour was to join his grandson, who had achieved by his command the conquest of Moultan. On the eastern bank of the Hyphasis, on the edge of the desert, the Macedonian hero halted and wept: the Mogul entered the desert, reduced the fortress of Batnir, and stood in arms before the gates of Delhi, a great and flourishing city, which had subsisted three centuries under the dominion of the Mahometan kings.^b The siege, more especially of the castle, might have been a work of time; but he tempted, by the appearance of weakness, the sultan Mahmoud and his vizir to descend into the plain, with ten thousand cuirassiers, forty thousand of his foot-guards, and one hundred and twenty elephants, whose tusks are said to have been armed with sharp and poisoned daggers. Against these monsters, or rather against the imagination of his troops, he condescended to use some extraordinary precautions of fire and a ditch, of iron spikes and a rampart of bucklers; but the event taught the Moguls to smile at their own fears; and as soon as these unwieldy animals were routed, the

²⁵ The rivers of the Punjab, the five eastern branches of the Indus, have been laid down for the first time with truth and accuracy in Major Rennell's incomparable map of Hindostan. In his Critical Memoir he illustrates with judgment and learning the marches of Alexander and Timour.

^a Gibbon (observes M. von Hammer) is mistaken in the correspondence of the ninety-two squadrons of his army with the ninety-two names of God: the names of God are ninety-nine, and Allah is the hundredth: p. 286, note. But Gibbon speaks of the names or epithets of Mahomet, not

of God.—M.

^b They took, on their march, 100,000 slaves, Guebers: they were all murdered. V. Hammer, vol. i. p. 286. They are called idolaters. Briggs' Ferishta, vol. i. p. 491.—M.

inferior species (the men of India) disappeared from the field. Timour made his triumphal entry into the capital of Hindostan; and admired, with a view to imitate, the architecture of the stately mosque; but the order or licence of a general pillage and massacre polluted the festival of his victory. He resolved to purify his soldiers in the blood of the idolaters, or Gentoos, who still surpass, in the proportion of ten to one, the numbers of the Moslems.^a In this pious design he advanced one hundred miles to the north-east of Delhi, passed the Ganges, fought several battles by land and water, and penetrated to the famous rock of Coupele, the statue of the cow,^b that seems to discharge the mighty river, whose source is far distant among the mountains of Thibet.²⁶ His return was along the skirts of the northern hills; nor could this rapid campaign of one year justify the strange foresight of his emirs, that their children in a warm climate would degenerate into a race of Hindoos.

It was on the banks of the Ganges that Timour was informed, by his speedy messengers, of the disturbances which had arisen on the confines of Georgia and Anatolia, of the revolt of the Christians, and the ambitious designs of the sultan Bajazet. His vigour of mind and body was not impaired by sixty-three years and innumerable fatigues; and, after enjoying some tranquil months in the palace of Samarcand, he proclaimed a new expedition of seven years into the western countries of Asia.²⁷ To the soldiers who had served in the Indian war he granted the choice of remaining at home, or following their prince; but the troops of all the provinces and kingdoms of Persia were commanded to assemble at Ispahan, and wait the arrival of the Imperial standard. It was first directed against the Christians of Georgia, who were

His war
against
sultan Ba-
jazet,
A.D. 1400,
Sept. 1.

²⁶ The two great rivers, the Ganges and Burrampooter, rise in Thibet, from the opposite ridges of the same hills, separate from each other to the distance of 1200 miles, and, after a winding course of 2000 miles, again meet in one point near the gulf of Bengal. Yet so capricious is Fame, that the Burrampooter is a late discovery, while his brother Ganges has been the theme of ancient and modern story. Coupele, the scene of Timour's last victory, must be situate near Loldong, 1100 miles from Calcutta; and, in 1774, a British camp! (Rennell's Memoir, p. 7, 59, 90, 91, 99.)

²⁷ See the Institutions, p. 141, to the end of the 1st book, and Sherfeddin (l. v. c. 1-16) to the entrance of Timour into Syria.

^a See a curious passage on the destruction of the Hindoo idols, Memoirs, p. 15. —M.

^b Consult the very striking description of the Cow's Mouth by Captain Hodgson, Asiat. Res. vol. xiv. p. 117. "A most wonderful scene. The B'bagiratha or Ganges issues from under a very low arch at the foot of the grand snow-bed. My guide, an illiterate mountaineer,

"compared the pendent icicles to Mahon's deva's hair." (Compare Poema, Quarterly Rev. vol. xiv. p. 37, and at the end of my translation of Nala.) "Hindoos of research may formerly have been here; and if so, I cannot think of any place to which they might more aptly give the name of a cow's mouth than to this extraordinary débouché"—M

strong only in their rocks, their castles, and the winter season; but these obstacles were overcome by the zeal and perseverance of Timour: the rebels submitted to the tribute or the Koran; and if both religions boasted of their martyrs, that name is more justly due to the Christian prisoners, who were offered the choice of abjuration or death. On his descent from the hills, the emperor gave audience to the first ambassadors of Bajazet, and opened the hostile correspondence of complaints and menaces which fermented two years before the final explosion. Between two jealous and haughty neighbours, the motives of quarrel will seldom be wanting. The Mogul and Ottoman conquests now touched each other in the neighbourhood of Erzerum and the Euphrates; nor had the doubtful limit been ascertained by time and treaty. Each of these ambitious monarchs might accuse his rival of violating his territory, of threatening his vassals, and protecting his rebels; and by the name of rebels each understood the fugitive princes whose kingdoms he had usurped, and whose life or liberty he implacably pursued. The resemblance of character was still more dangerous than the opposition of interest; and in their victorious career, Timour was impatient of an equal, and Bajazet was ignorant of a superior. The first epistle²⁹ of the Mogul emperor must have provoked, instead of reconciling, the Turkish sultan, whose family and nation he affected to despise.²⁹

“Dost thou not know that the greatest part of Asia is subject to our arms and our laws? that our invincible forces extend from one sea to the other? that the potentates of the earth form a line before our gate? and that we have compelled Fortune herself to watch over the prosperity of our empire? What is the foundation of thy insolence and folly? Thou hast fought some battles in the woods of Anatolia; contemptible trophies! Thou hast obtained some victories over the Christians of Europe; thy sword was blessed by the apostle of God; and thy obedience to the precept of the Koran, in waging war against the infidels, is the sole considera-

²⁹ We have three copies of these hostile epistles in the *Institutions* (p. 147), in *Sherefeddin* (l. v. c. 14), and in *Arabshah* (tom. ii. c. 19, p. 183-201); which agree with each other in the spirit and substance rather than in the style. It is probable that they have been translated, with various latitude, from the Turkish original into the Arabic and Persian tongues.^a

²⁹ The Mogul emir distinguishes himself and his countrymen by the name of *Turks*, and stigmatises the race and nation of Bajazet with the less honourable epithet of *Turkians*. Yet I do not understand how the Ottomans could be descended from a Turkman sailor; those inland shepherds were so remote from the sea and all maritime affairs.^b

^a Von Hammer considers the letter which Gibbon inserted in the text to be spurious. On the various copies of these letters, see his note, p. 616.—M.

^b Price translates the word *pilot*, or boatman.—M.

tion that prevents us from destroying thy country, the frontier and bulwark of the Moslem world. Be wise in time; reflect; repent; and avert the thunder of our vengeance, which is yet suspended over thy head. Thou art no more than a pismire; why wilt thou seek to provoke the elephants? Alas! they will trample thee under their feet." In his replies Bajazet poured forth the indignation of a soul which was deeply stung by such unusual contempt. After retorting the basest reproaches on the thief and rebel of the desert, the Ottoman recapitulates his boasted victories in Iran, Touran, and the Indies; and labours to prove that Timour had never triumphed unless by his own perfidy and the vices of his foes. "Thy armies are innumerable: be they so; but what are the arrows of the flying Tartar against the scimitars and battle-axes of my firm and invincible Janizaries? I will guard the princes who have implored my protection: seek them in my tents. The cities of Arzingan and Erzeroum are mine; and unless the tribute be duly paid, I will demand the arrears under the walls of Tauris and Sultania." The ungovernable rage of the sultan at length betrayed him to an insult of a more domestic kind. "If I fly from thy arms," said he, "may my wives be thrice divorced from my bed: but if thou hast not courage to meet me in the field, mayest thou again receive thy wives after they have thrice endured the embraces of a stranger."³⁰ Any violation by word or deed of the secrecy of the haram is an unpardonable offence among the Turkish nations;³¹ and the political quarrel of the two monarchs was embittered by private and personal resentment. Yet in his first expedition Timour was satisfied with the siege and destruction of Suvas or Sebaste, a strong city on the borders of Anatolia; and he revenged the indiscretion of the Ottoman on a garrison of four thousand Armenians, who were buried alive for the brave and faithful discharge of their duty.^b As a Musulman he seemed to respect the pious occupation of Bajazet, who was still engaged in the blockade of Constantinople; and after

³⁰ According to the Koran (c. ii. p. 27, and Sale's Discourses, p. 134), a Musulman who had thrice divorced his wife (who had thrice repeated the words of a divorce) could not take her again till after she had been married to, and repudiated by, another husband; an ignominious transaction, which it is needless to aggravate by supposing that the first husband must see her enjoyed by a second before his face (Rycaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, l. ii. c. 21).

³¹ The common delicacy of the Orientals, in never speaking of their women, is ascribed in a much higher degree by Arabshah to the Turkish nations; and it is remarkable enough that Chalcocondyles (l. ii. p. 55 [p. 105, ed. Bonn]) had some knowledge of the prejudice and the insult.^a

^a See Von Hammer, p. 308, and note, treated on these brave men. Von Hammer p. 621.—M.

^b Still worse barbarities were perpe-

this salutary lesson the Mogul conqueror checked his pursuit, and turned aside to the invasion of Syria and Egypt. In these transactions, the Ottoman prince, by the Orientals, and even by Timour, is styled the *Kaïssar of Roum*, the Cæsar of the Romans; a title which, by a small anticipation, might be given to a monarch who possessed the provinces, and threatened the city, of the successors of Constantine.³²

Timour
invades
Syria.
A.D. 1400.

The military republic of the Mamalukes still reigned in Egypt and Syria: but the dynasty of the Turks was overthrown by that of the Circassians; ³³ and their favourite Barkok, from a slave and a prisoner, was raised and restored to the throne. In the midst of rebellion and discord, he braved the menaces, corresponded with the enemies, and detained the ambassadors, of the Mogul, who patiently expected his decease, to revenge the crimes of the father on the feeble reign of his son Farage. The Syriam emirs ³⁴ were assembled at Aleppo to repel the invasion: they confided in the fame and discipline of the Mamalukes, in the temper of their swords and lances of the purest steel of Damascus, in the strength of their walled cities, and in the populousness of sixty thousand villages; and instead of sustaining a siege, they threw open their gates, and arrayed their forces in the plain. But these forces were not cemented by virtue and union; and some powerful emirs had been seduced to desert or betray their more loyal companions. Timour's front was covered with a line of Indian elephants, whose turrets were filled with archers and Greek fire: the rapid evolutions of his cavalry completed the dismay and disorder; the Syrian crowds fell back on each other; many thousands were stifled or slaughtered in the entrance of the great street; the Moguls entered with the fugitives; and after a short defence, the citadel, the impregnable citadel of Aleppo, was surrendered by cowardice or treachery. Among the suppliants and captives Timour distinguished the doctors of the law, whom he invited to the dangerous honour of a personal conference.³⁵ The Mogul prince was a zealous Musulman;

Sacks
Aleppo,
A.D. 1400,
Nov. 11;

³² For the style of the Moguls see the *Institucions* (p. 131, 147), and for the Persians the *Bibliothèque Orientale* (p. 882); but I do not find that the title of Cæsar has been applied by the Arabians, or assumed by the Ottomans themselves.

³³ See the reigns of Barkok and Farage, in *M. de Guignes* (tom. iv. l. xxii.), who, from the Arabic texts of Aboulmahasen, Ebn Schounah, and Aintabi, has added some facts to our common stock of materials.

³⁴ For these recent and domestic transactions, Arabshah, though a partial, is a credible witness (tom. i. c. 64-68, tom. ii. c. 1-14). Timour must have been odious to a Syrian; but the notoriety of facts would have obliged him, in some measure, to respect his enemy and himself. His bitters may correct the luscious sweets of Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 17-29).

³⁵ These interesting conversations appear to have been copied by Arabshah (tom. i. c. 68, p. 625-645) from the cadhi and historian Ebn Schounah, a principal actor. Yet how could he be alive seventy-five years afterwards (*D'Herbelot*, p. 792)?

but his Persian schools had taught him to revere the memory of Ali and Hosein; and he had imbibed a deep prejudice against the Syrians, as the enemies of the son of the daughter of the apostle of God. To these doctors he proposed a captious question, which the casuists of Bochara, Samarcand, and Herat were incapable of resolving. "Who are the true martyrs, of those who are slain on my side, or on that of my enemies?" But he was silenced, or satisfied, by the dexterity of one of the cadhis of Aleppo, who replied, in the words of Mahomet himself, that the motive, not the ensign, constitutes the martyr; and that the Moslems of either party, who fight only for the glory of God, may deserve that sacred appellation. The true succession of the caliphs was a controversy of a still more delicate nature; and the frankness of a doctor, too honest for his situation, provoked the emperor to exclaim, "Ye are as false as those of Damascus: Moawiyah was an usurper, Yezid a tyrant, and Ali alone is the lawful successor of the prophet." A prudent explanation restored his tranquillity; and he passed to a more familiar topic of conversation. "What is your age?" said he to the cadhi. "Fifty years."—"It would be the age of my eldest son: you see me here" (continued Timour) a poor lame, decrepit mortal. Yet by my arm "has the Almighty been pleased to subdue the kingdoms of Iran, "Touran, and the Indies. I am not a man of blood; and God is "my witness that in all my wars I have never been the aggressor, "and that my enemies have always been the authors of their own "calamity." During this peaceful conversation the streets of Aleppo streamed with blood, and re-echoed with the cries of mothers and children, with the shrieks of violated virgins. The rich plunder that was abandoned to his soldiers might stimulate their avarice; but their cruelty was enforced by the peremptory command of producing an adequate number of heads, which, according to his custom, were curiously piled in columns and pyramids: the Moguls celebrated the feast of victory, while the surviving Moslems passed the night in tears and in chains. I shall not dwell on the march of the destroyer from Aleppo to Damascus, where he was rudely encountered, and almost overthrown, by the armies of Egypt. A retrograde motion was imputed to his distress and despair: one of his nephews deserted to the enemy; and Syria rejoiced in the tale of his defeat, when the sultan was driven by the revolt of the Mamalukes to escape with precipitation and shame to his palace of Cairo. Abandoned by their prince, the inhabitants of Damascus still defended their walls; and Timour consented to raise the siege, if they would adorn his retreat with a gift or ransom; each article of nine pieces. But no sooner had he introduced himself into the city, under colour of a truce, than

he perfidiously violated the treaty; imposed a contribution of ten millions of gold; and animated his troops to chastise the posterity of those Syrians who had executed, or approved, the murder of the grandson of Mahomet. A family which had given honourable burial to the head of Hosein, and a colony of artificers whom he sent to labour at Samarcand, were alone reserved in the general massacre; and after a period of seven centuries Damascus was reduced to ashes, because a Tartar was moved by religious zeal to avenge the blood of an Arab. The losses and fatigues of the campaign obliged Timour to renounce the conquest of Palestine and Egypt; but in his return to the Euphrates he delivered Aleppo to the flames; and justified his pious motive by the pardon and reward of two thousand sectaries of Ali, who were desirous to visit the tomb of his son. I have expatiated on the personal anecdotes which mark the character of the Mogul hero; but I shall briefly mention³⁶ that he erected on the ruins of Bagdad a pyramid of ninety thousand heads; again visited Georgia; encamped on the banks of the Araxes; and proclaimed his resolution of marching against the Ottoman emperor. Conscious of the importance of the war, he collected his forces from every province: eight hundred thousand men were enrolled on his military list;³⁷ but the splendid commands of five and ten thousand horse may be rather expressive of the rank and pension of the chiefs than of the genuine number of effective soldiers.³⁸ In the pillage of Syria the Moguls had acquired immense riches; but the delivery of their pay and arrears for seven years more firmly attached them to the Imperial standard.

Damascus,
A.D. 1401,
Jan. 23;

and Bag-
dad,
A.D. 1401,
July 23.

During this diversion of the Mogul arms, Bajazet had two years to collect his forces for a more serious encounter. They consisted of four hundred thousand horse and foot,³⁹ whose merit and fidelity were of an unequal complexion. We may

Invades
Anatolia,
A.D. 1402.

³⁶ The marches and occupations of Timour between the Syrian and Ottoman wars are represented by Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 29-43) and Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 15-18).

³⁷ This number of 800,000 was extracted by Arabshah, or rather by Ebn Schounah, ex rationario Timuri, on the faith of a Carizman officer (tom. i. c. 68, p. 617); and it is remarkable enough that a Greek historian (Phranza, l. i. c. 29) adds no more than 20,000 men. Poggius reckons 1,000,000; another Latin contemporary (Chron. Tarvisianum, apud Muratori, tom. xix. p. 800) 1,100,000; and the enormous sum of 1,600,000 is attested by a German soldier who was present at the battle of Angora (Leunclav. ad Chalcocondyl. l. iii. p. 82). Timour, in his Institutions, has not deigned to calculate his troops, his subjects, or his revenues.

³⁸ A wide latitude of non-effectives was allowed by the Great Mogul for his own pride and the benefit of his officers. Bernier's patron was Penge-Hazari, commander of 5000 horse; of which he maintained no more than 500 (Voyages, tom. i. p. 288, 289).

³⁹ Timour himself fixes at 400,000 men the Ottoman army (Institutions, p. 153), which is reduced to 150,000 by Phranza (l. i. c. 29), and swelled by the German soldier to 1,400,000. It is evident that the Moguls were the more numerous.

discriminate the Janizaries, who have been gradually raised to an establishment of forty thousand men; a national cavalry, the Spahis of modern times; twenty thousand cuirassiers of Europe, clad in black and impenetrable armour; the troops of Anatolia, whose princes had taken refuge in the camp of Timour; and a colony of Tartars, whom he had driven from Kipzak; and to whom Bajazet had assigned a settlement in the plains of Adrianople. The fearless confidence of the sultan urged him to meet his antagonist; and, as if he had chosen that spot for revenge, he displayed his banners near the ruins of the unfortunate Suvas. In the mean while, Timour moved from the Araxes through the countries of Armenia and Anatolia: his boldness was secured by the wisest precautions; his speed was guided by order and discipline; and the woods, the mountains, and the rivers were diligently explored by the flying squadrons who marked his road and preceded his standard. Firm in his plan of fighting in the heart of the Ottoman kingdom, he avoided their camp, dexterously inclined to the left, occupied Cæsarea, traversed the salt desert and the river Halys, and invested Angora; while the sultan, immoveable and ignorant in his post, compared the Tartar swiftness to the crawling of

Battle of
Angora,
A.D. 1402,
July 28.

a snail;⁴⁰ he returned on the wings of indignation to the relief of Angora; and as both generals were alike impatient for action, the plains round that city were the scene of a memorable battle, which has immortalised the glory of Timour and the shame of Bajazet. For this signal victory the Mogul emperor was indebted to himself, to the genius of the moment, and the discipline of thirty years. He had improved the tactics, without violating the manners, of his nation,⁴¹ whose force still consisted in the missile weapons and rapid evolutions of a numerous cavalry. From a single troop to a great army the mode of attack was the same: a foremost line first advanced to the charge, and was supported in a just order by the squadrons of the great vanguard. The general's eye watched over the field, and at his command the front and rear of the right and left wings successively moved forwards in their several divisions, and in a direct or oblique line; the enemy was pressed by eighteen or twenty attacks, and each attack afforded a chance of victory. If they all proved fruitless or unsuccessful, the occasion was worthy of the emperor himself, who gave the signal of advancing to the standard

⁴⁰ It may not be useless to mark the distances between Angora and the neighbouring cities by the journeys of the caravans, each of twenty or twenty-five miles; to Smyrna xx., to Kiotahia x., to Bouras x., to Cæsarea viii., to Sinope x., to Nicomedia ix., to Constantinople xii. or xiii. (see Tournefort, Voyage au Levant, tom. ii. lettre xxi.).

⁴¹ See the Systems of Tactics in the Institutions, which the English editors have illustrated with elaborate plans (p. 373-407).

and main body, which he led in person.⁴² But in the battle of Angora the main body itself was supported, on the flanks and in the rear, by the bravest squadrons of the reserve, commanded by the sons and grandsons of Timour. The conqueror of Hindostan ostentatiously showed a line of elephants, the trophies rather than the instruments of victory: the use of the Greek fire was familiar to the Moguls and Ottomans; but had they borrowed from Europe the recent invention of gunpowder and cannon, the artificial thunder, in the hands of either nation, must have turned the fortune of the day.⁴³ In that day Bajazet displayed the qualities of a soldier and a chief; but his genius sunk under a stronger ascendant, and, from various motives, the greatest part of his troops failed him in the decisive moment. His rigour and avarice^a had provoked a mutiny among the Turks, and even his son Soliman too hastily withdrew from the field. The forces of Anatolia, loyal in their revolt, were drawn away to the banners of their lawful princes. His Tartar allies had been tempted by the letters and emissaries of Timour,⁴⁴ who reproached their ignoble servitude under the slaves of their fathers, and offered to their hopes the dominion of their new or the liberty of their ancient country. In the right wing of Bajazet the cuirassiers of Europe charged, with faithful hearts and irresistible arms; but these men of iron were soon broken by an artful flight and headlong pursuit; and the Janizaries alone, without cavalry or missile weapons, were encompassed by the circle of the Mogul hunters. Their valour was at length oppressed by heat, thirst, and the weight of numbers; and the unfortunate sultan, afflicted with the gout in his hands and feet, was transported from the field on the fleetest of his horses. He was pursued and taken by the titular khan of Zagatai; and, after his capture and the defeat of the Ottoman powers, the kingdom of Anatolia Defeat and captivity of Bajazet. submitted to the conqueror, who planted his standard at Kiotahia, and dispersed on all sides the ministers of rapine and destruction. Mirza Mehemmed Sultan, the eldest and best beloved

⁴² The sultan himself (says Timour) must then put the foot of courage into the stirrup of patience. A Tartar metaphor, which is lost in the English, but preserved in the French, version of the *Institutes* (p. 156, 157).

⁴³ The Greek fire, on Timour's side, is attested by Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 47); but Voltaire's strange suspicion that some cannon, inscribed with strange characters, must have been sent by that monarch to Delhi, is refuted by the universal silence of contemporaries.

⁴⁴ Timour has dissembled this secret and important negotiation with the Tartars, which is indisputably proved by the joint evidence of the Arabian (tom. i. c. 47, p. 391), Turkish (Annal. Leunclav. p. 321), and Persian historians (Khondemir apud D'Herbelot, p. 882).

^a See V. Hammer, vol. i. p. 310, for to him of the wisdom of unlocking his the singular hints which were conveyed hoarded treasures.—M.

of his grandsons, was despatched to Bursa with thirty thousand horse; and such was his youthful ardour, that he arrived with only four thousand at the gates of the capital, after performing in five days a march of two hundred and thirty miles. Yet fear is still more rapid in its course; and Soliman, the son of Bajazet, had already passed over to Europe with the royal treasure. The spoil, however, of the palace and city was immense: the inhabitants had escaped; but the buildings, for the most part of wood, were reduced to ashes. From Bursa the grandson of Timour advanced to Nice, even yet a fair and flourishing city; and the Mogul squadrons were only stopped by the waves of the Propontis. The same success attended the other mirzas and emirs in their excursions; and Smyrna, defended by the zeal and courage of the Rhodian knights, alone deserved the presence of the emperor himself. After an obstinate defence the place was taken by storm: all that breathed was put to the sword; and the heads of the Christian heroes were launched from the engines, on board of two carracks or great ships of Europe that rode at anchor in the harbour. The Moslems of Asia rejoiced in their deliverance from a dangerous and domestic foe; and a parallel was drawn between the two rivals by observing that Timour, in fourteen days, had reduced a fortress which had sustained seven years the siege, or at least the blockade, of Bajazet.⁴⁵

The *iron cage* in which Bajazet was imprisoned by Tamerlane, so long and so often repeated as a moral lesson, is now rejected as a fable by the modern writers, who smile at the vulgar credulity.⁴⁶ They appeal with confidence to the Persian history of Sherefeddin Ali, which has been given to our curiosity in a French version, and from which I shall collect and abridge a more specious narrative of this memorable transaction. No sooner was Timour informed that the captive Ottoman was at the door of his tent than he graciously stepped forwards to receive him, seated him by his side, and mingled with just reproaches a soothing pity for his rank and misfortune. "Alas!" said the emperor, "the decree of fate is now accomplished by your own fault; it is the web which you have woven, the thorns of the tree which yourself have planted. I wished to spare, and even to assist, the champion of the Moslems: you braved our threats; you despised

The story
of his iron
cage

disproved by
the Persian
historian of
Timour;

⁴⁵ For the war of Anatolia or Roum, I add some hints in the Institutions to the copious narratives of Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 44-65) and Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 20-35). On this part only of Timour's history it is lawful to quote the Turks (Cantemir, p. 53-55; Annal. Leunclav. p. 320-322) and the Greeks (Phranza, l. i. c. 29; Ducas, c. 15-17; Chalococondyles, l. iii.).

⁴⁶ The scepticism of Voltaire (Essai sur l'Histoire Générale, c. 88) is ready on this, as on every occasion, to reject a popular tale, and to diminish the magnitude of vice and virtue; and on most occasions his incredulity is reasonable.

“ our friendship ; you forced us to enter your kingdom with our invincible armies. Behold the event. Had you vanquished, I am not ignorant of the fate which you reserved for myself and my troops. But I disdain to retaliate : your life and honour are secure ; and I shall express my gratitude to God by my clemency to man.” The royal captive showed some signs of repentance, accepted the humiliation of a robe of honour, and embraced with tears his son Mousa, who, at his request, was sought and found among the captives of the field. The Ottoman princes were lodged in a splendid pavilion, and the respect of the guards could be surpassed only by their vigilance. On the arrival of the haram from Bursa, Timour restored the queen Despina and her daughter to their father and husband ; but he piously required that the Servian princess, who had hitherto been indulged in the profession of Christianity, should embrace without delay the religion of the prophet. In the feast of victory, to which Bajazet was invited, the Mogul emperor placed a crown on his head and a sceptre in his hand, with a solemn assurance of restoring him with an increase of glory to the throne of his ancestors. But the effect of this promise was disappointed by the sultan’s untimely death : amidst the care of the most skilful physicians he expired of an apoplexy at Aksehr, the Antioch of Pisidia, about nine months after his defeat. The victor dropped a tear over his grave : his body, with royal pomp, was conveyed to the mausoleum which he had erected at Bursa ; and his son Mousa, after receiving a rich present of gold and jewels, of horses and arms, was invested by a patent in red ink with the kingdom of Anatolia.

Such is the portrait of a generous conqueror, which has been extracted from his own memorials, and dedicated to his son and grandson, nineteen years after his decease ;⁴⁷ and, at a time when the truth was remembered by thousands, a manifest falsehood would have implied a satire on his real conduct. Weighty indeed is this evidence, adopted by all the Persian histories ;⁴⁸ yet flattery, more especially in the East, is base and audacious ; and the harsh and ignominious treatment of Bajazet is attested by a chain of witnesses, some of whom shall be produced in the order of their time and country. 1. The reader has not forgot the garrison of French whom the marshal Boucicault left behind him for the defence of Constantinople. They were on the spot to receive the earliest

attested, 1.
by the
French :

⁴⁷ See the History of Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 49, 52, 53, 59, 60). This work was finished at Shiraz, in the year 1424, and dedicated to sultan Ibrahim, the son of Sharokh, the son of Timour, who reigned in Farsistan in his father’s lifetime.

⁴⁸ After the perusal of Khondemir, Ebn Schounah, &c., the learned D’Herbelot (Biblioth. Orientale, p. 882) may affirm that this fable is not mentioned in the most authentic histories ; but his denial of the visible testimony of Arabshah leaves some room to suspect his accuracy.

and most faithful intelligence of the overthrow of their great adversary, and it is more than probable that some of them accompanied the Greek embassy to the camp of Tamerlane. From their account, the *hardships* of the prison and death of Bajazet are affirmed by the

^{2. by the} marshal's servant and historian, within the distance of seven
^{Italians;} years.⁴⁹ 2. The name of Poggius the Italian⁵⁰ is deservedly famous among the revivers of learning in the fifteenth century. His elegant dialogue on the vicissitudes of fortune⁵¹ was composed in his fiftieth year, twenty-eight years after the Turkish victory of Tamerlane,⁵² whom he celebrates as not inferior to the illustrious barbarians of antiquity. Of his exploits and discipline Poggius was informed by several ocular witnesses: nor does he forget an example so apposite to his theme as the Ottoman monarch, whom the Scythian confined like a wild beast in an iron cage, and exhibited a spectacle to Asia. I might add the authority of two Italian chronicles, perhaps of an earlier date, which would prove at least that the same story, whether false or true, was imported into Europe with the first tidings of the revolution.⁵³ 3. At the time when Poggius flourished at Rome,

^{3. by the} Ahmed Ebn Arabshah composed at Damascus the florid and
^{Arabs;} malevolent history of Timour, for which he had collected materials in his journeys over Turkey and Tartary.⁵⁴ Without any possible correspondence between the Latin and the Arabian writer, they agree in the fact of the iron cage; and their agreement is a striking proof of their common veracity. Ahmed Arabshah likewise relates another outrage which Bajazet endured, of a more domestic and tender nature. His indiscreet mention of women and divorcees

⁴⁹ Et fut lui-même (*Bajazet*) pris, et mené en prison, en laquelle mourut de *dure mort*! Mémoires de Boucicault, P. i. c. 37. These memoirs were composed while the marshal was still governor of Genoa, from whence he was expelled, in the year 1409, by a popular insurrection (Muratori, Annali d' Italia, tom. xii. p. 473, 474).

⁵⁰ The reader will find a satisfactory account of the life and writings of Poggius in the Poggiana, an entertaining work of M. Lenfant, and in the Bibliotheca Latina mediæ et infimæ ætatis of Fabricius (tom. v. p. 305-308). Poggius was born in the year 1380, and died in 1459.

⁵¹ The dialogue de Varietate Fortunæ (of which a complete and elegant edition has been published at Paris in 1723, in 4to.) was composed a short time before the death of pope Martin V. (p. 5), and consequently about the end of the year 1430.

⁵² See a splendid and eloquent encomium of Tamerlane, p. 36-39, ipse enim novi (says Poggius) qui fuere in ejus castris Regem vivum cepit, caveâque in modum feræ inclusum per omnem Asiam circumtulit egregium admirandumque spectaculum fortune.

⁵³ The Chronicon Tarvisianum (in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xix. p. 800), and the Annales Estenses (tom. xviii. p. 974). The two authors, Andrea de Reduisis de Quero, and James de Delayot, were both contemporaries, and both chancellors, the one of Treviso, the other of Ferrara. The evidence of the former is the most positive.

⁵⁴ See Arabshah, tom. ii. c. 28, 34. He travelled in regiones Rumæas, A.H. 839 (A.D. 1435, July 27), tom. ii. c. 2, p. 13.

was deeply resented by the jealous Tartar: in the feast of victory the wine was served by female cupbearers, and the sultan beheld his own concubines and wives confounded among the slaves, and exposed without a veil to the eyes of intemperance. To escape a similar indignity, it is said that his successors, except in a single instance, have abstained from legitimate nuptials; and the Ottoman practice and belief, at least in the sixteenth century, is attested by the observing Busbequius,⁵⁵ ambassador from the court of Vienna to the great Soliman. 4. Such is the separation of language, that the testimony of a Greek is not less independent than that of a Latin or an Arab. I suppress the names of Chalcocondyles and Ducas, who flourished in a later period, and who speak in a less positive tone; but more attention is due to George Phranza,⁵⁶ protovestiare of the last emperors, and who was born a year before the battle of Angora. Twenty-two years after that event he was sent ambassador to Amurath the Second; and the historian might converse with some veteran Janizaries, who had been made prisoners with the sultan, and had themselves seen him in his iron cage. 5. The last evidence, in every sense, is that of the Turkish annals, which have been consulted or transcribed by Leunclavius, Pocock, and Cantemir.⁵⁷ They unanimously deplore the captivity of the iron cage; and some credit may be allowed to national historians, who cannot stigmatise the Tartar without uncovering the shame of their king and country.

From these opposite premises a fair and moderate conclusion may be deduced. I am satisfied that Sherefeddin Ali has faithfully described the first ostentatious interview, in which the conqueror, whose spirits were harmonised by success, affected the character of generosity. But his mind was insensibly alienated by the unseasonable arrogance of Bajazet; the complaints of his enemies, the Anatolian princes, were just and vehement; and Timour betrayed a design of leading his royal captive in triumph to Samarcand. An attempt to facilitate his escape, by digging a mine under the tent, provoked the Mogul emperor to impose a harsher restraint; and in

⁵⁵ Busbequius in *Legatione Turcica*, epist. i. p. 52. Yet his respectable authority is somewhat shaken by the subsequent marriages of Amurath II. with a Servian, and of Mahomet II. with an Asiatic princess (Cantemir, p. 83, 93).

⁵⁶ See the testimony of George Phranza (l. i. c. 26 [p. 85, ed. Bonn]), and his life in Hanckius (*de Script. Byzant.* P. i. c. 40). Chalcocondyles and Ducas speak in general terms of Bajazet's *chains*.

⁵⁷ *Annales Leunclav.* p. 321; Pocock, *Prolegomen. ad Abulpharag. Dynast. Cantemir*, p. 55.

his perpetual marches an iron cage on a waggon might be invented, not as a wanton insult, but as a rigorous precaution. Timour had read in some fabulous history a similar treatment of one of his predecessors, a king of Persia; and Bajazet was condemned to represent the person and expiate the guilt of the Roman Cæsar.⁵⁸ But the strength of his mind and body fainted under the trial, and his premature death might, without injustice, be ascribed to the severity of Timour. He warred not with the dead: a tear and a sepulchre were all that he could bestow on a captive who was delivered from his power; and if Mousa, the son of Bajazet, was permitted to reign over the ruins of Bursa, the greatest part of the province of Anatolia had been restored by the conqueror to their lawful sovereigns.

From the Irtish and Volga to the Persian Gulf, and from the Ganges to Damascus and the Archipelago, Asia was in the hand of Timour: his armies were invincible, his ambition was boundless, and his zeal might aspire to conquer and convert the Christian kingdoms of the West, which already trembled at his name. He touched the utmost verge of the land; but an insuperable, though narrow sea, rolled between the two continents of Europe and Asia,⁵⁹ and the lord of so many *tomans* or myriads of horse was not master of a single galley. The two passages of the Bosphorus and Hellespont, of Constantinople and Gallipoli, were possessed, the one by the Christians, the other by the Turks. On this great occasion they forgot the difference of religion, to act with union and firmness in the common cause: the double straits were guarded with ships and fortifications, and they separately withheld the trans-

⁵⁸ A Sapor, king of Persia, had been made prisoner, and enclosed in the figure of a cow's hide, by Maximian or Galerius Cæsar. Such is the fable related by Eutychius (Annal. tom. i. p. 421, vers. Pocock). The recollection of the true history (Decline and Fall, &c., vol. ii. p. 82-84) will teach us to appreciate the knowledge of the Orientals of the ages which precede the Hegira.

⁵⁹ Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 25) describes, like a curious traveller, the straits of Gallipoli and Constantinople. To acquire a just idea of these events I have compared the narratives and prejudices of the Moguls, Turks, Greeks, and Arabians. The Spanish ambassador mentions this hostile union of the Christians and Ottomans (Vie de Timour, p. 96).

* Von Hammer's explanation of this contested point is both simple and satisfactory. It originated in a mistake in the meaning of the Turkish word *kafe*, which means a covered litter or palanquin drawn by two horses, and is generally used to convey the harem of an Eastern monarch. In such a litter, with the lattice-work made of iron, Bajazet either chose or was constrained to travel. This was either mistaken for, or transformed by ignorant

relators into, a cage. The European Schiltberger, the two oldest of the Turkish historians, and the most valuable of the later compilers, Seadeddin, describe this litter. Seadeddin discusses the question with some degree of historical criticism, and ascribes the choice of such a vehicle to the indignant state of Bajazet's mind, which would not brook the sight of his Tartar conquerors. Von Hammer, p. 320.—M.

ports which Timour demanded of either nation, under the pretence of attacking their enemy. At the same time they soothed his pride with tributary gifts and suppliant embassies, and prudently tempted him to retreat with the honours of victory. Soliman, the son of Bajazet, implored his clemency for his father and himself; accepted, by a red patent, the investiture of the kingdom of Romania, which he already held by the sword, and reiterated his ardent wish of casting himself in person at the feet of the king of the world. The Greek emperor⁶⁰ (either John or Manuel) submitted to pay the same tribute which he had stipulated with the Turkish sultan, and ratified the treaty by an oath of allegiance, from which he could absolve his conscience so soon as the Mogul arms had retired from Anatolia. But the fears and fancy of nations ascribed to the ambitious Tamerlane a new design of vast and romantic compass; a design of subduing Egypt and Africa, marching from the Nile to the Atlantic Ocean, entering Europe by the Straits of Gibraltar, and, after imposing his yoke on the kingdoms of Christendom, of returning home by the deserts of Russia and Tartary. This remote, and perhaps imaginary danger, was averted by the submission of the sultan of Egypt: the honours of the prayer and the coin attested at Cairo the supremacy of Timour; and a rare gift of a *giraffe* or camelopard, and nine ostriches, represented at Samarcand the tribute of the African world. Our imagination is not less astonished by the portrait of a Mogul, who, in his camp before Smyrna, meditates and almost accomplishes the invasion of the Chinese empire.⁶¹ Timour was urged to this enterprise by national honour and religious zeal. The torrents which he had shed of Musulman blood could be expiated only by an equal destruction of the infidels; and as he now stood at the gates of paradise, he might best secure his glorious entrance by demolishing the idols of China, founding mosques in every city, and establishing the profession of faith in one God and his prophet Mahomet. The recent expulsion of the house of Zingis was an insult on the Mogul name, and the disorders of the empire afforded the fairest opportunity for revenge. The illustrious Hongvou, founder of the dynasty of *Ming*, died four years before the battle of Angora, and his grandson, a weak and unfortunate youth, was burnt in his palace, after a million of Chinese had perished in the civil war.⁶² Before he evacuated

⁶⁰ Since the name of Cæsar had been transferred to the sultans of Roum, the Greek princes of Constantinople (Sherefeddin, l. v. c. 54) were confounded with the Christian lords of Gallipoli, Thessalonica, &c., under the title of *Tektur*, which is derived by corruption from the genitive *ταύ αυτίου* (Cantemir, p. 51).

⁶¹ See Sherefeddin, l. v. c. 4, who marks, in a just itinerary, the road to China, which Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 33) paints in vague and rhetorical colours.

⁶² Synopsis Hist. Sinicæ, p. 74-76 (in the 14th part of the Relations de Thevenot);

Anatolia, Timour despatched beyond the Sihoon a numerous army, or rather colony, of his old and new subjects, to open the road, to subdue the pagan Calmucks and Mungals, and to found cities and magazines in the desert; and, by the diligence of his lieutenant, he soon received a perfect map and description of the unknown regions, from the source of the Irtish to the wall of China. During these preparations the emperor achieved the final conquest of Georgia, passed the winter on the banks of the Araxes, appeased the troubles of Persia, and slowly returned to his capital after a campaign of four years and nine months.

On the throne of Samarcand⁶³ he displayed, in a short repose, his magnificence and power; listened to the complaints of the people; distributed a just measure of rewards and punishments; employed his riches in the architecture of palaces and temples; and gave audience to the ambassadors of Egypt, Arabia, India, Tartary, Russia, and Spain, the last of whom presented a suit of tapestry which eclipsed the pencil of the Oriental artists. The marriage of six of the emperor's grandsons was esteemed an act of religion as well as of paternal tenderness; and the pomp of the ancient caliphs was revived in their nuptials. They were celebrated in the gardens of Canighul, decorated with innumerable tents and pavilions, which displayed the luxury of a great city and the spoils of a victorious camp. Whole forests were cut down to supply fuel for the kitchens; the plain was spread with pyramids of meat and vases of every liquor, to which thousands of guests were courteously invited: the orders of the state and the nations of the earth were marshalled at the royal banquet; nor were the ambassadors of Europe (says the haughty Persian) excluded from the feast; since even the *cassee*, the smallest of fish, find their place in the ocean.⁶⁴ The public joy was testified by illuminations and masquerades; the trades of Samarcand passed in review; and every trade was emulous to execute some quaint device, some marvellous pageant, with the materials of their peculiar art. After the marriage-contracts had been ratified by the cadhis, the bridegrooms and their brides retired to the nuptial chambers: nine times, according to the Asiatic fashion, they were

His triumph
at Samar-
cand,
A.D. 1404,
July—
A.D. 1405,
January 8.

Duhaide, *Hist. de la Chine* (tom. i. p. 507, 508, folio edition); and for the chronology of the Chinese emperors, De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. p. 71, 72.

⁶³ For the return, triumph, and death of Timour, see Sherefeddin (l. vi. c. 1-30) and Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 35-47).

⁶⁴ Sherefeddin (l. vi. c. 24) mentions the ambassadors of one of the most potent sovereigns of Europe. We know that it was Henry III. king of Castile; and the curious relation of his two embassies is still extant (Mariana, *Hist. Hispan.* l. xix. c. 11, tom. ii. p. 329, 330; *Avertissement à l'Hist. de Timur Bec*, p. 28-33). There appears likewise to have been some correspondence between the Mogul emperor and the court of Charles VII. king of France (*Histoire de France*, par Velly et Villaret, tom. xii. p. 336).

dressed and undressed; and at each change of apparel pearls and rubies were showered on their heads, and contemptuously abandoned to their attendants. A general indulgence was proclaimed: every law was relaxed, every pleasure was allowed; the people was free, the sovereign was idle; and the historian of Timour may remark, that, after devoting fifty years to the attainment of empire, the only happy period of his life were the two months in which he ceased to exercise his power. But he was soon awakened to the cares of government and war. The standard was unfurled for the invasion of China: the emirs made their report of two hundred thousand, the select and veteran soldiers of Iian and Touran: their baggage and provisions were transported by five hundred great waggons and an immense train of horses and camels; and the troops might prepare for a long absence, since more than six months were employed in the tranquil journey of a caravan from Samarcand to Pekin. Neither age nor the severity of the winter could retard the impatience of Timour; he mounted on horseback, passed the Sihoon on the ice, marched seventy-six parasangs, three hundred miles, from his capital, and pitched his last camp in the neighbourhood of Otrar, where he was expected by the angel of death. Fatigue, and the indiscreet use of iced water, accelerated the progress of his fever; and the conqueror of Asia expired in the seventieth year of his age, thirty-five years after he had ascended the throne of Zagatai. His designs were lost; his armies were disbanded; China was saved; and fourteen years after his decease, the most powerful of his children sent an embassy of friendship and commerce to the court of Pekin.⁶⁵

His death
on the road
to China,
A.D. 1405,
April 1.

The fame of Timour has pervaded the East and West: his posterity is still invested with the Imperial *title*; and the admiration of his subjects, who revered him almost as a deity, may be justified in some degree by the praise or confession of his bitterest enemies.⁶⁶ Although he was lame of an hand and foot, his form and stature were not unworthy of his rank; and his vigorous health, so essential to himself and to the world, was corroborated by temperance and exercise. In his familiar discourse he was grave and modest; and if he was ignorant of the Arabic language, he spoke with fluency and elegance the Persian and Turkish idioms. It was his delight to converse with the learned on topics of history

Character
and merits
of Timour.

⁶⁵ See the translation of the Persian account of their embassy, a curious and original piece (in the ivth part of the Relations de Thevenot). They presented the emperors of China with an old horse which Timour had formerly rode. It was in the year 1419 that they departed from the court of Herat, to which place they returned in 1422 from Pekin.

⁶⁶ From Arabshah, tom. ii. c. 96. The bright or softer colours are borrowed from Sherefeddin, D'Herbelot, and the Institutions.

and science; and the amusement of his leisure hours was the game of chess, which he improved or corrupted with new refinements.⁶⁷ In his religion he was a zealous, though not perhaps an orthodox, Musulman; ⁶⁸ but his sound understanding may tempt us to believe that a superstitious reverence for omens and prophecies, for saints and astrologers, was only affected as an instrument of policy. In the government of a vast empire he stood alone and absolute, without a rebel to oppose his power, a favourite to seduce his affections, or a minister to mislead his judgment. It was his firmest maxim, that, whatever might be the consequence, the word of the prince should never be disputed or recalled; but his foes have maliciously observed that the commands of anger and destruction were more strictly executed than those of beneficence and favour. His sons and grandsons, of whom Timour left six-and-thirty at his decease, were his first and most submissive subjects; and whenever they deviated from their duty, they were corrected, according to the laws of Zingis, with the bastonade, and afterwards restored to honour and command. Perhaps his heart was not devoid of the social virtues; perhaps he was not incapable of loving his friends and pardoning his enemies; but the rules of morality are founded on the public interest; and it may be sufficient to applaud the *wisdom* of a monarch, for the liberality by which he is not impoverished, and for the justice by which he is strengthened and enriched. To maintain the harmony of authority and obedience, to chastise the proud, to protect the weak, to reward the deserving, to banish vice and idleness from his dominions, to secure the traveller and merchant, to restrain the depredations of the soldier, to cherish the labours of the husbandman, to encourage industry and learning, and, by an equal and moderate assessment, to increase the revenue without increasing the taxes, are indeed the duties of a prince; but, in the discharge of these duties, he finds an ample and immediate recompence. Timour might boast that, at his accession to the throne, Asia was the prey of anarchy and rapine, whilst under his prosperous monarchy a child, fearless and unhurt, might carry a purse of gold from the East to the West. Such was his confidence of merit, that from this reformation he derived an excuse for his victories and a title to universal dominion. The four following observations will serve to appreciate his claim to the public

⁶⁷ His new system was multiplied from 32 pieces and 64 squares to 56 pieces and 110 or 130 squares: but, except in his court, the old game has been thought sufficiently elaborate. The Mogul emperor was rather pleased than hurt with the victory of a subject: a chess-player will feel the value of this encomium!

⁶⁸ See Sharefeddin, l. v. c. 15, 25. Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 96, p. 801, 803) reproves the impiety of Timour and the Moguls, who almost preferred to the Koran the *Yacca*, or Law of Zingis (cui Deus maledicat); nor will he believe that Sharokh had abolished the use and authority of that pagan code.

gratitude; and perhaps we shall conclude that the Mogul emperor was rather the scourge than the benefactor of mankind. 1. If some partial disorders, some local oppressions, were healed by the sword of Timour, the remedy was far more pernicious than the disease. By their rapine, cruelty, and discord, the petty tyrants of Persia might afflict their subjects; but whole nations were crushed under the footsteps of the reformer. The ground which had been occupied by flourishing cities was often marked by his abominable trophies, by columns, or pyramids, of human heads. Astracan, Carizme, Delhi, Ispahan, Bagdad, Aleppo, Damascus, Boursa, Smyrna, and a thousand others, were sacked, or burnt, or utterly destroyed, in his presence and by his troops; and perhaps his conscience would have been startled if a priest or philosopher had dared to number the millions of victims whom he had sacrificed to the establishment of peace and order.⁶⁹ 2. His most destructive wars were rather inroads than conquests. He invaded Turkestan, Kipzak, Russia, Hindostan, Syria, Anatolia, Armenia, and Georgia, without a hope or a desire of preserving those distant provinces. From thence he departed laden with spoil; but he left behind him neither troops to awe the contumacious, nor magistrates to protect the obedient, natives. When he had broken the fabric of their ancient government he abandoned them to the evils which his invasion had aggravated or caused; nor were these evils compensated by any present or possible benefits. 3. The kingdoms of Transoxiana and Persia were the proper field which he laboured to cultivate and adorn as the perpetual inheritance of his family. But his peaceful labours were often interrupted, and sometimes blasted, by the absence of the conqueror. While he triumphed on the Volga or the Ganges, his servants, and even his sons, forgot their master and their duty. The public and private injuries were poorly redressed by the tardy rigour of inquiry and punishment; and we must be content to praise the *Institutions* of Timour as the specious idea of a perfect monarchy. 4. Whatsoever might be the blessings of his administration, they evaporated with his life. To reign, rather than to govern, was the ambition of his children and grandchildren,⁷⁰ the enemies of each other and of the people. A fragment of the empire was upheld

⁶⁹ Besides the bloody passages of this narrative, I must refer to an anticipation in the fourth volume of the *Decline and Fall*, which in a single note (p. 202, note 25) accumulates near 300,000 heads of the monuments of his cruelty. Except in Rowe's play on the fifth of November, I did not expect to hear of Timour's amiable moderation (White's preface, p. 7). Yet I can excuse a generous enthusiasm in the reader, and still more in the editor, of the *Institutions*.

⁷⁰ Consult the last chapters of Sherefeddin and Arabahah, and M. de Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. iv. l. xx.). Fraser's *History of Nadir Shah* (p. 1-62). The story of Timour's descendants is imperfectly told; and the second and third parts of Sherefeddin are unknown.

with some glory by Sharokh, his youngest son; but after *his* decease the scene was again involved in darkness and blood; and before the end of a century Transoxiana and Persia were trampled by the Uzbeks from the north, and the Turkmans of the black and white sheep. The race of Timour would have been extinct if an hero, his descendant in the fifth degree, had not fled before the Uzbek arms to the conquest of Hindostan. His successors (the great Moguls⁷¹) extended their sway from the mountains of Cashmir to Cape Comorin, and from Candahar to the gulf of Bengal. Since the reign of Aurungzebe their empire has been dissolved; their treasures of Delhi have been rifled by a Persian robber; and the richest of their kingdoms is now possessed by a company of Christian merchants of a remote island in the Northern Ocean.

Far different was the fate of the Ottoman monarchy. The massy trunk was bent to the ground, but no sooner did the hurricane pass away than it again rose with fresh vigour and more lively vegetation. When Timour in every sense had evacuated Anatolia, he left the cities without a palace, a treasure, or a king. The open country was overspread with hordes of shepherds and robbers of Tartar or Turkman origin; the recent conquests of Bajazet were restored to the emirs, one of whom, in base revenge, demolished his sepulchre; and his five sons were eager, by civil discord, to consume the remnant of their patrimony. I shall enumerate their names in the order of their age and actions.⁷² 1. It is doubtful whether I relate the story of the true *Mustapha*, or of an impostor who personated that lost prince. He fought by his father's side in the battle of Angora: but when the captive sultan was permitted to inquire for his children, Mousa alone could be found; and the Turkish historians, the slaves of the triumphant faction, are persuaded that his brother was confounded among the slain. If *Mustapha* escaped from that disastrous field, he was concealed twelve years from his friends and enemies, till he emerged in Thessaly, and was hailed by a numerous party as the son and successor of Bajazet. His first defeat would have been his last, had not the true or false *Mustapha* been saved by the Greeks, and restored, after the decease of his brother Mahomet, to liberty and empire. A degenerate mind seemed to argue his spurious birth; and if, on the throne of Adrianople, he was adored as the Ottoman

Civil wars
of the sons
of Bajazet,
A.D.
1403-1421.

1. *Mustapha*.

⁷¹ Shah Allum, the present Mogul, is in the fourteenth degree from Timour, by Miran Shah, his third son. See the second volume of Dow's History of Hindostan.

⁷² The civil wars, from the death of Bajazet to that of *Mustapha*, are related, according to the Turks, by Demetrius Cantemir (p. 58-82). Of the Greeks, Chalcocondyles (l. iv. and v.), Phranza (l. i. c. 30-32), and Ducas (c. 18-27), the last is the most copious and best informed.

sultan, his flight, his fetters, and an ignominious gibbet delivered the impostor to popular contempt. A similar character and claim was asserted by several rival pretenders: thirty persons are said to have suffered under the name of Mustapha; and these frequent executions may perhaps insinuate that the Turkish court was not perfectly secure of the death of the lawful prince. 2. After his father's captivity Isa⁷³ reigned for some time in the neighbourhood of Angora, Sinope, and the Black Sea; and his ambassadors were dismissed from the presence of Timour with fair promises and honourable gifts. But their master was soon deprived of his province and life by a jealous brother, the sovereign of Amasia; and the final event suggested a pious allusion that the law of Moses and Jesus, of *Isa* and *Mousa*, had been abrogated by the greater *Mahomet*. 3. *Soliman* is not numbered in the list of the Turkish emperors: yet he checked the victorious progress of the Moguls, and, after their departure, united for a while the thrones of Adrianople and Boursa. In war he was brave, active, and fortunate: his courage was softened by clemency; but it was likewise inflamed by presumption, and corrupted by intemperance and idleness. He relaxed the nerves of discipline in a government where either the subject or the sovereign must continually tremble: his vices alienated the chiefs of the army and the law; and his daily drunkenness, so contemptible in a prince and a man, was doubly odious in a disciple of the prophet. In the slumber of intoxication he was surprised by his brother Mousa; and as he fled from Adrianople towards the Byzantine capital, Soliman was overtaken and slain in a bath,^a after a reign of seven years and ten months. 4. The investiture of Mousa degraded him as the slave of the Moguls: his tributary kingdom of Anatolia was confined within a narrow limit, nor could his broken militia and empty treasury contend with the hardy and veteran bands of the sovereign of Romania. Mousa fled in disguise from the palace of Boursa; traversed the Propontis in an open boat; wandered over the Wallachian and Servian hills; and after some vain attempts, ascended the throne of Adrianople, so recently stained with the blood of Soliman. In a reign of three years and a half his troops were

2. Isa;

3. Soliman,
A.D.
1403-1410.4. Mousa,
A.D. 1410.

⁷³ Arabshah, tom. ii. c. 26, whose testimony on this occasion is weighty and valuable. The existence of Isa (unknown to the Turks) is likewise confirmed by Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 57).

^a He escaped from the bath and fled towards Constantinople. Five brothers from a village, Dugundschi, whose inhabitants had suffered severely from the exactions of his officers, recognised and

followed him. Soliman shot two of them, the other discharged their arrows in their turn, the sultan fell, and his head was cut off. V. Hammer, vol. i. p. 349.—M.

victorious against the Christians of Hungary and the Morea; but Mousa was ruined by his timorous disposition and unseasonable clemency. After resigning the sovereignty of Anatolia he fell a victim to the perfidy of his ministers and the superior ascendant of his brother

5. Mahomet. 5. The final victory of Mahomet was the just recompense of his prudence and moderation. Before his father's captivity the royal youth had been intrusted with the government of Amasia, thirty days' journey from Constantinople, and the Turkish frontier against the Christians of Trebizond and Georgia. The castle in Asiatic warfare was esteemed impregnable; and the city of Amasia,⁷⁴ which is equally divided by the river Iris, rises on either side in the form of an amphitheatre, and represents on a smaller scale the image of Bagdad. In his rapid career Timour appears to have overlooked this obscure and contumacious angle of Anatolia; and Mahomet, without provoking the conqueror, maintained his silent independence, and chased from the province the last stragglers of the Tartar host.* He relieved himself from the dangerous neighbourhood of Isa; but in the contests of their more powerful brethren his firm neutrality was respected, till, after the triumph of Mousa, he stood forth the heir and avenger of the unfortunate Soliman. Mahomet obtained Anatolia by treaty and Romania by arms; and the soldier who presented him with the head of Mousa was rewarded as the benefactor of his king and country. The eight years of his sole and peaceful reign were usefully employed in banishing the vices of civil discord, and restoring on a firmer basis the fabric of the Ottoman monarchy. His last care was the choice of two vizirs,

Reign of Amurath II. Bajazet and Ibrahim,⁷⁵ who might guide the youth of his son Amurath; and such was their union and prudence, that they concealed above forty days the emperor's death till the arrival of his successor in the palace of Bursa. A new war was kindled in Europe by the prince, or impostor, Mustapha; the first vizir lost his army and his head; but the more fortunate Ibrahim, whose name and family are still revered, extinguished the last pretender to the throne of Bajazet, and closed the scene of domestic hostility.

In these conflicts the wisest Turks, and indeed the body of the

⁷⁴ Arabshah, loc. citat. Abulfeda, Geograph. tab. xvii. p. 302; Busbequius, epist. i. p. 96, 97, in Itinere C. P. et Amasiano.

⁷⁵ The virtues of Ibrahim are praised by a contemporary Greek (Ducas, c. 25). His descendants are the sole nobles in Turkey: they content themselves with the administration of his pious foundations, are excused from public offices, and receive two annual visits from the sultan (Cantemir, p. 76).

* See his nine battles. Von Hammer, p. 339.—M.

nation, were strongly attached to the unity of the empire; and Romania and Anatolia, so often torn asunder by private ambition, were animated by a strong and invincible tendency of cohesion. Their efforts might have instructed the Christian powers; and had they occupied, with a confederate fleet, the straits of Gallipoli, the Ottomans, at least in Europe, must have been speedily annihilated. But the schism of the West, and the factions and wars of France and England, diverted the Latins from this generous enterprise: they enjoyed the present respite, without a thought of futurity; and were often tempted by a momentary interest to serve the common enemy of their religion. A colony of Genoese,⁷⁶ which had been planted at Phocæa⁷⁷ on the Ionian coast, was enriched by the lucrative monopoly of alum;⁷⁸ and their tranquillity, under the Turkish empire, was secured by the annual payment of tribute. In the last civil war of the Ottomans, the Genoese governor, Adorno, a bold and ambitious youth, embraced the party of Amurath; and undertook, with seven stout galleys, to transport him from Asia to Europe. The sultan and five hundred guards embarked on board the admiral's ship; which was manned by eight hundred of the bravest Franks. His life and liberty were in their hands; nor can we, without reluctance, applaud the fidelity of Adorno, who, in the midst of the passage, knelt before him, and gratefully accepted a discharge of his arrears of tribute. They landed in sight of Mustapha and Gallipoli; two thousand Italians, armed with lances and battle-axes, attended Amurath to the conquest of Adrianople; and this venal service was soon repaid by the ruin of the commerce and colony of Phocæa.

If Timour had generously marched at the request, and to the relief, of the Greek emperor, he might be entitled to the praise and gratitude of the Christians.⁷⁹ But a Musulman who carried into Georgia the sword of persecution, and respected the holy warfare of Bajazet, was not disposed to

Reunion of
the Ottoman
empire,
A.D. 1421.

State of
the Greek
empire,
A.D.
1402-1425.

⁷⁶ See Pachymer (l. v. c. 29 [c. 30, tom. i. p. 420, ed. Bonn]), Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ii. c. 1 [xv. 71 vol. ii. p. 766, ed. Bonn]), Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 57), and Ducas (c. 25). The last of these, a curious and careful observer, is entitled, from his birth and station, to particular credit in all that concerns Ionia and the islands. Among the nations that resorted to New Phocæa, he mentions the English (Ἰγγλίται [p. 161, ed. Bonn]); an early evidence of Mediterranean trade.

⁷⁷ For the spirit of navigation and freedom of ancient Phocæa, or rather of the Phocæans, consult the 1st book of Herodotus, and the Geographical Index of his last and learned French translator, M. Larcher (tom. vii. p. 299).

⁷⁸ Phocæa is not enumerated by Pliny (Hist. Nat. xxxv. 52) among the places productive of alum: he reckons Egypt as the first, and for the second the isle of Melos, whose alum-mines are described by Tournefort (tom. i. lettre iv.), a traveller and a naturalist. After the loss of Phocæa, the Genoese, in 1459, found that useful mineral in the isle of Ischia (Ismael. Bouillaud, ad Ducam, c. 25).

⁷⁹ The writer who has the most abused this fabulous generosity is our ingenious

pity or succour the *idolaters* of Europe. The Tartar followed the impulse of ambition; and the deliverance of Constantinople was the accidental consequence. When Manuel abdicated the government, it was his prayer, rather than his hope, that the ruin of the church and state might be delayed beyond his unhappy days; and after his return from a western pilgrimage, he expected every hour the news of the sad catastrophe. On a sudden he was astonished and rejoiced by the intelligence of the retreat, the overthrow, and the captivity of the Ottoman. Manuel⁸⁰ immediately sailed from Modon in the Morea; ascended the throne of Constantinople, and dismissed his blind competitor to an easy exile in the isle of Lesbos. The ambassadors of the son of Bajazet were soon introduced to his presence; but their pride was fallen, their tone was modest: they were awed by the just apprehension lest the Greeks should open to the Moguls the gates of Europe. Soliman saluted the emperor by the name of father; solicited at his hands the government or gift of Romania, and promised to deserve his favour by inviolable friendship, and the restitution of Thessalonica, with the most important places along the Strymon, the Propontis, and the Black Sea. The alliance of Soliman exposed the emperor to the enmity and revenge of Mousa: the Turks appeared in arms before the gates of Constantinople; but they were repulsed by sea and land; and unless the city was guarded by some foreign mercenaries, the Greeks must have wondered at their own triumph. But, instead of prolonging the division of the Ottoman powers, the policy or passion of Manuel was tempted to assist the most formidable of the sons of Bajazet. He concluded a treaty with Mahomet, whose progress was checked by the insuperable barrier of Gallipoli: the sultan and his troops were transported over the Bosphorus; he was hospitably entertained in the capital; and his successful sally was the first step to the conquest of Romania. The ruin was suspended by the prudence and moderation of the conqueror: he faithfully discharged his own obligations and those of Soliman; respected the laws of gratitude and peace; and left the emperor guardian of his two younger sons, in the vain hope of saving them from the jealous cruelty of their brother Amurath. But the execution of his last testament would have offended the national honour and religion; and the divan unanimously pronounced that

Sir William Temple (his Works, vol. iii. p. 349, 350, octavo edition), that lover of exotic virtue. After the conquest of Russia, &c., and the passage of the Danube, his Tartar hero relieves, visits, admires, and refuses the city of Constantine. His flattering pencil deviates in every line from the truth of history; yet his pleasing fictions are more excusable than the gross errors of Cantemir.

⁸⁰ For the reigns of Manuel and John, of Mahomet I. and Amurath II., see the Othman history of Cantemir (p. 70-95), and the three Greeks, Chalcocondyles, Phranza, and Ducas, who is still superior to his rivals.

the royal youths should never be abandoned to the custody and education of a Christian dog. On this refusal the Byzantine councils were divided: but the age and caution of Manuel yielded to the presumption of his son John; and they unsheathed a dangerous weapon of revenge, by dismissing the true or false Mustapha, who had long been detained as a captive and hostage, and for whose maintenance they received an annual pension of three hundred thousand aspers.⁸¹ At the door of his prison, Mustapha subscribed to every proposal; and the keys of Gallipoli, or rather of Europe, were stipulated as the price of his deliverance. But no sooner was he seated on the throne of Romania than he dismissed the Greek ambassadors with a smile of contempt, declaring, in a pious tone, that, at the day of judgment, he would rather answer for the violation of an oath, than for the surrender of a Musulman city into the hands of the infidels. The emperor was at once the enemy of the two rivals, from whom he had sustained, and to whom he had offered, an injury; and the victory of Amurath was followed, in the ensuing spring, by the siege of Constantinople.⁸²

The religious merit of subduing the city of the Cæsars attracted from Asia a crowd of volunteers, who aspired to the crown of martyrdom; their military ardour was inflamed by the promise of rich spoils and beautiful females; and the sultan's ambition was consecrated by the presence and prediction of Seid Bechar, a descendant of the prophet,⁸³ who arrived in the camp, on a mule, with a venerable train of five hundred disciples. But he might blush, if a fanatic could blush, at the failure of his assurances. The strength of the walls resisted an army of two hundred thousand Turks: their assaults were repelled by the sallies of the Greeks and their foreign mercenaries; the old resources of defence were opposed to the new engines of attack; and the enthusiasm

Siege of
Constanti-
nople by
Amurath II.
A.D. 1422,
June 10—
August 24.

⁸¹ The Turkish asper (from the Greek ἀσπὴρ) is, or was, a piece of white or silver money, at present much debased, but which was formerly equivalent to the 54th part, at least, of a Venetian ducat or sequin; and the 300,000 aspers, a princely allowance or royal tribute, may be computed at 2500*l.* sterling (Leunclāv. Pandect. Turc. p. 406-408).^a

⁸² For the siege of Constantinople in 1422, see the particular and contemporary narrative of John Cananus, published by Leo Allatius, at the end of his edition of Acropolis (p. 188-199).

⁸³ Cantemir, p. 80. Cananus, who describes Seid Bechar without naming him, supposes that the friend of Mahomet assumed in his amours the privilege of a prophet, and that the fairest of the Greek nuns were promised to the saint and his disciples.

^a According to Von Hammer this calculation is much too low. The asper was, a century before the time of which Leunclāvius writes, the tenth part of a ducat; for the same tribute which the Byzantine writers state at 300,000 aspers the Ottomans state at 30,000 ducats, about 15,000*l.* Note, vol. i. p. 636.—M.

of the dervish, who was snatched to heaven in visionary converse with Mahomet, was answered by the credulity of the Christians, who beheld the Virgin Mary, in a violet garment, walking on the rampart and animating their courage.⁸⁴ After a siege of two months Amurath was recalled to Bursa by a domestic revolt, which had been kindled by Greek treachery, and was soon extinguished by the death of a guiltless brother. While he led his Janizaries to new conquests in Europe and Asia, the Byzantine empire was indulged in a servile and precarious respite of thirty years. Manuel sank into the grave; and John Palæologus was permitted to reign, for an annual tribute of three hundred thousand aspers, and the dereliction of almost all that he held beyond the suburbs of Constantinople.

The emperor John Palæologus II. A.D. 1425, July 21— A.D. 1448, Oct. 31.

In the establishment and restoration of the Turkish empire the first merit must doubtless be assigned to the personal qualities of the sultans; since, in human life, the most important scenes will depend on the character of a single actor. By some shades of wisdom and virtue they may be discriminated from each other; but, except in a single instance, a period of nine reigns, and two hundred and sixty-five years, is occupied, from the elevation of Othman to the death of Soliman, by a rare series of warlike and active princes, who impressed their subjects with obedience and their enemies with terror. Instead of the slothful luxury of the seraglio, the heirs of royalty were educated in the council and the field: from early youth they were intrusted by their fathers with the command of provinces and armies; and this manly institution, which was often productive of civil war, must have essentially contributed to the discipline and vigour of the monarchy. The Ottomans cannot style themselves, like the Arabian caliphs, the descendants or successors of the apostle of God; and the kindred which they claim with the Tartar khans of the house of Zingis appears to be founded in flattery rather than in truth.⁸⁵ Their origin is obscure; but their sacred and indefeasible right, which no time can erase, and no violence can infringe, was soon and unalterably implanted in the minds of their subjects. A weak or vicious sultan may be deposed and strangled; but his inheritance devolves to an infant or an idiot: nor has the most daring rebel presumed to ascend the throne of his lawful sovereign.⁸⁶

Hereditary succession and merit of the Ottomans.

⁸⁴ For this miraculous apparition Cananus appeals to the Musulman saint; but who will bear testimony for Seid Bechar?

⁸⁵ See Rycant (l. i. c. 13). The Turkish sultans assume the title of khan. Yet Abulghazi's ignorant of his Ottoman cousins.

⁸⁶ The third grand vizir of the name of Kiuperli, who was slain at the battle of Salankanen in 1691 (Cantemir, p. 382), presumed to say that all the successors of

While the transient dynasties of Asia have been continually subverted by a crafty vizir in the palace or a victorious general in the camp, the Ottoman succession has been confirmed by the practice of five centuries, and is now incorporated with the vital principle of the Turkish nation.

To the spirit and constitution of that nation a strong and singular influence may however be ascribed. The primitive subjects of Othman were the four hundred families of wandering Turkmen who had followed his ancestors from the Oxus to the Sangar; and the plains of Anatolia are still covered with the white and black tents of their rustic brethren. But this original drop was dissolved in the mass of voluntary and vanquished subjects, who, under the name of Turks, are united by the common ties of religion, language, and manners. In the cities from Erzeroum to Belgrade, that national appellation is common to all the Moslems, the first and most honourable inhabitants; but they have abandoned, at least in Romania, the villages and the cultivation of the land to the Christian peasants. In the vigorous age of the Ottoman government the Turks were themselves excluded from all civil and military honours; and a servile class, an artificial people, was raised by the discipline of education to obey, to conquer, and to command.⁸⁷ From the time of Orchan and the first Amurath the sultans were persuaded that a government of the sword must be renewed in each generation with new soldiers; and that such soldiers must be sought, not in effeminate Asia, but among the hardy and warlike natives of Europe. The provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Servia became the perpetual seminary of the Turkish army; and when the royal fifth of the captives was diminished by conquest, an inhuman tax of the fifth child, or of every fifth year, was rigorously levied on the Christian families. At the age of twelve or fourteen years the most robust youths were torn from their parents; their names were enrolled in a book; and from that moment they were clothed, taught, and maintained for the public service. According to the promise of their appearance, they were selected for the royal schools of Bursa, Pera, and Adrianople, intrusted to the care of the bashaws, or dispersed in the houses of the Anatolian peasantry. It was the first care of their masters to instruct them in

Soliman had been fools or tyrants, and that it was time to abolish the race (Marsigli, *Stato Militare*, &c., p. 28). This political heretic was a good Whig, and justified against the French ambassador the revolution of England (Mignet, *Hist. des Ottomans*, tom. iii, p. 434). His presumption condemns the singular exception of continuing offices in the same family.

⁸⁷ Chalcocondyles (l. v.) and Ducas (c. 23) exhibit the rude lineaments of the Ottoman policy, and the transmutation of Christian children into Turkish soldiers.

the Turkish language : their bodies were exercised by every labour that could fortify their strength ; they learned to wrestle, to leap, to run, to shoot with the bow, and afterwards with the musket ; till they were drafted into the chambers and companies of the Janizaries, and severely trained in the military or monastic discipline of the order. The youths most conspicuous for birth, talents, and beauty, were admitted into the inferior class of *Agiamoglans*, or the more liberal rank of *Ichoglans*, of whom the former were attached to the palace, and the latter to the person of the prince. In four successive schools, under the rod of the white eunuchs, the arts of horsemanship and of darting the javelin were their daily exercise, while those of a more studious cast applied themselves to the study of the Koran, and the knowledge of the Arabic and Persian tongues. As they advanced in seniority and merit, they were gradually dismissed to military, civil, and even ecclesiastical employments : the longer their stay, the higher was their expectation ; till, at a mature period, they were admitted into the number of the forty agas, who stood before the sultan, and were promoted by his choice to the government of provinces and the first honours of the empire.⁸⁸ Such a mode of institution was admirably adapted to the form and spirit of a despotic monarchy. The ministers and generals were, in the strictest sense, the slaves of the emperor, to whose bounty they were indebted for their instruction and support. When they left the seraglio, and suffered their beards to grow as the symbol of enfranchisement, they found themselves in an important office, without faction or friendship, without parents and without heirs, dependent on the hand which had raised them from the dust, and which, on the slightest displeasure, could break in pieces these statues of glass, as they are aptly termed by the Turkish proverb.⁸⁹ In the slow and painful steps of education, their characters and talents were unfolded to a discerning eye : the *man*, naked and alone, was reduced to the standard of his personal merit ; and, if the sovereign had wisdom to choose, he possessed a pure and boundless liberty of choice. The Ottoman candidates were trained by the virtues of abstinence to those of action ; by the habits of submission to those of command. A similar spirit was diffused among the troops ; and their silence and sobriety, their patience and modesty, have extorted the reluctant praise of their Christian

⁸⁸ This sketch of the Turkish education and discipline is chiefly borrowed from Rycout's *State of the Ottoman Empire, the Stato Militare del' Imperio Ottomanno of Count Marsigli* (in *Haya*, 1732, in folio), and a *Description of the Seraglio*, approved by Mr. Greaves himself, a curious traveller, and inserted in the second volume of his works.

⁸⁹ From the series of *cry vizirs*, till the siege of Vienna (Marsigli, p. 13), their place may be valued at three *yars* and a half purchase.

enemies.⁹⁰ Nor can the victory appear doubtful, if we compare the discipline and exercise of the Janizaries with the pride of birth, the independence of chivalry, the ignorance of the new levies, the mutinous temper of the veterans, and the vices of intemperance and disorder which so long contaminated the armies of Europe.

The only hope of salvation for the Greek empire and the adjacent kingdoms would have been some more powerful weapon, some discovery in the art of war, that should give them a decisive superiority over their Turkish foes. Such a weapon was in their hands; such a discovery had been made in the critical moment of their fate. The chemists of China or Europe had found, by casual or elaborate experiments, that a mixture of saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal produces, with a spark of fire, a tremendous explosion. It was soon observed that, if the expansive force were compressed in a strong tube, a ball of stone or iron might be expelled with irresistible and destructive velocity. The precise æra of the invention and application of gunpowder⁹¹ is involved in doubtful traditions and equivocal language; yet we may clearly discern that it was known before the middle of the fourteenth century, and that before the end of the same the use of artillery in battles and sieges by sea and land was familiar to the states of Germany, Italy, Spain, France, and England.⁹² The priority of nations is of small account; none could derive any exclusive benefit from their previous or superior knowledge; and in the common improvement they stood on the same level of relative power and military science. Nor was it possible to circumscribe the secret within the pale of the church; it was disclosed to the Turks by the treachery of apostates and the selfish

⁹⁰ See the entertaining and judicious letters of Busbequius.

⁹¹ The first and second volumes of Dr. Watson's *Chemical Essays* contain two valuable discourses on the discovery and composition of gunpowder.

⁹² On this subject modern testimonies cannot be trusted. The original passages are collected by Ducange (*Gloss. Latin.* tom. i. p. 675, *Bombarda*). But in the early doubtful twilight, the name, sound, fire, and effect, that seem to express our artillery, may be fairly interpreted of the old engines and the Greek fire. For the English cannon at Crecy, the authority of John Villani (*Chron.* l. xii. c. 65) must be weighed against the silence of Froissard. Yet Muratori (*Antiquit. Italiae mediæ ævi*, tom. ii. *Dissert.* xxvi. p. 514, 515) has produced a decisive passage from Petrarch (*De Remediis utriusque Fortunaæ Dialog.*), who, before the year 1344, execrates this terrestrial thunder, *nuper rara, nunc communis*.^a

^a Mr. Hallam makes the following observation on the objection thrown out by Gibbon:—"The positive testimony of Villani, who died within two years afterwards, and had manifestly obtained much information as to the great events passing in France, cannot be rejected. He ascribes a material effect to the

"cannon of Edward, Colpi delle bombe, which I suspect, from his strong expressions, had not been employed before, except against stone walls. It seems, he says, as if God thundered con grande uccisione di genti, e sfondamento di cavalli." *Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 478, 10th ed.—M.

policy of rivals; and the sultans had sense to adopt, and wealth to reward, the talents of a Christian engineer. The Genoese, who transported Amurath into Europe, must be accused as his preceptors; and it was probably by their hands that his cannon was cast and directed at the siege of Constantinople.⁹³ The first attempt was indeed unsuccessful; but in the general warfare of the age the advantage was on *their* side who were most commonly the assailants; for a while the proportion of the attack and defence was suspended, and this thundering artillery was pointed against the walls and towers which had been erected only to resist the less potent engines of antiquity. By the Venetians the use of gunpowder was communicated without reproach to the sultans of Egypt and Persia, their allies against the Ottoman power; the secret was soon propagated to the extremities of Asia; and the advantage of the European was confined to his easy victories over the savages of the new world. If we contrast the rapid progress of this mischievous discovery with the slow and laborious advances of reason, science, and the arts of peace, a philosopher, according to his temper, will laugh or weep at the folly of mankind.

⁹³ The Turkish cannon, which Ducas (c. 30 [p. 211, ed. Bonn]) first introduces before Belgrade (A.D. 1436), is mentioned by Chalcocondyles (l. v. p. 123 [p. 231, ed. Bonn]) in 1422, at the siege of Constantinople.

CHAPTER LXVI.

APPLICATIONS OF THE EASTERN EMPERORS TO THE POPE. — VISITS TO THE WEST OF JOHN THE FIRST, MANUEL, AND JOHN THE SECOND, PALÆOLOGUS. — UNION OF THE GREEK AND LATIN CHURCHES PROMOTED BY THE COUNCIL OF BASIL, AND CONCLUDED AT FERRARA AND FLORENCE. — STATE OF LITERATURE AT CONSTANTINOPLE. — ITS REVIVAL IN ITALY BY THE GREEK FUGITIVES. — CURIOSITY AND EMULATION OF THE LATIN.

IN the four last centuries of the Greek emperors their friendly or hostile aspect towards the pope and the Latins may be observed as the thermometer of their prosperity or distress— as the scale of the rise and fall of the barbarian dynasties. When the Turks of the house of Seljuk pervaded Asia, and threatened Constantinople, we have seen at the council of Placentia the suppliant ambassadors of Alexius imploring the protection of the common father of the Christians. No sooner had the arms of the French pilgrims removed the sultan from Nice to Iconium than the Greek princes resumed, or avowed, their genuine hatred and contempt for the schismatics of the West, which precipitated the first downfall of their empire. The date of the Mogul invasion is marked in the soft and charitable language of John Vataces. After the recovery of Constantinople the throne of the first Palæologus was encompassed by foreign and domestic enemies: as long as the sword of Charles was suspended over his head he basely courted the favour of the Roman pontiff, and sacrificed to the present danger his faith, his virtue, and the affection of his subjects. On the decease of Michael the prince and people asserted the independence of their church and the purity of their creed: the elder Andronicus neither feared nor loved the Latins; in his last distress pride was the safeguard of superstition; nor could he decently retract in his age the firm and orthodox declarations of his youth. His grandson, the younger Andronicus, was less a slave in his temper and situation; and the conquest of Bithynia by the Turks admonished him to seek a temporal and spiritual alliance with the Western princes. After a separation and silence of fifty years a secret agent, the monk Barlaam, was despatched to Pope Benedict the Twelfth; and his artful instructions appear to have been drawn by the master-hand of the

Embassy of
the younger
Andronicus
to Pope Be-
nedict XII.
A.D. 1339.

great domestic. "Most holy father," was he commissioned to say, "the emperor is not less desirous than yourself of an union between

The argu-
ments for
a crusade
and union.

"the two churches; but in this delicate transaction he is obliged to respect his own dignity and the prejudices of his subjects. The ways of union are twofold, force and persuasion. Of force, the inefficacy has been already tried, since the Latins have subdued the empire without subduing the minds of the Greeks. The method of persuasion, though slow, is sure and permanent. A deputation of thirty or forty of our doctors would probably agree with those of the Vatican in the love of truth and the unity of belief; but on their return, what would be the use, the recompense, of such agreement? the scorn of their brethren, and the reproaches of a blind and obstinate nation. Yet that nation is accustomed to reverence the general councils which have fixed the articles of our faith; and if they reprobate the decrees of Lyons, it is because the Eastern churches were neither heard nor represented in that arbitrary meeting. For this salutary end it will be expedient, and even necessary, that a well-chosen legate should be sent into Greece to convene the patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and with their aid to prepare a free and universal synod. But at this moment," continued the subtle agent, "the empire is assaulted and endangered by the Turks, who have occupied four of the greatest cities of Anatolia. The Christian inhabitants have expressed a wish of returning to their allegiance and religion; but the forces and revenues of the emperor are insufficient for their deliverance: and the Roman legate must be accompanied or preceded by an army of Franks to expel the infidels, and open a way to the holy sepulchre." If the suspicious Latins should require some pledge, some previous effect of the sincerity of the Greeks, the answers of Barlaam were perspicuous and rational.

1. A general synod can alone consummate the union of the churches; nor can such a synod be held till the three Oriental patriarchs and a great number of bishops are enfranchised from the Mahometan yoke. 2. The Greeks are alienated by a long series of oppression and injury: they must be reconciled by some act of brotherly love, some effectual succour, which may fortify the authority and arguments of the emperor and the friends of the union. 3. If some difference of faith or ceremonies should be found incurable, the Greeks however are the disciples of Christ, and the Turks are the

¹ This curious instruction was transcribed (I believe) from the Vatican archives by Odoricus Raynaldus, in his Continuation of the Annals of Baronius (Roma, 1646-1677, in x volumes in folio). I have contented myself with the abbé Fleury (Hist. Ecclésiastique, tom. xx. p. 1-8), whose abstracts I have always found to be clear, accurate, and impartial.

“ common enemies of the Christian name. The Armemans, Cyprians, and Rhodians are equally attacked; and it will become the piety of the French princes to draw their swords in the general defence of religion. 4. Should the subjects of Andronicus be treated as the worst of schismatics, of heretics, of pagans, a judicious policy may yet instruct the powers of the West to embrace a useful ally, to uphold a sinking empire, to guard the confines of Europe, and rather to join the Greeks against the Turks than to expect the union of the Turkish arms with the troops and treasures of captive Greece.” The reasons, the offers, and the demands of Andronicus were eluded with cold and stately indifference. The kings of France and Naples declined the dangers and glory of a crusade: the pope refused to call a new synod to determine old articles of faith; and his regard for the obsolete claims of the Latin emperor and clergy engaged him to use an offensive superscription,—“To the *moderator*” of the Greeks, and the persons who style themselves the patriarchs of the Eastern churches.” For such an embassy a time and character less propitious could not easily have been found. Benedict the Twelfth³ was a dull peasant, perplexed with scruples, and immersed in sloth and wine: his pride might enrich with a third crown the papal tiara, but he was alike unfit for the regal and the pastoral office.

After the decease of Andronicus, while the Greeks were distracted by intestine war, they could not presume to agitate a general union of the Christians. But as soon as Cantacuzene had subdued and pardoned his enemies, he was anxious to justify, or at least to extenuate, the introduction of the Turks into Europe and the nuptials of his daughter with a Musulman prince. Two officers of state, with a Latin interpreter, were sent in his name to the Roman court, which was transplanted to Avignon, on the banks of the Rhône, during a period of seventy years: they represented the hard necessity which had urged him to embrace the alliance of the miscreants, and pronounced by his command the specious and edifying sounds of union and crusade. Pope Clement the Sixth,⁴

Negotiation
of Cantacuzene
with
Clement VI.
A.D. 1348.

³ The ambiguity of this title is happy or ingenious; and *moderator*, as synonymous to *rector*, *gubernator*, is a word of classical, and even Ciceronian, Latinity, which may be found, not in the Glossary of Ducange, but in the Thesaurus of Robert Stephens.

⁴ The first epistle (*sine titulo*) of Petrarch exposes the danger of the *bark* and the incapacity of the *pilot*. *Hæc inter, vino madidus, ævo gravis, ac sporifero rore perfusus, jamjam nutitat, dormitat, jam somno præceps, atque (utinam solus) ruit. . . . Heu quanto felicius patrio terram sulcasset aratro, quam scalmum piscatorium ascendisset!* This satire engages his biographer to weigh the virtues and vices of Benedict XII., which have been exaggerated by Guelphs and Ghibelins, by Papists and Protestants (see *Mémoires sur la Vie de Pétrarque*, tom. i. p. 259; ii. not. xv. p. 13-16). He gave occasion to the saying, *Bibamus papaliter*.

⁵ See the original Lives of Clement VI. in Muratori (*Script, Rerum Italicarum*, tom. iii. P. ii. p. 550-589); Matteo Villani (*Chron. l. iii. c. 43*, in Muratori, tom. xiv.

the successor of Benedict, received them with hospitality and honour, acknowledged the innocence of their sovereign, excused his distress, applauded his magnanimity, and displayed a clear knowledge of the state and revolutions of the Greek empire, which he had imbibed from the honest accounts of a Savoyard lady, an attendant of the empress Anne.⁵ If Clement was ill endowed with the virtues of a priest, he possessed however the spirit and magnificence of a prince whose liberal hand distributed benefices and kingdoms with equal facility. Under his reign Avignon was the seat of pomp and pleasure: in his youth he had surpassed the licentiousness of a baron; and the palace, nay the bedchamber of the pope, was adorned, or polluted, by the visits of his female favourites. The wars of France and England were adverse to the holy enterprise; but his vanity was amused by the splendid idea; and the Greek ambassadors returned with two Latin bishops, the ministers of the pontiff. On their arrival at Constantinople the emperor and the nuncios admired each other's piety and eloquence; and their frequent conferences were filled with mutual praises and promises, by which both parties were amused, and neither could be deceived. "I am delighted," said the devout Cantacuzene, "with the project of our holy war, which must redound to my personal glory as well as to the public benefit of Christendom. My dominions will give a free passage to the armies of France: my troops, my galleys, my treasures, shall be consecrated to the common cause; and happy would be my fate could I deserve and obtain the crown of martyrdom. Words are insufficient to express the ardour with which I sigh for the reunion of the scattered members of Christ. If my death could avail, I would gladly present my sword and my neck: if the spiritual phoenix could arise from my ashes, I would erect the pile and kindle the flame with my own hands." Yet the Greek emperor presumed to observe that the articles of faith which divided the two churches had been introduced by the pride and precipitation of the Latins: he disclaimed the servile and arbitrary steps of the first Palæologus, and firmly declared that he would never submit his conscience unless to the decrees of a free and universal synod. "The situation of the times," continued he, "will not allow the pope and myself to meet either at Rome or Constantinople; but some maritime city may be chosen on

p. 186), who styles him *molto cavallaresco, poco religioso*; Fleury (*Hist. Ecclési.* tom. ix. p. 126); and the *Vie de Pétrarque* (tom. ii. p. 42-45). The abbé de Sade treats him with the most indulgence; but *he* is a gentleman as well as a priest.

⁵ Her name (most probably corrupted) was Zampea. She had accompanied and alone remained with her mistress at Constantinople, where her prudence, erudition, and politeness deserved the praises of the Greeks themselves (*Cantacuzen.* l. i. c. 42 [tom. i. p. 205, ed. Bonn]).

“the verge of the two empires, to unite the bishops, and to instruct “the faithful of the East and West.” The nuncio’s seemed content with the proposition; and Cantacuzene affects to deplore the failure of his hopes, which were soon overthrown by the death of Clement, and the different temper of his successor. His own life was prolonged, but it was prolonged in a cloister; and, except by his prayers, the humble monk was incapable of directing the counsels of his pupil or the state.⁶

Yet of all the Byzantine princes, that pupil, John Palæologus, was the best disposed to embrace, to believe, and to obey the shepherd of the West. His mother, Anne of Savoy, was baptized in the bosom of the Latin church: her marriage with Andronicus imposed a change of name, of apparel, and of worship, but her heart was still faithful to her country and religion: she had formed the infancy of her son, and she governed the emperor after his mind, or at least his stature, was enlarged to the size of man. In the first year of his deliverance and restoration the Turks were still masters of the Hellespont; the son of Cantacuzene was in arms at Adrianople, and Palæologus could depend neither on himself nor on his people. By his mother’s advice, and in the hope of foreign aid, he abjured the rights both of the church and state; and the act of slavery,⁷ subscribed in purple ink, and sealed with the *golden bull*, was privately intrusted to an Italian agent. The first article of the treaty is an oath of fidelity and obedience to Innocent the Sixth and his successors, the supreme pontiffs of the Roman and Catholic church. The emperor promises to entertain with due reverence their legates and nuncios, to assign a palace for their residence and a temple for their worship, and to deliver his second son Manuel as the hostage of his faith. For these condescensions he requires a prompt succour of fifteen galleys, with five hundred men-at-arms and a thousand archers, to serve against his Christian and Musulman enemies. Palæologus engages to impose on his clergy and people the same spiritual yoke; but as the resistance of the Greeks might be justly foreseen, he adopts the two effectual methods of corruption and education. The legate was empowered to distribute the vacant benefices among the ecclesiastics who should subscribe the creed of the Vatican: three schools were instituted to instruct the youth of Constantinople in the language and doctrine of the Latins; and the name of Andronicus, the heir of the empire, was enrolled as the first student. Should he fail in the

Treaty of
John Palæologus I.
with Innocent VI.
A.D. 1355.

⁶ See this whole negociation in Cantacuzene (l. iv. c. 9), who, amidst the praises and virtues which he bestows on himself, reveals the uneasiness of a guilty conscience.

⁷ See this ignominious treaty in Fleury (Hist. Ecclési., p. 151–154), from Raynaldus, who drew it from the Vatican archives. It was not worth the trouble of a pious forgery.

measures of persuasion or force, Palæologus declares himself unworthy to reign, transfers to the pope all regal and paternal authority, and invests Innocent with full power to regulate the family, the government, and the marriage of his son and successor. But this treaty was neither executed nor published: the Roman galleys were as vain and imaginary as the submission of the Greeks; and it was only by the secrecy that their sovereign escaped the dishonour of this fruitless humiliation

The tempest of the Turkish arms soon burst on his head; and after the loss of Adrianople and Romania he was enclosed in his capital, the vassal of the haughty Amurath, with the miserable hope of being the last devoured by the savage. In this abject state Palæologus embraced the resolution of embarking for Venice, and casting himself at the feet of the pope: he was the first of the Byzantine princes who had ever visited the unknown regions of the West, yet in them alone he could seek consolation or relief; and with less violation of his dignity he might appear in the sacred college than at the Ottoman *Porte*. After a long absence the Roman pontiffs were returning from Avignon to the banks of the Tiber: Urban the Fifth,^a of a mild and virtuous character, encouraged or allowed the pilgrimage of the Greek prince, and, within the same year, enjoyed the glory of receiving in the Vatican the two Imperial shadows who represented the majesty of Constantine and Charlemagne. In this suppliant visit the emperor of Constantinople, whose vanity was lost in his distress, gave more than could be expected of empty sounds and formal submissions. A previous trial was imposed; and in the presence of four cardinals he acknowledged, as a true Catholic, the supremacy of the pope, and the double procession of the Holy Ghost. After this purification he was introduced to a public audience in the church of St. Peter: Urban, in the midst of the cardinals, was seated on his throne; the Greek monarch, after three genuflexions, devoutly kissed the feet, the hands, and at length the mouth of the holy father, who celebrated high mass in his presence, allowed him to lead the bridle of his mule, and treated him with a sumptuous banquet in the Vatican. The entertainment of Palæologus was friendly and honourable, yet some difference was observed between the emperors of the East and West; ^b nor

Visit of John
Palæologus
to Urban V.
at Rome,
A.D. 1369,
October 13,
&c.

^a See the two first original Lives of Urban V. (in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. iii. P. ii. p. 623, 635), and the Ecclesiastical Annals of Spondanus (tom. i. p. 573, A.D. 1369, No. 7), and Raynaldus (*Fleury, Hist. Ecclési.* tom. xx. p. 223, 224). Yet, from some variations, I suspect the papal writers of slightly magnifying the genuflexions of Palæologus.

^b *Paullo minus quam si fuisset Imperator Romanorum.* Yet his title of *Imperator Græcorum* was no longer disputed (*Vit. Urban V.*, p. 623).

could the former be entitled to the rare privilege of chanting the Gospel in the rank of a deacon.¹⁰ In favour of his proselyte, Urban strove to rekindle the zeal of the French king and the other powers of the West; but he found them cold in the general cause, and active only in their domestic quarrels. The last hope of the emperor was in an English mercenary, John Hawkwood,¹¹ or Acuto, who, with a band of adventurers, the White Brotherhood, had ravaged Italy from the Alps to Calabria, sold his services to the hostile states, and incurred a just excommunication by shooting his arrows against the papal residence. A special licence was granted to negotiate with the outlaw, but the forces, or the spirit, of Hawkwood were unequal to the enterprise: and it was for the advantage perhaps of Palæologus to be disappointed of a succour that must have been costly, that could not be effectual, and which might have been dangerous.¹² The disconsolate Greek¹³ prepared for his return, but even his return was impeded by a most ignominious obstacle. On his arrival at Venice he had borrowed large sums at exorbitant usury; but his coffers were empty, his creditors were impatient, and his person was detained as the best security for the payment. His eldest son Andronicus, the regent of Constantinople, was repeatedly urged to exhaust every resource, and even by stripping the churches, to extricate his father from captivity and disgrace. But the unnatural youth was insensible of the disgrace, and secretly pleased with the captivity of the emperor: the state was poor, the clergy was obstinate; nor could some religious scruple be wanting to excuse the guilt of his indifference and delay. Such undutiful neglect was severely reproved by the piety of his brother Manuel, who instantly sold or mortgaged all that he pos-

¹⁰ It was confined to the successors of Charlemagne, and to them only on Christmas-day. On all other festivals these Imperial deacons were content to serve the pope, as he said mass, with the book and the *corporal*. Yet the abbé de Sade generously thinks that the merits of Charles IV. might have entitled him, though not on the proper day (A.D. 1368, November 1), to the whole privilege. He seems to affix a just value on the privilege and the man (*Vie de Pétrarque*, tom. iii. p. 735).

¹¹ Through some Italian corruptions, the etymology of *Falcone in bosco* (Matteo [Filippo] Villani, l. xi. c. 79, in Muratori, tom. xiv. p. 746) suggests the English word *Hawkwood*, the true name of our adventurous countryman (Thomas Walsingham, *Hist. Anglican. inter Scriptores Camdeni*, p. 184). After two-and-twenty victories and one defeat, he died, in 1394, general of the Florentines, and was buried with such honours as the republic has not paid to Dante or Petrarch (Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. xii. p. 212-371).

¹² This torrent of English (by birth or service) overflowed from France into Italy after the peace of Broigny in 1360. Yet the exclamation of Muratori (*Annali*, tom. xii. p. 197) is rather true than civil. "Ci mancava ancor questo, che dopo essera "calpestrata l'Italia da tanti masnadiieri Tedeschi ed Ungheri, venissero fin dall' "Inghilterra nuovi cani a finire di divorarla."

¹³ Chalcocondyles, l. i. p. 25, 26 [p. 50, *sq.*, ed. Bonn]. The Greek supposes his journey to the king of France, which is sufficiently refuted by the silence of the national historians. Nor am I much more inclined to believe that Palæologus departed from Italy, *valde bene consolatus et contentus* (Vit. Urban V. p. 623).

essed, embarked for Venice, relieved his father, and pledged his own freedom to be responsible for the debt. On his return to Constantinople the parent and king distinguished his two sons with suitable rewards; but the faith and manners of the slothful Palæologus had not been improved by his Roman pilgrimage; and his apostasy or conversion, devoid of any spiritual or temporal effects, was speedily forgotten by the Greeks and Latins.¹⁴

Thirty years after the return of Palæologus, his son and successor Manuel, from a similar motive, but on a larger scale, again visited the countries of the West. In a preceding chapter I have related his treaty with Bajazet, the violation of that treaty, the siege or blockade of Constantinople, and the French succour under the command of the gallant Boucicault.¹⁵ By his ambassadors Manuel had solicited the Latin powers; but it was thought that the presence of a distressed monarch would draw tears and supplies from the hardest barbarians,¹⁶ and the marshal who advised the journey prepared the reception of the Byzantine prince. The land was occupied by the Turks; but the navigation of Venice was safe and open: Italy received him as the first, or at least as the second, of the Christian princes; Manuel was pitied as the champion and confessor of the faith, and the dignity of his behaviour prevented that pity from sinking into contempt. From Venice he proceeded to Padua and Pavia; and even the Duke of Milan, a secret ally of Bajazet, gave him safe and honourable conduct to the verge of his dominions.¹⁷ On the confines of France¹⁸ the royal officers undertook the care of his person, journey, and expenses; and two thousand of the richest citizens, in arms and on horseback, came forth to meet him as far as Charenton, in the neighbourhood of the capital. At the gates of Paris he was saluted by the chancellor and the parliament; and Charles the Sixth, attended by his princes and nobles, welcomed his brother with a cordial embrace. The successor

His return
to Constantinople,
A.D. 1370.

Visit of the
emperor
Manuel

to the court
of France,
A.D. 1400,
June 3;

¹⁴ His return in 1370, and the coronation of Manuel, Sept. 25, 1373 (Ducange, *Fam. Byzant.* p. 241), leaves some intermediate æra for the conspiracy and punishment of Andronicus.

¹⁵ Mémoires de Boucicault, P. i. c. 35, 36.

¹⁶ His journey into the west of Europe is slightly, and I believe reluctantly, noticed by Chalcocondyles (l. ii. p. 44-50 [p. 84-97, ed. Bonn]) and Ducas (c. 14).

¹⁷ Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. xii. p. 406. John Galeazzo was the first and most powerful duke of Milan. His connection with Bajazet is attested by Froissard, and he contributed to save and deliver the French captives of Nicopolis.

¹⁸ For the reception of Manuel at Paris, see Spondanus (*Annal. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 676, 677, A.D. 1400, No. 5), who quotes Juvenal des Ursins, and the monk of St. Denys; and Villaret (*Hist. de France*, tom. xii. p. 331-334), who quotes nobody, according to the last fashion of the French writers.

of Constantine was clothed in a robe of white silk and mounted on a milk-white steed, a circumstance, in the French ceremonial, of singular importance: the white colour is considered as the symbol of sovereignty; and in a late visit the German emperor, after an haughty demand and a peevish refusal, had been reduced to content himself with a black courser. Manuel was lodged in the Louvre: a succession of feasts and balls, the pleasures of the banquet and the chase, were ingeniously varied by the politeness of the French to display their magnificence and amuse his grief; he was indulged in the liberty of his chapel, and the doctors of the Sorbonne were astonished, and possibly scandalised, by the language, the rites, and the vestments of his Greek clergy. But the slightest glance on the state of the kingdom must teach him to despair of any effectual assistance. The unfortunate Charles, though he enjoyed some lucid intervals, continually relapsed into furious or stupid insanity; the reins of government were alternately seized by his brother and uncle, the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, whose factious competition prepared the miseries of civil war. The former was a gay youth, dissolved in luxury and love: the latter was the father of John count of Nevers, who had so lately been ransomed from Turkish captivity; and, if the fearless son was ardent to revenge his defeat, the more prudent Burgundy was content with the cost and peril of the first experiment. When Manuel had satiated the curiosity, and perhaps fatigued the patience of the French, he resolved on a visit to the adjacent island. In his progress from Dover he was entertained at Canterbury with due reverence by the prior and monks of St. Austin, and, on Blackheath, king Henry the Fourth, with the English court, saluted the Greek hero (I copy our old historian), who, during many days, was lodged and treated in London as emperor of the East.¹⁹ But the state of England was still more adverse to the design of the holy war. In the same year the hereditary sovereign had been deposed and murdered: the reigning prince was a successful usurper, whose ambition was punished by jealousy and remorse; nor could Henry of Lancaster withdraw his person or forces from the defence of a throne incessantly shaken by conspiracy and rebellion. He pitied, he praised, he feasted, the emperor of Constantinople; but if the English monarch

of England,
A.D. 1400,
December.

¹⁹ A short note of Manuel in England is extracted by Dr. Hody from a MS. at Lambeth (de Græcis illustribus, p. 14), C. P. Imperator, diu variisque et horrendis Paganorum insultibus coarctatus, ut pro eisdem resistentiam triumphalem perquireret, Anglorum Regem visitara decrevit, &c. Rex (says Walsingham, p. 364) [cum] nobili apparatus . . . suscepit (ut decuit) tantum Heroa, duxitque Londonias, et per multos dies exhibuit gloriose, pro expensis hospitii sui solvens, et eum respiciens [dignis] tanto fastigio donativis. He repeats the same in his *Upodigma Noustris* (p. 556).

assumed the cross, it was only to appease his people, and perhaps his conscience, by the merit or semblance of this pious intention.²⁰ Satisfied, however, with gifts and honours, Manuel returned to Paris; and, after a residence of two years in the West, shaped his course through Germany and Italy, embarked at Venice, and patiently expected, in the Morea, the moment of his ruin or deliverance. Yet he had escaped the ignominious necessity of offering his religion to public or private sale. The Latin church was distracted by the great schism: the kings, the nations, the universities of Europe, were divided in their obedience between the popes of Rome and Avignon; and the emperor, anxious to conciliate the friendship of both parties, abstained from any correspondence with the indigent and unpopular rivals. His journey coincided with the year of the jubilee; but he passed through Italy without desiring or deserving the plenary indulgence which abolished the guilt or penance of the sins of the faithful. The Roman pope was offended by this neglect, accused him of irreverence to an image of Christ, and exhorted the princes of Italy to reject and abandon the obstinate schismatic.²¹

During the period of the crusades the Greeks beheld with astonishment and terror the perpetual stream of emigration that flowed, and continued to flow, from the unknown climates of the West. The visits of their last emperors removed the veil of separation, and they disclosed to their eyes the powerful nations of Europe, whom they no longer presumed to brand with the name of barbarians. The observations of Manuel and his more inquisitive followers have been preserved by a Byzantine historian of the times:²² his scattered ideas I shall collect and abridge; and it may be amusing enough, perhaps instructive, to contemplate the rude pictures of Germany, France, and England, whose ancient and modern state are so familiar to *our* minds. I. GERMANY (says the Greek Chalcocondyles) is of ample latitude from Vienna to the Ocean, and it stretches (a strange geography) from Prague, in

Greek knowledge and descriptions—

²⁰ Shakespeare begins and ends the play of Henry IV. with that prince's vow of a crusade, and his belief that he should die in Jerusalem.

²¹ This fact is preserved in the *Historia Politica*, A.D. 1391-1478, published by Martin Crusius (*Turco-Græcia*, p. 1-43). The image of Christ, which the Greek emperor refused to worship, was probably a work of sculpture.

²² The Greek and Turkish history of Laonicus Chalcocondyles ends with the winter of 1463, and the abrupt conclusion seems to mark that he laid down his pen in the same year. We know that he was an Athenian, and that some contemporaries of the same name contributed to the revival of the Greek language in Italy. But in his numerous digressions the modest historian has never introduced himself; and his editor Leunclavius, as well as Fabricius (*Biblioth. Græc.* tom. vi. p. 474), seems ignorant of his life and character. For his descriptions of Germany, France, and England, see l. ii. p. 36, 37, 44-50 [p. 70-72, 85-96, ed. Bonn].

Bohemia, to the river Tartessus and the Pyrenæan mountains.²³ The soil, except in figs and olives, is sufficiently fruitful; the air is salubrious, the bodies of the natives are robust and healthy, and these cold regions are seldom visited with the calamities of pestilence or earthquakes. After the Scythians or Tartars, the Germans are the most numerous of nations: they are brave and patient, and, were they united under a single head, their force would be irresistible. By the gift of the pope, they have acquired the privilege of choosing the Roman emperor; ²⁴ nor is any people more devoutly attached to the faith and obedience of the Latin patriarch. The greatest part of the country is divided among the princes and prelates; but Strasburg, Cologne, Hamburg, and more than two hundred free cities, are governed by sage and equal laws, according to the will and for the advantage of the whole community. The use of duels, or single combats on foot, prevails among them in peace and war; their industry excels in all the mechanic arts; and the Germans may boast of the invention of gunpowder and cannon, which is now diffused over the greatest part of the world. II. The kingdom of ^{of France;} FRANCE is spread above fifteen or twenty days' journey from Germany to Spain, and from the Alps to the British Ocean, containing many flourishing cities, and among these Paris, the seat of the king, which surpasses the rest in riches and luxury. Many princes and lords alternately wait in his palace and acknowledge him as their sovereign: the most powerful are the dukes of Bretagne and Burgundy, of whom the latter possesses the wealthy province of Flanders, whose harbours are frequented by the ships and merchants of our own and the more remote seas. The French are an ancient and opulent people, and their language and manners, though somewhat different, are not dissimilar from those of the Italians. Vain of the Imperial dignity of Charlemagne, of their victories over the Saracens, and of the exploits of their heroes Oliver and Rowland,²⁵ they esteem themselves the first of the western nations; but this foolish arrogance has been recently humbled by the unfortunate events of their wars against the

²³ I shall not animadvert on the geographical errors of Chalcocondyles. In this instance he perhaps followed, and mistook, Herodotus (l. ii. c. 33), whose text may be explained (Herodote de Larcher, tom. ii. p. 219, 220), or whose ignorance may be excused. Had these modern Greeks never read Strabo, or any of their lesser geographers?

²⁴ A citizen of new Rome, while new Rome survived, would have scorned to dignify the German Emperor with the titles of Βασιλεύς, or Αυτοκράτωρ Ρωμαίων; but all pride was extinct in the bosom of Chalcocondyles, and he describes the Byzantine prince and his subject by the proper, though humble, names of Έλληνης and Βασιλεύς Έλλήνων.

²⁵ Most of the old romances were translated in the xivth century into French prose, and soon became the favourite amusement of the knights and ladies in the court of Charles VI. If a Greek believed in the exploits of Rowland and Oliver, he may surely be excused, since the monks of St. Denys, the national historians, have inserted the fables of Archbishop Turpin in their Chronicles of France.

English, the inhabitants of the British island. III. BRITAIN, in the ocean and opposite to the shores of Flanders, may be considered either as one or as three islands; but the whole is united by a common interest, by the same manners, and by a similar government. The measure of its circumference is five thousand stadia: the land is overspread with towns and villages; though destitute of wine, and not abounding in fruit-trees, it is fertile in wheat and barley, in honey and wool, and much cloth is manufactured by the inhabitants. In populousness and power, in riches and luxury, London,²⁶ the metropolis of the isle, may claim a pre-eminence over all the cities of the West. It is situate on the Thames, a broad and rapid river, which at the distance of thirty miles falls into the Gallic Sea; and the daily flow and ebb of the tide affords a safe entrance and departure to the vessels of commerce. The king is the head of a powerful and turbulent aristocracy: his principal vassals hold their estates by a free and unalterable tenure, and the laws define the limits of his authority and their obedience. The kingdom has been often afflicted by foreign conquest and domestic sedition; but the natives are bold and hardy, renowned in arms and victorious in war. The form of their shields or targets is derived from the Italians, that of their swords from the Greeks; the use of the long bow is the peculiar and decisive advantage of the English. Their language bears no affinity to the idioms of the continent: in the habits of domestic life they are not easily distinguished from their neighbours of France; but the most singular circumstance of their manners is their disregard of conjugal honour and of female chastity. In their mutual visits, as the first act of hospitality, the guest is welcomed in the embraces of their wives and daughters: among friends they are lent and borrowed without shame; nor are the islanders offended at this strange commerce and its inevitable consequences.²⁷ Informed as we are of the

²⁶ Δουβλίον ἢ ἡ πόλις δουβλου ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐσθρῶν πόλεων, ἄλλοι ἐν αὐτῇ ἄλλοι ἀδελφότητι ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἰσθρῶν λαογραφίᾳ [l. ii. p. 93, ed. Bonn]. Even since the time of Fitzstephen (the thirteenth century), London appears to have maintained this pre-eminence of wealth and magnitude; and her gradual increase has, at least, kept pace with the general improvement of Europe.

²⁷ If the double sense of the verb *κῶν* (ocular, and in utero gero) be equivocal, the context and pious horror of Chalcocondyles can leave no doubt of his meaning and mistake (p. 49 [p. 93, ed. Bonn]).²

² I can discover no "pious horror" in the plain manner in which Chalcocondyles relates this strange usage. He says, ἀλλὰ ἀσχετῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἰσθρῶν πόλεων τὰς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ αἰσῶν καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ γυναικῶν αἰσῶν καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ γυναικῶν; yet these are expressions beyond what would be used if the ambiguous word *αἰσῶν* were taken in its more innocent sense. Nor can the phrase *ἐσθρῶν τὰς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ γυναι-*

αἰσῶν ἐν τῇ ἰσθρῶν πόλει well bear a less coarse interpretation. Gibbon is probably right as to the origin of this extraordinary mistake.—M. It may be observed, however, that this notion of the unchastity of the English seems to have been prevalent among the Greeks, as it is likewise recorded by Phrazzæ, lib. iii. c. 2, p. 218, ed. Bonn.—S.

customs of old England, and assured of the virtue of our mothers, we may smile at the credulity, or resent the injustice, of the Greek, who must have confounded a modest salute²⁸ with a criminal embrace. But his credulity and injustice may teach an important lesson, to distrust the accounts of foreign and remote nations, and to suspend our belief of every tale that deviates from the laws of nature and the character of man.²⁹

After his return, and the victory of Timour, Manuel reigned many years in prosperity and peace. As long as the sons of Bajazet solicited his friendship and spared his dominions, he was satisfied with the national religion; and his leisure was employed in composing twenty theological dialogues for its defence. The appearance of the Byzantine ambassadors at the council of Constance³⁰ announces the restoration of the Turkish power, as well as of the Latin church: the conquest of the sultans, Mahomet and Amurath, reconciled the emperor to the Vatican; and the siege of Constantinople almost tempted him to acquiesce in the double procession of the Holy Ghost. When Martin the Fifth ascended without a rival the chair of St. Peter, a friendly intercourse of letters and embassies was revived between the East and West. Ambition on one side, and distress on the other, dictated the same decent language of charity and peace: the artful Greek expressed a desire of marrying his six sons to Italian princesses; and the Roman, not less artful, despatched the daughter of the marquis of Montferrat, with a company of noble virgins, to soften, by their charms, the obstinacy of the schismatics. Yet under this mask of zeal a discerning eye will perceive that all was hollow and insincere in the court and church of Constantinople. According to the vicissitudes of danger and repose, the emperor advanced or retreated; alternately instructed and disavowed his ministers; and escaped from an importunate pressure by urging the duty of inquiry, the obligation of collecting the sense of his patriarchs and bishops, and the impossibility of convening them at a time when the Turkish arms were at the gates of his capital. From a review of the public

Indifference
of Manuel
towards
the Latins.
A.D.
1402-1417.

His nego-
ciations.
A.D.
1417-1425.

²⁸ Erasmus (Epist. Fausto Andrelino) has a pretty passage on the English fashion of kissing strangers on their arrival and departure, from whence, however, he draws no scandalous inferences.

²⁹ Perhaps we may apply this remark to the community of wives among the old Britons, as it is supposed by Cæsar [Bell. Gall. l. v. c. 14] and Dion (Dion Cassius, l. lxxii. tom. ii. [c. 6] p. 1067), with Reimar's judicious annotation. The *Arroyo* of Otaheite, so certain at first, is become less visible and scandalous in proportion as we have studied the manners of that gentle and amorous people.

³⁰ See Lenfant, *Hist. du Concile de Constance*, tom. ii. p. 576; and, for the ecclesiastical history of the times, the *Annals of Spondanus*, the *Bibliothèque* of Dupin, tom. xii. and xxix and xxxii volumes of the *History*, or rather the *Continuation*, of Fleury.

transactions it will appear that the Greeks insisted on three successive measures, a succour; a council, and a final reunion, while the Latins eluded the second, and only promised the first as a consequential and voluntary reward of the third. But we have an opportunity of unfolding the most secret intentions of Manuel, as he explained them in a private conversation without artifice or disguise. In his declining age the emperor had associated John Palæologus, the second of the name, and the eldest of his sons, on whom he devolved the greatest part of the authority and weight of government. One day, in the presence only of the historian Phranza,³¹ his favourite chamberlain, he opened to his colleague and successor the true principle of his negotiations with the pope.³² "Our last resource," said Manuel, "against the Turks is their fear of our union with the Latins, of the warlike nations of the West, who may arm for our relief and for their destruction. As often as you are threatened by the miscreants, present this danger before their eyes. Propose a council; consult on the means; but ever delay and avoid the convocation of an assembly, which cannot tend either to our spiritual or temporal emolument. The Latins are proud; the Greeks are obstinate; neither party will recede or retract; and the attempt of a perfect union will confirm the schism, alienate the churches, and leave us, without hope or defence, at the mercy of the barbarians." Impatient of this salutary lesson, the royal youth arose from his seat and departed in silence; and the wise monarch (continues Phranza), casting his eyes on me, thus resumed his discourse: "My son deems himself a great and heroic prince; but, alas! our miserable age does not afford scope for heroism or greatness. His daring spirit might have suited the happier times of our ancestors; but the present state requires not an emperor, but a cautious steward of the last relics of our fortunes. Well do I remember the lofty expectations which he built on our alliance

³¹ From his early youth, George Phranza, or Phranzes, was employed in the service of the state and palace; and Hanckius (*de Script. Byzant. P. i. c. 40*) has collected his life from his own writings. He was no more than four-and-twenty years of age at the death of Manuel, who recommended him in the strongest terms to his successor: *Imprimis vero hunc Phranzen tibi commendo, qui ministravit mihi fideliter et diligenter* (Phranzes, l. ii. c. 1 [p. 125, ed. Bonn]). Yet the emperor John was cold, and he preferred the service of the despots of Peloponnesus.

³² See Phranzes, l. ii. c. 13 [p. 178, ed. Bonn]. While so many manuscripts of the Greek original are extant in the libraries of Rome, Milan, the Escorial, &c., it is a matter of shame and reproach that we should be reduced to the Latin version, or abstract, of James Pontanus (*ad calcem Theophylact. Simocattæ: Ingolstadt, 1604*), so deficient in accuracy and elegance (*Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. tom. vi. p. 615-620*).^a

^a The Greek text of Phranzes was edited by Bekkor for the new edition of the Byzantines. Bonn, 1838.--M.

“with Mustapha; and much do I fear that his rash courage will urge the ruin of our house, and that even religion may precipitate our downfall.” Yet the experience and authority of Manuel preserved the peace and eluded the council; till, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and in the habit of a monk, he terminated his career, dividing his precious moveables among his children and the poor, his physicians and his favourite servants. Of his six sons,³³ Andronicus the Second was invested with the principality of Thessalonica, and died of a leprosy soon after the sale of that city to the Venetians and its final conquest by the Turks. Some fortunate incidents had restored Peloponnesus, or the Morea, to the empire; and in his more prosperous days, Manuel had fortified the narrow isthmus of six miles³⁴ with a stone wall and one hundred and fifty-three towers. The wall was overthrown by the first blast of the Ottomans; the fertile peninsula might have been sufficient for the four younger brothers, Theodore and Constantine, Demetrius and Thomas; but they wasted in domestic contests the remains of their strength; and the least successful of the rivals were reduced to a life of dependence in the Byzantine palace.

The eldest of the sons of Manuel, John Palæologus the Second, was acknowledged, after his father's death, as the sole emperor of the Greeks. He immediately proceeded to repudiate his wife, and to contract a new marriage with the princess of Trebizond: beauty was in his eyes the first qualification of an empress; and the clergy had yielded to his firm assurance, that, unless he might be indulged in a divorce, he would retire to a cloister and leave the throne to his brother Constantine. The first, and in truth the only victory of Palæologus, was over a Jew,³⁵ whom, after a long and learned dispute, he converted to the Christian faith; and this momentous conquest is carefully recorded in the history of the times. But he soon resumed the design of uniting the East and West; and, regardless of his father's advice, listened, as it should seem with sincerity, to the proposal of meeting the pope in a general council beyond the Adriatic. This dangerous project was encouraged by Martin the Fifth, and coldly entertained

Zeal of
John Palæo-
logus II.
A.D.
1425-1437.

³³ See Ducange, *Fam. Byzant.* p. 243-248.

³⁴ The exact measure of the Hexamillion, from sea to sea, was 3800 orgyia, or *toises*, of six Greek feet (*Phranzes*, l. i. c. 35 [p. 108, ed. Bonn]), which would produce a Greek mile still smaller than that of 660 French *toises*, which is assigned by D'Auville as still in use in Turkey. Five miles are commonly reckoned for the breadth of the isthmus. See the *Travels of Spon, Wheeler, and Chandler*.

³⁵ The first objection of the Jews is on the death of Christ: if it were voluntary, Christ was a suicide; which the emperor parries with a mystery. They then dispute on the conception of the Virgin, the sense of the prophecies, &c. (*Phranzes*, l. ii. c. 12, a whole chapter.)

by his successor Eugenius, till, after a tedious negotiation, the emperor received a summons from a Latin assembly of a new character, the independent prelates of Basil, who styled themselves the representatives and judges of the Catholic church.

The Roman pontiff had fought and conquered in the cause of ecclesiastical freedom; but the victorious clergy were soon exposed to the tyranny of their deliverer; and his sacred character was invulnerable to those arms which they found so keen and effectual against the civil magistrate. Their great charter, the right of election, was annihilated by appeals, evaded by trusts or commendams, disappointed by reversionary grants, and superseded by previous and arbitrary reservations.³⁶ A public auction was instituted in the court of Rome: the cardinals and favourites were enriched with the spoils of nations; and every country might complain that the most important and valuable benefices were accumulated on the heads of aliens and absentees. During their residence at Avignon, the ambition of the popes subsided in the meaner passions of avarice³⁷ and luxury: they rigorously imposed on the clergy the tributes of first-fruits and tenths; but they freely tolerated the impunity of vice, disorder, and corruption. These manifold scandals were aggravated by the great schism of the West, which continued above fifty years. In the furious conflicts of Rome and Avignon, the vices of the rivals were mutually exposed; and their precarious situation degraded their authority, relaxed their discipline, and multiplied their wants and exactions. To heal the wounds, and restore the monarchy, of the church, the Council of Pisa, A.D. 1409; of Constance, A.D. 1414-1418; strength, resolved to vindicate the privileges of the Christian aristocracy. From a personal sentence against two pontiffs whom they rejected, and a third, their acknowledged sovereign, whom they deposed, the fathers of Constance proceeded to examine the nature and limits of the Roman supremacy; nor did they separate till they had established the authority, above the pope, of a general

Corruption
of the Latin
church.

Schism,
A.D.
1377-1429.

Council of
Pisa,
A.D. 1409;
of Constance,
A.D.
1414-1418;

³⁶ In the treatise delle Materie Beneficarie of Fra Paolo (in the ivth volume of the last, and best, edition of his works) the papal system is deeply studied and freely described. Should Rome and her religion be annihilated, this golden volume may still survive, a philosophical history and a salutary warning.

³⁷ Pope John XXII. (in 1334) left behind him, at Avignon, eighteen millions of gold florins, and the value of seven millions more in plate and jewels. See the Chronicle of John Villani (l. xi. c. 20, in Muratori's Collection, tom. xiii. p. 765), whose brother received the account from the papal treasurers. A treasure of six or eight millions sterling in the xvth century is enormous, and almost incredible.

³⁸ A learned and liberal Protestant, M. Lenfant, has given a fair history of the councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basil, in six volumes in quarto; but the last part is the most hasty and imperfect, except in the account of the troubles of Bohemia.

council. It was enacted, that, for the government and reformation of the church, such assemblies should be held at regular intervals; and that each synod, before its dissolution, should appoint the time and place of the subsequent meeting. By the influence of the court of Rome, the next convocation at Sienna was easily eluded; but the bold and vigorous proceedings of the council of Basil³⁹ had almost been fatal to the reigning pontiff, Eugenius the Fourth. A just suspicion of his design prompted the fathers to hasten the promulgation of their first decree, that the representatives of the church-militant on earth were invested with a divine and spiritual jurisdiction over all Christians, without excepting the pope; and that a general council could not be dissolved, prorogued, or transferred, unless by their free deliberation and consent. On the notice that Eugenius had fulminated a bull for that purpose, they ventured to summon, to admonish, to threaten, to censure, the contumacious successor of St. Peter. After many delays, to allow time for repentance, they finally declared, that, unless he submitted within the term of sixty days, he was suspended from the exercise of all temporal and ecclesiastical authority.

of Basil,
A.D.
1431-1443.

Their op-
position to
Eugenius IV

And to mark their jurisdiction over the prince as well as the priest, they assumed the government of Avignon, annulled the alienation of the sacred patrimony, and protected Rome from the imposition of new taxes. Their boldness was justified, not only by the general opinion of the clergy, but by the support and power of the first monarchs of Christendom: the emperor Sigismund declared himself the servant and protector of the synod; Germany and France adhered to their cause; the duke of Milan was the enemy of Eugenius; and he was driven from the Vatican by an insurrection of the Roman people. Rejected at the same time by his temporal and spiritual subjects, submission was his only choice: by a most humiliating bull, the pope repealed his own acts, and ratified those of the council; incorporated his legates and cardinals with that venerable body; and *seemed* to resign himself to the decrees of the supreme legislature. Their fame pervaded the countries of the East: and it was in their presence that Sigismund received the ambassadors of the Turkish sultan,⁴⁰ who laid at his feet twelve large vases filled with

³⁹ The original acts or minutes of the council of Basil are preserved in the public library, in twelve volumes in folio. Basil was a free city, conveniently situate on the Rhine, and guarded by the arms of the neighbouring and confederate Swiss. In 1459 the university was founded by pope Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius), who had been secretary to the council. But what is a council, or an university, to the presses of Froben and the studies of Erasmus?

⁴⁰ This Turkish embassy, attested only by Crantzius, is related with some doubt by the annalist Spondanus, A.D. 1433, No. 25, tom. i. p. 824.

robes of silk and pieces of gold. The fathers of Basil aspired to the glory of reducing the Greeks, as well as the Bohemians, within the pale of the church; and their deputies invited the emperor and patriarch of Constantinople to unite with an assembly which possessed the confidence of the Western nations. Palæologus was not averse to the proposal; and his ambassadors were introduced with due honours into the Catholic senate. But the choice of the place appeared to be an insuperable obstacle, since he refused to pass the Alps, or the sea of Sicily, and positively required that the synod should be adjourned to some convenient city in Italy, or at least on the Danube. The other articles of this treaty were more readily stipulated: it was agreed to defray the travelling expenses of the emperor, with a train of seven hundred persons,⁴¹ to remit an immediate sum of eight thousand ducats⁴² for the accommodation of the Greek clergy; and in his absence to grant a supply of ten thousand ducats, with three hundred archers and some galleys, for the protection of Constantinople. The city of Avignon advanced the funds for the preliminary expenses; and the embarkation was prepared at Marseilles with some difficulty and delay.

In his distress the friendship of Palæologus was disputed by the ecclesiastical powers of the West; but the dexterous activity of a monarch prevailed over the slow debates and inflexible temper of a republic. The decrees of Basil continually tended to circumscribe the despotism of the pope, and to erect a supreme and perpetual tribunal in the church. Eugenius was impatient of the yoke; and the union of the Greeks might afford a decent pretence for translating a rebellious synod from the Rhine to the Po. The independence of the fathers was lost if they passed the Alps: Savoy or Avignon, to which they acceded with reluctance, were described at Constantinople as situate far beyond the Pillars of Hercules;⁴³ the emperor and his clergy were apprehensive of the dangers of a long navigation; they were

Negotiations
with the
Greeks,
A.D.
1434-1437.

John Palæologus
embarks in
the pope's
galleys,
A.D. 1437,
Nov. 24.

⁴¹ Syropulus, p. 19. In this list the Greeks appear to have exceeded the real numbers of the clergy and laity which afterwards attended the emperor and patriarch, but which are not clearly specified by the great ecclesiarch. The 75,000 florins which they asked in this negotiation of the pope (p. 9) were more than they could hope or want.

⁴² I use indifferently the words *ducat* and *florin*, which derive their names, the former from the *dukes* of Milan, the latter from the republic of *Florence*. These gold pieces, the first that were coined in Italy, perhaps in the Latin world, may be compared in weight and value to one-third of the English guinea.

⁴³ At the end of the Latin version of Phranzes we read a long Greek epistle or declamation of George of Trebizond, who advises the emperor to prefer Eugenius and Italy. He treats with contempt the schismatic assembly of Basil, the barbarians of Gaul and Germany, who had conspired to transport the chair of St. Peter beyond the Alps; *ὁ Ἰβάνης* (says he) *εἶπε καὶ τὸν μισθὸν σου εὐνοῦντες ἔχοντες τὸν Ἡρακλίον ἐσθλὸν καὶ πρὸς Γαλιῶν ἰσχυροῦν*. Was Constantinople unprovided with a map?

offended by an haughty declaration, that, after suppressing the *new* heresy of the Bohemians, the council would soon eradicate the *old* heresy of the Greeks.⁴⁴ On the side of Eugenius all was smooth, and yielding, and respectful; and he invited the Byzantine monarch to heal by his presence the schism of the Latin, as well as of the Eastern, church. Ferrara, near the coast of the Adriatic, was proposed for their amicable interview: and with some indulgence of forgery and theft, a surreptitious decree was procured, which transferred the synod, with its own consent, to that Italian city. Nine galleys were equipped for this service at Venice and in the isle of Candia; their diligence anticipated the slower vessels of Basil: the Roman admiral was commissioned to burn, sink, and destroy;⁴⁵ and these priestly squadrons might have encountered each other in the same seas where Athens and Sparta had formerly contended for the pre-eminence of glory. Assaulted by the importunity of the factions, who were ready to fight for the possession of his person, Palæologus hesitated before he left his palace and country on a perilous experiment. His father's advice still dwelt on his memory; and reason must suggest, that, since the Latins were divided among themselves, they could never unite in a foreign cause. Sigismond dissuaded the unseasonable adventure; his advice was impartial, since he adhered to the council; and it was enforced by the strange belief that the German Cæsar would nominate a Greek his heir and successor in the empire of the West.⁴⁶ Even the Turkish sultan was a counsellor whom it might be unsafe to trust, but whom it was dangerous to offend. Amurath was unskilled in the disputes, but he was apprehensive of the union, of the Christians. From his own treasures he offered to relieve the wants of the Byzantine court; yet he declared with seeming magnanimity that Constantinople should be secure and inviolate in the absence of her sovereign.⁴⁷ The resolution of Palæologus was decided by the most splendid gifts and the most specious promises: he wished to escape for a while from a scene of

⁴⁴ Syropulus (p. 26-31) attests his own indignation, and that of his countrymen; and the Basil deputies, who excused the rash declaration, could neither deny nor alter an act of the council.

⁴⁵ Condolmieri, the pope's nephew and admiral, expressly declared, *ὅτι ἕριστος ἔχει κατὰ τοῦ Πάπᾶ ἵνα ἀπολεσθῆν ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τῆς συνόδου, καὶ εἰ διὰ τὴν, παραδόξω, καὶ ἀφανίσθῃ.* The naval orders of the synod were less peremptory, and, till the hostile squadrons appeared, both parties tried to conceal their quarrel from the Greeks.

⁴⁶ Syropulus mentions the hopes of Palæologus (p. 36), and the last advice of Sigismond (p. 57). At Corfu the Greek emperor was informed of his friend's death; had he known it sooner, he would have returned home (p. 79).

⁴⁷ Phranzes himself, though from different motives, was of the advice of Amurath (l. ii. c. 13). *Utinam ne synodus ista unquam fuisset, si tantas offensiones et detrimenta paritura erat.* This Turkish embassy is likewise mentioned by Syropulus (p. 58); and Amurath kept his word. He might threaten (p. 125, 219), but he never attacked, the city.

danger and distress; and after dismissing with an ambiguous answer the messengers of the council, he declared his intention of embarking in the Roman galleys. The age of the patriarch Joseph was more susceptible of fear than of hope; he trembled at the perils of the sea, and expressed his apprehension that his feeble voice, with thirty perhaps of his orthodox brethren, would be oppressed in a foreign land by the power and numbers of a Latin synod. He yielded to the royal mandate, to the flattering assurance that he would be heard as the oracle of nations, and to the secret wish of learning from his brother of the West to deliver the church from the yoke of kings.⁴⁸ The five *crossbearers*, or dignitaries, of St. Sophia, were bound to attend his person; and one of these, the great ecclesiarch or preacher, Sylvester Syropulus,⁴⁹ has composed a free and curious history⁵⁰ of the *false union*.⁵¹ Of the clergy that reluctantly obeyed the summons of the emperor and the patriarch, submission was the first duty, and patience the most useful virtue. In a chosen list or twenty bishops we discover the metropolitan titles of Heraclea and Cyzicus, Nice and Nicomedia, Ephesus and Trebizond, and the personal merit of Mark and Bessarion, who, in the confidence of their learning and eloquence, were promoted to the episcopal rank. Some monks and philosophers were named to display the science and sanctity of the Greek church; and the service of the choir was performed by a select band of singers and musicians. The patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, appeared by their genuine or fictitious deputies; the primate of Russia represented a national church, and the Greeks might contend with the Latins in the extent of their spiritual empire. The precious vases of St. Sophia were exposed to the winds and waves, that the patriarch might officiate with becoming splendour: whatever gold the emperor could procure

⁴⁸ The reader will smile at the simplicity with which he imparted these hopes to his favourites: *καίτοι μὴ πληροφάνειαν σχήσειν ἠλωχε καὶ διὰ τοῦ Πάπᾶ Μάρτιν ἰλιυερῶσαι τὴν ἰακλῆσιαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποσταθίσης αὐτοῦ δουλείας παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως* (p. 92). Yet it would have been difficult for him to have practised the lessons of Gregory VII.

⁴⁹ The Christian name of Sylvester is borrowed from the Latin calendar. In modern Greek, *συλλέ*, as a diminutive, is added to the end of words: nor can any reasoning of Creighton, the editor, excuse his changing into *Syropulus* (*Sguros, fuscus*) the Syropulus of his own manuscript, whose name is subscribed with his own hand in the acts of the council of Florence. Why might not the author be of Syrian extraction?

⁵⁰ From the conclusion of the history I should fix the date to the year 1444, four years after the synod, when the great ecclesiarch had abdicated his office (*sectio xii.* p. 330-350). His passions were cooled by time and retirement; and, although Syropulus is often partial, he is never intemperate.

⁵¹ *Vera historia unionis non vere inter Græcos et Latinos* (*Hagæ Comitæ*, 1660, in folio) was first published with a loose and florid version, by Robert Creighton, chaplain to Charles II. in his exile. The zeal of the editor has prefixed a polemic title, for the beginning of the original is wanting. Syropulus may be ranked with the best of the Byzantine writers for the merit of his narration, and even of his style; but he is excluded from the orthodox collections of the councils.

was expended in the massy ornaments of his bed and chariot; ⁵² and while they affected to maintain the prosperity of their ancient fortune, they quarrelled for the division of fifteen thousand ducats, the first alms of the Roman pontiff. After the necessary preparations, John Palæologus, with a numerous train, accompanied by his brother Demetrius and the most respectable persons of the church and state, embarked in eight vessels with sails and oars, which steered through the Turkish straits of Gallipoli to the Archipelago, the Morea, and the Adriatic Gulf. ⁵³

After a tedious and troublesome navigation of seventy-seven days, this religious squadron cast anchor before Venice; and their reception proclaimed the joy and magnificence of that powerful republic. In the command of the world the modest Augustus had never claimed such honours from his subjects as were paid to his feeble successor by an independent state. Seated on the poop, on a lofty throne, he received the visit, or, in the Greek style, the *adoration*, of the doge and senators. ⁵⁴ They sailed in the Bucentaur, which was accompanied by twelve stately galleys: the sea was overspread with innumerable gondolas of pomp and pleasure; the air resounded with music and acclamations; the mariners, and even the vessels, were dressed in silk and gold; and in all the emblems and pageants the Roman eagles were blended with the lions of St. Mark. The triumphal procession, ascending the great canal, passed under the bridge of the Rialto; and the Eastern strangers gazed with admiration on the palaces, the churches, and the populousness of a city that seems to float on the bosom of the waves. ⁵⁵ They sighed to behold the spoils and trophies with which it had been decorated after the sack of Constantinople. After an hospitable entertainment of fifteen days, Palæologus pursued his journey by land and water from Venice to Ferrara; and on this occasion the pride of the Vatican was tempered by policy to indulge the ancient

His triumphal entry at Venice, A.D. 1438, Feb. 9;

⁵² Syropulus (p. 63) simply expresses his intention *ἵ' ὄψιν περιπαῶν ἐν Ἰσάλοις μεγάλῃ βασιλείῃ κατ' ἰκονίων νομίζοντα*; and the Latin of Creighton may afford a specimen of his florid paraphrase. *Ut pompâ circumductus noster Imperator Italiæ populis aliquis deauratus Jupiter crederetur, aut Cressus ex opulentâ Lydiâ.*

⁵³ Although I cannot stop to quote Syropulus for every fact, I will observe that the navigation of the Greeks from Constantinople to Venice and Ferrara is contained in the ivth section (p. 67-100), and that the historian has the uncommon talent of placing each scene before the reader's eye.

⁵⁴ At the time of the synod Phranzes was in Peloponnesus: but he received from the despot Demetrius a faithful account of the honourable reception of the emperor and patriarch both at Venice and Ferrara (*Dux . . . sedentem Imperatorem adorat*), which are more slightly mentioned by the Latins (l. ii. c. 14, 15, 16).

⁵⁵ The astonishment of a Greek prince and a French ambassador (*Mémoires de Philippe de Comines*, l. vii. c. 18) at the sight of Venice, abundantly proves that in the xvth century it was the first and most splendid of the Christian cities. For the spoils of Constantinople at Venice see Syropulus (p. 87).

dignity of the emperor of the East. He made his entry on a *black* horse; but a milk-white steed, whose trappings were embroidered with golden eagles, was led before him; and the canopy was borne over his head by the princes of Este, the sons or kinsmen of Nicholas, marquis of the city, and a sovereign more powerful than himself.⁵⁶ Palæologus did not alight till he reached the bottom of the staircase: the pope advanced to the door of the apartment; refused his proffered genuflexion; and, after a paternal embrace, conducted the emperor to a seat on his left hand. Nor would the patriarch descend from his galley till a ceremony, almost equal, had been stipulated between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople. The latter was saluted by his brother with a kiss of union and charity; nor would any of the Greek ecclesiastics submit to kiss the feet of the Western primate. On the opening of the synod, the place of honour in the centre was claimed by the temporal and ecclesiastical chiefs; and it was only by alleging that his predecessors had not assisted in person at Nice or Chalcedon that Eugenius could evade the ancient precedents of Constantine and Marcian. After much debate it was agreed that the right and left sides of the church should be occupied by the two nations; that the solitary chair of St. Peter should be raised the first of the Latin line; and that the throne of the Greek emperor, at the head of his clergy, should be equal and opposite to the second place, the vacant seat of the emperor of the West.⁵⁷

But as soon as festivity and form had given place to a more serious treaty, the Greeks were dissatisfied with their journey, with themselves, and with the pope. The artful pencil of his emissaries had painted him in a prosperous state, at the head of the princes and prelates of Europe, obedient at his voice to believe and to arm. The thin appearance of the universal synod of Ferrara betrayed his weakness; and the Latins opened the first session with only five archbishops, eighteen bishops, and ten abbots, the greatest part of whom were the subjects or countrymen of the Italian pontiff. Except the duke of Burgundy, none of the potentates of the West condescended to appear in person, or by their ambassadors; nor was it possible to suppress

Council of
the Greeks
and Latins
at Ferrara
and Florence,
A.D. 1438,
Oct. 8—
A.D. 1439,
July 6.

⁵⁶ Nicholas III. of Este reigned forty-eight years (A.D. 1393-1441), and was lord of Ferrara, Modena, Reggio, Parma, Rovigo, and Commachio. See his Life in Muratori (*Antichità Estense*, tom. ii. p. 159-201).

⁵⁷ The Latin vulgar was provoked to laughter at the strange dresses of the Greeks, and especially the length of their garments, their sleeves, and their beards; nor was the emperor distinguished, except by the purple colour, and his diadem or tiara with a jewel on the top (*Hody de Græcia Illustribus*, p. 31). Yet another spectator confesses that the Greek fashion was più grave e più degna than the Italian (*Vespasiano*, in *Vit. Eugen. IV.* in Muratori, tom. xxv. p. 261).

the judicial acts of Basil against the dignity and person of Eugenius, which were finally concluded by a new election. Under these circumstances a truce or delay was asked and granted, till Palæologus could expect from the consent of the Latins some temporal reward for an unpopular union; and, after the first session, the public proceedings were adjourned above six months. The emperor, with a chosen band of his favourites and *Janizaries*, fixed his summer residence at a pleasant spacious monastery, six miles from Ferrara; forgot, in the pleasures of the chase, the distress of the church and state; and persisted in destroying the game, without listening to the just complaints of the marquis or the husbandman.⁵⁸ In the mean while his unfortunate Greeks were exposed to all the miseries of exile and poverty; for the support of each stranger a monthly allowance was assigned of three or four gold florins, and, although the entire sum did not amount to seven hundred florins, a long arrear was repeatedly incurred by the indigence or policy of the Roman court.⁵⁹ They sighed for a speedy deliverance, but their escape was prevented by a triple chain; a passport from their superiors was required at the gates of Ferrara; the government of Venice had engaged to arrest and send back the fugitives, and inevitable punishment awaited them at Constantinople; excommunication, fines, and a sentence, which did not respect the sacerdotal dignity, that they should be stripped naked and publicly whipped.⁶⁰ It was only by the alternative of hunger or dispute that the Greeks could be persuaded to open the first conference, and they yielded with extreme reluctance to attend from Ferrara to Florence the rear of a flying synod. This new translation was urged by inevitable necessity: the city was visited by the plague; the fidelity of the marquis might be suspected; the mercenary troops of the duke of Milan were at the gates, and, as they occupied Romagna, it was not without difficulty and danger that the pope, the emperor, and the bishops explored their way through the unfrequented paths of the Apennine.⁶¹

⁵⁸ For the emperor's hunting see Syropulus (p. 143, 144, 191). The pope had sent him eleven miserable hacks; but he bought a strong and swift horse that came from Russia. The name of *Jamisaries* may surprise; but the name, rather than the institution, had passed from the Ottonian to the Byzantine court, and is often used in the last age of the empire.

⁵⁹ The Greeks obtained, with much difficulty, that, instead of provisions, money should be distributed, four florins *per* month to the persons of honourable rank, and three florins to their servants, with an addition of thirty more to the emperor, twenty-five to the patriarch, and twenty to the prince, or despot, Demetrius. The payment of the first month amounted to 691 florins, a sum which will not allow us to reckon above 200 Greeks of every condition (Syropulus, p. 104, 105). On the 20th October, 1438, there was an arrear of four months; in April, 1439, of three; and of five and a half in July, at the time of the union (p. 172, 225, 271).

⁶⁰ Syropulus (p. 141, 142, 204, 221) deplors the imprisonment of the Greeks and the tyranny of the emperor and patriarch.

⁶¹ The wars of Italy are most clearly represented in the xiiiith volume of the *Annals*

Yet all these obstacles were surmounted by time and policy. The violence of the fathers of Basil rather promoted than injured the cause of Eugenius: the nations of Europe abhorred the schism, and disowned the election, of Felix the Fifth, who was successively a duke of Savoy, an hermit, and a pope; and the great princes were gradually reclaimed by his competitor to a favourable neutrality and a firm attachment. The legates, with some respectable members, deserted to the Roman army, which insensibly rose in numbers and reputation; the council of Basil was reduced to thirty-nine bishops and three hundred of the inferior clergy;⁶² while the Latins of Florence could produce the subscriptions of the pope himself, eight cardinals, two patriarchs, eight archbishops, fifty-two bishops, and forty-five abbots or chiefs of religious orders. After the labour of nine months and the debates of twenty-five sessions, they attained the advantage and glory of the reunion of the Greeks. Four principal questions had been agitated between the two churches: 1. The use of unleavened bread in the communion of Christ's body. 2. The nature of purgatory. 3. The supremacy of the pope. And, 4. The single or double procession of the Holy Ghost. The cause of either nation was managed by ten theological champions: the Latins were supported by the inexhaustible eloquence of Cardinal Julian, and Mark of Ephesus and Bessarion of Nice were the bold and able leaders of the Greek forces. We may bestow some praise on the progress of human reason, by observing that the first of these questions was *now* treated as an immaterial rite, which might innocently vary with the fashion of the age and country. With regard to the second, both parties were agreed in the belief of an intermediate state of purgation for the venial sins of the faithful; and whether their souls were purified by elemental fire was a doubtful point, which in a few years might be conveniently settled on the spot by the disputants. The claims of supremacy appeared of a more weighty and substantial kind, yet by the Orientals the Roman bishop had ever been respected as the first of the five patriarchs; nor did they scruple to admit that his jurisdiction should be exercised agreeably to the holy canons: a vague allowance, which might be defined or eluded by occasional convenience. The procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father alone, or from the Father and the Son, was an article of faith which

of Muratori. The schismatic Greek, Syropulus (p. 145), appears to have exaggerated the fear and disorder of the pope in his retreat from Ferrara to Florence, which is proved by the acts to have been somewhat more decent and deliberate.

⁶² Syropulus is pleased to reckon seven hundred prelates in the council of Basil. The error is manifest, and perhaps voluntary. That extravagant number could not be supplied by *all* the ecclesiastics of every degree who were present at the council, nor by *all* the absent bishops of the West, who, expressly or tacitly, might adhere to its decrees.

had sunk much deeper into the minds of men; and in the sessions of Ferrara and Florence the Latin addition of *filioque* was subdivided into two questions, whether it were legal, and whether it were orthodox. Perhaps it may not be necessary to boast on this subject of my own impartial indifference: but I must think that the Greeks were strongly supported by the prohibition of the council of Chalcedon against adding any article whatsoever to the creed of Nice, or rather of Constantinople.⁶³ In earthly affairs it is not easy to conceive how an assembly of legislators can bind their successors invested with powers equal to their own. But the dictates of inspiration must be true and unchangeable; nor should a private bishop or a provincial synod have presumed to innovate against the judgment of the Catholic church. On the substance of the doctrine the controversy was equal and endless; reason is confounded by the procession of a deity; the Gospel, which lay on the altar, was silent; the various texts of the fathers might be corrupted by fraud or entangled by sophistry; and the Greeks were ignorant of the characters and writings of the Latin saints.⁶⁴ Of this at least we may be sure, that neither side could be convinced by the arguments of their opponents. Prejudice may be enlightened by reason, and a superficial glance may be rectified by a clear and more perfect view of an object adapted to our faculties. But the bishops and monks had been taught from their infancy to repeat a form of mysterious words: their national and personal honour depended on the repetition of the same sounds, and their narrow minds were hardened and inflamed by the acrimony of a public dispute.

While they were lost in a cloud of dust and darkness, the pope and emperor were desirous of a seeming union, which could alone accomplish the purposes of their interview; and the obstinacy of public dispute was softened by the arts of private and personal negotiation. The patriarch Joseph had sunk under the weight of age and infirmities; his dying voice breathed the counsels of charity and concord, and his vacant benefice might tempt the hopes of the ambitious clergy. The ready and active obedience of the archbishops of Russia and Nice, of Isidore and Bessarion, was prompted and recompensed by their speedy promotion to the dignity of cardinals. Bessarion, in the first debates, had stood forth the

Negotiations
with the
Greeks.

⁶³ The Greeks, who disliked the union, were unwilling to sally from this strong fortress (p. 178, 193, 195, 202, of Syropulus). The shame of the Latins was aggravated by their producing an old MS. of the second council of Nice, with *filioque* in the Nicene creed. A palpable forgery! (p. 173).

⁶⁴ 'Ὁς ἔγω (said an eminent Greek) ὄραν εἰς ἡμῶν εἰσέλθω Λατίνων οὐ προσηκούνῃ τινα τῶν ἑκείνοι ἀγίων, ἵνα οὐδε γνωρίζω τινα (Syropulus, p. 109). See the perplexity of the Greeks (p. 217, 218, 252, 253, 273).

most strenuous and eloquent champion of the Greek church; and in the apostate, the bastard, was reprobated by his country,⁶⁵ he appears in ecclesiastical story a rare example of a patriot who was recommended to court favour by loud opposition and well-timed compliance. With the aid of his two spiritual coadjutors, the emperor applied his arguments to the general situation and personal characters of the bishops, and each was successively moved by authority and example. Their revenues were in the hands of the Turks, their persons in those of the Latins; an episcopal treasure, three robes and forty ducats, was soon exhausted;⁶⁶ the hopes of their return still depended on the ships of Venice and the alms of Rome; and such was their indigence, that their arrears, the payment of a debt, would be accepted as a favour, and might operate as a bribe.⁶⁷ The danger and relief of Constantinople might excuse some prudent and pious dissimulation; and it was insinuated that the obstinate heretics who should resist the consent of the East and West would be abandoned in a hostile land to the revenge or justice of the Roman pontiff.⁶⁸ In the first private assembly of the Greeks the formulary of union was approved by twenty-four, and rejected by twelve, members; but the five *crossbearers* of St. Sophia, who aspired to represent the patriarch, were disqualified by ancient discipline, and their right of voting was transferred to an obsequious train of monks, grammarians, and profane laymen. The will of the monarch produced a false and servile unanimity, and no more than two patriots had courage to speak their own sentiments and those of their country. Demetrius, the emperor's brother, retired to Venice, that he might not be witness of the union; and Mark of Ephesus, mistaking perhaps his pride for his conscience, disclaimed all communion with the Latin heretics, and avowed himself the champion and confessor of the orthodox creed.⁶⁹ In the treaty between the two nations several

⁶⁵ See the polite altercation of Mark and Bessarion in Syropulus (p. 257), who never dissembles the vices of his own party, and fairly praises the virtues of the Latins.

⁶⁶ For the poverty of the Greek bishops see a remarkable passage of Ducas (c. 31 [p. 216, ed. Bonn]). One had possessed, for his whole property, three old gowns, &c. By teaching one-and-twenty years in his monastery, Bessarion himself had collected forty gold florins; but of these the archbishop had expended twenty-eight in his voyage from Peloponnesus, and the remainder at Constantinople (Syropulus, p. 127).

⁶⁷ Syropulus denies that the Greeks received any money before they had subscribed the act of union (p. 283); yet he relates some suspicious circumstances; and their bribery and corruption are positively affirmed by the historian Ducas [loc. cit.].

⁶⁸ The Greeks most piteously express their own fears of exile and perpetual slavery (Syropul. p. 196); and they were strongly moved by the emperor's threats (p. 260).

⁶⁹ I had forgot another popular and orthodox protestor: a favourite hound, who usually lay quiet on the foot-cloth of the emperor's throne, but who barked most furiously while the act of union was reading, without being silenced by the soothing or the lashes of the royal attendants (Syropul. p. 235, 260).

forms of consent were proposed, such as might satisfy the Latins without dishonouring the Greeks; and they weighed the scruples of words and syllables till the theological balance trembled with a slight preponderance in favour of the Vatican. It was agreed (I must entreat the attention of the reader) that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, as from one principle and one substance; that he proceeds *by* the Son, being of the same nature and substance; and that he proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, by one *spiration* and production. It is less difficult to understand the articles of the preliminary treaty: that the pope should defray all the expenses of the Greeks in their return home; that he should annually maintain two galleys and three hundred soldiers for the defence of Constantinople; that all the ships which transported pilgrims to Jerusalem should be obliged to touch at that port; that as often as they were required, the pope should furnish ten galleys for a year, or twenty for six months; and that he should powerfully solicit the princes of Europe, if the emperor had occasion for land-forces.

The same year, and almost the same day, were marked by the deposition of Eugenius at Basil, and, at Florence, by his reunion of the Greeks and Latins. In the former synod, (which he styled indeed an assembly of dæmons) the pope was branded with the guilt of simony, perjury, tyranny, heresy, and schism;⁷⁰ and declared to be incorrigible in his vices, unworthy of any title, and incapable of holding any ecclesiastical office. In the latter he was revered as the true and holy vicar of Christ, who, after a separation of six hundred years, had reconciled the Catholics of the East and West in one fold, and under one shepherd. The act of union was subscribed by the pope, the emperor, and the principal members of both churches; even by those who, like Syropulus,⁷¹ had been deprived of the right of voting. Two copies might have sufficed for the East and West; but Eugenius was not satisfied unless four authentic and similar transcripts were signed and attested as the monuments of his victory.⁷² On a memorable day, the sixth of July, the

Eugenius
deposed
at Basil,
A.D. 1433,
June 26.

Reunion of
the Greeks at
Florence,
A.D. 1438,
July 6.

⁷⁰ From the original Lives of the Popes, in Muratori's Collection (tom. iii. P. ii. tom. xxv.), the manners of Eugenius IV. appear to have been decent, and even exemplary. His situation, exposed to the world and to his enemies, was a restraint, and is a pledge.

⁷¹ Syropulus, rather than subscriba, would have assisted, as the least evil, at the ceremony of the union. He was compelled to do both; and the great ecclesiarch poorly excuses his submission to the emperor (p. 290-292).

⁷² None of these original acts of union can at present be produced. Of the ten MSS. that are preserved (five at Rome, and the remainder at Florence, Bologna, Venice, Paris, and London), nine have been examined by an accurate critic (M. de Brequigny), who condemns them for the variety and imperfections of the Greek signatures. Yet several of these may be esteemed as authentic copies, which were subscribed at Florence,

successors of St. Peter and Constantine ascended their thrones; the two nations assembled in the cathedral of Florence; their representatives, Cardinal Julian, and Bessarion archbishop of Nice, appeared in the pulpit, and, after reading in their respective tongues the act of union, they mutually embraced in the name and the presence of their applauding brethren. The pope and his ministers then officiated according to the Roman liturgy; the creed was chanted with the addition of *filioque*; the acquiescence of the Greeks was poorly excused by their ignorance of the harmonious but inarticulate sounds; ⁷³ and the more scrupulous Latins refused any public celebration of the Byzantine rite. Yet the emperor and his clergy were not totally unmindful of national honour. The treaty was ratified by their consent: it was tacitly agreed that no innovation should be attempted in their creed or ceremonies; they spared and secretly respected the generous firmness of Mark of Ephesus, and, on the decease of the patriarch, they refused to elect his successor, except in the cathedral of St. Sophia. In the distribution of public and private rewards the liberal pontiff exceeded their hopes and his promises:

Their return
to Constantinople,
A.D. 1440,
Feb. 1.

the Greeks, with less pomp and pride, returned by the same road of Ferrara and Venice; and their reception at Constantinople was such as will be described in the following chapter. ⁷⁴ The success of the first trial encouraged Eugenius to repeat the same edifying scenes, and the deputies of the Armenians, the Maronites, the Jacobites of Syria and Egypt, the Nestorians, and the Æthiopians, were successively introduced to kiss the feet of the Roman pontiff, and to announce the obedience and the orthodoxy of the East. These Oriental embassies, unknown in the countries which they presumed to represent, ⁷⁵ diffused over the West the fame of Eugenius; and a clamour was artfully propagated against the remnant of a schism in Switzerland and Savoy which alone impeded the harmony of the Christian world. The vigour of opposition was succeeded by the lassitude of despair; the council of Basil was silently dissolved; and Felix, renouncing the tiara, again withdrew to the devout or delicious hermitage of Ripaille. ⁷⁶ A general peace was secured by mutual acts

Final peace
of the church,
A.D. 1449.

before (26th of August, 1439) the final separation of the pope and emperor (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xliii. p. 287-311).

⁷³ *Ἐμὴν δὲ ὡς ἀκόσμητοι ἰδοῦσάντων φωνῆς (Syropul. p. 297).

⁷⁴ In their return the Greeks conversed at Bologna with the ambassadors of England; and after some questions and answers these impartial strangers laughed at the pretended union of Florence (Syropul. p. 307).

⁷⁵ So nugatory, or rather so fabulous, are these reunions of the Nestorians, Jacobites, &c., that I have turned over, without success, the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* of Assemanus, a faithful slave of the Vatican.

⁷⁶ Ripaille is situate near Thonon, in Savoy, on the southern side of the lake of Geneva. It is now a Carthusian abbey; and Mr. Addison (*Travels into Italy*, vol. ii.

of oblivion and indemnity: all ideas of reformation subsided; the popes continued to exercise and abuse their ecclesiastical despotism; nor has Rome been since disturbed by the mischiefs of a contested election.⁷⁷

The journeys of three emperors were unavailing for their temporal, or perhaps their spiritual, salvation; but they were productive of a beneficial consequence, the revival of the Greek learning in Italy, from whence it was propagated to the last nations of the West and North. In their lowest servitude and depression, the subjects of the Byzantine throne were still possessed of a golden key that could unlock the treasures of antiquity, of a musical and prolific language that gives a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy. Since the barriers of the monarchy, and even of the capital, had been trampled under foot, the various barbarians had doubtless corrupted the form and substance of the national dialect; and ample glossaries have been composed, to interpret a multitude of words, of Arabic, Turkish, Sclavonian, Latin, or French origin.⁷⁸ But a purer idiom was spoken in the court and taught in the college, and the flourishing state of the language is described, and perhaps embellished, by a learned Italian,⁷⁹ who, by a long residence and noble marriage,⁸⁰ was naturalised at Constantinople about thirty years before the Turkish conquest. "The vulgar speech," says Philephus,⁸¹ "has been depraved by the people, and infected by the mul-

State of the
Greek lan-
guage at
Constanti-
nople,
A.D.
1300-1453.

p. 147, 148, of Baskerville's edition of his works) has celebrated the place and the founder. Æneas Sylvius, and the fathers of Basil, applaud the austere life of the ducal hermit; but the French and Italian proverbs most unluckily attest the popular opinion of his luxury.

⁷⁷ In this account of the councils of Basil, Ferrara, and Florence, I have consulted the original acts, which fill the xviii and xviii tomes of the edition of Venice, and are closed by the perspicuous, though partial, history of Augustin Patricius, an Italian of the xvth century. They are digested and abridged by Dupin (Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. xii.), and the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii.); and the respect of the Gallican church for the adverse parties confines their members to an awkward moderation.

⁷⁸ In the first attempt Meursius collected 3600 Græco-barbarous words, to which, in a second edition, he subjoined 1800 more; yet what piteous gleanings did he leave to Portius, Ducauge, Fabrotti, the Bollandists, &c. (Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. tom. x. p. 101, &c.) Some Persic words may be found in Xenophon, and some Latin ones in Plutarch; and such is the inevitable effect of war and commerce; but the form and substance of the language were not affected by this slight alloy.

⁷⁹ The life of Francis Philephus, a sophist, proud, restless, and rapacious, has been diligently composed by Lancelot (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. x. p. 691-751) and Tiraboschi (Istoria della Letteratura Italiana, tom. vii. p. 282-294), for the most part from his own letters. His elaborate writings, and those of his contemporaries, are forgotten: but their familiar epistles still describe the men and the times.

⁸⁰ He married, and had perhaps debauched, the daughter of John, and the granddaughter of Manuel Chrysoloras. She was young, beautiful, and wealthy; and her noble family was allied to the Dorias of Genoa and the emperors of Constantinople.

⁸¹ Græci quibus lingua depravata non sit . . . ita loquuntur vulgo hæc etiam

noticed: the Greeks were stationary or retrograde, while the Latins were advancing with a rapid and progressive motion. The nations were excited by the spirit of independence and emulation; and even the little world of the Italian states contained more people and industry than the decreasing circle of the Byzantine empire. In Europe the lower ranks of society were relieved from the yoke of feudal servitude; and freedom is the first step to curiosity and knowledge. The use, however rude and corrupt, of the Latin tongue had been preserved by superstition; the universities, from Bologna to Oxford,⁶⁴ were peopled with thousands of scholars; and their misguided ardour might be directed to more liberal and manly studies. In the resurrection of science Italy was the first that cast away her shroud; and the eloquent Petrarch, by his lessons and his example, may justly be applauded as the first harbinger of day. A purer style of composition, a more generous and rational strain of sentiment, flowed from the study and imitation of the writers of ancient Rome; and the disciples of Cicero and Virgil approached, with reverence and love, the sanctuary of their Grecian masters. In the sack of Constantinople the French, and even the Venetians, had despised and destroyed the works of Lysippus and Homer; the monuments of art may be annihilated by a single blow, but the immortal mind is renewed and multiplied by the copies of the pen, and such copies it was the ambition of Petrarch and his friends to possess and understand. The arms of the Turks undoubtedly pressed the flight of the Muses: yet we may tremble at the thought that Greece might have been overwhelmed, with her schools and libraries, before Europe had emerged from the deluge of barbarism; that the seeds of science might have been scattered by the winds before the Italian soil was prepared for their cultivation.

The most learned Italians of the fifteenth century have confessed and applauded the restoration of Greek literature, after a long oblivion of many hundred years.⁶⁵ Yet in that country, and beyond the Alps, some names are quoted; some profound scholars who, in the darker ages, were honourably

Revival of
the Greek
learning in
Italy.

⁶⁴ At the end of the xth century there existed in Europe about fifty universities, and of these the foundation of ten or twelve is prior to the year 1300. They were crowded in proportion to their scarcity. Bologna contained 10,000 students, chiefly of the civil law. In the year 1357 the number at Oxford had decreased from 30,000 to 6,000 scholars (Henry's History of Great Britain, vol. iv. p. 478). Yet even this decrease is much superior to the present list of the members of the university.

⁶⁵ Of those writers who professedly treat of the restoration of the Greek learning in Italy, the two principal are Hodius, Dr. Humphrey Hody (*de Græcis Illustribus, Linguae Græcæ Literarumque humaniorum Instauratoribus*; Londini, 1742, in large octavo), and Tiraboschi (*Istoria della Letteratura Italiana*, tom. v. p. 364-377, tom. vii. p. 112-143). The Oxford professor is a laborious scholar, but the librarian of Modena enjoys the superiority of a modern and national historian.

distinguished by their knowledge of the Greek tongue; and national vanity has been loud in the praise of such rare examples of erudition. Without scrutinising the merit of individuals, truth must observe that their science is without a cause and without an effect; that it was easy for them to satisfy themselves and their more ignorant contemporaries; and that the idiom, which they had so marvellously acquired, was transcribed in few manuscripts, and was not taught in any university of the West. In a corner of Italy it faintly existed as the popular, or at least as the ecclesiastical, dialect.⁸⁶ The first impression of the Doric and Ionic colonies has never been completely erased; the Calabrian churches were long attached to the throne of Constantinople; and the monks of St. Basil pursued their studies in Mount Athos and the schools of the East. Calabria was the native country of Barlaam, who has already appeared as a sectary and an ambassador; and Barlaam was the first who revived, beyond

Lessons of
Barlaam,
A.D. 1339.

the Alps, the memory, or at least the writings, of Homer.⁸⁷ He is described, by Petrarch and Boccace,⁸⁸ as a man of a diminutive stature, though truly great in the measure of learning and genius: of a piercing discernment, though of a slow and painful elocution. For many ages (as they affirm) Greece had not produced his equal in the knowledge of history, grammar, and philosophy; and his merit was celebrated in the attestations of the princes and doctors of Constantinople. One of these attestations is still extant; and the emperor Cantacuzene, the protector of his adversaries, is forced to allow that Euclid, Aristotle, and Plato were familiar to that profound and subtle logician.⁸⁹ In the court of Avignon he formed an intimate connection with Petrarch,⁹⁰ the first of the Latin scholars; and the desire of mutual instruction was the principle of their literary commerce. The Tuscan applied himself with eager curiosity and assiduous diligence to the study of the Greek language, and in a laborious struggle with the dryness and difficulty of the first rudiments he began to reach the sense, and to feel the spirit, of poets and philosophers whose minds were congenial to his own. But he was soon deprived of the society and lessons of this useful assistant; Barlaam relinquished his fruitless

Studies of
Petrarch,
A.D.
1339-1374.

⁸⁶ In Calabria quæ olim Magna Græcia dicebatur, coloniis Græcis repleta, remansit quædam linguæ veteris cognitio (Hodius, p. 2). If it were eradicated by the Romans, it was revived and perpetuated by the monks of St. Basil, who possessed seven convents at Rossano alone (Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, tom. i. p. 520).

⁸⁷ *Il Barbari* (says Petrarch, the French and Germans) *vix, non dicam libros sed nomen Homeri audiverunt*. Perhaps in that respect the thirteenth century was less happy than the age of Charlemagne.

⁸⁸ See the character of Barlaam, in Boccace de Genealog. Deorum, l. xv. c. 6.

⁸⁹ Cantacuzen. l. ii. c. 36 [c. 39, tom. i. p. 543, ed. Bonn].

⁹⁰ For the connection of Petrarch and Barlaam, and the two interviews, at Avignon in 1339, and at Naples in 1342, see the excellent *Mémoires sur la Vie de Pétrarque*, tom. i. p. 406-410; tom. ii. p. 75-77.

embassy, and, on his return to Greece, he rashly provoked the swarms of fanatic monks, by attempting to substitute the light of reason to that of their navel. After a separation of three years the two friends again met in the court of Naples; but the generous pupil renounced the fairest occasion of improvement; and by his recommendation Barlaam was finally settled in a small bishopric of his native Calabria.⁹¹ The manifold avocations of Petrarch, love and friendship, his various correspondence and frequent journeys, the Roman laurel, and his elaborate compositions in prose and verse, in Latin and Italian, diverted him from a foreign idiom; and as he advanced in life the attainment of the Greek language was the object of his wishes rather than of his hopes. When he was about fifty years of age, a Byzantine ambassador, his friend, and a master of both tongues, presented him with a copy of Homer, and the answer of Petrarch is at once expressive of his eloquence, gratitude, and regret. After celebrating the generosity of the donor, and the value of a gift more precious in his estimation than gold or rubies, he thus proceeds:—"Your present of
 "the genuine and original text of the divine poet, the fountain of all
 "invention, is worthy of yourself and of me; you have fulfilled your
 "promise, and satisfied my desires. Yet your liberality is still imperfect: with Homer you should have given me yourself; a guide who
 "could lead me into the fields of light, and disclose to my wondering eyes the specious miracles of the Iliad and Odyssey. But,
 "alas! Homer is dumb, or I am deaf; nor is it in my power to
 "enjoy the beauty which I possess. I have seated him by the side
 "of Plato, the prince of poets near the prince of philosophers, and I
 "glory in the sight of my illustrious guests. Of their immortal
 "writings, whatever had been translated into the Latin idiom I had
 "already acquired; but if there be no profit, there is some pleasure,
 "in beholding these venerable Greeks in their proper and national
 "habit. I am delighted with the aspect of Homer; and as often as
 "I embrace the silent volume, I exclaim with a sigh, Illustrious
 "bard! with what pleasure should I listen to thy song, if my sense
 "of hearing were not obstructed and lost by the death of one friend,
 "and in the much lamented absence of another! Nor do I yet
 "despair, and the example of Cato suggests some comfort and hope,
 "since it was in the last period of age that he attained the knowledge of the Greek letters."⁹²

⁹¹ The bishopric to which Barlaam retired was the old Locri, in the middle ages *Seta Cyriaca*, and by corruption *Hieracium*, *Gerace* (*Dissert. Chorographica Italiae medii Ævi*, p. 312). The dives opum of the Norman times soon lapsed into poverty, since even the church was poor: yet the town still contains 3000 inhabitants (*Swinburne*, p. 340).

⁹² I will transcribe a passage from this epistle of Petrarch (*Famil. ix. 2*): *Donasti Homerum non in alienum sermonem violento alveo derivatum, sed ex ipsis Græci*

The prize which eluded the efforts of Petrarch was obtained by the fortune and industry of his friend Boccace,⁹³ the father of the Tuscan prose. That popular writer, who derives his reputation from the Decameron, an hundred novels of pleasantry and love, may aspire to the more serious praise of restoring in Italy the study of the Greek language. In the year one thousand three hundred and sixty a disciple of Barlaam, whose name was Leo or Leontius Pilatus, was detained in his way to Avignon by the advice and hospitality of Boccace, who lodged the stranger in his house, prevailed on the republic of Florence to allow him an annual stipend, and devoted his leisure to the first Greek professor, who taught that language in the Western countries of Europe. The appearance of Leo might disgust the most eager disciple: he was clothed in the mantle of a philosopher or a mendicant; his countenance was hideous; his face was overshadowed with black hair; his beard long and uncombed; his deportment rustic; his temper gloomy and inconstant; nor could he grace his discourse with the ornaments or even the perspicuity of Latin elocution. But his mind was stored with a treasure of Greek learning: history and fable, philosophy and grammar, were alike at his command; and he read the poems of Homer in the schools of Florence. It was from his explanation that Boccace composed* and transcribed a literal prose version of the Iliad and Odyssey, which satisfied the thirst of his friend Petrarch, and which, perhaps in the succeeding century, was clandestinely used by Laurentius Valla, the Latin interpreter. It was from his narratives that the same Boccace collected the materials for his treatise on the genealogy of the heathen gods, a work, in that age, of stupendous erudition, and which he ostentatiously sprinkled with Greek characters and passages, to excite the wonder and applause of his more ignorant readers.⁹⁴ The first steps of learning are slow and laborious; no

Leo Pilatus,
first Greek
professor at
Florence and
in the West,
A. D.
1360-1363.

eloqui scatebris, et qualis divino illi profuxit ingenio. . . . Sine tuâ voce Homerus tuus apud me mutus, immo vero ego apud illum surdus sum. Gaudeo tamen vel aspectu solo, ac sæpe illum amplexus atque suspirans dico, O magne vir, &c.

⁹³ For the life and writings of Boccace, who was born in 1313, and died in 1375, Fabricius (Biblioth. Latin. medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 248, &c.) and Tiraboschi (tom. v. p. 83, 439-451) may be consulted. The editions, versions, imitations of his novels, are innumerable. Yet he was ashamed to communicate that trifling, and perhaps scandalous, work to Petrarch, his respectable friend, in whose letters and memoirs he conspicuously appears.

⁹⁴ Boccace indulges an honest vanity: *Ostentationis causâ Græca carmina adscripti . . . jure utor meo; meum est hoc decus, mea gloria scilicet inter Etruscos Græcia uti carminibus. Nonne ego fui qui Leontium Pilatum, &c. (de Genealogiâ Deorum, l. xv. c. 7, a work which, though now forgotten, has run through thirteen or fourteen editions).*

* This translation of Homer was by Pilatus, not by Boccaccio. See Hallam, Hist. of Lit. vol. i. p. 132.—M.

more than ten votaries of Homer could be enumerated in all Italy, and neither Rome, nor Venice, nor Naples, could add a single name to this studious catalogue. But their numbers would have multiplied, their progress would have been accelerated, if the inconstant Leo, at the end of three years, had not relinquished an honourable and beneficial station. In his passage Petrarch entertained him at Padua a short time: he enjoyed the scholar, but was justly offended with the gloomy and unsocial temper of the man. Discontented with the world and with himself, Leo depreciated his present enjoyments, while absent persons and objects were dear to his imagination. In Italy he was a Thessalian, in Greece a native of Calabria; in the company of the Latins he disdained their language, religion, and manners: no sooner was he landed at Constantinople than he again sighed for the wealth of Venice and the elegance of Florence. His Italian friends were deaf to his importunity: he depended on their curiosity and indulgence, and embarked on a second voyage; but on his entrance into the Adriatic the ship was assailed by a tempest, and the unfortunate teacher, who like Ulysses had fastened himself to the mast, was struck dead by a flash of lightning. The humane Petrarch dropped a tear on his disaster; but he was most anxious to learn whether some copy of Euripides or Sophocles might not be saved from the hands of the mariners.⁹⁵

But the faint rudiments of Greek learning, which Petrarch had encouraged and Boccace had planted, soon withered and expired. The succeeding generation was content for a while with the improvement of Latin eloquence; nor was it before the end of the fourteenth century that a new and perpetual flame was rekindled in Italy.⁹⁶ Previous to his own journey, the emperor Manuel despatched his envoys and orators to implore the compassion of the Western princes. Of these envoys the most conspicuous, or the most learned, was Manuel Chrysoloras,⁹⁷ of noble birth, and whose Roman ancestors are supposed to have migrated with the great Constantine. After visiting the courts of France and England, where he obtained some contributions and

Foundation
of the Greek
language in
Italy by
Manuel
Chrysoloras,
A.D.
1390-1415.

⁹⁵ Leontius, or Leo Pilatus, is sufficiently made known by Hody (p. 2-11) and the abbé de Sade (*Vie de Pétrarque*, tom. iii. p. 625-634, 670-673), who has very happily caught the lively and dramatic manner of his original.

⁹⁶ Dr. Hody (p. 54) is angry with Leonard Aretin, Guarinus, Paulus Jovius, &c., for affirming that the Greek letters were restored in Italy *post septingentos annos*; as if, says he, they had flourished till the end of the viith century. These writers most probably reckoned from the last period of the exarchate; and the presence of the Greek magistrates and troops at Ravenna and Rome must have preserved, in some degree, the use of their native tongue.

⁹⁷ See the article of Emanuel, or Manuel Chrysoloras, in Hody (p. 12-54) and Tiraboschi (tom. vii. p. 113-118). The precise date of his arrival floats between the years 1390 and 1400, and is only confined by the reign of Boniface IX.

more promises, the envoy was invited to assume the office of a professor; and Florence had again the honour of this second invitation. By his knowledge, not only of the Greek but of the Latin tongue, Chrysoloras deserved the stipend and surpassed the expectation of the republic. His school was frequented by a crowd of disciples of every rank and age; and one of these, in a general history, has described his motives and his success. "At that time," says Leonard Aretin,⁹⁸ "I was a student of the civil law; but my soul was inflamed with the love of letters, and I bestowed some application on the sciences of logic and rhetoric. On the arrival of Manuel I hesitated whether I should desert my legal studies or relinquish this golden opportunity; and thus, in the ardour of youth, I communed with my own mind—Wilt thou be wanting to thyself and thy fortune? Wilt thou refuse to be introduced to a familiar converse with Homer, Plato, and Demosthenes? with those poets; philosophers, and orators, of whom such wonders are related, and who are celebrated by every age as the great masters of human science? Of professors and scholars in civil law, a sufficient supply will always be found in our universities; but a teacher, and such a teacher of the Greek language, if he once be suffered to escape, may never afterwards be retrieved. Convinced by these reasons, I gave myself to Chrysoloras, and so strong was my passion, that the lessons which I had imbibed in the day were the constant subject of my nightly dreams."⁹⁹ At the same time and place the Latin classics were explained by John of Ravenna, the domestic pupil of Petrarch:¹⁰⁰ the Italians, who illustrated their age and country, were formed in this double school, and Florence became the fruitful seminary of Greek and Roman erudition.¹⁰¹ The presence of the emperor recalled Chrysoloras from the college to the court; but he afterwards taught at Pavia and Rome with equal industry and applause. The remainder of his life, about fifteen years, was divided between Italy and Constantinople, between

⁹⁸ The name of *Aretinus* has been assumed by five or six natives of *Arezzo* in Tuscany, of whom the most famous and the most worthless lived in the xvth century. Leonardus Brunus Aretinus, the disciple of Chrysoloras, was a linguist, an orator, and an historian, the secretary of four successive popes, and the chancellor of the republic of Florence, where he died A.D. 1444, at the age of seventy-five (Fabric. Biblioth. mediæ ævi, tom. i. p. 190, &c.; Tiraboschi, tom. vii. p. 33-38).

⁹⁹ See the passage in Aretin. Commentario Rerum suo Tempore in Italia Gestarum, apud Hodium, p. 28-30.

¹⁰⁰ In this domestic discipline, Petrarch, who loved the youth, often complains of the eager curiosity, restless temper, and proud feelings, which announce the genius and glory of a riper age (*Mémoires sur Pétrarque*, tom. iii. p. 700-709).

¹⁰¹ Hinc Græcæ Latinæque scholæ exortæ sunt, Guarino Philelpho, Leonardo Aretino, Caroloque, ac plerisque aliis tanquam ex equo Trojano prodeuntibus, quorum emulatione multa ingenia deinceps ad laudem excitata sunt (Platina in Bonifacio IX.). Another Italian writer adds the names of Paulus Petrus Vergerius, Omnibonus Vincentius, Poggius, Franciscus Barbarus, &c. But I question whether a rigid chronology would allow Chrysoloras all these eminent scholars (Hodius, p. 25-27, &c.).

embassies and lessons. In the noble office of enlightening a foreign nation, the grammarian was not unmindful of a more sacred duty to his prince and country; and Emanuel Chrysoloras died at Constance on a public mission from the emperor to the council.

After his example, the restoration of the Greek letters in Italy was prosecuted by a series of emigrants, who were destitute of fortune and endowed with learning, or at least with language. From the terror or oppression of the Turkish arms, the natives of Thessalonica and Constantinople escaped to a land of freedom, curiosity, and wealth. The synod introduced into Florence the lights of the Greek church and the oracles of the Platonic philosophy; and the fugitives who adhered to the union had the double merit of renouncing their country, not only for the Christian but for the Catholic cause. A patriot, who sacrifices his party and conscience to the allurements of favour, may be possessed however of the private and social virtues: he no longer hears the reproachful epithets of slave and apostate, and the consideration which he acquires among his new associates will restore in his own eyes the dignity of his character. The prudent conformity of Bessarion was rewarded with the Roman purple: he fixed his residence in Italy, and the Greek cardinal, the titular patriarch of Constantinople, was respected as the chief and protector of his nation:¹⁰² his abilities were exercised in the legations of Bologna, Venice, Germany, and France; and his election to the chair of St. Peter floated for a moment on the uncertain breath of a conclave.¹⁰³ His ecclesiastical honours diffused a splendour and pre-eminence over his literary merit and service: his palace was a school; as often as the cardinal visited the Vatican he was attended by a learned train of both nations;¹⁰⁴ of men applauded by themselves and the public, and whose writings, now overspread with dust, were popular and useful in their own times. I shall not attempt to enumerate the restorers of Grecian literature in the fifteenth century; and it may be sufficient to mention with gratitude the names

The Greeks
in Italy.
A.D.
1400-1500.

Cardinal Bessarion, &c.

¹⁰² See in Hody the article of Bessarion (p. 136-177). Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, and the rest of the Greeks whom I have named or omitted, are inserted in their proper chapters of his learned work. See likewise Tiraboschi, in the 1st and 2nd parts of the 7th tome.

¹⁰³ The cardinals knocked at his door, but his conclavist refused to interrupt the studies of Bessarion; "Nicholas," said he, "thy respect has cost thee an hat, and me the tiara."

¹⁰⁴ Such as George of Trebizond, Theodore Gaza, Argyropulus, Andronicus of Thessalonica, Philadelphus, Poggius, Blondus, Nicholas Perrot, Valla, Campanus, Platina, &c. Viri (says Hody, with the pious zeal of a scholar) nullo sevo perituri (p. 156).

* Roscoe (Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, vol. i. p. 75) considers that Hody has refuted this "idle tale."—M.

of Theodore Gaza, of George of Trebizond, of John Argyropulus, and Demetrius Chalcocondyles, who taught their native language in the schools of Florence and Rome. Their labours were not inferior to those of Bessarion, whose purple they revered, and whose fortune was the secret object of their envy. But the lives of these grammarians were humble and obscure: they had declined the lucrative paths of the church; their dress and manners secluded them from the commerce of the world; and since they were confined to the merit, they might be content with the rewards of learning. From this character Janus Lascaris¹⁰⁵ will deserve an exception. His eloquence, politeness, and Imperial descent, recommended him to the French monarchs; and in the same cities he was alternately employed to teach and to negotiate. Duty and interest prompted them to cultivate the study of the Latin language, and the most successful attained the faculty of writing and speaking with fluency and elegance in a foreign idiom. But they ever retained the inveterate vanity of their country: their praise, or at least their esteem, was reserved for the national writers to whom they owed their fame and subsistence; and they sometimes betrayed their contempt in licentious criticism or satire on Virgil's poetry and the oratory of Tully.¹⁰⁶ The superiority of these masters arose from the familiar use of a living language; and their first disciples were incapable of discerning how far they had degenerated from the knowledge and even the practice of their ancestors. A vicious pronunciation,¹⁰⁷ which they introduced, was banished from the schools by the reason of the succeeding age. Of the power of the Greek

¹⁰⁵ He was born before the taking of Constantinople, but his honourable life was stretched far into the xvith century (A.D. 1535). Leo X. and Francis I. were his noblest patrons, under whose auspices he founded the Greek colleges of Rome and Paris (Hody, p. 247-275). He left posterity in France; but the counts de Vintimille, and their numerous branches, derive the name of Lascaris from a doubtful marriage in the xiiiith century with the daughter of a Greek emperor (Ducange, *Fam. Byzant.* p. 224-230).

¹⁰⁶ Two of his epigrams against Virgil, and three against Tully, are preserved and refuted by Franciscus Floridus, who can find no better names than *Graculus ineptus et impudens* (Hody, p. 274). In our own times an English critic has accused the *Æneid* of containing *multa languida, nugatoria, spirita et majestate carminis heroici defecta*; many such verses as *he, the said Jeremiah Markland*, would have been ashamed of owning (prefat. ad Statii Sylvas, p. 21, 22).

¹⁰⁷ Manuel Chrysoloras and his colleagues are accused of ignorance, envy, or avarice (*Sylloge, &c.*, tom. ii. p. 235). The modern Greeks pronounce the β as a V consonant, and confound three vowels (η, ι, υ) and several diphthongs. Such was the vulgar pronunciation which the stern Gardiner maintained by penal statutes in the university of Cambridge; but the monosyllable $\beta\eta$ represented to an Attic ear the bleating of sheep, and a bellwether is better evidence than a bishop or a chancellor. The treatises of those scholars, particularly Erasmus, who asserted a more classical pronunciation, are collected in the *Sylloge of Havercamp* (2 vols. in octavo, Lugd. Bat. 1736, 1740); but it is difficult to paint sounds by words; and, in their reference to modern use, they can be understood only by their respective countrymen. We may observe that our peculiar pronunciation of the θ , *th*, is approved by Erasmus (tom. ii. p. 130).

accents they were ignorant; and those musical notes, which, from an Attic tongue and to an Attic ear, must have been the secret soul of harmony, were to their eyes, as to our own, no more than mute and unmeaning marks, in prose superfluous and troublesome in verse. The art of grammar they truly possessed; the valuable fragments of Apollonius and Herodian were transfused into their lessons; and their treatises of syntax and etymology, though devoid of philosophic spirit, are still useful to the Greek student. In the shipwreck of the Byzantine libraries each fugitive seized a fragment of treasure, a copy of some author, who, without his industry, might have perished: the transcripts were multiplied by an assiduous and sometimes an elegant pen, and the text was corrected and explained by their own comments or those of the elder scholiasts. The sense, though not the spirit, of the Greek classics was interpreted to the Latin world: the beauties of style evaporate in a version; but the judgment of Theodore Gaza selected the more solid works of Aristotle and Theophrastus, and their natural histories of animals and plants opened a rich fund of genuine and experimental science.

Yet the fleeting shadows of metaphysics were pursued with more curiosity and ardour. After a long oblivion, Plato was re-
 vived in Italy by a venerable Greek,¹⁰⁸ who taught in the The Platonic philosophy. house of Cosmo of Medicis. While the synod of Florence was involved in theological debate, some beneficial consequences might flow from the study of his elegant philosophy: his style is the purest standard of the Attic dialect, and his sublime thoughts are sometimes adapted to familiar conversation, and sometimes adorned with the richest colours of poetry and eloquence. The dialogues of Plato are a dramatic picture of the life and death of a sage; and, as often as he descends from the clouds, his moral system inculcates the love of truth, of our country, and of mankind. The precept and example of Socrates recommended a modest doubt and liberal inquiry; and if the Platonists, with blind devotion, adored the visions and errors of their divine master, their enthusiasm might correct the dry, dogmatic method of the Peripatetic school. So equal, yet so opposite, are the merits of Plato and Aristotle, that they may be balanced in endless controversy; but some spark of freedom may be produced by the collision of adverse servitude. The modern Greeks were divided between the two sects: with more fury than skill they fought under the banner of their leaders, and the field of battle was removed in

¹⁰⁸ George Gemistus Pletho, a various and voluminous writer, the master of Besarion, and all the Platonists of the times. He visited Italy in his old age, and soon returned to end his days in Peloponnesus. See the curious Diatribe of Leo Allatius de Georgiis, in Fabricius (Biblioth. Græc. tom. x. p. 739-756).

their flight from Constantinople to Rome. But this philosophical debate soon degenerated into an angry and personal quarrel of grammarians; and Bessarion, though an advocate for Plato, protected the national honour by interposing the advice and authority of a mediator. In the gardens of the Medici the academical doctrine was enjoyed by the polite and learned; but their philosophic society was quickly dissolved; and if the writings of the Attic sage were perused in the closet, the more powerful Stagyrite continued to reign the oracle of the church and school.¹⁰⁹

I have fairly represented the literary merits of the Greeks; yet it must be confessed that they were seconded and surpassed by the ardour of the Latins. Italy was divided into many independent states; and at that time it was the ambition of princes and republics to vie with each other in the encouragement and reward of literature. The fame of Nicholas the Fifth¹¹⁰ has not been adequate to his merits. From a plebeian origin he raised himself by his virtue and learning: the character of the man prevailed over the interest of the pope, and he sharpened those weapons which were soon pointed against the Roman church.¹¹¹ He had been the friend of the most eminent scholars of the age: he became their patron; and such was the humility of his manners, that the change was scarcely discernible either to them or to himself. If he pressed the acceptance of a liberal gift, it was not as the measure of desert, but as the proof of benevolence; and when modest merit declined his bounty, "Accept it," would he say, with a consciousness of his own worth: "you will not always have a Nicholas among ye." The influence of the holy see pervaded Christendom; and he exerted that influence in the search, not of benefices, but of books. From the ruins of the Byzantine libraries, from the darkest monasteries of Germany and Britain, he collected the dusty manuscripts of the writers of antiquity; and wherever the original could not be removed, a faithful copy was transcribed and transmitted for his use. The Vatican, the old repository for bulls and legends, for superstition and forgery, was daily replenished with more precious furniture; and such

¹⁰⁹ The state of the Platonic philosophy in Italy is illustrated by Boivin (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, tom. ii. p. 715-729) and Tiraboschi (tom. vi. P. i. p. 259-288).

¹¹⁰ See the Life of Nicholas V. by two contemporary authors, Janottus Manettus (tom. iii. P. ii. p. 905-962) and Vespasian of Florence (tom. xxv. p. 267-290), in the collection of Muratori; and consult Tiraboschi (tom. vi. P. i. p. 46-52, 109) and Hody, in the articles of Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, &c.

¹¹¹ Lord Bolingbroke observes, with truth and spirit, that the popes in this instance were worse politicians than the muftis, and that the charm which had bound mankind for so many ages was broken by the magicians themselves (*Letters on the Study of History*, l. vi. p. 165, 166, octavo edition, 1779).

Emulation
and progress
of the Latins.

Nicholas V.
A.D.
1447-1455.

was the industry of Nicholas, that in a reign of eight years he formed a library of five thousand volumes. To his munificence the Latin world was indebted for the versions of Xenophon, Diodorus, Polybius, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Appian; of Strabo's Geography, of the Iliad, of the most valuable works of Plato and Aristotle, of Ptolemy and Theophrastus, and of the fathers of the Greek church. The example of the Roman pontiff was preceded or imitated by a Florentine merchant, who governed the republic without arms and without a title. Cosmo of Medicis¹¹² was the father of a line of princes whose name and age are almost synonymous with the restoration of learning: his credit was ennobled into fame; his riches were dedicated to the service of mankind; he corresponded at once with Cairo and London; and a cargo of Indian spices and Greek books was often imported in the same vessel. The genius and education of his grandson Lorenzo rendered him not only a patron but a judge and candidate in the literary race. In his palace, distress was entitled to relief, and merit to reward: his leisure hours were delightfully spent in the Platonic academy; he encouraged the emulation of Demetrius Chalcocondyles and Angelo Politian; and his active missionary Janus Lascaris returned from the East with a treasure of two hundred manuscripts, fourscore of which were as yet unknown in the libraries of Europe.¹¹³ The rest of Italy was animated by a similar spirit, and the progress of the nation repaid the liberality of her princes. The Latins held the exclusive property of their own literature; and these disciples of Greece were soon capable of transmitting and improving the lessons which they had imbibed. After a short succession of foreign teachers, the tide of emigration subsided; but the language of Constantinople was spread beyond the Alps, and the natives of France, Germany, and England¹¹⁴ imparted to their country the sacred fire which they had kindled in the schools of Florence and Rome.¹¹⁵ In the productions of the mind, as in those

Cosmo and
Lorenzo
of Medicis,
A.D.
1428-1492.

¹¹² See the literary history of Cosmo and Lorenzo of Medicis, in Tiraboschi (tom. vi. P. i. l. i. c. 2), who bestows a due measure of praise on Alphonso of Arragon, king of Naples, the dukes of Milan, Ferrara, Urbino, &c. The republic of Venice has deserved the least from the gratitude of scholars.

¹¹³ Tiraboschi (tom. vi. P. i. p. 104), from the preface of Janus Lascaris to the Greek Anthology, printed at Florence 1494; Latebant (says Aldus, in his preface to the Greek orators, apud Hodium, p. 249) in Atho Thraciæ monte. Eas Lascaris . . . in Italiam reportavit. Miserat enim ipsum Laurentius ille Medicis in Græciam ad inquirendos simul, et quantovis emendos pretio bonos libros. It is remarkable enough that the research was facilitated by sultan Bajazet II.

¹¹⁴ The Greek language was introduced into the university of Oxford in the last years of the xvth century by Grocyn, Linacer, and Latimer, who had all studied at Florence under Demetrius Chalcocondyles. See Dr. Knight's curious Life of Erasmus. Although a stout academical patriot, he is forced to acknowledge that Erasmus learned Greek at Oxford, and taught it at Cambridge.

¹¹⁵ The jealous Italians were desirous of keeping a monopoly of Greek learning.

of the soil, the gifts of nature are excelled by industry and skill: the Greek authors, forgotten on the banks of the Ilissus, have been illustrated on those of the Elbe and the Thames; and Bessarion or Gaza might have envied the superior science of the barbarians, the accuracy of Budæus, the taste of Erasmus, the copiousness of Stephens, the erudition of Scaliger, the discernment of Reiske or of Bentley. On the side of the Latins the discovery of printing was a casual advantage; but this useful art has been applied by Aldus and his innumerable successors to perpetuate and multiply the works of antiquity.¹¹⁶ A single manuscript imported from Greece is revived in ten thousand copies, and each copy is fairer than the original. In this form Homer and Plato would peruse with more satisfaction their own writings; and their scholiasts must resign the prize to the labours of our Western editors.

Before the revival of classic literature the barbarians in Europe were immersed in ignorance; and their vulgar tongues were marked with the rudeness and poverty of their manners. The students of the more perfect idioms of Rome and Greece were introduced to a new world of light and science; to the society of the free and polished nations of antiquity; and to a familiar converse with those immortal men who spoke the sublime language of eloquence and reason. Such an intercourse must tend to refine the taste and to elevate the genius of the moderns; and yet, from the first experiment, it might appear that the study of the ancients had given fetters, rather than wings, to the human mind. However laudable, the spirit of imitation is of a servile cast; and the first disciples of the Greeks and Romans were a colony of strangers in the midst of their age and country. The minute and laborious diligence which explored the antiquities of remote times might have improved or adorned the present state of society; the critic and metaphysician were the slaves of Aristotle; the poets, historians, and orators were proud to repeat the thoughts and words of the Augustan age: the works of nature were observed with the eyes of Pliny and

When Aldus was about to publish the Greek scholiasts on Sophocles and Euripides, Cave (said they), cave hoc facias, ne Barbari istis adjuti domi maneant, et pauciores in Italiam ventitent (Dr. Knight, in his Life of Erasmus, p. 365, from Beatus Rhenanus).

¹¹⁶ The press of Aldus Manutius, a Roman, was established at Venice about the year 1494: he printed above sixty considerable works of Greek literature, almost all for the first time; several containing different treatises and authors, and of several authors two, three, or four editions (Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. tom. xiii. p. 605, &c.). Yet his glory must not tempt us to forget that the first Greek book, the Grammar of Constantine Lascaris, was printed at Milan in 1476, and that the Florence Homer of 1488 displays all the luxury of the typographical art. See the *Annales Typographici* of Mattaire, and the *Bibliographie Instructive* of De Bure, a knowing bookseller of Paris.

Theophrastus; and some Pagan votaries professed a secret devotion to the gods of Homer and Pindar.¹¹⁷ The Italians were oppressed by the strength and number of their ancient auxiliaries; the century after the deaths of Petrarch and Boccaccio was filled with a crowd of Latin imitators, who decently repose on our shelves; but in that era of learning it will not be easy to discern a real discovery of science, a work of invention or eloquence, in the popular language of the country.¹¹⁸ But as soon as it had been deeply saturated with the celestial dew, the soil was quickened into vegetation and life; the modern idioms were refined; the classics of Athens and Rome inspired a pure taste and a generous emulation; and in Italy, as afterwards in France and England, the pleasing reign of poetry and fiction was succeeded by the light of speculative and experimental philosophy. Genius may anticipate the season of maturity; but in the education of a people, as in that of an individual, memory must be exercised before the powers of reason and fancy can be expanded: nor may the artist hope to equal or surpass, till he has learned to imitate, the works of his predecessors.

¹¹⁷ I will select three singular examples of this classic enthusiasm. 1. At the period of Florence, Girolamo Picohe said, in familiar conversation, to George of Trébizonde, that in a short time suchlike would unanimously renounce the Gospel and the Koran for a religion similar to that of the Gentiles (*Leo Allinson, spud Friburgum, tom. 2. p. 751*). 2. Paul II presented the Roman academy, which had been founded by Francesco Luterus; and the principal members were accused of heresy, impiety, and paganism (*Traboschi, tom. vi. P. 1. p. 81, 82*). 3. In the next century some scholars and poets in France celebrated the success of Jodille's tragedy of Cleopatra by a festival of Bacchus, and, as it is said, by the sacrifices of a goat (*Bayle, Dictionnaire, Jodille; Pomeyrol, tom. iii. p. 56-61*). Yet the spirit of bigotry might often exert a serious impetus in the sportive play of fancy and learning.

¹¹⁸ The writer Boccaccio died in the year 1375; and we cannot place before 1460 the composition of the *Marguise Maggioré of Pulci*, and the *Orlando Innamorato of Boiardo* (*Traboschi, tom. vi. P. 2. p. 174-175*).

CHAPTER LXVII.

SCHISM OF THE GREEKS AND LATINS. — REIGN AND CHARACTER OF AMURATH THE SECOND. — CRUSADE OF LADISLAUS, KING OF HUNGARY. — HIS DEFEAT AND DEATH. — JOHN HUNIADES. — SCANDERBEG. — CONSTANTINE PALÆOLOGUS, LAST EMPEROR OF THE EAST.

THE respective merits of Rome and Constantinople are compared and celebrated by an eloquent Greek, the father of the Italian schools.¹ The view of the ancient capital, the seat of his ancestors, surpassed the most sanguine expectations of Manuel Chrysoloras; and he no longer blamed the exclamation of an old sophist, that Rome was the habitation, not of men, but of gods. Those gods, and those men, had long since vanished; but, to the eye of liberal enthusiasm, the majesty of ruin restored the image of her ancient prosperity. The monuments of the consuls and Cæsars, of the martyrs and apostles, engaged on all sides the curiosity of the philosopher and the Christian; and he confessed that in every age the arms and the religion of Rome were destined to reign over the earth. While Chrysoloras admired the venerable beauties of the mother, he was not forgetful of his native country, her fairest daughter, her Imperial colony; and the Byzantine patriot expatiates with zeal and truth on the eternal advantages of nature, and the more transitory glories of art and dominion, which adorned, or had adorned, the city of Constantine. Yet the perfection of the copy still redounds (as he modestly observes) to the honour of the original, and parents are delighted to be renewed, and even excelled, by the superior merit of their children. “Constantinople,” says the orator, “is situate on a commanding point, between Europe and Asia, “between the Archipelago and the Euxine. By her interposition “the two seas and the two continents are united for the common “benefit of nations; and the gates of commerce may be shut or “opened at her command. The harbour, encompassed on all sides

¹ The epistle of Manuel Chrysoloras to the emperor John Palæologus will not offend the eye or ear of a classical student (ad calcem Codini de Antiquitatibus C. P. p. 107-126). The superscription suggests a chronological remark, that John Palæologus II. was associated in the empire before the year 1414, the date of Chrysoloras's death. A still earlier date, at least 1408, is deduced from the age of his youngest sons, Demetrius and Thomas, who were both *Porphyrogeniti* (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 244, 247).

silver. From these wonders, which lived only in memory or belief, he distinguishes, however, the porphyry pillar, the column and colossus of Justinian,³ and the church, more especially the dome, of St. Sophia; the best conclusion, since it could not be described according to its merits, and after it no other object could deserve to be mentioned. But he forgets that, a century before, the trembling fabrics of the colossus and the church had been saved and supported by the timely care of Andronicus the Elder. Thirty years after the emperor had fortified St. Sophia with two new buttresses or pyramids, the eastern hemisphere suddenly gave way; and the images, the altars, and the sanctuary were crushed by the falling ruin. The mischief indeed was speedily repaired; the rubbish was cleared by the incessant labour of every rank and age; and the poor remains of riches and industry were consecrated by the Greeks to the most stately and venerable temple of the East.⁴

The last hope of the falling city and empire was placed in the harmony of the mother and daughter, in the maternal tenderness of Rome, and the filial obedience of Constantinople. In the synod of Florence, the Greeks and Latins had embraced, and subscribed, and promised; but these signs of friendship were perfidious or fruitless;⁵ and the baseless fabric of the union vanished like a dream.⁶ The emperor and his prelates returned home in the Venetian galleys; but as they touched at the Morea and the isles of Corfu and Lesbos, the subjects of the Latins complained that the pretended union would be an instrument of oppression. No sooner did they land on the Byzantine shore, than they were saluted, or rather assailed, with a general murmur of zeal and discontent. During their absence, above two years, the capital had been deprived of its civil and ecclesiastical

The Greek schism after the council of Florence, A.D. 1440-1448.

³ Nicephorus Gregoras has described the colossus of Justinian (l. vii. 12); but his measures are false and inconsistent. The editor Boivin consulted his friend Girardon; and the sculptor gave him the true proportions of an equestrian statue. That of Justinian was still visible to Peter Gyllius, not on the column, but in the outward court of the seraglio; and he was at Constantinople when it was melted down, and cast into a brass cannon (de Topograph. C. P. l. ii. c. 17).

⁴ See the decay and repairs of St. Sophia, in Nicephorus Gregoras (l. vii. 12, l. xv. 2). The building was propped by Andronicus in 1317, the eastern hemisphere fell in 1345. The Greeks, in their pompous rhetoric, exalt the beauty and holiness of the church, an earthly heaven, the abode of angels, and of God himself, &c.

⁵ The genuine and original narrative of Syropulus (p. 312-351) opens the schism from the first office of the Greeks at Venice to the general opposition at Constantinople of the clergy and people.

⁶ On the schism of Constantinople, see Phranza (l. ii. c. 17), Laonicus Chalcocondyles (l. vi. p. 155, 156 [p. 292-295, ed. Bonn]), and Ducas (c. 31); the last of whom writes with truth and freedom. Among the moderns we may distinguish the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii. p. 338, &c., 401, 420, &c.) and Spondanus (A.D. 1440-30). The sense of the latter is drowned in prejudice and passion as soon as Rome and religion are concerned.

rulers; fanaticism fermented in anarchy; the most furious monks reigned over the conscience of women and bigots; and the hatred of the Latin name was the first principle of nature and religion. Before his departure for Italy the emperor had flattered the city with the assurance of a prompt relief and a powerful succour; and the clergy, confident in their orthodoxy and science, had promised themselves and their flocks an easy victory over the blind shepherds of the West. The double disappointment exasperated the Greeks; the conscience of the subscribing prelates was awakened; the hour of temptation was past; and they had more to dread from the public resentment than they could hope from the favour of the emperor or the pope. Instead of justifying their conduct, they deplored their weakness, professed their contrition, and cast themselves on the mercy of God and of their brethren. To the reproachful question, what had been the event or the use of their Italian synod? they answered, with sighs and tears, "Alas! we have made a new faith; we have exchanged piety for impiety; we have betrayed the immaculate sacrifice; and we are become *Azymites*." (The *Azymites* were those who celebrated the communion with unleavened bread; and I must retract or qualify the praise which I have bestowed on the growing philosophy of the times.) "Alas! we have been seduced by distress, by fraud, and by the hopes and fears of a transitory life. The hand that has signed the union should be cut off; and the tongue that has pronounced the Latin creed deserves to be torn from the root." The best proof of their repentance was an increase of zeal for the most trivial rites and the most incomprehensible doctrines; and an absolute separation from all, without excepting their prince, who preserved some regard for honour and consistency. After the decease of the patriarch Joseph, the archbishops of Heraclea and Trebizond had courage to refuse the vacant office; and Cardinal Bessarion preferred the warm and comfortable shelter of the Vatican. The choice of the emperor and his clergy was confined to Metrophanes of Cyzicus: he was consecrated in St. Sophia, but the temple was vacant. The crossbearers abdicated their service; the infection spread from the city to the villages; and Metrophanes discharged, without effect, some ecclesiastical thunders against a nation of schismatics. The eyes of the Greeks were directed to Mark of Ephesus, the champion of his country; and the sufferings of the holy confessor were repaid with a tribute of admiration and applause. His example and writings propagated the flame of religious discord; age and infirmity soon removed him from the world; but the gospel of Mark was not a law of forgiveness; and he requested with his dying breath that none of the adherents of Rome might attend his obsequies or pray for his soul.

The schism was not confined to the narrow limits of the Byzantine empire. Secure under the Mamaluke sceptre, the three patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem assembled a numerous synod; disowned their representatives at Ferrara and Florence; condemned the creed and council of the Latins; and threatened the emperor of Constantinople with the censures of the Eastern church. Of the sectaries of the Greek communion, the Russians were the most powerful, ignorant, and superstitious. Their primate, the cardinal Isidore, hastened from Florence to Moscow,⁷ to reduce the independent nation under the Roman yoke. But the Russian bishops had been educated at Mount Athos; and the prince and people embraced the theology of their priests. They were scandalised by the title, the pomp, the Latin cross of the legate, the friend of those impious men who shaved their beards, and performed the divine office with gloves on their hands and rings on their fingers: Isidore was condemned by a synod; his person was imprisoned in a monastery; and it was with extreme difficulty that the cardinal could escape from the hands of a fierce and fanatic people.⁸ The Russians refused a passage to the missionaries of Rome who aspired to convert the Pagans beyond the Tanais;⁹ and their refusal was justified by the maxim that the guilt of idolatry is less damnable than that of schism. The errors of the Bohemians were excused by their abhorrence for the pope; and a deputation of the Greek clergy solicited the friendship of those sanguinary enthusiasts.¹⁰ While Eugenius triumphed in the union and orthodoxy of the Greeks, his party was contracted to the walls, or rather to the palace, of Constantinople. The zeal of Palæologus had been excited by interest; it was soon cooled by opposition: an attempt to violate

⁷ Isidore was metropolitan of Kiow, but the Greeks subject to Poland have removed that see from the ruins of Kiow to Lemberg, or Leopold (Herbstein, in Ramusio, tom. ii. p. 127). On the other hand, the Russians transferred their spiritual obedience to the archbishop, who became, in 1588, the patriarch of Moscow (Levesque, Hist. de Russie, tom. iii. p. 188, 190, from a Greek MS. at Turin, *Iter et labores Archiepiscopi Arsenii*).

⁸ The curious narrative of Levesque (Hist. de Russie, tom. ii. p. 242-247) is extracted from the patriarchal archives. The scenes of Ferrara and Florence are described by ignorance and passion; but the Russians are credible in the account of their own prejudices.

⁹ The Shamanism, the ancient religion of the Samanæans and Gymnæosophists, has been driven by the more popular Bramins from India into the northern deserts: the naked philosophers were compelled to wrap themselves in fur; but they insensibly sunk into wizards and physicians. The Mordvans and Tcheremisses in the European Russia adhere to this religion, which is formed on the earthly model of one king or God, his ministers or angels, and the rebellious spirits who oppose his government. As these tribes of the Volga have no images, they might more justly retort on the Latin missionaries the name of idolaters (Levesque, Hist. des Peuples scoumie à la Domination des Russes, tom. i. p. 194-237, 423-460).

¹⁰ Spondanus, Annal. Eccles. tom. ii. A. D. 1451, No. 13. The epistle of the Greeks, with a Latin version, is extant in the college library at Prague.

the national belief might endanger his life and crown; nor could the pious rebels be destitute of foreign and domestic aid. The sword of his brother Demetrius, who in Italy had maintained a prudent and popular silence, was half unsheathed in the cause of religion; and Amurath, the Turkish sultan, was displeased and alarmed by the seeming friendship of the Greeks and Latins.

“ Sultan Murad, or Amurath, lived forty-nine, and reigned thirty years, six months, and eight days. He was a just and valiant prince, of a great soul, patient of labours, learned, merciful, religious, charitable; a lover and encourager of the studious, and of all who excelled in any art or science; a good emperor, and a great general. No man obtained more or greater victories than Amurath; Belgrade alone withstood his attacks.” Under his reign the soldier was ever victorious, the citizen rich and secure. If he subdued any country, his first care was to build mosques and caravanseras, hospitals and colleges. Every year he gave a thousand pieces of gold to the sons of the Prophet, and sent two thousand five hundred to the religious persons of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem.”¹¹ This portrait is transcribed from the historian of the Othman empire: but the applause of a servile and superstitious people has been lavished on the worst of tyrants; and the virtues of a sultan are often the vices most useful to himself, or most agreeable to his subjects. A nation ignorant of the equal benefits of liberty and law must be awed by the flashes of arbitrary power: the cruelty of a despot will assume the character of justice; his profusion, of liberality; his obstinacy, of firmness. If the most reasonable excuse be rejected, few acts of obedience will be found impossible; and guilt must tremble, where innocence cannot always be secure. The tranquillity of the people, and the discipline of the troops, were best maintained by perpetual action in the field: war was the trade of the Janizaries; and those who survived the peril, and divided the spoil, applauded the generous ambition of their sovereign. To propagate the true religion was the duty of a faithful Musulman: the unbelievers were *his* enemies, and those of the Prophet; and, in the hands of the Turks, the scimitar was the only instrument of conversion. Under these circumstances, however, the justice and moderation of Amurath are attested by his conduct, and acknowledged by the Christians themselves, who

¹¹ See Cantemir, History of the Othman Empire, p. 94. Murad, or Morad, may be more correct: but I have preferred the popular name to that obscure diligence which is rarely successful in translating an Oriental, into the Roman, alphabet.

* See the siege and massacre at Thessalonica. Von Hammer, vol. i. p. 433.—M.

consider a prosperous reign and a peaceful death as the reward of his singular merits. In the vigour of his age and military power he seldom engaged in war till he was justified by a previous and adequate provocation: the victorious sultan was disarmed by submission; and in the observance of treaties, his word was inviolate and sacred.¹² The Hungarians were commonly the aggressors; he was provoked by the revolt of Scanderbeg; and the perfidious Caramanian was twice vanquished, and twice pardoned, by the Ottoman monarch. Before he invaded the Morea, Thebes had been surprised by the despot: in the conquest of Thessalonica the grandson of Bajazet might dispute the recent purchase of the Venetians; and after the first siege of Constantinople, the sultan was never tempted, by the distress, the absence, or the injuries of Palæologus, to extinguish the dying light of the Byzantine empire.

But the most striking feature in the life and character of Amurath is the double abdication of the Turkish throne; and, were not his motives debased by an alloy of superstition, we must praise the royal philosopher,¹³ who at the age of forty could discern the vanity of human greatness. Resigning the sceptre to his son, he retired to the pleasant residence of Magnesia; but he retired to the society of saints and hermits. It was not till the fourth century of the Hegira that the religion of Mahomet had been corrupted by an institution so adverse to his genius; but in the age of the crusades the various orders of dervishes were multiplied by the example of the Christian, and even the Latin, monks.¹⁴ The lord of nations submitted to fast, and pray, and turn round^a in endless rotation with the fanatics, who mistook the giddiness of the head for the illumination of the spirit.¹⁵ But he was soon awakened from this dream of enthu-

¹² See Chalcocondyles (l. vii. p. 186, 198 [p. 375, ed. Bonn]), Ducas (c. 32 [p. 228, ed. Bonn]), and Marinus Barletius (in Vit. Scanderbeg, p. 145, 146). In his good faith towards the garrison of Sfetigrade, he was a lesson and example to his son Mahomet.

¹³ Voltaire (Essai sur l'Histoire Générale, c. 89, p. 283, 284) admires *le Philosophe Turc*: would he have bestowed the same praise on a Christian prince for retiring to a monastery? In his way, Voltaire was a bigot, an intolerant bigot.

¹⁴ See the articles *Dervische*, *Fakir*, *Nasser*, *Kohbaniat*, in D'Herbelot's Bibliothèque Orientale. Yet the subject is superficially treated from the Persian and Arabian writers. It is among the Turks that these orders have principally flourished.

¹⁵ Rycout (in the Present State of the Ottoman Empire, p. 242-268) affords much information, which he drew from his personal conversation with the heads of the dervishes, most of whom ascribed their origin to the time of Orchan. He does not mention the *Zichide* of Chalcocondyles (l. vii. p. 186 [p. 352, ed. Bonn]), among whom Amurath retired: the *Seids* of that author are the descendants of Mahomet.

^a Gibbon has fallen into a remarkable error. The unmonastic retreat of Amurath was that of an epicurean rather than of a dervish; more like that of Sardanapalus than of Charles the Fifth. Profane, not

divine, love was its chief occupation: the only dance, that described by Horace as belonging to the country, *motus doceri gaudet Ionicos*. See Von Hammer, *note*, p. 652.—M.

siasm by the Hungarian invasion; and his obedient son was the foremost to urge the public danger and the wishes of the people. Under the banner of their veteran leader, the Janizaries fought and conquered; but he withdrew from the field of Varna, again to pray, to fast, and to turn round with his Magnesian brethren. These pious occupations were again interrupted by the danger of the state. A victorious army disdained the inexperience of their youthful ruler: the city of Adrianople was abandoned to rapine and slaughter; and the unanimous divan implored his presence to appease the tumult, and prevent the rebellion, of the Janizaries. At the well-known voice of their master they trembled and obeyed; and the reluctant sultan was compelled to support his splendid servitude, till, at the end of four years, he was relieved by the angel of death. Age or disease, misfortune or caprice, have tempted several princes to descend from the throne; and they have had leisure to repent of their irretrievable step. But Amurath alone, in the full liberty of choice, after the trial of empire and solitude, has *repeated* his preference of a private life.

After the departure of his Greek brethren, Eugenius had not been unmindful of their temporal interest; and his tender regard for the Byzantine empire was animated by a just apprehension of the Turks, who approached, and might soon invade, the borders of Italy. But the spirit of the crusades had expired; and the coldness of the Franks was not less unreasonable than their headlong passion. In the eleventh century a fanatic monk could precipitate Europe on Asia for the recovery of the holy sepulchre: but in the fifteenth, the most pressing motives of religion and policy were insufficient to unite the Latins in the defence of Christendom. Germany was an inexhaustible storehouse of men and arms: ¹⁶ but that complex and languid body required the impulse of a vigorous hand; and Frederic the Third was alike impotent in his personal character and his Imperial dignity. A long war had impaired the strength, without satiating the animosity, of France and England: ¹⁷ but Philip duke of Burgundy was a vain and magnificent prince; and he enjoyed, without danger or expense, the adventurous

Eugenius
forms
a league
against the
Turks,
A.D. 1443.

¹⁶ In the year 1431 Germany raised 40,000 horse, men at arms, against the Hussites of Bohemia (Lenfant, Hist. du Concile de Basle, tom. i. p. 318). At the siege of Nuys, on the Rhine, in 1474, the princes, prelates, and cities sent their respective quotas; and the bishop of Munster (qui n'est pas des plus grands) furnished 1400 horse, 6000 foot, all in green, with 1200 waggons. The united armies of the king of England and the duke of Burgundy scarcely equalled one-third of this German host (Mémoires de Philippe de Comines, l. iv. c. 2). At present, six or seven hundred thousand men are maintained in constant pay and admirable discipline by the powers of Germany.

¹⁷ It was not till the year 1444 that France and England could agree on a truce of some months. (See Rymer's *Fœdera*, and the chronicles of both nations.)

piety of his subjects, who sailed, in a gallant fleet, from the coast of Flanders to the Hellespont. The maritime republics of Venice and Genoa were less remote from the scene of action; and their hostile fleets were associated under the standard of St. Peter. The kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, which covered as it were the interior pale of the Latin church, were the most nearly concerned to oppose the progress of the Turks. Arms were the patrimony of the Scythians and Sarmatians; and these nations might appear equal to the contest, could they point, against the common foe, those swords that were so wantonly drawn in bloody and domestic quarrels. But the same spirit was adverse to concord and obedience: a poor country and a limited monarch are incapable of maintaining a standing force; and the loose bodies of Polish and Hungarian horse were not armed with the sentiments and weapons which, on some occasions, have given irresistible weight to the French chivalry. Yet, on this side, the designs of the Roman pontiff, and the eloquence of Cardinal Julian, his legate, were promoted by the circumstances of the times;¹⁸ by the union of the two crowns on the head of Ladislaus,¹⁹ a young and ambitious soldier; by the valour of an hero, whose name, the name of John Huniades, was already popular among the Christians, and formidable to the Turks. An endless treasure of pardons and indulgences was scattered by the legate; many private warriors of France and Germany enlisted under the holy banner; and the crusade derived some strength, or at least some reputation, from the new allies both of Europe and Asia. A fugitive despot of Servia exaggerated the distress and ardour of the Christians beyond the Danube, who would unanimously rise to vindicate their religion and liberty. The Greek emperor,²⁰ with a spirit unknown to his fathers, engaged to guard the Bosphorus, and to sally from Constantinople at the head of his national and mercenary troops. The sultan of Caramania²¹ announced the retreat of Amurath, and a powerful diversion in the

¹⁸ In the Hungarian crusade, Spondanus (*Annal. Eccles. A.D. 1443, 1444*) has been my leading guide. He has diligently read, and critically compared, the Greek and Turkish materials, the historians of Hungary, Poland, and the West. His narrative is perspicuous; and where he can be free from a religious bias, the judgment of Spondanus is not contemptible.

¹⁹ I have curtailed the harsh letter (Wladislaus) which most writers affix to his name, either in compliance with the Polish pronunciation, or to distinguish him from his rival the infant Ladislaus of Austria. Their competition for the crown of Hungary is described by Callimachus (*l. i. ii. p. 447-486*), Bonfinius (*Decad. iii. l. iv.*), Spondanus, and Lenfant.

²⁰ The Greek historians, Phranza, Chalcocondyles, and Ducos, do not ascribe to their prince a very active part in this crusade, which he seems to have promoted by his wishes, and injured by his fears.

²¹ Cautemir (*p. 88*) ascribes to his policy the original plan, and transcribes his animating epistle to the king of Hungary. But the Mahometan powers are seldom informed of the state of Christendom; and the situation and correspondence of the knights of Rhodes must connect them with the sultan of Caramania.

heart of Anatolia; and if the fleets of the West could occupy at the same moment the straits of the Hellespont, the Ottoman monarchy would be dissevered and destroyed. Heaven and earth must rejoice in the perdition of the miscreants; and the legate, with prudent ambiguity, instilled the opinion of the invisible, perhaps the visible, aid of the Son of God and his divine mother.

Of the Polish and Hungarian diets a religious war was the unanimous cry; and Ladislaus, after passing the Danube, led an army of his confederate subjects as far as Sophia, the capital of the Bulgarian kingdom. In this expedition they obtained two signal victories, which were justly ascribed to the valour and conduct of Huniades. In the first, with a vanguard of ten thousand men, he surprised the Turkish camp; in the second, he vanquished and made prisoner the most renowned of their generals, who possessed the double advantage of ground and numbers. The approach of winter, and the natural and artificial obstacles of Mount Hæmus, arrested the progress of the hero, who measured a narrow interval of six days' march from the foot of the mountains to the hostile towers of Adrianople and the friendly capital of the Greek empire. The retreat was undisturbed; and the entrance into Buda was at once a military and religious triumph. An ecclesiastical procession was followed by the king and his warriors on foot: he nicely balanced the merits and rewards of the two nations; and the pride of conquest was blended with the humble temper of Christianity. Thirteen bashaws, nine standards, and four thousand captives, were unquestionable trophies; and as all were willing to believe, and none were present to contradict, the crusaders multiplied, with unblushing confidence, the myriads of Turks whom they had left on the field of battle.²² The most solid proof, and the most salutary consequence, of victory, was a deputation from the divan to solicit peace, to restore Servia, to ransom the prisoners, and to evacuate the Hungarian frontier. By this treaty the rational objects of the war were obtained: the king, the despot, and Huniades himself, in the diet of Segedin, were satisfied with public and private emolument; a truce of ten years was concluded; and the followers of Jesus and Mahomet, who swore on the Gospel and the Koran, attested the word of God as the guardian of truth and the avenger of perfidy. In the place of the Gospel the Turkish ministers had proposed to substitute the Eucharist, the real presence of the Catholic Deity; but the Christians refused to profane their holy mysteries; and a superstitious conscience is less

Ladislaus,
king of
Poland and
Hungary,
marches
against
them.

The Turkish
peace.

²² In their letters to the emperor Frederic III. the Hungarians slay 30,000 Turks in one battle; but the modest Julian reduces the slaughter to 6000 or even 2000 infidels (*Æneas Sylvius in Europ. c. 5, and epist. 44, 81, apud Spondanum*).

forcibly bound by the spiritual energy than by the outward and visible symbols of an oath.²³

During the whole transaction the cardinal legate had observed a sullen silence, unwilling to approve, and unable to oppose, the consent of the king and people. But the diet was not dissolved before Julian was fortified by the welcome intelligence that Anatolia was invaded by the Caramanian, and Thrace by the Greek emperor; that the fleets of Genoa, Venice, and Burgundy were masters of the Hellespont; and that the allies, informed of the victory, and ignorant of the treaty, of Ladislaus, impatiently waited for the return of his victorious army. "And is it thus," exclaimed the cardinal,²⁴ "that you will desert their expectations and your own fortune? It is to them, to your God, and your fellow-Christians, that you have pledged your faith; and that prior obligation annulles a rash and sacrilegious oath to the enemies of Christ. His vicar on earth is the Roman pontiff; without whose sanction you can neither promise nor perform. In his name I absolve your perjury and sanctify your arms: follow my footsteps in the paths of glory and salvation; and if still ye have scruples, devolve on my head the punishment and the sin." This mischievous casuistry was seconded by his respectable character and the levity of popular assemblies: war was resolved on the same spot where peace had so lately been sworn; and, in the execution of the treaty, the Turks were assaulted by the Christians, to whom, with some reason, they might apply the epithet of Infidels. The falsehood of Ladislaus to his word and oath was palliated by the religion of the times: the most perfect, or at least the most popular, excuse would have been the success of his arms and the deliverance of the Eastern church. But the same treaty which should have bound his conscience had diminished his strength. On the proclamation of the peace the French and German volunteers departed with indignant murmurs: the Poles were exhausted by distant warfare, and perhaps disgusted with foreign command; and their palatines accepted the first licence, and hastily retired to their provinces and castles. Even Hungary was divided by faction, or restrained by a laudable scruple; and the relics of the crusade that

²³ See the origin of the Turkish war, and the first expedition of Ladislaus, in the viii and viii books of the iiiid decad of Bonfinius, who, in his division and style, copies Livy with tolerable success. Callimachus (l. ii. p. 487-496) is still more pure and authentic.

²⁴ I do not pretend to warrant the literal accuracy of Julian's speech, which is variously worded by Callimachus (l. iii. p. 505-507), Bonfinius (dec. iii. l. vi. p. 457, 458), and other historians, who might indulge their own eloquence, while they represent one of the orators of the age. But they all agree in the advice and arguments for perjury, which in the field of controversy are fiercely attacked by the Protestants, and feebly defended by the Catholics. The latter are discouraged by the misfortune of Varna.

marched in the second expedition were reduced to an inadequate force of twenty thousand men. A Wallachian chief, who joined the royal standard with his vassals, presumed to remark that their numbers did not exceed the hunting retinue that sometimes attended the sultan; and the gift of two horses of matchless speed might admonish Ladislaus of his secret foresight of the event. But the despot of Servia, after the restoration of his country and children, was tempted by the promise of new realms; and the inexperience of the king, the enthusiasm of the legate, and the martial presumption of Huniades himself, were persuaded that every obstacle must yield to the invincible virtue of the sword and the cross. After the passage of the Danube two roads might lead to Constantinople and the Hellespont; the one direct, abrupt, and difficult, through the mountains of Hæmus; the other more tedious and secure, over a level country, and along the shores of the Euxine; in which their flanks, according to the Scythian discipline, might always be covered by a moveable fortification of waggons. The latter was judiciously preferred: the Catholics marched through the plains of Bulgaria, burning, with wanton cruelty, the churches and villages of the Christian natives; and their last station was at Varna, near the sea-shore; on which the defeat and death of Ladislaus have bestowed a memorable name.²⁵

It was on this fatal spot that, instead of finding a confederate fleet to second their operations, they were alarmed by the approach of Amurath himself, who had issued from his Mag-
nesian solitude and transported the forces of Asia to the
defence of Europe. According to some writers the Greek emperor had been awed, or seduced, to grant the passage of the Bosphorus; and an indelible stain of corruption is fixed on the Genoese, or the pope's nephew, the Catholic admiral, whose mercenary connivance betrayed the guard of the Hellespont. From Adrianople the sultan advanced by hasty marches at the head of sixty thousand men; and when the cardinal and Huniades had taken a nearer survey of the numbers and order of the Turks, these ardent warriors proposed the tardy and impracticable measure of a retreat. The king alone was resolved to conquer or die; and his resolution had almost been crowned with a glorious and salutary victory. The princes were opposite to each other in the centre; and the Beglerbeks, or generals of Anatolia and Romania, commanded on the right and left against the adverse

²⁵ Varna, under the Grecian name of Odessus, was a colony of the Milesians, which they denominated from the hero Ulysses (Cellarius, tom. i. p. 374; D'Anville, tom. i. p. 312). According to Arrian's Periplus of the Euxine (p. 24, 25, in the first volume of Hudson's Geographers), it was situate 1740 stadia, or furlongs, from the mouth of the Danube, 2140 from Byzantium, and 360 to the north of a ridge or promontory of Mount Hæmus, which advances into the sea.

divisions of the despot and Huniades. The Turkish wings were broken on the first onset: but the advantage was fatal; and the rash victors, in the heat of the pursuit, were carried away far from the annoyance of the enemy or the support of their friends. When Amurath beheld the flight of his squadrons, he despaired of his fortune and that of the empire: a veteran Janizary seized his horse's bridle; and he had magnanimity to pardon and reward the soldier who dared to perceive the terror, and arrest the flight, of his sovereign. A copy of the treaty, the monument of Christian perfidy, had been displayed in the front of battle; and it is said that the sultan in his distress, lifting his eyes and his hands to heaven, implored the protection of the God of truth; and called on the prophet Jesus himself to avenge the impious mockery of his name and religion.²⁶ With inferior numbers and disordered ranks the king of Hungary rushed forwards in the confidence of victory, till his career was stopped by the impenetrable phalanx of the Janizaries. If we may credit the Ottoman annals, his horse was pierced by the javelin of Amurath;²⁷ he fell among the spears of the infantry; and a Turkish soldier proclaimed with a loud voice, "Hungarians, behold the head "of your king!" The death of Ladislaus was the signal of their defeat. On his return from an intemperate pursuit, Huniades deplored his error and the public loss: he strove to rescue the royal body, till he was overwhelmed by the tumultuous crowd of the victors and vanquished; and the last efforts of his courage and conduct were exerted to save the remnant of his Wallachian cavalry. Ten thousand Christians were slain in the disastrous battle of Varna: the loss of the Turks, more considerable in numbers, bore a smaller proportion to their total strength; yet the philosophic sultan was not ashamed to confess that his ruin must be the consequence of a second and similar victory.²⁸ At his command a column was erected on the spot where Ladislaus had fallen; but the modest inscription, instead of accusing the rashness, recorded the valour and bewailed the misfortune of the Hungarian youth.²⁹

²⁶ Some Christian writers affirm that he drew from his bosom the host or wafer on which the treaty had not been sworn. The Moslems suppose, with more simplicity, an appeal to God and his prophet Jesus, which is likewise insinuated by Callimachus (l. iii. p. 516; Spondan. A.D. 1444, No. 8).

²⁷ A critic will always distrust these *spolia opima* of a victorious general, so difficult for valour to obtain, so easy for flattery to invent (Cantemir, p. 90, 91). Callimachus (l. iii. p. 517) more simply and probably affirms, *supervenientibus Janizariis, telorum multitudine, non tam confossus est, quam obrutus.*

²⁸ Besides some valuable hints from *Aeneas Sylvius*, which are diligently collected by Spondanus, our best authorities are three historians of the xvth century, *Philippus Callimachus* (de Rebus a Vladislao Polonorum atque Hungarorum Rege gestis, libri iii.

* Compare Von Hammer, p. 463.—M.

Before I lose sight of the field of Varna I am tempted to pause on the character and story of two principal actors, the cardinal Julian and John Huniades. Julian²⁹ Cæsarini was born of The cardinal Julian. a noble family of Rome : his studies had embraced both the Latin and Greek learning, both the sciences of divinity and law ; and his versatile genius was equally adapted to the schools, the camp, and the court. No sooner had he been invested with the Roman purple than he was sent into Germany to arm the empire against the rebels and heretics of Bohemia. The spirit of persecution is unworthy of a Christian ; the military profession ill becomes a priest ; but the former is excused by the times ; and the latter was ennobled by the courage of Julian, who stood dauntless and alone in the disgraceful flight of the German host. As the pope's legate he opened the council of Basil ; but the president soon appeared the most strenuous champion of ecclesiastical freedom ; and an opposition of seven years was conducted by his ability and zeal. After promoting the strongest measures against the authority and person of Eugenius, some secret motive of interest or conscience engaged him to desert on a sudden the popular party. The cardinal withdrew himself from Basil to Ferrara ; and, in the debates of the Greeks and Latins, the two nations admired the dexterity of his arguments and the depth of his theological erudition.³⁰ In his Hungarian embassy we have already seen the mischievous effects of his sophistry and eloquence, of which Julian himself was the first victim. The cardinal, who performed the duties of a priest and a soldier, was lost in the defeat of Varna. The circumstances of his death are variously related ; but it is believed that a weighty incumbrance of gold impeded his flight, and tempted the cruel avarice of some Christian fugitives.

From an humble, or at least a doubtful, origin the merit of John Huniades promoted him to the command of the Hungarian armies. His father was a Wallachian, his mother a Greek : John Corvæus Huniades. her unknown race might possibly ascend to the emperors of Constantinople ; and the claims of the Wallachians, with the sur-

in Bell. Script. Rerum Hungaricarum, tom. i. p. 433-518), Bonfinius (decad. iii. l. v. p. 460-467), and Chalocoondyles (l. vii. p. 165-179 [p. 312, seq. ed. Bonn]). The two first were Italians, but they passed their lives in Poland and Hungary (Fabric. Biblioth. Latin. med. et infimæ Ætatis, tom. i. p. 324; Vossius, de Hist. Latin. l. iii. c. 8, 11; Bayle, Dictionnaire, BONFINIUS). A small tract of Fælix Petancius, chancellor of Segnia (ad calcem Cuspinian. de Cæsaribus, p. 716-722), represents the theatre of the war in the xvth century.

²⁹ M. Lenfant has described the origin (Hist. du Concile de Basle, tom. i. p. 247, &c.) and Bohemian campaign (p. 315, &c.) of Cardinal Julian. His services at Basil and Ferrara, and his unfortunate end, are occasionally related by Spondanus and the continuator of Fleury.

³⁰ Syropulus honourably praises the talents of an enemy (p. 117): ταῖαυτα τινε εἶπε ἰ λαυλιανῶν, ἀσιαλατισμῶν ἀγῶν καὶ λογιῶν, καὶ μὲν ἐπιστήμης καὶ διδόντος βασιλείης.

name of Corvinus, from the place of his nativity, might suggest a thin pretence for mingling his blood with the patricians of ancient Rome.³¹ In his youth he served in the wars of Italy, and was retained, with twelve horsemen, by the bishop of Zagrab: the valour of the *white knight*³² was soon conspicuous; he increased his fortunes by a noble and wealthy marriage; and in the defence of the Hungarian borders he won in the same year three battles against the Turks. By his influence Ladislaus of Poland obtained the crown of Hungary; and the important service was rewarded by the title and office of Waivod of Transylvania. The first of Julian's crusades added two Turkish laurels on his brow; and in the public distress the fatal errors of Varna were forgotten. During the absence and minority of Ladislaus of Austria, the titular king, Huniades was elected supreme captain and governor of Hungary; and if envy at first was silenced by terror, a reign of twelve years supposes the arts of policy as well as of war. Yet the idea of a consummate general is not delineated in his campaigns; the white knight fought with the hand rather than the head, as the chief of desultory barbarians, who attack without fear and fly without shame; and his military life is composed of a romantic alternative of victories and escapes. By the Turks, who employed his name to frighten their perverse children, he was corruptly denominated *Jancus Lain*, or the Wicked: their hatred is the proof of their esteem; the kingdom which he guarded was inaccessible to their arms; and they felt him most daring and formidable when they fondly believed the captain and his country irrecoverably lost. Instead of confining himself to a defensive war, four years after the defeat of Varna he again penetrated into the heart of Bulgaria, and in the plain of Cossova sustained, till the third day, the shock of the Ottoman army, four times more numerous than his own. As he fled alone through the woods of Wallachia, the hero was surprised by two robbers; but while they disputed a gold chain that hung at his neck, he recovered his sword, slew the one, terrified the other, and, after new perils of captivity or death, consoled by his presence an afflicted kingdom. But the last and most glorious action of his life was the defence of Belgrade against the powers of Mahomet the Second in person. After a siege of forty days the Turks, who had already entered the town, were com-

His defence
of Belgrade,
and death,
A.D. 1456,
July 22—
Sept. 4.

³¹ See Bonfinius, decad iii, l. iv. p. 423. Could the Italian historian pronounce, or the king of Hungary hear, without a blush, the absurd flattery which confounded the name of a Wallachian village with the casual, though glorious, epithet of a single branch of the Valerian family at Rome?

³² Philip de Comines (Mémoires, l. vi. c. 13), from the tradition of the times, mentions him with high encomiums, but under the whimsical name of the Chevalier Blanc de Valaigne (Wallachia). The Greek Chalcocondyles, and the Turkish annals of Lounclavius, presume to accuse his fidelity or valour.

pelled to retreat; and the joyful nations celebrated Huniades and Belgrade as the bulwarks of Christendom.³³ About a month after this great deliverance the champion expired; and his most splendid epitaph is the regret of the Ottoman prince, who sighed that he could no longer hope for revenge against the single antagonist who had triumphed over his arms. On the first vacancy of the throne Matthias Corvinus, a youth of eighteen years of age, was elected and crowned by the grateful Hungarians. His reign was prosperous and long: Matthias aspired to the glory of a conqueror and a saint; but his purest merit is the encouragement of learning; and the Latin orators and historians, who were invited from Italy by the son, have shed the lustre of their eloquence on the father's character.³⁴

In the list of heroes John Huniades and Scanderbeg are commonly associated;³⁵ and they are both entitled to our notice, since their occupation of the Ottoman arms delayed the ruin of the Greek empire. John Castriot, the father of Scanderbeg,³⁶ was the hereditary prince of a small district of Epirus, or Albania, between the mountains and the Adriatic Sea.

Birth and
education of
Scanderbeg,
prince of
Albania,
A.D.
1404-1413,
&c.

Unable to contend with the sultan's power, Castriot submitted to the hard conditions of peace and tribute: he delivered his four sons as the pledges of his fidelity; and the Christian youths, after receiving the mark of circumcision, were instructed in the Mahometan religion and trained in the arms and arts of Turkish policy.³⁷ The three elder brothers were confounded in the crowd of slaves; and the poison to which their deaths are ascribed cannot be verified or disproved by

³³ See Bonfinius (decad iii. l. viii. p. 493) and Spondanus (A.D. 1456, No. 1-7). Huniades shared the glory of the defence of Belgrade with Capistran, a Franciscan friar; and in their respective narratives, neither the saint nor the hero condescends to take notice of his rival's merit.

³⁴ See Bonfinius, decad iii. l. viii.—decad iv. l. viii. The observations of Spondanus on the life and character of Matthias Corvinus are curious and critical (A.D. 1464, No. 1; 1475, No. 6; 1476, No. 14-16; 1490, No. 4, 5). Italian fame was the object of his vanity. His actions are celebrated in the *Epitome Rerum Hungaricarum* (p. 322-412) of Peter Ranzanus, a Sicilian. His wise and facetious sayings are registered by Galestus Martius of Narni (528-568), and we have a particular narrative of his wedding and coronation. These three tracts are all contained in the first vol. of *Bel's Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*.

³⁵ They are ranked by Sir William Temple, in his pleasing *Essay on Heroic Virtue* (*Works*, vol. iii. p. 385), among the seven chiefs who have deserved, without wearing, a royal crown: Belisarius, Narses, Gonsalvo of Cordova, William first prince of Orange, Alexander duke of Parma, John Huniades, and George Castriot, or Scanderbeg.

³⁶ I could wish for some simple, authentic memoirs of a friend of Scanderbeg, which would introduce me to the man, the time, and the place. In the old and national history of Marinus Barletius, a priest of Scodra (de Vita, Moribus, et Rebus gestis Georgii Castrioti, &c., libri xiii. pp. 367, Argentorat. 1537, in fol.), his gaudy and cumbersome robes are stuck with many false jewels. See likewise Chalcocondyles, l. vii. p. 185, l. viii. p. 229 [p. 350 and 433, ed. Bonn].

³⁷ His circumcision, education, &c., are marked by Marinus with brevity and reluctance (l. i. p. 6, 7).

any positive evidence. Yet the suspicion is in a great measure removed by the kind and paternal treatment of George Castriot, the fourth brother, who; from his tender youth, displayed the strength and spirit of a soldier. The successive overthrow of a Tartar and two Persians, who carried a proud defiance to the Turkish court, recommended him to the favour of Amurath, and his Turkish appellation of Scanderbeg (*Iskender beg*), or the lord Alexander, is an indelible memorial of his glory and servitude. His father's principality was reduced into a province; but the loss was compensated by the rank and title of Sanjak, a command of five thousand horse, and the prospect of the first dignities of the empire. He served with honour in the wars of Europe and Asia; and we may smile at the art or credulity of the historian, who supposes that in every encounter he spared the Christians, while he fell with a thundering arm on his Musulman foes. The glory of Huniades is without reproach: he fought in the defence of his religion and country; but the enemies who applaud the patriot have branded his rival with the name of traitor and apostate. In the eyes of the Christians the rebellion of Scanderbeg is justified by his father's wrongs, the ambiguous death of his three brothers, his own degradation, and the slavery of his country; and they adore the generous, though tardy, zeal with which he asserted the faith and independence of his ancestors. But he had imbibed from his ninth year the doctrines of the Koran: he was ignorant of the Gospel; the religion of a soldier is determined by authority and habit; nor is it easy to conceive what new illumination at the age of forty³⁸ could be poured into his soul. His motives would be less exposed to the suspicion of interest or revenge, had he broken his chain from the moment that he was sensible of its weight: but a long oblivion had surely impaired his original right; and every year of obedience and reward had cemented the mutual bond of the sultan and his subject. If Scanderbeg had long harboured the belief of Christianity and the intention of revolt, a worthy mind must condemn the base dissimulation that could serve only to betray, that could promise only to be forsworn, that could actively join in the temporal and spiritual perdition of so many thousands of his unhappy brethren. Shall we praise a secret correspondence with Huniades while he commanded the vanguard of the Turkish army? Shall we excuse the desertion of his standard, a treacherous desertion which

³⁸ Since Scanderbeg died A.D. 1466, in the lxiid year of his age (Marinus, l. xiii. p. 370), he was born in 1403; since he was torn from his parents by the Turks when he was *novemis* (Marinus, l. i. p. 1, 6), that event must have happened in 1412, nine years before the accession of Amurath II., who must have inherited, not acquired, the Albanian slave. Spondaus has remarked this inconsistency, A.D. 1431, No. 31; 1443, No. 14.

abandoned the victory to the enemies of his benefactor? In the confusion of a defeat, the eye of Scanderbeg was fixed on the Reis Effendi, or principal secretary: with the dagger at his breast, he extorted a firman or patent for the government of Albania; and the murder of the guiltless scribe and his train prevented the consequences of an immediate discovery. With some bold companions, to whom he had revealed his design, he escaped in the night by rapid marches from the field of battle to his paternal mountains. The gates of Croya were opened to the royal mandate; and no sooner did he command the fortress than George Castriot dropped the mask of dissimulation, abjured the prophet and the sultan, and proclaimed himself the avenger of his family and country. The names of religion and liberty provoked a general revolt: the Albanians, a martial race, were unanimous to live and die with their hereditary prince; and the Ottoman garrisons were indulged in the choice of martyrdom or baptism. In the assembly of the states of Epirus, Scanderbeg was elected general of the Turkish war; and each of the allies engaged to furnish his respective proportion of men and money. From these contributions, from his patrimonial estate, and from the valuable salt-pits of Selina, he drew an annual revenue of two hundred thousand ducats;³⁹ and the entire sum, exempt from the demands of luxury, was strictly appropriated to the public use. His manners were popular; but his discipline was severe; and every superfluous vice was banished from his camp: his example strengthened his command; and under his conduct the Albanians were invincible in their own opinion and that of their enemies. The bravest adventurers of France and Germany were allured by his fame and retained in his service: his standing militia consisted of eight thousand horse and seven thousand foot; the horses were small, the men were active: but he viewed with a discerning eye the difficulties and resources of the mountains; and, at the blaze of the beacons, the whole nation was distributed in the strongest posts. With such unequal arms Scanderbeg resisted twenty-three years the powers of the Ottoman empire; and two conquerors, Amurath the Second and his greater son, were repeatedly baffled by a rebel whom they pursued with seeming contempt and implacable resentment. At the head of sixty thousand horse and forty thousand Janizaries, Amurath entered Albania: he might ravage the open country, occupy the defenceless towns, convert the churches into mosques, circumcise the Christian youths, and punish with death his adult and obstinate captives: but the conquests of the

His revolt
from the
Turks,
A.D. 1443,
Nov. 28.

His valour;

³⁹ His revenue and forces are luckily given by Marinus (l. ii. p. 44)

sultan were confined to the petty fortress of Sfetigrade; and the garrison, invincible to his arms, was oppressed by a paltry artifice and a superstitious scruple.⁴⁰ Amurath retired with shame and loss from the walls of Croya, the castle and residence of the Castriots; the march, the siege, the retreat, were harassed by a vexatious, and almost invisible, adversary;⁴¹ and the disappointment might tend to embitter, perhaps to shorten, the last days of the sultan.⁴² In the fulness of conquest Mahomet the Second still felt at his bosom this domestic thorn; his lieutenants were permitted to negotiate a truce, and the Albanian prince may justly be praised as a firm and able champion of his national independence. The enthusiasm of chivalry and religion has ranked him with the names of Alexander and Pyrrhus; nor would they blush to acknowledge their intrepid countryman: but his narrow dominion and slender powers must leave him at an humble distance below the heroes of antiquity, who triumphed over the East and the Roman legions. His splendid achievements, the bashas whom he encountered, the armies that he discomfited, and the three thousand Turks who were slain by his single hand, must be weighed in the scales of suspicious criticism. Against an illiterate enemy, and in the dark solitude of Epirus, his partial biographers may safely indulge the latitude of romance; but their fictions are exposed by the light of Italian history, and they afford a strong presumption against their own truth by a fabulous tale of his exploits, when he passed the Adriatic with eight hundred horse to the succour of the king of Naples.⁴³ Without disparagement to his fame, they might have owned that he was finally oppressed by the Ottoman powers; in his extreme danger he applied to pope Pius the Second for a refuge in the ecclesiastical state; and his resources were almost exhausted, since Scanderbeg died a fugitive at Lissus, on the Venetian territory.⁴⁴ His sepulchre was

and death,
A.D. 1467,
Jan. 17.

⁴⁰ There were two Dibras, the upper and lower, the Bulgarian and Albanian: the former, 70 miles from Croya (l. i. p. 17), was contiguous to the fortress of Sfetigrade, whose inhabitants refused to drink from a well into which a dead dog had traitorously been cast (l. v. p. 139, 140). We want a good map of Epirus.

⁴¹ Compare the Turkish narrative of Cantemir (p. 92) with the pompous and prolix declamation in the ivth, vth, and vith books of the Albanian priest, who has been copied by the tribe of strangers and moderns.

⁴² In honour of his hero, Barletius (l. vi. p. 188-192) kills the sultan, by disease indeed, under the walls of Croya. But this audacious fiction is disproved by the Greeks and Turks, who agree in the time and manner of Amurath's death at Adrianople.

⁴³ See the marvels of his Calabrian expedition in the ixth and xth books of Marinus Barletius, which may be rectified by the testimony or silence of Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. xiii. p. 291), and his original authors (Joh. Simonetta de Rebus Francisci Sfortia, in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Ital.* tom. xxi. p. 729, et alios). The Albanian cavalry, under the name of *Stradiots*, soon became famous in the wars of Italy (*Mémoires de Comines*, l. viii. c. 5).

⁴⁴ Spondanous, from the best evidence and the most rational criticism, has reduce:

soon violated by the Turkish conquerors; but the Janizaries, who wore his bones enchased in a bracelet, declared by this superstitious amulet their involuntary reverence for his valour. The instant ruin of his country may redound to the hero's glory; yet, had he balanced the consequences of submission and resistance, a patriot perhaps would have declined the unequal contest which must depend on the life and genius of one man. Scanderbeg might indeed be supported by the rational, though fallacious, hope that the pope, the king of Naples, and the Venetian republic would join in the defence of a free and Christian people, who guarded the sea-coast of the Adriatic and the narrow passage from Greece to Italy. His infant son was saved from the national shipwreck; the Castriots⁴⁵ were invested with a Neapolitan dukedom, and their blood continues to flow in the noblest families of the realm. A colony of Albanian fugitives obtained a settlement in Calabria, and they preserve at this day the language and manners of their ancestors.⁴⁶

In the long career of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, I have reached at length the last reign of the princes of Constantinople, who so feebly sustained the name and majesty of the Cæsars. On the decease of John Palæologus, who survived about four years the Hungarian crusade,⁴⁷ the royal family, by the death of Andronicus and the monastic profession of Isidore, was reduced to three princes, Constantine, Demetrius, and Thomas, the surviving sons of the emperor Manuel. Of these, the first and the last were far distant in the Morea; but Demetrius, who possessed the domain of Selymbria, was in the suburbs, at the head of a party; his ambition was not chilled by the public distress, and his conspiracy with the Turks and the schismatics had already disturbed the peace of his country. The funeral of the late emperor was accelerated with singular and even suspicious haste; the claim of Demetrius to the vacant throne was justified by a trite and flimsy sophism, that he was born in the purple, the eldest son of his father's reign. But the empress-mother, the senate and soldiers, the clergy and people, were unanimous in the cause of the lawful

Constantine
the last of
the Roman
or Greek
emperors,
A.D. 1448,
Nov. 1—
A.D. 1453,
May 29.

the giant Scanderbeg to the human size (A.D. 1461, No. 20; 1463, No. 9; 1465, No. 12, 13; 1467, No. 1). His own letter to the pope, and the testimony of Phranza (l. iii. c. 28), a refugee in the neighbouring isle of Corfu, demonstrate his last distress, which is awkwardly concealed by Marinus Barletius (l. x.).

⁴⁵ See the family of the Castriots, in Ducange (Fam. Dalmaticæ, &c., xviii. p. 348-350).

⁴⁶ This colony of Albanese is mentioned by Mr. Swinburne (Travels into the Two Sicilies, vol. i. p. 350-354).

⁴⁷ The chronology of Phranza is clear and authentic; but instead of four years and seven months, Spondanus (A.D. 1445, No. 7) assigns seven or eight years to the reign of the last Constantine, which he deduces from a spurious epistle of Eugenius IV. to the king of Æthiopia.

successor; and the despot Thomas, who, ignorant of the change, accidentally returned to the capital, asserted with becoming zeal the interest of his absent brother. An ambassador, the historian Phranza, was immediately despatched to the court of Adrianople. Amurath received him with honour and dismissed him with gifts; but the gracious approbation of the Turkish sultan announced his supremacy, and the approaching downfall of the Eastern empire. By the hands of two illustrious deputies the Imperial crown was placed at Sparta on the head of Constantine. In the spring he sailed from the Morea, escaped the encounter of a Turkish squadron, enjoyed the acclamations of his subjects, celebrated the festival of a new reign, and exhausted by his donatives the treasure, or rather the indigence, of the state. The emperor immediately resigned to his brothers the possession of the Morea; and the brittle friendship of the two princes, Demetrius and Thomas, was confirmed in their mother's presence by the frail security of oaths and embraces. His next occupation was the choice of a consort. A daughter of the doge of Venice had been proposed, but the Byzantine nobles objected the distance between an hereditary monarch and an elective magistrate; and in their subsequent distress the chief of that powerful republic was not unmindful of the affront. Constantine afterwards hesitated between the royal families of Trebizond and Georgia; and the embassy of Phranza represents in his public and private life the last days of the Byzantine empire.⁴⁸

The *protovestiare*, or great chamberlain, Phranza, sailed from Constantinople as the minister of a bridegroom, and the relics of wealth and luxury were applied to his pompous appearance. His numerous retinue consisted of nobles and guards, of physicians and monks: he was attended by a band of music; and the term of his costly embassy was protracted above two years. On his arrival in Georgia or Iberia the natives from the towns and villages flocked around the strangers; and such was their simplicity that they were delighted with the effects, without understanding the cause, of musical harmony. Among the crowd was an old man, above an hundred years of age, who had formerly been carried away a captive by the barbarians,⁴⁹ and who amused his hearers with a tale of the wonders of India,⁵⁰ from whence he had returned to Portugal by an

Embassies
of Phranza,
A.D.
1450-1452.

⁴⁸ Phranza (l. iii. c. 1-6) deserves credit and esteem.

⁴⁹ Suppose him to have been captured in 1394, in Timour's first war in Georgia (Sherefeddin, l. iii. c. 50), he might follow his Tartar master into Hindostan in 1398, and from thence sail to the spice islands.

⁵⁰ The happy and pious Indians lived a hundred and fifty years, and enjoyed the most perfect productions of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms. The animals were on a large scale: dragons seventy cubits, ants (the *formica Indica*) nine inches long, sheep like elephants, elephants like sheep. Quidlibet audendi, &c.

unknown sea.⁵¹ From this hospitable land Phranza proceeded to the court of Trebizond, where he was informed by the Greek prince of the recent decease of Amurath. Instead of rejoicing in the deliverance, the experienced statesman expressed his apprehension that an ambitious youth would not long adhere to the sage and pacific system of his father. After the sultan's decease his Christian wife, Maria,⁵² the daughter of the Servian despot, had been honourably restored to her parents; on the fame of her beauty and merit she was recommended by the ambassador as the most worthy object of the royal choice; and Phranza recapitulates and refutes the specious objections that might be raised against the proposal. The majesty of the purple would ennoble an unequal alliance; the bar of affinity might be removed by liberal alms and the dispensation of the church; the disgrace of Turkish nuptials had been repeatedly overlooked; and, though the fair Maria was near fifty years of age, she might yet hope to give an heir to the empire. Constantine listened to the advice, which was transmitted in the first ship that sailed from Trebizond; but the factions of the court opposed his marriage, and it was finally prevented by the pious vow of the sultana, who ended her days in the monastic profession. Reduced to the first alternative, the choice of Phranza was decided in favour of a Georgian princess; and the vanity of her father was dazzled by the glorious alliance. Instead of demanding, according to the primitive and national custom, a price for his daughter,⁵³ he offered a portion of fifty-six thousand, with an annual pension of five thousand, ducats; and the services of the ambassador were repaid by an assurance that, as his son had been adopted in baptism by the emperor, the establishment of his daughter should be the peculiar care of the empress of Constantinople. On the return of Phranza the treaty was ratified by the Greek monarch, who with his own hand impressed three vermilion crosses on the golden bull, and assured the Georgian envoy that in the spring his galleys should conduct the bride to her Imperial palace. But Constantine embraced his faithful servant, not with the cold approbation of a

⁵¹ He sailed in a country vessel from the spice islands to one of the ports of the exterior India; invenitque navem grandem Ibericam, quâ in Portugalliam est delatus. This passage, composed in 1477 (Phranza, l. iii. c. 30), twenty years before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, is spurious or wonderful. But this new geography is sullied by the old and incompatible error which places the source of the Nile in India.

⁵² Cantemir (p. 83), who styles her the daughter of Lazarus Oglî, and the Helen of the Servians, places her marriage with Amurath in the year 1424. It will not easily be believed that, in six-and-twenty years' cohabitation, the sultan corpus ejus non tetigit. After the taking of Constantinople she fled to Mahomet II. (Phranza, l. iii. c. 22.)

⁵³ The classical reader will recollect the offers of Agamemnon (Iliad, i. v. 144), and the general practice of antiquity.

sovereign, but with the warm confidence of a friend, who, after a long absence, is impatient to pour his secrets into the bosom of his friend.

State of the Byzantine court. “ Since the death of my mother and of Cantacuzene, who alone advised me without interest or passion,⁶⁴ I am sur-
 “ rounded,” said the emperor, “ by men whom I can neither
 “ love, nor trust, nor esteem. You are not a stranger to Lucas No-
 “ taras, the great admiral : obstinately attached to his own sentiments,
 “ he declares, both in private and public, that his sentiments are the
 “ absolute measure of my thoughts and actions. The rest of the
 “ courtiers are swayed by their personal or factious views ; and how
 “ can I consult the monks on questions of policy and marriage ? I
 “ have yet much employment for your diligence and fidelity. In the
 “ spring you shall engage one of my brothers to solicit the succour
 “ of the Western powers ; from the Morea you shall sail to Cyprus
 “ on a particular commission, and from thence proceed to Georgia to
 “ receive and conduct the future empress.” “ Your commands,” replied
 Phranza, “ are irresistible ; but deign, great sir,” he added, with a
 serious smile, “ to consider that, if I am thus perpetually absent from
 “ my family, my wife may be tempted either to seek another husband,
 “ or to throw herself into a monastery.” After laughing at his apprehensions, the emperor more gravely consoled him by the pleasing assurance that *this* should be his last service abroad, and that he destined for his son a wealthy and noble heiress ; for himself, the important office of great logothete, or principal minister of state. The marriage was immediately stipulated : but the office, however incompatible with his own, had been usurped by the ambition of the admiral. Some delay was requisite to negotiate a consent and an equivalent ; and the nomination of Phranza was half declared and half suppressed, lest it might be displeasing to an insolent and powerful favourite. The winter was spent in the preparations of his embassy ; and Phranza had resolved that the youth his son should embrace this opportunity of foreign travel, and be left, on the appearance of danger, with his maternal kindred of the Morea. Such were the private and public designs, which were interrupted by a Turkish war, and finally buried in the ruins of the empire.

⁶⁴ Cantacuzene (I am ignorant of his relation to the emperor of that name) was great domestic, a firm asserter of the Greek creed, and a brother of the queen of Servia, whom he visited with the character of ambassador. (Syropulus, p. 37, 38, 45.)

CHAPTER LXVIII.

REIGN AND CHARACTER OF MAHOMET THE SECOND. — SIEGE, ASSAULT, AND FINAL CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS. — DEATH OF CONSTANTINE PALÆOLOGUS. — SERVITUDE OF THE GREEKS. — EXTINCTION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST. — CONSTERNATION OF EUROPE. — CONQUESTS AND DEATH OF MAHOMET THE SECOND.

THE siege of Constantinople by the Turks attracts our first attention to the person and character of the great destroyer. Mahomet the Second¹ was the son of the second Amurath; and though his mother has been decorated with the titles of Christian and princess, she is more probably confounded with the numerous concubines who peopled from every climate the haram of the sultan. His first education and sentiments were those of a devout Musulman; and as often as he conversed with an infidel he purified his hands and face by the legal rites of ablution. Age and empire appear to have relaxed this narrow bigotry: his aspiring genius disdained to acknowledge a power above his own; and in his looser hours he presumed (it is said) to brand the prophet of Mecca as a robber and impostor. Yet the sultan persevered in a decent reverence for the doctrine and discipline of the Koran:² his private indiscretion must have been sacred from the vulgar ear; and we should suspect the credulity of strangers and sectaries, so prone to believe that a mind which is hardened against truth must be armed with superior contempt for absurdity and error. Under the tuition of the most skilful masters Mahomet advanced with an early and rapid progress in the paths of knowledge; and besides his native tongue it is affirmed that he spoke or understood five languages,³ the Arabic, the Persian, the Chaldæan or Hebrew, the Latin, and the Greek. The Persian might indeed

¹ For the character of Mahomet II. it is dangerous to trust either the Turks or the Christians. The most moderate picture appears to be drawn by Phranza (l. i. c. 52 [p. 93, ed. Bonn]), whose resentment had cooled in age and solitude. See likewise Spondanus (A.D. 1451, No. 11), and the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii. p. 552), the *Elogia* of Paulus Jovius (l. iii. p. 164-166), and the *Dictionnaire de Bayle* (tom. iii. p. 272-279).

² Cantemir (p. 115), and the mosques which he founded, attest his public regard for religion. Mahomet freely disputed with the patriarch Gennadius on the two regions (Spond. A.D. 1453, No. 22).

³ *Quinque linguas præter suam noverat, Græcam, Latinam, Chaldaicam, Persicam.* The Latin translator of Phranza has dropped the Arabic, which the Koran must recommend to every Musulman.*

* It appears in the original Greek text, p. 95, edit. Bonn.—M.

contribute to his amusement, and the Arabic to his edification; and such studies are familiar to the Oriental youth. In the intercourse of the Greeks and Turks a conqueror might wish to converse with the people over whom he was ambitious to reign: his own praises in Latin poetry⁴ or prose⁵ might find a passage to the royal ear; but what use or merit could recommend to the statesman or the scholar the uncouth dialect of his Hebrew slaves? The history and geography of the world were familiar to his memory: the lives of the heroes of the East, perhaps of the West,⁶ excited his emulation: his skill in astrology is excused by the folly of the times, and supposes some rudiments of mathematical science; and a profane taste for the arts is betrayed in his liberal invitation and reward of the painters of Italy.⁷ But the influence of religion and learning were employed without effect on his savage and licentious nature. I will not transcribe, nor do I firmly believe, the stories of his fourteen pages whose bellies were ripped open in search of a stolen melon, or of the beautiful slave whose head he severed from her body to convince the Janizaries that their master was not the votary of love.⁸ His sobriety is attested by the silence of the Turkish annals, which accuse three, and three only, of the Ottoman line of the vice of drunkenness.⁹ But

⁴ Philephus, by a Latin ode, requested and obtained the liberty of his wife's mother and sisters from the conqueror of Constantinople. It was delivered into the sultan's hands by the envoys of the duke of Milan. Philephus himself was suspected of a design of retiring to Constantinople; yet the orator often sounded the trumpet of holy war (see his Life by M. Lancelot, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. x. p. 718, 724, &c.).

⁵ Robert Valturio published at Verona, in 1483, his xii. books de Re Militari, in which he first mentions the use of bombs. By his patron Sigismond Malatesta, prince of Rimini, it had been addressed with a Latin epistle to Mahomet II.

⁶ According to Phranza, he assiduously studied the lives and actions of Alexander, Augustus, Constantine, and Theodosius. I have read somewhere that Plutarch's Lives were translated by his orders into the Turkish language. If the sultan himself understood Greek, it must have been for the benefit of his subjects. Yet these Lives are a school of freedom as well as of valour.*

⁷ The famous Gentile Bellino, whom he had invited from Venice, was dismissed with a chain and collar of gold and a purse of 3000 ducats. With Voltaire I laugh at the foolish story of a slave purposely beheaded to instruct the painter in the action of the muscles.

⁸ These Imperial drunkards were Soliman I., Selim II., and Amurath IV. (Cantemir, p. 61). The sophis of Persia can produce a more regular succession; and in the last age our European travellers were the witnesses and companions of their revels.

* Von Hammer disdainfully rejects this fable of Mahomet's knowledge of languages. Knolles adds that he delighted in reading the history of Alexander the Great and of Julius Cæsar. The former, no doubt, was the Persian legend, which, it is remarkable, came back to Europe, and was popular throughout the middle ages as the 'Romant of Alexander.' The founder of the Imperial dynasty of Rome, according to M. Von Hammer, is

altogether unknown in the East. Mahomet was a great patron of Turkish literature: the romantic poems of Persia were translated, or imitated, under his patronage. Von Hammer, vol. ii. p. 268.—M.

^b This story, the subject of Johnson's Irene, is rejected by M. Von Hammer, vol. ii. p. 208. The German historian's general estimate of Mahomet's character agrees in its more marked features with Gibbon's.—M.

it cannot be denied that his passions were at once furious and inexorable; that in the palace, as in the field, a torrent of blood was spilt on the slightest provocation; and that the noblest of the captive youth were often dishonoured by his unnatural lust. In the Albanian war he studied the lessons, and soon surpassed the example, of his father; and the conquest of two empires, twelve kingdoms, and two hundred cities, a vain and flattering account, is ascribed to his invincible sword. He was doubtless a soldier, and possibly a general; Constantinople has sealed his glory; but if we compare the means, the obstacles, and the achievements, Mahomet the Second must blush to sustain a parallel with Alexander or Timour. Under his command the Ottoman forces were always more numerous than their enemies, yet their progress was bounded by the Euphrates and the Adriatic, and his arms were checked by Huniades and Scanderbeg, by the Rhodian knights, and by the Persian king.

In the reign of Amurath he twice tasted of royalty, and twice descended from the throne: his tender age was incapable of opposing his father's restoration, but never could he forgive the vizirs who had recommended that salutary measure.

His reign,
A.D. 1461,
Feb. 9—
A.D. 1481,
July 2

His nuptials were celebrated with the daughter of a Turkman emir; and, after a festival of two months, he departed from Adrianople with his bride to reside in the government of Magnesia. Before the end of six weeks he was recalled by a sudden message from the divan which announced the decease of Amurath and the mutinous spirit of the Janizaries. His speed and vigour commanded their obedience: he passed the Hellespont with a chosen guard: and at the distance of a mile from Adrianople the vizirs and emirs, the imams and cadhis, the soldiers and the people, fell prostrate before the new sultan. They affected to weep, they affected to rejoice: he ascended the throne at the age of twenty-one years, and removed the cause of sedition by the death, the inevitable death, of his infant brothers.⁹ The ambassadors of Europe and Asia soon appeared to congratulate his accession and solicit his friendship, and to all he spoke the language of moderation and peace. The confidence of the Greek emperor was revived by the solemn oaths and fair assurances with which he sealed the ratification of the treaty: and a rich domain on the

⁹ Calapin, one of these royal infants, was saved from his cruel brother, and baptized at Rome under the name of Callistus Othomannus. The emperor Frederic III. presented him with an estate in Austria, where he ended his life; and Cuspinian, who in his youth conversed with the aged prince at Vienna, applauds his piety and wisdom (de Cæsaribus, p. 672, 673).

^a Ahmed, the son of a Greek princess, was the object of his especial jealousy. Von Hammer p. 501.—M.

banks of the Strymon was assigned for the annual payment of three hundred thousand aspers, the pension of an Ottoman prince who was detained at his request in the Byzantine court. Yet the neighbours of Mahomet might tremble at the severity with which a youthful monarch reformed the pomp of his father's household: the expenses of luxury were applied to those of ambition, and an useless train of seven thousand falconers was either dismissed from his service or enlisted in his troops.^a In the first summer of his reign he visited with an army the Asiatic provinces; but after humbling the pride Mahomet accepted the submission of the Caramanian, that he might not be diverted by the smallest obstacle from the execution of his great design.¹⁰

The Mahometan, and more especially the Turkish casuists, have pronounced that no promise can bind the faithful against the interest and duty of their religion, and that the sultan may abrogate his own treaties and those of his predecessors. The justice and magnanimity of Amurath had scorned this immoral privilege; but his son, though the proudest of men, could stoop from ambition to the basest arts of dissimulation and deceit. Peace was on his lips while war was in his heart: he incessantly sighed for the possession of Constantinople; and the Greeks, by their own indiscretion, afforded the first pretence of the fatal rupture.¹¹ Instead of labouring to be forgotten, their ambassadors pursued his camp to demand the payment, and even the increase, of their annual stipend: the divan was importuned by their complaints; and the vizir, a secret

Hostile intentions of Mahomet, A.D. 1451.

¹⁰ See the accession of Mahomet II. in Ducas (c. 33), Phranza (l. i. c. 33; l. iii. c. 2), Chalcocondyles (l. vii. p. 199 [p. 376, ed. Bonn]), and Cantemir (p. 96).

¹¹ Before I enter on the siege of Constantinople I shall observe that, except the short hints of Cantemir and Leunclavius, I have not been able to obtain any Turkish account of this conquest—such an account as we possess of the siege of Rhodes by Soliman II. (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxvi. p. 723-769). I must therefore depend on the Greeks, whose prejudices, in some degree, are subdued by their distress. Our standard texts are those of Ducas (c. 34-42), Phranza (l. iii. c. 7-20), Chalcocondyles (l. viii. p. 201-214 [p. 380-403, ed. Bonn]), and Leonardus Chionensis (*Historia C. P. a Turco expugnata*; Norimberghæ, 1544, in 4to. 20 leaves). The last of these narratives is the earliest in date, since it was composed in the isle of Chios, the 16th of August, 1453, only seventy-nine days after the loss of the city, and in the first confusion of ideas and passions. Some hints may be added from an epistle of Cardinal Isidore (in *Farragine Rerum Turcicarum*, ad calcem Chalcocondyl. Clauseri, Basil, 1556) to Pope Nicholas V., and a tract of Theodosius Zygomala, which he addressed in the year 1581 to Martin Crusius (*Turco-Grecia*, l. i. p. 74-98, Basii, 1584). The various facts and materials are briefly, though critically, reviewed by Spondanus (*A.D. 1453*, No. 1-27). The hearsay relations of Monstrelet and the distant Latins I shall take leave to disregard.^b

^a The Janisaries obtained, for the first time, a gift on the accession of a new sovereign. Von Hammar, p. 504.—M.

^b M. Von Hammar has added little new information on the siege of Constanti-

nople, and, by his general agreement, has borne an honourable testimony to the truth, and by his close imitation to the graphic spirit and boldness, of Gibbon.—M.

friend of the Christians, was constrained to deliver the sense of his brethren. "Ye foolish and miserable Romans," said Calil, "we know your devices, and ye are ignorant of your own danger! the scrupulous Amurath is no more; his throne is occupied by a young conqueror whom no laws can bind, and no obstacles can resist: and if you escape from his hands, give praise to the divine clemency, which yet delays the chastisement of your sins. Why do ye seek to affright us by vain and indirect menaces? Release the fugitive Orchan, crown him sultan of Romania, call the Hungarians from beyond the Danube, arm against us the nations of the West, and be assured that you will only provoke and precipitate your ruin." But if the fears of the ambassadors were alarmed by the stern language of the vizir, they were soothed by the courteous audience and friendly speeches of the Ottoman prince; and Mahomet assured them that on his return to Adrianople he would redress the grievances, and consult the true interests of the Greeks. No sooner had he passed the Hellespont than he issued a mandate to suppress their pension, and to expel their officers from the banks of the Strymon; in this measure he betrayed an hostile mind; and the second order announced, and in some degree commenced, the siege of Constantinople. In the narrow pass of the Bosphorus an Asiatic fortress had formerly been raised by his grandfather; in the opposite situation, on the European side, he resolved to erect a more formidable castle, and a thousand masons were commanded to assemble in the spring on a spot named Asomaton, about five miles from the Greek metropolis.¹² Persuasion is the resource of the feeble; and the feeble can seldom persuade: the ambassadors of the emperor attempted, without success, to divert Mahomet from the execution of his design. They represented that his grandfather had solicited the permission of Manuel to build a castle on his own territories; but that this double fortification, which would command the strait, could only tend to violate the alliance of the nations, to intercept the Latins who traded in the Black Sea, and perhaps to annihilate the subsistence of the city. "I form no enterprise," replied the perfidious sultan, "against the city; but the empire of Constantinople is measured by her walls. Have you forgot the distress to which my father was reduced when you formed a league with the Hungarians, when they invaded our country by land, and the Hellespont was occupied by the French galleys? Amurath was compelled to force the passage

¹² The situation of the fortress and the topography of the Bosphorus are best learned from Peter Gyllius (*de Bosphoro Thracio*, l. ii. c. 13), Leunclavius (*Pandect.* p. 445), and Tournefort (*Voyage dans le Levant*, tom. ii. lettre xv. p. 443, 444); but I must regret the map or plan which Tournefort sent to the French minister of the marine. The reader may turn back to chap. xvii. of this History.

“ of the Bosphorus ; and your strength was not equal to your malevolence. I was then a child at Adrianople ; the Moslems trembled, and for a while the *Gabours*¹³ insulted our disgrace. But when my father had triumphed in the field of Varna, he vowed to erect a fort on the western shore, and that vow it is my duty to accomplish. Have ye the right, have ye the power, to control my actions on my own ground ? For that ground *is* my own : as far as the shores of the Bosphorus Asia is inhabited by the Turks, and Europe is deserted by the Romans. Return, and inform your king that the present Ottoman is far different from his predecessors, that *his* resolutions surpass *their* wishes, and that *he* performs more than *they* could resolve. Return in safety ; but the next who delivers a similar message may expect to be flayed alive.” After this declaration, Constantine, the first of the Greeks in spirit as in rank,¹⁴ had determined to unsheath the sword, and to resist the approach and establishment of the Turks on the Bosphorus. He was disarmed by the advice of his civil and ecclesiastical ministers, who recommended a system less generous, and even less prudent, than his own, to approve their patience and long-suffering, to brand the Ottoman with the name and guilt of an aggressor, and to depend on chance and time for their own safety, and the destruction of a fort which could not long be maintained in the neighbourhood of a great and populous city. Amidst hope and fear, the fears of the wise and the hopes of the credulous, the winter rolled away ; the proper business of each man and each hour was postponed ; and the Greeks shut their eyes against the impending danger, till the arrival of the spring and the sultan decided the assurance of their ruin.

Of a master who never forgives, the orders are seldom disobeyed.

He builds a
fortress
on the Bos-
phorus,
A.D. 1452,
March.

On the twenty-sixth of March the appointed spot of Asomaton was covered with an active swarm of Turkish artificers ; and the materials by sea and land were diligently transported from Europe and Asia.¹⁵ The lime had been burnt in Cataphrygia, the timber was cut down in the woods of

¹³ The opprobrious name which the Turks bestow on the infidels is expressed *Kacoug* by Ducas, and *Giaour* by Leunclavius and the moderns. The former term is derived by Ducange (Gloss. Græc. tom. i. p. 530) from *Kacougos*, in vulgar Greek a tortoise, as denoting a retrograde motion from the faith. But, alas! *Gabour* is no more than *Gheber*, which was transferred from the Persian to the Turkish language, from the worshippers of fire to those of the crucifix (D’Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. p. 375).

¹⁴ Phranza does justice to his master’s sense and courage—*Calliditatem hominis non ignorans Imperator prior arma movere constituit; and stigmatizes the folly of the cum sacri tum profani proceses, which he had heard, amentes spe vanâ pasci.* Ducas was not a privy-counsellor.

¹⁵ Instead of this clear and consistent account, the Turkish Annals (Cantemir, p. 97) revived the foolish tale of the ox’s hide, and Dido’s stratagem in the foundation of Carthage. These annals (unless we are swayed by an anti-Christian prejudice) are far less valuable than the Greek historians.

Heraclea and Nicomedia, and the stones were dug from the Anatolian quarries. Each of the thousand masons was assisted by two workmen; and a measure of two cubits was marked for their daily task. The fortress¹⁶ was built in a triangular form; each angle was flanked by a strong and massy tower, one on the declivity of the hill, two along the sea-shore; a thickness of twenty-two feet was assigned for the walls, thirty for the towers; and the whole building was covered with a solid platform of lead. Mahomet himself pressed and directed the work with indefatigable ardour: his three vizirs claimed the honour of finishing their respective towers; the zeal of the cadhis emulated that of the Janizaries; the meanest labour was ennobled by the service of God and the sultan; and the diligence of the multitude was quickened by the eye of a despot whose smile was the hope of fortune, and whose frown was the messenger of death. The Greek emperor beheld with terror the irresistible progress of the work, and vainly strove by flattery and gifts to assuage an implacable foe, who sought, and secretly fomented, the slightest occasion of a quarrel. Such occasions must soon and inevitably be found. The ruins of stately churches, and even the marble columns which had been consecrated to Saint Michael the archangel, were employed without scruple by the profane and rapacious Moslems; and some Christians, who presumed to oppose the removal, received from their hands the crown of martyrdom. Constantine had solicited a Turkish guard to protect the fields and harvests of his subjects: the guard was fixed; but their first order was to allow free pasture to the mules and horses of the camp, and to defend their brethren if they should be molested by the natives. The retinue of an Ottoman chief had left their horses to pass the night among the ripe corn: the damage was felt, the insult was resented, and several of both nations were slain in a tumultuous conflict. Mahomet listened with joy to the complaint; and a detachment was commanded to exterminate the guilty village: the guilty had fled; but forty innocent and unsuspecting reapers were massacred by the soldiers. Till this provocation Constantinople had been open to the visits of commerce and curiosity: on the first alarm the gates were shut; but the emperor, still anxious for peace, released on the third day his Turkish captives,¹⁷ and expressed, in a last message, the firm resignation of a Christian and a soldier. "Since neither oaths, nor treaty, nor submission can secure peace,

¹⁶ In the dimensions of this fortress, the old castle of Europe, Phranza does not exactly agree with Chalcocondyles, whose description has been verified on the spot by his editor Leunclavius.

¹⁷ Among these were some pages of Mahomet, so conscious of his inexorable rigour, that they begged to lose their heads in the city unless they could return before sunset.

"pursue," said he to Mahomet, "your impious warfare. My trust is in God alone: if it should please him to mollify your heart, I shall rejoice in the happy change; if he delivers the city into your hands, I submit without a murmur to his holy will. But until the Judge of the earth shall pronounce between us, it is my duty

Sept. 1;

"to live and die in the defence of my people." The sultan's answer was hostile and decisive: his fortifications were completed; and before his departure for Adrianople he stationed a vigilant Aga and four hundred Janizaries to levy a tribute on the ships of every nation that should pass within the reach of their cannon. A Venetian vessel, refusing obedience to the new lords of the Bosphorus, was sunk with a single bullet.* The master and thirty sailors escaped in the boat; but they were dragged in chains to the *Porte*: the chief was impaled, his companions were beheaded; and the historian Ducas¹⁸ beheld, at Demotica, their bodies exposed to the wild beasts. The siege of Constantinople was deferred till the ensuing spring; but an Ottoman army marched into the Morea to

divert the force of the brothers of Constantine. At this æra

A. D. 1453.

Jan. 17.

of calamity one of these princes, the despot Thomas, was blessed or afflicted with the birth of a son—"the last heir," says the plaintive Phranza, "of the last spark of the Roman empire."¹⁹

The Greeks and the Turks passed an anxious and sleepless winter: the former were kept awake by their fears, the latter by their hopes; both by the preparations of defence and attack; and the two emperors, who had the most to lose or to gain, were the most deeply affected by the national sentiment. In Mahomet that sentiment was inflamed by the ardour of his youth and temper: he amused his leisure with building at Adrianople²⁰ the lofty palace of Jehan Numa (the watch-tower of the world); but his serious thoughts were irrevocably bent on the conquest of the city of Cæsar. At the dead of night, about the second watch, he started from his bed, and commanded the instant attendance of his prime vizir. The message, the hour, the prince, and his own situation, alarmed the guilty

Preparations for the siege of Constantinople, A. D. 1452, September—A. D. 1453, April.

¹⁸ Ducas, c. 35 [p. 248, ed. Bonn]. Phranza (l. iii. c. 3), who had sailed in his vessel, commemorates the Venetian pilot as a martyr.

¹⁹ Auctum est Palæologorum genus, et Imperii successor, parvæque Romanorum scintillæ hæres natus, Andreas, &c. (Phranza, l. iii. c. 3 [p. 236, ed. Bonn]). The strong expression was inspired by his feelings.

²⁰ Cantemir, p. 97, 98. The sultan was either doubtful of his conquest or ignorant of the superior merits of Constantinople. A city or a kingdom may sometimes be ruined by the Imperial fortune of their sovereign.

* This was from a model cannon cast by Urban the Hungarian. See p. 152. Von Hammer, p. 510.—M.

conscience of Calil Basha; who had possessed the confidence, and advised the restoration, of Amurath. On the accession of the son the vizir was confirmed in his office and the appearances of favour; but the veteran statesman was not insensible that he trod on a thin and slippery ice, which might break under his footsteps and plunge him in the abyss. His friendship for the Christians, which might be innocent under the late reign, had stigmatised him with the name of Gabour Ortachi, or foster-brother of the infidels;²¹ and his avarice entertained a venal and treasonable correspondence, which was detected and punished after the conclusion of the war. On receiving the royal mandate, he embraced, perhaps for the last time, his wife and children; filled a cup with pieces of gold, hastened to the palace, adored the sultan, and offered, according to the Oriental custom, the slight tribute of his duty and gratitude.²² "It is not "my wish," said Mahomet, "to resume my gifts, but rather to heap "and multiply them on thy head. In my turn I ask a present far "more valuable and important—Constantinople." As soon as the vizir had recovered from his surprise, "The same God," said he, "who has already given thee so large a portion of the Roman "empire, will not deny the remnant and the capital. His providence, "and thy power, assure thy success; and myself, with the rest of "thy faithful slaves, will sacrifice our lives and fortunes."—"Lala"²³ (or preceptor), continued the sultan, "do you see this pillow? all the "night, in my agitation, I have pulled it on one side and the other; "I have risen from my bed, again have I lain down, yet sleep has "not visited these weary eyes. Beware of the gold and silver of "the Romans: in arms we are superior; and with the aid of God, "and the prayers of the prophet, we shall speedily become masters "of Constantinople." To sound the disposition of his soldiers, he often wandered through the streets alone and in disguise; and it was fatal to discover the sultan when he wished to escape from the vulgar eye. His hours were spent in delineating the plan of the hostile city; in debating with his generals and engineers on what

²¹ *Συργαφίς*, by the president Cousin, is translated *père nourricier*, most correctly indeed from the Latin version; but in his haste he has overlooked the note by which Imanuel Boillaud (ad Ducam, c. 35 [p. 251, ed. Bonn]) acknowledges and rectifies his own error.

²² The Oriental custom of never appearing without gifts before a sovereign or a superior is of high antiquity, and seems analogous with the idea of sacrifice, still more ancient and universal. See the examples of such Persian gifts, *Ælian*, *Hist. Var.* l. i. c. 31, 32, 33.

²³ The *Lala* of the Turks (*Cantemir*, p. 34) and the *Tata* of the Greeks (*Ducas*, c. 55) are derived from the natural language of children; and it may be observed that all such primitive words which denote their parents are the simple repetition of one syllable, composed of a labial or dental consonant and an open vowel (*Des Brosses*, *Mécanisme des Langues*, tom. i. p. 231-247).

spot he should erect his batteries; on which side he should assault the walls; where he should spring his mines; to what place he should apply his scaling-ladders: and the exercises of the day repeated and proved the lucubrations of the night.

Among the implements of destruction, he studied with peculiar care the recent and tremendous discovery of the Latins; and his artillery surpassed whatever had yet appeared in the world. A founder of cannon, a Dane^a or Hungarian, who had been almost starved in the Greek service, deserted to the Moslems, and was liberally entertained by the Turkish sultan. Mahomet was satisfied with the answer to his first question, which he eagerly pressed on the artist. "Am I able to cast a cannon capable of throwing a ball or stone of sufficient size to batter the walls of Constantinople? I am not ignorant of their strength; but were they more solid than those of Babylon, I could oppose an engine of superior power; the position and management of that engine must be left to your engineers." On this assurance a foundry was established at Adrianople: the metal was prepared; and at the end of three months Urban produced a piece of brass ordnance of stupendous and almost incredible magnitude; a measure of twelve palms is assigned to the bore; and the stone bullet weighed above six hundred pounds.^{24 b} A vacant place before the new palace was chosen for the first experiment; but to prevent the sudden and mischievous effects of astonishment and fear, a proclamation was issued that the cannon would be discharged the ensuing day. The explosion was felt or heard in a circuit of an hundred furlongs: the ball, by the force of gunpowder, was driven above a mile; and on the spot where it fell, it buried itself a fathom deep in the ground. For the conveyance of this destructive engine, a frame or carriage of thirty waggons was linked together and drawn along by a team of sixty oxen: two hundred men on both sides were stationed to poise and support the rolling weight; two hundred and fifty workmen marched before to smooth the way and repair the bridges; and near two months were employed in a laborious journey of one hundred

^a The Attic talent weighed about sixty minæ, or avoirdupois pounds (see Hooper on Ancient Weights, Measures, &c.); but among the modern Greeks that classic appellation was extended to a weight of one hundred, or one hundred and twenty-five pounds (Ducange, *ἐλάσσων*). Leonardus Chiensis measured the ball or stone of the second cannon: *Lapidem, qui palmis undecim ex meis ambit in gyro*.

^a Gibbon has written Dane by mistake for Dace, or Dacian. *Δακὴ τοῦ γίγως*. Chalcocondyles, Von Hammer, p. 510.—M.

^b 1200, according to Leonardus Chiensis. Von Hammer states that he had himself seen the great cannon of the Dur-

danelles, in which a tailor, who had run away from his creditors, had concealed himself several days. Von Hammer had measured balls twelve spans round. Note, p. 666.—M.

and fifty miles. A lively philosopher²⁵ derides on this occasion the credulity of the Greeks, and observes, with much reason, that we should always distrust the exaggerations of a vanquished people. He calculates that a ball, even of two hundred pounds, would require a charge of one hundred and fifty pounds of powder; and that the stroke would be feeble and impotent, since not a fifteenth part of the mass could be inflamed at the same moment. A stranger as I am to the art of destruction, I can discern that the modern improvements of artillery prefer the number of pieces to the weight of metal; the quickness of the fire to the sound, or even the consequence, of a single explosion. Yet I dare not reject the positive and unanimous evidence of contemporary writers; nor can it seem improbable that the first artists, in their rude and ambitious efforts, should have transgressed the standard of moderation. A Turkish cannon, more enormous than that of Mahomet, still guards the entrance of the Dardanelles; and if the use be inconvenient, it has been found on a late trial that the effect was far from contemptible. A stone bullet of *eleven* hundred pounds' weight was once discharged with three hundred and thirty pounds of powder: at the distance of six hundred yards it shivered into three rocky fragments; traversed the strait; and, leaving the waters in a foam, again rose and bounded against the opposite hill.²⁶

While Mahomet threatened the capital of the East, the Greek emperor implored with fervent prayers the assistance of earth and Heaven. But the invisible powers were deaf to his supplications; and Christendom beheld with indifference the fall of Constantinople, while she derived at least some promise of supply from the jealous and temporal policy of the sultan of Egypt. Some states were too weak, and others too remote; by some the danger was considered as imaginary, by others as inevitable: the Western princes were involved in their endless and domestic quarrels; and the Roman pontiff was exasperated by the falsehood or obstinacy of the Greeks. Instead of employing in their favour the arms and treasures of Italy, Nicholas the Fifth had foretold their approaching ruin; and his honour was engaged in the accomplishment of his prophecy.^a Perhaps he was softened by the

Mahomet II.
forms the
siege of Con-
stantinople,
A.D. 1453,
April 6.

²⁵ See Voltaire (Hist. Générale, c. xci. p. 294, 295). He was ambitious of universal monarchy; and the poet frequently aspires to the name and style of an astronomer, a chemist, &c.

²⁶ The Baron de Tott (tom. iii. p. 85-89), who fortified the Dardanelles against the Russians, describes in a lively, and even comic, strain his own prowess, and the consternation of the Turks. But that adventurous traveller does not possess the art of gaining our confidence.

^a See the curious Christian and Mahometan predictions of the fall of Constantinople. Von Hammer, p. 518.—M.

last extremity of their distress; but his compassion was tardy; his efforts were faint and unavailing; and Constantinople had fallen before the squadrons of Genoa and Venice could sail from their harbours.²⁷ Even the princes of the Morea and of the Greek islands affected a cold neutrality: the Genoese colony of Galata negotiated a private treaty; and the sultan indulged them in the delusive hope that by his clemency they might survive the ruin of the empire. A plebeian crowd and some Byzantine nobles basely withdrew from the danger of their country; and the avarice of the rich denied the emperor, and reserved for the Turks, the secret treasures which might have raised in their defence whole armies of mercenaries.²⁸ The indigent and solitary prince prepared however to sustain his formidable adversary; but if his courage were equal to the peril, his strength was inadequate to the contest. In the beginning of the spring the Turkish vanguard swept the towns and villages as far as the gates of Constantinople: submission was spared and protected; whatever presumed to resist was exterminated with fire and sword. The Greek places on the Black Sea, Mesembria, Acheloum, and Bizon, surrendered on the first summons; Selymbria alone deserved the honours of a siege or blockade; and the bold inhabitants, while they were invested by land, launched their boats, pillaged the opposite coast of Cyzicus, and sold their captives in the public market. But on the approach of Mahomet himself all was silent and prostrate: he first halted at the distance of five miles; and, from thence advancing in battle array, planted before the gate of St. Romanus the Imperial standard; and on the sixth day of April formed the memorable siege of Constantinople.

The troops of Asia and Europe extended on the right and left from the Propontis to the harbour; the Janizaries in the Forces of the Turks; front were stationed before the sultan's tent; the Ottoman line was covered by a deep intrenchment; and a subordinate army enclosed the suburb of Galata, and watched the doubtful faith of the Genoese. The inquisitive Philelphus, who resided in Greece about thirty years before the siege, is confident that all the Turkish forces of any name or value could not exceed the number of sixty

²⁷ Non audivit, indignum ducens, says the honest Antoninus; but, as the Roman court was afterwards grieved and ashamed, we find the more courtly expression of Platina, in animo fuisse pontifici juvare Græcos, and the positive assertion of Æneas Sylvius, structam classem, &c. (Spond. A.D. 1453, No. 3.)

²⁸ Antonin. in Proem. — Epist. Cardinal. Isidor. apud Spondanum; and Dr. Johnson, in the tragedy of Irene, has happily seized this characteristic circumstance:—

The groaning Greeks dig up the golden caverns,
The accumulated wealth of hoarding ages;
That wealth which, granted to their weeping prince,
Had rang'd embattled nations at their gates.

thousand horse and twenty thousand foot; and he upbraids the pusillanimity of the nations who had tamely yielded to a handful of barbarians. Such indeed might be the regular establishment of the *Capiculi*,²⁹ the troops of the Porte who marched with the prince, and were paid from his royal treasury. But the bashaws, in their respective governments, maintained or levied a provincial militia; many lands were held by a military tenure; many volunteers were attracted by the hope of spoil; and the sound of the holy trumpet invited a swarm of hungry and fearless fanatics, who might contribute at least to multiply the terrors, and in a first attack to blunt the swords of the Christians. The whole mass of the Turkish powers is magnified by Ducas, Chalcocondyles, and Leonard of Chios, to the amount of three or four hundred thousand men; but Phranza was a less remote and more accurate judge; and his precise definition of two hundred and fifty-eight thousand does not exceed the measure of experience and probability.³⁰ The navy of the besiegers was less formidable: the Propontis was overspread with three hundred and twenty sail; but of these no more than eighteen could be rated as galleys of war; and the far greater part must be degraded to the condition of store-ships and transports, which poured into the camp fresh supplies of men, ammunition, and provisions. In her last decay Constantinople was still peopled with more than an hundred thousand inhabitants; but these numbers are found in the accounts, not of war, but of captivity; and they mostly consisted of mechanics, of priests, of women, and of men devoid of that spirit which even women have sometimes exerted for the common safety. I can suppose, I could almost excuse, the reluctance of subjects to serve on a distant frontier, at the will of a tyrant; but the man who dares not expose his life in the defence of his children and his property has lost in society the first and most active energies of nature. By the emperor's command a particular inquiry had been made through the streets and houses, how many of the citizens, or even of the monks, were able and willing to bear arms for their country. The lists were intrusted to Phranza;³¹ and after a diligent

²⁹ The palatine troops are styled *Capiculi*; the provincials, *Serviculi*; and most of the names and institutions of the Turkish militia existed before the *Canon Jusur* of Soliman II., from which, and his own experience, Count Marsigli has composed his *Military State of the Ottoman Empire*.

³⁰ The observation of Philéplus is approved by Cuspinian in the year 1508 (de *Cæsariæ*, in *Epilog. de Militiâ Turcicâ*, p. 697). Marsigli proves that the effective armies of the Turks are much less numerous than they appear. In the army that besieged Constantinople Leonardus Chiensis reckons no more than 15,000 Janizaries.

³¹ *Ego, eisdem (Imp.) tabellas exhibui non absque dolore et maestitia, mansitque apud eos diæsi aliis occultos numeros (Phranza, l. iii. c. 3 [p. 241, ed. Boan]).* With some indulgence for national prejudices, we cannot desire a more authentic witness, not only of public facts, but of private counsels.

addition he informed his master, with grief and surprise, that the national defence was reduced to four thousand nine hundred and seventy *Romans*. Between Constantine and his faithful minister this comfortless secret was preserved; and a sufficient proportion of shields, cross-bows, and muskets, was distributed from the arsenal to the city bands. They derived some accession from a body of two thousand strangers, under the command of John Justiniani, a noble Genoese; a liberal donative was advanced to these auxiliaries; and a princely recompense, the isle of Lemnos, was promised to the valour and victory of their chief. A strong chain was drawn across the mouth of the harbour: it was supported by some Greek and Italian vessels of war and merchandise; and the ships of every Christian nation, that successively arrived from Candia and the Black Sea, were detained for the public service. Against the powers of the Ottoman empire, a city of the extent of thirteen, perhaps of sixteen, miles was defended by a scanty garrison of seven or eight thousand soldiers. Europe and Asia were open to the besiegers; but the strength and provisions of the Greeks must sustain a daily decrease; nor could they indulge the expectation of any foreign succour or supply.

The primitive Romans would have drawn their swords in the resolution of death or conquest. The primitive Christians might have embraced each other, and awaited in patience and charity the stroke of martyrdom. But the Greeks of Constantinople were animated only by the spirit of religion, and that spirit was productive only of animosity and discord. Before his death the emperor John Palæologus had renounced the unpopular measure of an union with the Latins; nor was the idea revived till the distress of his brother Constantine imposed a last trial of flattery and dissimulation.³² With the demand of temporal aid his ambassadors were instructed to mingle the assurance of spiritual obedience: his neglect of the church was excused by the urgent cares of the state; and his orthodox wishes solicited the presence of a Roman legate. The Vatican had been too often deluded; yet the signs of repentance could not decently be overlooked; a legate was more easily granted than an army; and about six months before the final destruction, the cardinal Isidore of Russia appeared in that character with a retinue of priests and soldiers. The emperor saluted him as a friend and father; respectfully listened to his public and private sermons; and with the most obsequious of the clergy and laymen subscribed the act of union, as it had been ratified in the council of

False union
of the two
churches,
A. D. 1462,
Dec. 12.

³² In Spondanus the narrative of the union is not only partial, but imperfect. The bishop of Pamiers died in 1642, and the history of Ducaes, which represents these scenes (c. 36, 37) with such truth and spirit, was not printed till the year 1649.

Florence. On the twelfth of December the two nations, in the church of St. Sophia, joined in the communion of sacrifice and prayer; and the names of the two pontiffs were solemnly commemorated; the names of Nicholas the Fifth, the vicar of Christ, and of the patriarch Gregory, who had been driven into exile by a rebellious people.

But the dress and language of the Latin priest who officiated at the altar were an object of scandal; and it was observed with horror that he consecrated a cake or wafer of *unleavened* bread, and poured cold water into the cup of the sacrament. A national historian acknowledges with a blush that none of his countrymen, not the emperor himself, were sincere in this occasional conformity.³³ Their hasty and unconditional submission was palliated by a promise of future revisal; but the best, or the worst, of their excuses was the confession of their own perjury. When they were pressed by the reproaches of their honest brethren, "Have patience," they whispered, "have patience till God shall have delivered the city from the great dragon who seeks to devour us. You shall then perceive whether we are truly reconciled with the Azymites." But patience is not the attribute of zeal; nor can the arts of a court be adapted to the freedom and violence of popular enthusiasm. From the dome of St. Sophia the inhabitants of either sex, and of every degree, rushed in crowds to the cell of the monk Gennadius,³⁴ to consult the oracle of the church. The holy man was invisible; entranced, as it should seem, in deep meditation, or divine rapture: but he had exposed on the door of his cell a speaking tablet; and they successively withdrew, after reading these tremendous words: "O miserable Romans, why will ye abandon the truth; and why, instead of confiding in God, will ye put your trust in the Italians? In losing your faith you will lose your city. Have mercy on me, O Lord! I protest in thy presence that I am innocent of the crime. O miserable Romans, consider, pause, and repent. At the same moment that you renounce the religion of your fathers, by embracing impiety, you submit to a foreign servitude." According to the advice of Gennadius, the religious virgins, as pure as angels, and as proud as dæmons, rejected the act

Obstacity
and fanati-
cism of the
Greeks.

³³ Phranza, one of the conforming Greeks, acknowledges that the measure was adopted only propter spem auxilii; he affirms with pleasure that those who refused to perform their devotions in St. Sophia, extra culpam et in pace essent (l. iii. c. 20).

³⁴ His primitive and secular name was George Scholarius, which he changed for that of Gennadius, either when he became a monk or a patriarch. His defence, at Florence, of the same union which he so furiously attacked at Constantinople, has tempted Leo Allatius (Diatrib. de Georgiis, in Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. tom. x. p. 780-786) to divide him into two men; but Renaudot (p. 343-363) has restored the identity of his person and the duplicity of his character.

of union, and abjured all communion with the present and future associates of the Latins; and their example was applauded and imitated by the greatest part of the clergy and people. From the monastery the devout Greeks dispersed themselves in the taverns; drank confusion to the slaves of the pope; emptied their glasses in honour of the image of the holy Virgin; and besought her to defend against Mahomet the city which she had formerly saved from Chosroes and the Chagan. In the double intoxication of zeal and wine, they valiantly exclaimed, "What occasion have we for succour, or union, or Latins? far from us be the worship of the Azymites!" During the winter that preceded the Turkish conquest the nation was distracted by this epidemical frenzy; and the season of Lent, the approach of Easter, instead of breathing charity and love, served only to fortify the obstinacy and influence of the zealots. The confessors scrutinised and alarmed the conscience of their votaries, and a rigorous penance was imposed on those who had received the communion from a priest who had given an express or tacit consent to the union. His service at the altar propagated the infection to the mute and simple spectators of the ceremony: they forfeited, by the impure spectacle, the virtue of the sacerdotal character; nor was it lawful, even in danger of sudden death, to invoke the assistance of their prayers or absolution. No sooner had the church of St. Sophia been polluted by the Latin sacrifice than it was deserted as a Jewish synagogue, or a heathen temple, by the clergy and people; and a vast and gloomy silence prevailed in that venerable dome, which had so often smoked with a cloud of incense, blazed with innumerable lights, and resounded with the voice of prayer and thanksgiving. The Latins were the most odious of heretics and infidels; and the first minister of the empire, the great duke, was heard to declare that he had rather behold in Constantinople the turban of Mahomet than the pope's tiara or a cardinal's hat.³⁵ A sentiment so unworthy of Christians and patriots was familiar and fatal to the Greeks: the emperor was deprived of the affection and support of his subjects; and their native cowardice was sanctified by resignation to the divine decree or the visionary hope of a miraculous deliverance.

Of the triangle which composes the figure of Constantinople the two sides along the sea were made inaccessible to an enemy; the Propontis by nature, and the harbour by art. Between the two waters, the basis of the triangle, the land side was protected by a double wall and a deep ditch of the depth of one hundred feet. Against this line of fortification, which

Siege of
Constanti-
nople by
Mahomet II.
A.D. 1453,
April 6—
May 29.

³⁵ *Ἡμετέριον, κάρδιον*, may be fairly translated a cardinal's hat. The difference of the Greek and Latin habits embittered the schism.

Phranza, an eye-witness, prolongs to the measure of six miles,³⁶ the Ottomans directed their principal attack; and the emperor, after distributing the service and command of the most perilous stations, undertook the defence of the external wall. In the first days of the siege the Greek soldiers descended into the ditch, or sallied into the field; but they soon discovered that, in the proportion of their numbers, one Christian was of more value than twenty Turks: and, after these bold preludes, they were prudently content to maintain the rampart with their missile weapons. Nor should this prudence be accused of pusillanimity. The nation was indeed pusillanimous and base; but the last Constantine deserves the name of an hero: his noble band of volunteers was inspired with Roman virtue; and the foreign auxiliaries supported the honour of the Western chivalry. The incessant volleys of lances and arrows were accompanied with the smoke, the sound, and the fire of their musketry and cannon. Their small arms discharged at the same time either five, or even ten, balls of lead, of the size of a walnut; and, according to the closeness of the ranks and the force of the powder, several breast-plates and bodies were transpierced by the same shot. But the Turkish approaches were soon sunk in trenches or covered with ruins. Each day added to the science of the Christians; but their inadequate stock of gunpowder was wasted in the operations of each day. Their ordnance was not powerful either in size or number; and if they possessed some heavy cannon, they feared to plant them on the walls, lest the aged structure should be shaken and overthrown by the explosion.³⁷ The same destructive secret had been revealed to the Moslems; by whom it was employed with the superior energy of zeal, riches, and despotism. The great cannon of Mahomet has been separately noticed; an important and visible object in the history of the times: but that enormous engine was flanked by two fellows almost of equal magnitude:³⁸ the long order of the Turkish artillery was pointed against the walls; fourteen batteries thundered

³⁶ We are obliged to reduce the Greek miles to the smallest measure which is preserved in the wersts of Russia, of 547 French *toises*, and of 104½ to a degree. The six miles of Phranza do not exceed four English miles (D'Anville, *Mesures Itinéraires*, p. 61, 123, &c.).

³⁷ At *indies doctiores nostri facti paravere contra hostes machinamenta, quæ tamen avare dabantur. Pulvis erat nitri modica, exigua; tela modica; bombardæ si aderant incommoditate loci primum hostes offendere, maceriebus alyeisque tectos, non poterant. Nam si quæ magnæ erant, ne murus concuteretur noster, quiescebant.* This passage of Leonardus Chiensis is curious and important.

³⁸ According to Chalcocondyles and Phranza the great cannon burst; an accident which, according to Ducas, was prevented by the artist's skill. It is evident that they do not speak of the same gun.

* They speak one of a Byzantine, one of a Turkish, gun. Von Hammer, note p. 669.—M.

at once on the most accessible places ; and of one of these it is ambiguously expressed that it was mounted with one hundred and thirty guns, or that it discharged one hundred and thirty bullets. Yet in the power and activity of the sultan we may discern the infancy of the new science. Under a master who counted the moments the great cannon could be loaded and fired no more than seven times in one day.³⁹ The heated metal unfortunately burst ; several workmen were destroyed ; and the skill of an artist^a was admired who be thought himself of preventing the danger and the accident, by pouring oil, after each explosion, into the mouth of the cannon.

The first random shots were productive of more sound than effect ; and it was by the advice of a Christian that the engineers Attack and defence. were taught to level their aim against the two opposite sides of the salient angles of a bastion. However imperfect, the weight and repetition of the fire made some impression on the walls ; and the Turks, pushing their approaches to the edge of the ditch, attempted to fill the enormous chasm and to build a road to the assault.⁴⁰ Innumerable fascines, and hogsheads, and trunks of trees, were heaped on each other ; and such was the impetuosity of the throng, that the foremost and the weakest were pushed headlong down the precipice and instantly buried under the accumulated mass. To fill the ditch was the toil of the besiegers ; to clear away the rubbish was the safety of the besieged ; and, after a long and bloody conflict, the web that had been woven in the day was still unravelled in the night. The next resource of Mahomet was the practice of mines ; but the soil was rocky ; in every attempt he was stopped and undermined by the Christian engineers ; nor had the art been yet invented of replenishing those subterraneous passages with gunpowder and blowing whole towers and cities into the air.⁴¹ A circumstance that distinguishes the siege of Constantinople is the re-union of the ancient and modern artillery. The cannon were intermingled with the mechanical engines for casting stones and darts ; the bullet and the battering-ram^b were

³⁹ Near a hundred years after the siege of Constantinople the French and English fleets in the Channel were proud of firing 300 shot in an engagement of two hours (*Mémoires de Martin du Belley*, l. x. in the *Collection Générale*, tom. xxi. p. 239).

⁴⁰ I have selected some curious facts, without striving to emulate the bloody and obstinate eloquence of the abbé de Vertot, in his prolix descriptions of the sieges of Rhodes, Malta, &c. But that agreeable historian had a turn for romance ; and as he wrote to please the Order, he has adopted the same spirit of enthusiasm and chivalry.

⁴¹ The first theory of mines with gunpowder appears in 1480, in a MS. of George of Sienna (*Tiraboschi*, tom. vi. P. i. p. 324). They were first practised at Sarzauella, in 1487 ; but the honour and improvement in 1503 is ascribed to Peter of Navarre, who used them with success in the wars of Italy (*Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray*, tom. ii. p. 93-97).

^a The founder of the gun. Von Hammer, p. 526.—M.

^b The battering-ram, according to Von Hammer (p. 670), was not used.—M.

directed against the same walls; nor had the discovery of gunpowder superseded the use of the liquid and unextinguishable fire. A wooden turret of the largest size was advanced on rollers: this portable magazine of ammunition and fascines was protected by a threefold covering of bulls' hides; incessant volleys were securely discharged from the loopholes; in the front three doors were contrived for the alternate sally and retreat of the soldiers and workmen. They ascended by a staircase to the upper platform, and, as high as the level of that platform, a scaling-ladder could be raised by pulleys to form a bridge and grapple with the adverse rampart. By these various arts of annoyance, some as new as they were pernicious to the Greeks, the tower of St. Romanus was at length overturned: after a severe struggle the Turks were repulsed from the breach and interrupted by darkness; but they trusted that with the return of light they should renew the attack with fresh vigour and decisive success. Of this pause of action, this interval of hope, each moment was improved by the activity of the emperor and Justiniani, who passed the night on the spot, and urged the labours which involved the safety of the church and city. At the dawn of day the impatient sultan perceived, with astonishment and grief, that his wooden turret had been reduced to ashes: the ditch was cleared and restored, and the tower of St. Romanus was again strong and entire. He deplored the failure of his design, and uttered a profane exclamation, that the word of the thirty-seven thousand prophets should not have compelled him to believe that such a work, in so short a time, could have been accomplished by the infidels.

The generosity of the Christian princes was cold and tardy; but in the first apprehension of a siege Constantine had negotiated, in the isles of the Archipelago, the Morea, and Sicily, the most indispensable supplies. As early as the beginning of April, five ⁴² great ships, equipped for merchandise and war, would have sailed from the harbour of Chios, had not the wind blown obstinately from the north.⁴³ One of these ships bore the Imperial flag; the remaining four belonged to the Genoese; and they were laden with wheat and barley, with wine, oil, and vegetables, and, above all, with soldiers and mariners, for the service of the capital. After a tedious delay a gentle breeze, and on the second day a strong gale from the south, carried them through the Hellespont and the Pro-

Success and
victory of
four ships.

⁴² It is singular that the Greeks should not agree in the number of these illustrious vessels; the *few* of Ducas, the *four* of Piranza and Leonardus, and the *two* of Chalcocondylea, must be extended to the smaller, or confined to larger, size. Voltaire, in giving one of these ships to Frederic III., confounds the emperors of the East and West.

⁴³ In bold defiance, or rather in gross ignorance, of language and geography, the president Cousin detains them at Chios with a south, and wafts them to Constantinople with a north, wind.

pontis; but the city was already invested by sea and land, and the Turkish fleet, at the entrance of the Bosphorus, was stretched from shore to shore, in the form of a crescent, to intercept, or at least to repel, these bold auxiliaries. The reader who has present to his mind the geographical picture of Constantinople will conceive and admire the greatness of the spectacle. The five Christian ships continued to advance with joyful shouts, and a full press both of sails and oars, against an hostile fleet of three hundred vessels; and the rampart, the camp, the coasts of Europe and Asia, were lined with innumerable spectators, who anxiously awaited the event of this momentous succour. At the first view that event could not appear doubtful; the superiority of the Moslems was beyond all measure or account, and, in a calm, their numbers and valour must inevitably have prevailed. But their hasty and imperfect navy had been created, not by the genius of the people, but by the will of the sultan: in the height of their prosperity the Turks have acknowledged that, if God had given them the earth, he had left the sea to the infidels;⁴⁴ and a series of defeats, a rapid progress of decay, has established the truth of their modest confession. Except eighteen galleys of some force, the rest of their fleet consisted of open boats, rudely constructed and awkwardly managed, crowded with troops, and destitute of cannon; and since courage arises in a great measure from the consciousness of strength, the bravest of the Janizaries might tremble on a new element. In the Christian squadron five stout and lofty ships were guided by skilful pilots, and manned with the veterans of Italy and Greece, long practised in the arts and perils of the sea. Their weight was directed to sink or scatter the weak obstacles that impeded their passage: their artillery swept the waters; their liquid fire was poured on the heads of the adversaries, who, with the design of boarding, presumed to approach them; and the winds and waves are always on the side of the ablest navigators. In this conflict the Imperial vessel, which had been almost overpowered, was rescued by the Genoese; but the Turks, in a distant and a closer attack, were twice repulsed with considerable loss. Mahomet himself sat on horseback on the beach, to encourage their valour by his voice and presence, by the promise of reward, and by fear more potent than the fear of the enemy. The passions of his soul, and even the gestures of his body,⁴⁵ seemed to imitate the actions

⁴⁴ The perpetual decay and weakness of the Turkish navy may be observed in Rycaut (*State of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 372-378), Thévenot (*Voyages*, P. i. p. 229-242), and Tott (*Mémoires*, tom. iii.); the last of whom is always solicitous to amuse and amaze his reader.

⁴⁵ I must confess that I have before my eyes the living picture which Thucydides (l. vii. c. 71) has drawn of the passions and gestures of the Athenians in a naval engagement in the great harbour of Syracuse.

of the combatants; and, as if he had been the lord of nature, he spurred his horse with a fearless and impotent effort into the sea. His loud reproaches, and the clamours of the camp, urged the Ottomans to a third attack, more fatal and bloody than the two former; and I must repeat, though I cannot credit, the evidence of Phranza, who affirms, from their own mouth, that they lost above twelve thousand men in the slaughter of the day. They fled in disorder to the shores of Europe and Asia, while the Christian squadron, triumphant and unhurt, steered along the Bosphorus, and securely anchored within the chain of the harbour. In the confidence of victory, they boasted that the whole Turkish power must have yielded to their arms; but the admiral, or captain bashaw, found some consolation for a painful wound in his eye, by representing that accident as the cause of his defeat. Baltha Ogli was a renegade of the race of the Bulgarian princes: his military character was tainted with the unpopular vice of avarice; and under the despotism of the prince or people, misfortune is a sufficient evidence of guilt.⁴⁶ His rank and services were annihilated by the displeasure of Mahomet. In the royal presence, the captain bashaw was extended on the ground by four slaves, and received one hundred strokes with a golden rod: ⁴⁶ his death had been pronounced, and he adored the clemency of the sultan, who was satisfied with the milder punishment of confiscation and exile. The introduction of this supply revived the hopes of the Greeks, and accused the supineness of their Western allies. Amidst the deserts of Anatolia and the rocks of Palestine, the millions of the crusades had buried themselves in a voluntary and inevitable grave; but the situation of the Imperial city was strong against her enemies, and accessible to her friends; and a rational and moderate armament of the maritime states might have saved the relics of the Roman name, and maintained a Christian fortress in the heart of the Ottoman empire. Yet this was the sole and feeble attempt for the deliverance of Constantinople: the more distant powers were insensible of its danger; and the ambassador of Hungary, or at least of Huniades, resided in the Turkish camp, to remove the fears and to direct the operations of the sultan.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ According to the exaggeration or corrupt text of Ducas (c. 38 [p. 270, ed. Bonn]) this golden bar was of the enormous and incredible weight of 500 libræ, or pounds. Bouillaud's reading of 500 drachms, or five pounds, is sufficient to exercise the arm of Mahomet, and bruise the back of his admiral.

⁴⁷ Ducas, who confesses himself ill informed of the affairs of Hungary, assigns a motive of superstition, a fatal belief that Constantinople would be the term of the Turkish conquests. See Phranza (l. iii. c. 20) and Spondanus.

^a According to Ducas, one of the Afabi beat out his eye with a stone. Compare Vou Hammer.—M.

It was difficult for the Greeks to penetrate the secret of the divan . yet the Greeks are persuaded that a resistance so obstinate and surprising had fatigued the perseverance of Mahomet. He began to meditate a retreat ; and the siege would have been speedily raised, if the ambition and jealousy of the second vizir had not opposed the perfidious advice of Calil Bashaw, who still maintained a secret correspondence with the Byzantine court. The reduction of the city appeared to be hopeless, unless a double attack could be made from the harbour as well as from the land ; but the harbour was inaccessible : an impenetrable chain was now defended by eight large ships, more than twenty of a smaller size, with several galleys and sloops ; and, instead of forcing this barrier, the Turks might apprehend a naval sally and a second encounter in the open sea. In this perplexity the genius of Mahomet conceived and executed a plan of a bold and marvellous cast, of transporting by land his lighter vessels and military stores from the Bosphorus into the higher part of the harbour. The distance is about ten^a miles ; the ground is uneven, and was overspread with thickets ; and, as the road must be opened behind the suburb of Galata, their free passage or total destruction must depend on the option of the Genoese. But these selfish merchants were ambitious of the favour of being the last devoured, and the deficiency of art was supplied by the strength of obedient myriads. A level way was covered with a broad platform of strong and solid planks ; and to render them more slippery and smooth, they were anointed with the fat of sheep and oxen. Fourscore light galleys and brigantines of fifty and thirty oars were disembarked on the Bosphorus shore, arranged successively on rollers, and drawn forwards by the power of men and pulleys. Two guides or pilots were stationed at the helm and the prow of each vessel : the sails were unfurled to the winds, and the labour was cheered by song and acclamation. In the course of a single night this Turkish fleet painfully climbed the hill, steered over the plain, and was launched from the declivity into the shallow waters of the harbour, far above the molestation of the deeper vessels of the Greeks. The real importance of this operation was magnified by the consternation and confidence which it inspired ; but the notorious, unquestionable fact was displayed before the eyes, and is recorded by the pens, of the two nations.⁴⁸ A similar stratagem had been repeatedly practised by the ancients ;⁴⁹ the Ottoman galleys

Mahomet transports his navy over land.

⁴⁸ The unanimous testimony of the four Greeks is confirmed by Cantemir (p. 96) from the Turkish annals ; but I could wish to contract the distance of ten^a miles, and to prolong the term of one night.

⁴⁹ Phranza relates two examples of a similar transportation over the six miles of the

^a Six miles. Von Hammer.—M.

(I must again repeat) should be considered as large boats; and, if we compare the magnitude and the distance, the obstacles and the means, the boasted miracle⁵⁰ has perhaps been equalled by the industry of our own times.⁵¹ As soon as Mahomet had occupied the upper harbour with a fleet and army, he constructed in the narrowest part a bridge, or rather mole, of fifty cubits in breadth and one hundred in length: it was formed of casks and hogsheads, joined with rafters, linked with iron, and covered with a solid floor. On this floating battery he planted one of his largest cannon, while the fourscore galleys, with troops and scaling-ladders, approached the most accessible side, which had formerly been stormed by the Latin conquerors. The indolence of the Christians has been accused for not destroying these unfinished works;^b but their fire, by a superior fire, was controlled and silenced; nor were they wanting in a nocturnal attempt to burn the vessels as well as the bridge of the sultan. His vigilance prevented their approach: their foremost galliots were sunk or taken; forty youths, the bravest of Italy and Greece, were inhumanly massacred at his command; nor could the emperor's grief be assuaged by the just though cruel retaliation of exposing from the walls the heads of two hundred and sixty Musulman captives. After a siege of forty days the fate of Constantinople could no longer be averted. The diminutive garrison was exhausted by a double attack: the fortifications, which had stood for ages against hostile violence, were dismantled on all sides by the Ottoman cannon; many breaches were opened, and near the gate of St. Romanus four towers had been levelled with the ground. For the payment of his feeble and mutinous troops, Constantine was compelled to despoil the churches with the promise of a fourfold restitution; and his sacrilege offered a new reproach to the enemies of the union. A spirit of discord impaired the remnant of the Christian strength: the Genoese and Venetian auxiliaries asserted the pre-eminence of their respective service; and Justiniani and the great duke, whose ambition was not

*Distress of
the city.*

isthmus of Corinth; the one fabulous, of Augustus after the battle of Actium; the other true, of Nicetas, a Greek general in the xth century. To these he might have added a bold enterprise of Hannibal to introduce his vessels into the harbour of Tarentum (Polybius, l. viii. [a. 36] p. 749, edit. Gronov.).^a

⁵⁰ A Greek of Candia, who had served the Venetians in a similar undertaking (Spond. A.D. 1438, No. 37), might possibly be the adviser and agent of Mahomet.

⁵¹ I particularly allude to our own embarkations on the lakes of Canada in the years 1776 and 1777, so great in the labour, so fruitless in the event.

^a Von Hammer gives a longer list of such transportations, p. 533. Dion Cassius distinctly relates the occurrence treated as fabulous by Gibbon.—M.

^b They were betrayed, according to some accounts, by the Genoese of Galata. Von Hammer, p. 536.—M.

extinguished by the common danger, accused each other of treachery and cowardice.

During the siege of Constantinople the words of peace and capitulation had been sometimes pronounced; and several embassies had passed between the camp and the city.⁵² The Greek emperor was humbled by adversity; and would have yielded to any terms compatible with religion and royalty. The Turkish sultan was desirous of sparing the blood of his soldiers; still more desirous of securing for his own use the Byzantine treasures; and he accomplished a sacred duty in presenting to the *Gabours* the choice of circumcision, of tribute, or of death. The avarice of Mahomet might have been satisfied with an annual sum of one hundred thousand ducats; but his ambition grasped the capital of the East: to the prince he offered a rich equivalent, to the people a free toleration, or a safe departure: but after some fruitless treaty, he declared his resolution of finding either a throne or a grave under the walls of Constantinople. A sense of honour, and the fear of universal reproach, forbade Palæologus to resign the city into the hands of the Ottomans; and he determined to abide the last extremities of war. Several days were employed by the sultan in the preparations of the assault; and a respite was granted by his favourite science of astrology, which had fixed on the twenty-ninth of May as the fortunate and fatal hour. On the evening of the twenty-seventh he issued his final orders; assembled in his presence the military chiefs; and dispersed his heralds through the camp to proclaim the duty and the motives of the perilous enterprise. Fear is the first principle of a despotic government; and his menaces were expressed in the Oriental style, that the fugitives and deserters, had they the wings of a bird,⁵³ should not escape from his inexorable justice. The

Preparations of the Turks for the general assault. May 29.

⁵² Chalcocondyles and Ducas differ in the time and circumstances of the negociation; and as it was neither glorious nor salutary, the faithful Phranza spares his prince even the thought of a surrender.

⁵³ These wings (Chalcocondyles, l. viii. p. 208 [p. 393, ed. Bonn]) are no more than an Oriental figure: but in the tragedy of Irene Mahomet's passion soars above sense and reason:—

Should the fierce North, upon his frozen wings,
Bear him aloft above the wondering clouds,
And seat him in the Pleiads' golden chariot—
Thence should my fury drag him down to tortures.

Besides the extravagance of the rant, I must observe, 1. That the operation of the winds must be confined to the *lower* region of the air. 2. That the name, etymology, and fable of the Pleiads are purely Greek (Scholiast ad Homer, z. 686; Eudocia in Ionia, p. 339; Apollodor. l. iii. c. 10; Heyne, p. 229; Not. 682), and had no affinity with the astronomy of the East (Hyde ad Ulugbeg, Tabul. in Syntagma Dissert. tom. i. p. 40, 42; Goguet, Origine des Arts, &c., tom. vi. p. 73-78; Gœbelin, Hist. du Calendrier, p. 73), which Mahomet had studied. 3. The golden chariot does not exist either in science or fiction; but I much fear that Dr. Johnson has

greatest part of his bashaws and Janizaries were the offspring of Christian parents: but the glories of the Turkish name were perpetuated by successive adoption; and in the gradual change of individuals, the spirit of a legion, a regiment, or an *oda*, is kept alive by imitation and discipline. In this holy warfare the Moslems were exhorted to purify their minds with prayer, their bodies with seven ablutions; and to abstain from food till the close of the ensuing day. A crowd of dervishes visited the tents, to instil the desire of martyrdom, and the assurance of spending an immortal youth amidst the rivers and gardens of paradise, and in the embraces of the black-eyed virgins. Yet Mahomet principally trusted to the efficacy of temporal and visible rewards. A double pay was promised to the victorious troops; "The city and the buildings," said Mahomet, "are mine; but I resign to your valour the captives and the spoil, the treasures of gold and beauty; be rich and be happy. Many are the provinces of my empire: the intrepid soldier who first ascends the walls of Constantinople shall be rewarded with the government of the fairest and most wealthy; and my gratitude shall accumulate his honours and fortunes above the measure of his own hopes." Such various and potent motives diffused among the Turks a general ardour, regardless of life and impatient for action: the camp re-echoed with the Moslem shouts of "God is God: there is but one God, and Mahomet is the apostle of God;"⁵⁴ and the sea and land, from Galata to the seven towers, were illuminated by the blaze of their nocturnal fires.*

Far different was the state of the Christians; who, with loud and impotent complaints, deplored the guilt, or the punishment, of their sins. The celestial image of the Virgin had been exposed in solemn procession; but their divine patroness was deaf to their entreaties: they accused the obstinacy of the emperor for refusing a timely surrender; anticipated the horrors of their fate; and sighed for the repose and security of Turkish servitude. The noblest of the Greeks, and the bravest of the allies, were summoned to the palace, to prepare them, on the evening of the twenty-eighth, for the duties and dangers of the general assault.

Last farewell of the emperor and the Greeks.

confounded the Pleiads with the great bear or waggon, the zodiac with a northern constellation:—

"Αρματοί θ' ἦν καὶ ἔμαζαν ἐπίκλησιν κακίστων. Π. Σ. 487.

⁵⁴ Phranza quarrels with these Moslem acclamations, not for the name of God, but for that of the prophet: the pious zeal of Voltaire is excessive, and even ridiculous.

* The picture is heightened by the interior of the city. Von Hammer, p. 539.—M.
sleeson, which were heard from the dark

The last speech of Palæologus was the funeral oration of the Roman empire: ⁵⁵ he promised, he conjured, and he vainly attempted to infuse the hope which was extinguished in his own mind. In this world all was comfortless and gloomy; and neither the Gospel nor the church have proposed any conspicuous recompense to the heroes who fall in the service of their country. But the example of their prince, and the confinement of a siege, had armed these warriors with the courage of despair; and the pathetic scene is described by the feelings of the historian Phranza, who was himself present at this mournful assembly. They wept, they embraced: regardless of their families and fortunes, they devoted their lives; and each commander, departing to his station, maintained all night a vigilant and anxious watch on the rampart. The emperor, and some faithful companions, entered the dome of St. Sophia, which in a few hours was to be converted into a mosque; and devoutly received, with tears and prayers, the sacrament of the holy communion. He reposed some moments in the palace, which resounded with cries and lamentations; solicited the pardon of all whom he might have injured; ⁵⁶ and mounted on horseback to visit the guards, and explore the motions of the enemy. The distress and fall of the last Constantine are more glorious than the long prosperity of the Byzantine Cæsars.^a

In the confusion of darkness an assailant may sometimes succeed; but in this great and general attack, the military judgment and astrological knowledge of Mahomet advised him to expect the morning, the memorable twenty-ninth of May, in the fourteen hundred and fifty-third year of the Christian æra. The preceding night had been strenuously employed: the troops, the cannon, and the fascines were advanced to the edge of the ditch, which in many parts presented a smooth and level passage to the breach; and his fourscore galleys almost touched, with the prows and their scaling ladders, the less defensible walls of the harbour. Under pain of death, silence was enjoined; but the physical laws of motion and sound are not obedient to discipline or fear: each individual

The general
assault,
May 29.

⁵⁵ I am afraid that this discourse was composed by Phranza himself; and it smells so grossly of the sermon and the convent, that I almost doubt whether it was pronounced by Constantine. Léonardus assigns him another speech, in which he addresses himself more respectfully to the Latin auxiliaries.

⁵⁶ This abasement, which devotion has sometimes extorted from dying princes, is an improvement of the Gospel doctrine of the forgiveness of injuries: it is more easy to forgive 490 times than once to ask pardon of an inferior.

^a Compare the very curious Armenian p. 308). The author thus ends his poem:—
elegy on the fall of Constantinople, translated by M. Boré, in the *Journal Asiatique* for March, 1835; and by M. Brosset, in the new edition of *Le Beau* (tom. xxi. “I Abraham, loaded with sins, have composed this elegy with the most lively sorrow; for I have seen Constantinople in the days of its glory.”—M.

might suppress his voice and measure his footsteps; but the march and labour of thousands must inevitably produce a strange confusion of dissonant clamours, which reached the ears of the watchmen of the towers. At daybreak, without the customary signal of the morning gun, the Turks assaulted the city by sea and land; and the similitude of a twined or twisted thread has been applied to the closeness and continuity of their line of attack.⁵⁷ The foremost ranks consisted of the refuse of the host, a voluntary crowd who fought without order or command; of the feebleness of age or childhood, of peasants and vagrants, and of all who had joined the camp in the blind hope of plunder and martyrdom. The common impulse drove them onwards to the wall; the most audacious to climb were instantly precipitated; and not a dart, not a bullet, of the Christians, was idly wasted on the accumulated throng. But their strength and ammunition were exhausted in this laborious defence: the ditch was filled with the bodies of the slain; they supported the footsteps of their companions; and of this devoted vanguard the death was more serviceable than the life. Under their respective bashaws and sanjaks, the troops of Anatolia and Romania were successively led to the charge: their progress was various and doubtful; but, after a conflict of two hours, the Greeks still maintained and improved their advantage; and the voice of the emperor was heard, encouraging his soldiers to achieve, by a last effort, the deliverance of their country. In that fatal moment the Janizaries arose, fresh, vigorous, and invincible. The sultan himself on horseback, with an iron mace in his hand, was the spectator and judge of their valour; he was surrounded by ten thousand of his domestic troops, whom he reserved for the decisive occasion; and the tide of battle was directed and impelled by his voice and eye. His numerous ministers of justice were posted behind the line, to urge, to restrain, and to punish; and if danger was in the front, shame and inevitable death were in the rear, of the fugitives. The cries of fear and of pain were drowned in the martial music of drums, trumpets, and attaballs; and experience has proved that the mechanical operation of sounds, by quickening the circulation of the blood and spirits, will act on the human machine more forcibly than the eloquence of reason and honour. From the lines, the galleys, and the bridge, the Ottoman artillery thundered on all sides; and the camp and city, the Greeks and the Turks, were involved in a cloud of smoke, which could only be dispelled by the final deliverance or destruction of the Roman empire. The single combats of the heroes of history or fable amuse our fancy and engage our affections:

⁵⁷ Besides the 10,000 guards, and the sailors and the marines, Ducas numbers in this general assault 250,000 Turks, both horse and foot [c. 39, p. 283, ed. Bonn].

the skilful evolutions of war may inform the mind, and improve a necessary, though pernicious, science. But in the uniform and odious pictures of a general assault, all is blood, and horror, and confusion; nor shall I strive, at the distance of three centuries and a thousand miles, to delineate a scene of which there could be no spectators, and of which the actors themselves were incapable of forming any just or adequate idea.

The immediate loss of Constantinople may be ascribed to the bullet, or arrow, which pierced the gauntlet of John Justiniani. The sight of his blood, and the exquisite pain, appalled the courage of the chief, whose arms and counsels were the firmest rampart of the city. As he withdrew from his station in quest of a surgeon, his flight was perceived and stopped by the indefatigable emperor. "Your wound," exclaimed Palæologus, "is slight; the danger is pressing: your presence is necessary; and whither will you retire?"—"I will retire," said the trembling Genoese, "by the same road which God has opened to the Turks;" and at these words he hastily passed through one of the breaches of the inner wall. By this pusillanimous act he stained the honours of a military life; and the few days which he survived in Galata, or the isle of Chios, were embittered by his own and the public reproach.⁵⁸ His example was imitated by the greatest part of the Latin auxiliaries, and the defence began to slacken when the attack was pressed with redoubled vigour. The number of the Ottomans was fifty, perhaps a hundred, times superior to that of the Christians; the double walls were reduced by the cannon to a heap of ruins: in a circuit of several miles some places must be found more easy of access, or more feebly guarded; and if the besiegers could penetrate in a single point, the whole city was irrecoverably lost. The first who deserved the sultan's reward

⁵⁸ In the severe censure of the flight of Justiniani, Phranza expresses his own feelings and those of the public. For some private reasons he is treated with more lenity and respect by Ducas; but the words of Leonardus Chiensis express his strong and recent indignation, *gloriæ salutis sui que oblitus*. In the whole series of their Eastern policy, his countrymen, the Genoese, were always suspected, and often guilty."

* M. Brosset has given some extracts from the Georgian account of the siege of Constantinople, in which Justiniani's wound in the left foot is represented as more serious. With charitable ambiguity the chronicler adds that his soldiers carried him away with them in their vessel.—M.

Mr. Finlay remarks that the dialogue between Constantine and Justiniani is evidently a rhetorical invention. None of the historians were present, and those

who were on the spot could hardly have reported a conversation with accuracy at such a moment. The conduct of Justiniani hardly deserves the censure that has been cast upon it. He appears to have received a mortal wound; and he was probably made the scapegoat of the lukewarmness or cowardice of the orthodox, who ought to have crowded to the walls to support their emperor. Finlay, *Byzantine Empire*, vol. ii. p. 647.—S.

was Hassan the Janizary, of gigantic stature and strength. With his scimitar in one hand and his buckler in the other, he ascended the outward fortification: of the thirty Janizaries who were emulous of his valour, eighteen perished in the bold adventure. Hassan and his twelve companions had reached the summit: the giant was precipitated from the rampart: he rose on one knee, and was again oppressed by a shower of darts and stones. But his success had proved that the achievement was possible: the walls and towers were instantly covered with a swarm of Turks; and the Greeks, now driven from the vantage ground, were overwhelmed by increasing multitudes. Amidst these multitudes, the emperor,⁵⁹ who accomplished all the duties of a general and a soldier, was long seen and finally lost. The nobles, who fought round his person, sustained, till their last breath, the honourable names of Palæologus and Cantacuzene: his mournful exclamation was heard, "Cannot there be found " a Christian to cut off my head?"⁶⁰ and his last fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the infidels.⁶¹ The prudent despair of Constantine cast away the purple: amidst the tumult he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of the slain. After his death resistance and order were no more: the Greeks fled towards the city; and many were pressed and stifled in the narrow pass of the gate of St. Romanus. The victorious Turks rushed through the breaches of the inner wall; and as they advanced into the streets, they were soon joined by their brethren, who had forced the gate Phenar on the side of the harbour.⁶² In the first heat of the pursuit about two thousand Christians were put to the sword; but avarice soon prevailed over cruelty; and the victors acknowledged that they should immediately have given quarter, if the valour of the emperor and his chosen bands

Death of the
emperor
Constantine
Palæologus.

⁵⁹ Ducas kills him with two blows of Turkish soldiers; Chalcocondyles wounds him in the shoulder, and then tramples him in the gate. The grief of Phranza, carrying him among the enemy, escapes from the precise image of his death; but we may, without flattery, apply these noble lines of Dryden:—

As to Sebastian, let them search the field;
And, where they find a mountain of the slain,
Send one to climb, and, looking down beneath,
There they will find him at his manly length,
With his face up to heaven, in that red monument
Which his good sword had digg'd.

⁶⁰ Spondanus (A.D. 1453, No. 10), who has hopes of his salvation, wishes to absolve this demand from the guilt of suicide.

⁶¹ Leonardus Chiensis very properly observes that the Turks, had they known the emperor, would have laboured to save and secure a captive so acceptable to the sultan.

⁶² Cantemir, p. 96. The Christian ships in the mouth of the harbour had flanked and retarded this naval attack:

had not prepared them for a similar opposition in every part of the capital. It was thus, after a siege of fifty-three days, that Constantinople, which had defied the power of Chosroes, the Chagan, and the caliphs, was irretrievably subdued by the arms of Mahomet the Second. Her empire only had been subverted by the Latins: her religion was trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors.⁶³

Loss of the city and empire.

The tidings of misfortune fly with a rapid wing; yet such was the extent of Constantinople, that the more distant quarters might prolong, some moments, the happy ignorance of their ruin.⁶⁴ But in the general consternation, in the feelings of selfish or social anxiety, in the tumult and thunder of the assault, a *sleepless* night and morning* must have elapsed; nor can I believe that many Grecian ladies were awakened by the Janizaries from a sound and tranquil slumber. On the assurance of the public calamity, the houses and convents were instantly deserted; and the trembling inhabitants flocked together in the streets, like a herd of timid animals, as if accumulated weakness could be productive of strength, or in the vain hope that amid the crowd each individual might be safe and invisible. From every part of the capital they flowed into the church of St. Sophia: in the space of an hour, the sanctuary, the choir, the nave, the upper and lower galleries, were filled with the multitudes of fathers and husbands, of women and children, of priests, monks, and religious virgins: the doors were barred on the inside, and they sought protection from the sacred dome which they had so lately abhorred as a profane and polluted edifice. Their confidence was founded on the prophecy of an enthusiast or impostor, that one day the Turks would enter Constantinople, and pursue the Romans as far as the column of Constantine in the square before St. Sophia: but that this would be the term of their calamities; that an angel would descend from heaven with a sword in his hand, and would deliver the empire, with that celestial weapon, to a poor man seated at the foot of the column. "Take

The Turks enter and pillage Constantinople.

⁶³ Chalcocondyles most absurdly supposes that Constantinople was sacked by the Asiatics in revenge for the ancient calamities of Troy [l. viii. p. 403, ed. Bonn]; and the grammarians of the xvth century are happy to melt down the uncouth appellation of Turks into the more classical name of *Teucri*.

⁶⁴ When Cyrus surprised Babylon during the celebration of a festival, so vast was the city, and so careless were the inhabitants, that much time elapsed before the distant quarters knew that they were captives. Herodotus (l. i. c. 191), and Usher Annal. p. 78), who has quoted from the prophet Jeremiah a passage of similar import.

* This refers to an expression in Ducas, "sleep resting on the eyes of youths and who, to heighten the effect of his descriptor, speaks of the "sweet morning
"maidens:" p. 288, edit. Bekker.—M.

“this sword,” would he say, “and avenge the people of the Lord.” At these animating words the Turks would instantly fly, and the victorious Romans would drive them from the West, and from all Anatolia, as far as the frontiers of Persia. It is on this occasion that Ducas, with some fancy and much truth, upbraids the discord and obstinacy of the Greeks. “Had that angel appeared,” exclaims the historian, “had he offered to exterminate your foes if you would consent to the union of the church, even then, in that fatal moment, you would have rejected your safety, or have deceived your God.”⁶⁵

While they expected the descent of the tardy angel, the doors were broken with axes; and as the Turks encountered no resistance, their bloodless hands were employed in selecting and securing the multitude of their prisoners. Youth, beauty, and the appearance of wealth, attracted their choice; and the right of property was decided among themselves by a prior seizure, by personal strength, and by the authority of command. In the space of an hour the male captives were bound with cords, the females with their veils and girdles. The senators were linked with their slaves; the prelates with the porters of the church; and young men of a plebeian class with noble maids whose faces had been invisible to the sun and their nearest kindred. In this common captivity the ranks of society were confounded; the ties of nature were cut asunder; and the inexorable soldier was careless of the father's groans, the tears of the mother, and the lamentations of the children. The loudest in their wailings were the nuns, who were torn from the altar with naked bosoms, outstretched hands, and dishevelled hair; and we should piously believe that few could be tempted to prefer the vigils of the haram to those of the monastery. Of these unfortunate Greeks, of these domestic animals, whole strings were rudely driven through the streets; and as the conquerors were eager to return for more prey, their trembling pace was quickened with menaces and blows. At the same hour a similar rapine was exercised in all the churches and monasteries, in all the palaces and habitations, of the capital; nor could any place, however sacred or sequestered, protect the persons or the property of the Greeks. Above sixty thousand of this devoted people were transported from the city to the camp and fleet; exchanged or sold according to the caprice or interest of their masters, and dispersed in remote servitude through the provinces of the Ottoman empire. Among these we may notice some remarkable

⁶⁵ This lively description is extracted from Ducas (c. 39 [p. 291, ed. Bonn]), who, two years afterwards, was sent ambassador from the prince of Lesbos to the sultan (c. 44). Till Lesbos was subdued in 1463 (Phranza, l. iii. c. 27), that island must have been full of the fugitives of Constantinople, who delighted to repeat, perhaps to adorn, the tale of their misery.

characters. The historian Phranza, first chamberlain and principal secretary, was involved with his family in the common lot. After suffering four months the hardships of slavery, he recovered his freedom: in the ensuing winter he ventured to Adrianople, and ransomed his wife from the *mir bashi*, or master of the horse; but his two children, in the flower of youth and beauty, had been seized for the use of Mahomet himself. The daughter of Phranza died in the seraglio, perhaps a virgin: his son, in the fifteenth year of his age, preferred death to infamy, and was stabbed by the hand of the royal lover.⁶⁶ A deed thus inhuman cannot surely be expiated by the taste and liberality with which he released a Grecian matron and her two daughters, on receiving a Latin ode from Philéppus, who had chosen a wife in that noble family.⁶⁷ The pride or cruelty of Mahomet would have been most sensibly gratified by the capture of a Roman legate; but the dexterity of Cardinal Isidore eluded the search, and he escaped from Galata in a plebeian habit.⁶⁸ The chain and entrance of the outward harbour was still occupied by the Italian ships of merchandise and war. They had signalled their valour in the siege: they embraced the moment of retreat, while the Turkish mariners were dissipated in the pillage of the city. When they hoisted sail, the beach was covered with a suppliant and lamentable crowd; but the means of transportation were scanty; the Venetians and Genoese selected their countrymen; and, notwithstanding the fairest promises of the sultan, the inhabitants of Galata evacuated their houses, and embarked with their most precious effects.

In the fall and the sack of great cities an historian is condemned to repeat the tale of uniform calamity: the same effects must be produced by the same passions; and when those passions may be indulged without control, small, alas! is the difference between civilised and savage man. Amidst the vague exclamation

Amount of the spoil.

⁶⁶ See Phranza, l. iii. c. 20, 21. His expressions are positive: *Ameras sua mand jugulavit volebat enim eo turpiter et nefarie abuti. Me miserum et infelicem!* Yet he could only learn from report the bloody or impure scenes that were acted in the dark recesses of the seraglio.

⁶⁷ See Tiraboschi (tom. vi. P. i. p. 290) and Lancelot (*Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. x. p. 718). I should be curious to learn how he could praise the public enemy, whom he so often reviles as the most corrupt and inhuman of tyrants.

⁶⁸ The Commentaries of Pius II. suppose that he craftily placed his cardinal's hat on the head of a corpse which was cut off and exposed in triumph, while the legate himself was bought and delivered as a captive of no value. The great Belgic Chronicle adorns his escape with new adventures, which he suppressed (says Spondanus, A.D. 1453, No. 15) in his own letters, lest he should lose the merit and reward of suffering for Christ.*

* He was sold as a slave in Galata, according to Von Hammer, p. 560. See letter of Cardinal Isidore in the appendix to Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. p. 653.—M. the somewhat vague and declamatory

tions of bigotry and hatred, the Turks are not accused of a wanton or immoderate effusion of Christian blood: but according to their maxims (the maxims of antiquity), the lives of the vanquished were forfeited; and the legitimate reward of the conqueror was derived from the service, the sale, or the ransom of his captives of both sexes.⁶⁹ The wealth of Constantinople had been granted by the sultan to his victorious troops; and the rapine of an hour is more productive than the industry of years. But as no regular division was attempted of the spoil, the respective shares were not determined by merit; and the rewards of valour were stolen away by the followers of the camp, who had declined the toil and danger of the battle. The narrative of their depredations could not afford either amusement or instruction: the total amount, in the last poverty of the empire, has been valued at four millions of ducats;⁷⁰ and of this sum a small part was the property of the Venetians, the Genoese, the Florentines, and the merchants of Ancona. Of these foreigners the stock was improved in quick and perpetual circulation: but the riches of the Greeks were displayed in the idle ostentation of palaces and wardrobes, or deeply buried in treasures of ingots and old coin, lest it should be demanded at their hands for the defence of their country. The profanation and plunder of the monasteries and churches excited the most tragic complaints. The dome of St. Sophia itself, the earthly heaven, the second firmament, the vehicle of the cherubim, the throne of the glory of God,⁷¹ was despoiled of the oblations of ages; and the gold and silver, the pearls and jewels, the vases and sacerdotal ornaments, were most wickedly converted to the service of mankind. After the divine images had been stripped of all that could be valuable to a profane eye, the canvas, or the wood, was torn, or broken, or burnt, or trod under foot, or applied, in the stables or the kitchen, to the vilest uses. The example of sacrilege was imitated, however, from the Latin conquerors of Constantinople; and the treatment which Christ, the Virgin, and the saints had sustained from the guilty Catholic, might be inflicted by the zealous Musulman on the monuments of idolatry. Perhaps, instead of joining the public clamour, a philosopher will observe that in the decline of the arts the workmanship could not be more valuable than the work, and that a fresh supply of visions and miracles would speedily be renewed by the craft of the priest and the

⁶⁹ Busbequius expatiates with pleasure and applause on the rights of war and the use of slavery among the ancients and the Turks (*de Legat. Turcicâ, Epist. iii. p. 161*).

⁷⁰ This sum is specified in a marginal note of Leunclavius (*Chalcocondyles, l. viii. p. 211*); but, in the distribution to Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Ancona, of 50, 20, 23, and 15,000 ducats, I suspect that a figure has been dropped. Even with the restitution, the foreign property would scarcely exceed one-fourth.

⁷¹ See the enthusiastic praises and lamentations of Phranza (*l. iii. c. 17*).

credulity of the people. He will more seriously deplore the loss of the Byzantine libraries, which were destroyed or scattered in the general confusion: one hundred and twenty thousand manuscripts are said to have disappeared; ⁷³ ten volumes might be purchased for a single ducat; and the same ignominious price, too high perhaps for a shelf of theology, included the whole works of Aristotle and Homer, the noblest productions of the science and literature of ancient Greece. We may reflect with pleasure that an inestimable portion of our classic treasures was safely deposited in Italy; and that the mechanics of a German town had invented an art which derides the havoc of time and barbarism.

From the first hour ⁷³ of the memorable twenty-ninth of May, disorder and rapine prevailed in Constantinople till the eighth hour of the same day, when the sultan himself passed in triumph through the gate of St. Romanus. He was attended by his vizirs, bashaws, and guards, each of whom (says a Byzantine historian) was robust as Hercules, dexterous as Apollo, and equal in battle to any ten of the race of ordinary mortals. The conqueror ⁷⁴ gazed with satisfaction and wonder on the strange though splendid appearance of the domes and palaces, so dissimilar from the style of Oriental architecture. In the hippodrome, or *atmeidan*, his eye was attracted by the twisted column of the three serpents; and, as a trial of his strength, he shattered with his iron mace or battle-axe the under jaw of one of these monsters, ⁷⁵ which in the eyes of the Turks were the idols or talismans of the city.* At the principal door of St. Sophia he alighted from his horse and entered the dome; and such was his jealous regard for that monument of his glory, that, on observing a zealous Musulman in the act of breaking the marble pavement, he admonished him with his scimitar that, if the spoil and captives were granted to the soldiers, the public and private buildings had been reserved for the prince. By his command the metropolis of the Eastern church was transformed into a mosque: the rich and portable instruments of superstition had been

⁷³ See Ducas (c. 42 [p. 312, ed. Bonn]), and an epistle, July 15th, 1453, from Laurus Quirinus to Pope Nicholas V. (Hody de Græcia, p. 192, from a MS. in the Cotton library).

⁷⁴ The Julian calendar, which reckons the days and hours from midnight, was used at Constantinople. But Ducas seems to understand the natural hours from sunrise.

⁷⁵ See the Turkish Annals, p. 329, and the Pandects of Leunclavius, p. 448.

⁷⁶ I have had occasion (vol. ii. p. 298) to mention this curious relic of Grecian antiquity.

* Von Hammer passes over this circumstance, which is treated by Dr. Clarke (Travels, vol. ii. p. 58, 4to. edit.) as a fiction of Thévenot. Chishull states that the monument was broken by some attendants of the Polish ambassador.—M.

removed; the crosses were thrown down; and the walls, which were covered with images and mosaics, were washed and purified, and restored to a state of naked simplicity. On the same day, or on the ensuing Friday, the *muezzin*, or crier, ascended the most lofty turret, and proclaimed the *ezan*, or public invitation, in the name of God and his prophet; the imam preached; and Mahomet the Second performed the *namaz* of prayer and thanksgiving on the great altar, where the Christian mysteries had so lately been celebrated before the last of the Cæsars.⁷⁶ From St. Sophia he proceeded to the august but desolate mansion of an hundred successors of the great Constantine, but which in a few hours had been stripped of the pomp of royalty. A melancholy reflection on the vicissitudes of human greatness forced itself on his mind, and he repeated an elegant distich of Persian poetry: "The spider has wove his web in the Imperial palace, and the owl hath sung her watch-song on the towers of Afrasiab."⁷⁷

Yet his mind was not satisfied, nor did the victory seem complete, till he was informed of the fate of Constantine—whether he had escaped, or been made prisoner, or had fallen in the battle. Two Janizaries claimed the honour and reward of his death: the body, under a heap of slain, was discovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his shoes; the Greeks acknowledged with tears the head of their late emperor; and, after exposing the bloody trophy,⁷⁸ Mahomet bestowed on his rival the honours of a decent funeral. After his decease Lucas Notaras, great duke⁷⁹ and first minister of the empire, was the most important prisoner. When he offered his person and his treasures at the foot of the throne, "And why," said the indignant sultan, "did you not employ these treasures in the defence of your prince and country?"—"They were yours," answered the slave; "God had reserved them for your hands."—"If he reserved them for me," replied the despot, "how have you presumed to withhold them so long by a fruitless and fatal resistance?" The great duke alleged the obstinacy of the

His behaviour to the Greeks.

⁷⁶ We are obliged to Cantemir (p. 102) for the Turkish account of the conversion of St. Sophia, so bitterly deplored by Phranza and Ducas. It is amusing enough to observe in what opposite lights the same object appears to a Musulman and a Christian eye.

⁷⁷ This distich, which Cantemir gives in the original, derives new beauties from the application. It was thus that Scipio repeated, in the sack of Carthage, the famous prophecy of Homer. The same generous feeling carried the mind of the conqueror to the past or the future.

⁷⁸ I cannot believe with Ducas (see Spondanus, A. D. 1453, No. 13) that Mahomet sent round Persia, Arabia, &c., the head of the Greek emperor: he would surely content himself with a trophy less inhuman.

⁷⁹ Phranza was the personal enemy of the great duke; nor could time, or death, or his own retreat to a monastery, extort a feeling of sympathy or forgiveness. Ducas is inclined to praise and pity the martyr; Chalcocondyles is neuter, but we are indebted to him for the hint of the Greek conspiracy.

strangers, and some secret encouragement from the Turkish vizir; and from this perilous interview he was at length dismissed with the assurance of pardon and protection. Mahomet condescended to visit his wife, a venerable princess oppressed with sickness and grief; and his consolation for her misfortunes was in the most tender strain of humanity and filial reverence. A similar clemency was extended to the principal officers of state, of whom several were ransomed at his expense; and during some days he declared himself the friend and father of the vanquished people. But the scene was soon changed, and before his departure the hippodrome streamed with the blood of his noblest captives. His perfidious cruelty is execrated by the Christians: they adorn with the colours of heroic martyrdom the execution of the great duke and his two sons, and his death is ascribed to the generous refusal of delivering his children to the tyrant's lust.* Yet a Byzantine historian has dropped an unguarded word of conspiracy, deliverance, and Italian succour: such treason may be glorious; but the rebel who bravely ventures, has justly forfeited his life; nor should we blame a conqueror for destroying the enemies whom he can no longer trust. On the eighteenth of June the victorious sultan returned to Adrianople, and smiled at the base and hollow embassies of the Christian princes, who viewed their approaching ruin in the fall of the Eastern empire.

Constantinople had been left naked and desolate, without a prince or a people. But she could not be despoiled of the incomparable situation which marks her for the metropolis of a great empire; and the genius of the place will ever triumph over the accidents of time and fortune. Bursa and Adrianople, the ancient seats of the Ottomans, sunk into provincial towns; and Mahomet the Second established his own residence and that of his successors on the same commanding spot which had been chosen by Constantine.⁶⁰ The fortifications of Galata, which might afford a shelter to the Latins, were prudently destroyed; but the damage of the Turkish cannon was soon repaired, and before the month of August great quantities of lime had been burnt for the restoration of the walls of the capital. As the entire property of the soil and

He repeoples
and adorns
Constanti-
nople.

⁶⁰ For the restitution of Constantinople and the Turkish foundations, see Cantemir (p. 102-109), Ducas (c. 42 [p. 317, ed. Bonn]), with Thévenot, Tournefort, and the rest of our modern travellers. From a gigantic picture of the greatness, population, &c., of Constantinople and the Ottoman empire (Abrégé de l'Histoire Ottomane, tom. i. p. 18-21), we may learn that, in the year 1586, the Moslems were less numerous in the capital than the Christians, or even the Jews.

* Von Hammer relates this undoubtingly, and apparently on good authority, p. 559.—M.

buildings, whether public or private, or profane or sacred, was now transferred to the conqueror, he first separated a space of eight furlongs from the point of the triangle for the establishment of his seraglio or palace. It is here, in the bosom of luxury, that the *Grand Signor* (as he has been emphatically named by the Italians) appears to reign over Europe and Asia; but his person on the shores of the Bosphorus may not always be secure from the insults of an hostile navy. In the new character of a mosque, the cathedral of St. Sophia was endowed with an ample revenue, crowned with lofty minarets, and surrounded with groves and fountains for the devotion and refreshment of the Moslems. The same model was imitated in the *jami*, or royal mosques; and the first of these was built by Mahomet himself, on the ruins of the church of the holy apostles and the tombs of the Greek emperors. On the third day after the conquest the grave of Abou Ayub, or Job, who had fallen in the first siege of the Arabs, was revealed in a vision; and it is before the sepulchre of the martyr that the new sultans are girded with the sword of empire.⁸¹ Constantinople no longer appertains to the Roman historian; nor shall I enumerate the civil and religious edifices that were profaned or erected by its Turkish masters: the population was speedily renewed, and before the end of September five thousand families of Anatolia and Romania had obeyed the royal mandate, which enjoined them, under pain of death, to occupy their new habitations in the capital. The throne of Mahomet was guarded by the numbers and fidelity of his Moslem subjects; but his rational policy aspired to collect the remnant of the Greeks, and they returned in crowds as soon as they were assured of their lives, their liberties, and the free exercise of their religion. In the election and investiture of a patriarch the ceremonial of the Byzantine court was revived and imitated. With a mixture of satisfaction and horror, they beheld the sultan on his throne, who delivered into the hands of Gennadius the crosier or pastoral staff, the symbol of his ecclesiastical office; who conducted the patriarch to the gate of the seraglio, presented him with a horse richly caparisoned, and directed the vizirs and bashaws to lead him to the palace which had been allotted for his residence.⁸² Tho

⁸¹ The *Turbe*, or sepulchral monument of Abou Ayub, is described and engraved in the *Tableau Générale de l'Empire Ottoman* (Paris, 1787, in large folio), a work of less use, perhaps, than magnificence (tom. i. p. 305, 306).

⁸² Phranza (l. iii. c. 19) relates the ceremony, which has possibly been adorned in the Greek reports to each other, and to the Latins. The fact is confirmed by Emanuel Malaxus, who wrote, in vulgar Greek, the *History of the Patriarchs after the taking of Constantinople*, inserted in the *Turco-Græcia* of Crusius (l. v. p. 106-184). But the most patient reader will not believe that Mahomet adopted the Catholic form, "Sancta Trinitas quæ mihi donavit imperium te in patriarcham novæ Romæ deligit."

churches of Constantinople were shared between the two religions: their limits were marked; and, till it was infringed by Selim, the grandson of Mahomet, the Greeks⁸³ enjoyed above sixty years the benefit of this equal partition. Encouraged by the ministers of the divan, who wished to elude the fanaticism of the sultan, the Christian advocates presumed to allege that this division had been an act, not of generosity, but of justice; not a concession, but a compact; and that, if one-half of the city had been taken by storm, the other moiety had surrendered on the faith of a sacred capitulation. The original grant had indeed been consumed by fire; but the loss was supplied by the testimony of three aged Janizaries who remembered the transaction, and their venal oaths are of more weight in the opinion of Cantemir than the positive and unanimous consent of the history of the times.⁸⁴

The remaining fragments of the Greek kingdom in Europe and Asia I shall abandon to the Turkish arms; but the final extinction of the two last dynasties⁸⁵ which have reigned in Constantinople should terminate the decline and fall of the Roman empire in the East. The despots of the Morea, Demetrius and Thomas,⁸⁶ the two surviving brothers of the name of PALÆOLOGUS, were astonished by the death of the emperor Constantine and the ruin of the monarchy. Hopeless of defence, they prepared, with the noble Greeks who adhered to their fortune, to seek a refuge in Italy, beyond the reach of the Ottoman thunder. Their first apprehensions were dispelled by the victorious sultan, who contented himself with a tribute of twelve thousand ducats; and while his ambition explored the continent and the islands in search of prey, he indulged the Morea in a respite of seven years. But this respite was a period of grief, discord, and misery. The *hexamilion*, the

Extinction
of the
Imperial
families of
Comnenus
and Palæo-
logus.

⁸³ From the Turco-Græcia of Crusius, &c., Spondanus (A.D. 1453, No. 21; 1458, No. 16) describes the slavery and domestic quarrels of the Greek church. The patriarch who succeeded Gennadius threw himself in despair into a well.

⁸⁴ Cantemir (p. 101-105) insists on the unanimous consent of the Turkish historians, ancient as well as modern, and argues that they would not have violated the truth to diminish their national glory, since it is esteemed more honourable to take a city by force than by composition. But, 1. I doubt this consent, since he quotes no particular historian; and the Turkish Annals of Leunclavius affirm, without exception, that Mahomet took Constantinople *per vim* (p. 329). 2. The same argument may be turned in favour of the Greeks of the times, who would not have forgotten this honourable and salutary treaty. Voltaire, as usual, prefers the Turks to the Christians.

⁸⁵ For the genealogy and fall of the Comneni of Trebizond, see Ducange (Fam. Byzant. p. 185); for the last Palæologi, the same accurate antiquarian (p. 244, 247, 248). The Palæologi of Montferrat were not extinct till the next century, but they had forgotten their Greek origin and kindred.

⁸⁶ In the worthless story of the disputes and misfortunes of the two brothers, Phranza (l. iii. c. 21-30) is too partial on the side of Thomas; Ducas (c. 44, 45) is too brief, and Chalcocondyles (l. viii. ix. x.) too diffuse and digressive.

rampart of the isthmus, so often raised and so often subverted, could not long be defended by three hundred Italian archers: the keys of Corinth were seized by the Turks; they returned from their summer excursions with a train of captives and spoil, and the complaints of the injured Greeks were heard with indifference and disdain. The Albanians, a vagrant tribe of shepherds and robbers, filled the peninsula with rapine and murder: the two despots implored the dangerous and humiliating aid of a neighbouring bashaw; and when he had quelled the revolt, his lessons inculcated the rule of their future conduct. Neither the ties of blood, nor the oaths which they repeatedly pledged in the communion and before the altar, nor the stronger pressure of necessity, could reconcile or suspend their domestic quarrels. They ravaged each other's patrimony with fire and sword; the alms and succours of the West were consumed in civil hostility, and their power was only exerted in savage and arbitrary executions. The distress and revenge of the weaker rival invoked their supreme lord; and, in the season of maturity and revenge, Mahomet declared himself the friend of Demetrius, ^{Loss of the Morea, A.D. 1460;} and marched into the Morea with an irresistible force.

When he had taken possession of Sparta, "You are too weak," said the sultan, "to control this turbulent province; I will take your daughter to my bed, and you shall pass the remainder of your life in security and honour." Demetrius sighed and obeyed; surrendered his daughter and his castles, followed to Adrianople his sovereign and son, and received for his own maintenance and that of his followers a city in Thrace, and the adjacent isles of Imbros, Lemnos, and Samothrace. He was joined the next year by a companion^a of misfortune, the last of the COMNENIAN race, who, after the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, had founded a new empire on the coast of the Black Sea.⁶⁷ In the progress of his Anatolian conquests, Mahomet invested with a fleet and army the capital of David, who presumed to style himself emperor of Trebizond;⁶⁸ and

⁶⁷ See the loss or conquest of Trebizond in Chalcocondyles (l. ix. p. 263-266 [p. 494-498, ed. Bonn]), Ducas (c. 45 [p. 343, ed. Bonn]), Phranza (l. iii. c. 27), and Cantemir (p. 107).

⁶⁸ Though Tournefort (tom. iii. lettre xvii. p. 179) speaks of Trebizond as *mal peuplée*, Peyssonel, the latest and most accurate observer, can find 100,000 inhabitants (Commerce de la Mer Noire, tom. ii. p. 72; and, for the province, p. 53-90). Its prosperity and trade are perpetually disturbed by the factious quarrels of two *odas* of Janizaries, in one of which 30,000 Lazi are commonly enrolled (Mémoires de Tott, tom. iii. p. 16, 17).

^a Kalo-Johannes, the predecessor of David his brother, the last emperor of Trebizond, had attempted to organise a confederacy against Mahomet; it comprehended Hassan Bei, sultan of Mesopotamia, the Christian princes of Georgia and Iberia, the emir of Sinope, and the sultan of Caramania. The negotiations were interrupted by his sudden death, A.D. 1458. Fallmerayer, p. 257-260.—M.

the negociation was comprised in a short and peremptory question, "Will you secure your life and treasures by resigning your kingdom? or had you rather forfeit your kingdom, your treasures, and your life?" The feeble Comnenus was subdued by his own fears,^a and the example of a Musulman neighbour, the prince of Sinope,⁸⁹ who, on a similar summons, had yielded a fortified city with four hundred cannon and ten or twelve thousand soldiers. The capitulation of Trebizond was faithfully performed,^b and the emperor, with his family, was transported to a castle in Rumania; but on a slight suspicion of corresponding with the Persian king, David, and the whole Comnenian race, were sacrificed to the jealousy or avarice of the conqueror.^c Nor could the name of father long protect the unfortunate Demetrius from exile and confiscation: his abject submission moved the pity and contempt of the sultan; his followers were transplanted to Constantinople, and his poverty was alleviated by a pension of fifty thousand aspers, till a monastic habit and a tardy death released Palæologus from an earthly master. It is not easy to pronounce whether the servitude of Demetrius, or the exile of his brother Thomas,⁹⁰ be the most inglorious. On the conquest of the Morea the despot escaped to Corfu, and from thence to Italy, with some naked adherents: his name, his sufferings, and the head of the apostle St. Andrew, entitled him to the hospitality of the Vatican; and his misery was prolonged by a pension of six thousand ducats from the pope and cardinals. His two sons, Andrew and Manuel; were educated in Italy; but the eldest, contemptible to his enemies and burdensome to his friends, was degraded by the baseness of his life and marriage. A title was his sole inheritance; and that inheritance he successively sold to the kings of France and Arragon.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Ismael Beg, prince of Sinope or Sinople, was possessed (chiefly from his copper-mines) of a revenue of 200,000 ducats (Chalcocond. l. ix. p. 258, 259 [p. 489, ed. Bonn]) Peyssonel (Commerce de la Mer Noire, tom. ii. p. 100) ascribes to the modern city 60,000 inhabitants. This account seems enormous; yet it is by trading with a people that we become acquainted with their wealth and numbers.

⁹⁰ Spondanus (from Gobelin Comment. Pii II. l. v.) relates the arrival and reception of the despot Thomas at Rome (A.D. 1461, No. 3).

⁹¹ By an act dated A.D. 1494, Sept. 6, and lately transmitted from the archives of the Capitol to the royal library of Paris, the despot Andrew Palæologus, reserving the

^a According to the Georgian account of these transactions (translated by M. Brosset, additions to Le Beau, vol. xxi. p. 325) the emperor of Trebizond humbly entreated the sultan to have the goodness to marry one of his daughters.—M.

^b M. Boissonade has published, in the fifth volume of his *Anecdota Græca* (p. 287, 401), a very interesting letter from George Amiroutzes, protovestiarus of

Trebizond, to Basarion, describing the surrender of Trebizond and the fate of its chief inhabitants.—M.

^c See in Von Hammer, vol. ii. p. 60, the striking account of the mother, the empress Helena the Cantacuzene, who, in defiance of the edict, like that of Creon in the Greek tragedy, dug the grave for her murdered children with her own hand, and sank into it herself.—M

During his transient prosperity, Charles the Eighth was ambitious of joining the empire of the East with the kingdom of Naples: in a public festival he assumed the appellation and the purple of *Augustus*; the Greeks rejoiced, and the Ottoman already trembled, at the approach of the French chivalry.⁹² Manuel Palæologus, the second son, was tempted to revisit his native country: his return might be grateful, and could not be dangerous, to the Porte; he was maintained at Constantinople in safety and ease, and an honourable train of Christians and Moslems attended him to the grave. If there be some animals of so generous a nature that they refuse to propagate in a domestic state, the last of the Imperial race must be ascribed to an inferior kind: he accepted from the sultan's liberality two beautiful females, and his surviving son was lost in the habit and religion of a Turkish slave.

The importance of Constantinople was felt and magnified in its loss: the pontificate of Nicholas the Fifth, however peaceful and prosperous, was dishonoured by the fall of the Eastern empire; and the grief and terror of the Latins revived, or seemed to revive, the old enthusiasm of the crusades. In one of the most distant countries of the West, Philip duke of Burgundy entertained, at Lisle in Flanders, an assembly of his nobles; and the pompous pageants of the feast were skilfully adapted to their fancy and feelings.⁹³ In the midst of the banquet a gigantic Saracen entered the hall, leading a fictitious elephant with a castle on his back: a matron in a mourning robe, the symbol of religion, was seen to issue from the castle: she deplored her oppression, and accused the slowness of her champions: the principal herald of the golden fleece advanced, bearing on his fist a live pheasant, which, according to the rites of chivalry, he presented to the duke. At this extraordinary summons, Philip, a wise and aged prince, engaged his person and powers in the holy war against the Turks: his example was imitated by the barons and knights of the assembly: they swore to God, the Virgin, the ladies, and the *pheasant*; and their particular

Grief and
terror of
Europe,
A.D. 1453.

Morea, and stipulating some private advantages, conveys to Charles VIII. king of France the empires of Constantinople and Trebizond (Spondanus, A.D. 1495, No. 2). M. de Foncemagne (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xvii, p. 539-578) has bestowed a dissertation on this national title, of which he had obtained a copy from Rome.

⁹² See Philippe de Comines (l. vii. c. 14), who reckons with pleasure the number of Greeks who were prepared to rise, 60 miles of an easy navigation, eighteen days' journey from Valona to Constantinople, &c. On this occasion the Turkish empire was saved by the policy of Venice.

⁹³ See the original feast in Olivier de la Marche (Mémoires, P. i. c. 29, 30), with the abstract and observations of M. de Ste. Palaye (Mémoires sur la Chevalerie, tom. i. P. iii. p. 182-185). The peacock and the pheasant were distinguished as royal birds.

vows were not less extravagant than the general sanction of their oath. But the performance was made to depend on some future and foreign contingency; and during twelve years, till the last hour of his life, the duke of Burgundy might be scrupulously, and perhaps sincerely, on the eve of his departure. Had every breast glowed with the same ardour; had the union of the Christians corresponded with their bravery; had every country from Sweden⁹⁴ to Naples supplied a just proportion of cavalry and infantry, of men and money, it is indeed probable that Constantinople would have been delivered, and that the Turks might have been chased beyond the Hellespont or the Euphrates. But the secretary of the emperor, who composed every epistle, and attended every meeting, Æneas Sylvius,⁹⁵ a statesman and orator, describes from his own experience the repugnant state and spirit of Christendom. "It is a body," says he, "without a head; a republic without laws or magistrates. The pope and the emperor may shine as lofty titles, as splendid images; but *they* are unable to command, and none are willing to obey: every state has a separate prince, and every prince has a separate interest. What eloquence could unite so many discordant and hostile powers under the same standard? Could they be assembled in arms, who would dare to assume the office of general? What order could be maintained?—what military discipline? Who would undertake to feed such an enormous multitude? Who would understand their various languages, or direct their stranger and incompatible manners? What mortal could reconcile the English with the French, Genoa with Arragon, the Germans with the natives of Hungary and Bohemia? If a small number enlisted in the holy war, they must be overthrown by the infidels: if many, by their own weight and confusion." Yet the same Æneas, when he was raised to the papal throne, under the name of Pius the Second, devoted his life to the prosecution of the Turkish war. In the council of Mantua he excited some sparks of a false or feeble enthusiasm; but when the pontiff appeared at Ancona, to embark in person with the troops, engagements vanished in excuses; a precise day was adjourned to an indefinite term; and his effective army consisted of some German pilgrims, whom he was obliged to disband with indulgences and alms. Regardless of futurity, his successors and the powers of Italy

⁹⁴ It was found, by an actual enumeration, that Sweden, Gothland, and Finland contained 1,800,000 fighting men, and consequently were far more populous than at present.

⁹⁵ In the year 1454 Spondanus has given, from Æneas Sylvius, a view of the state of Europe, enriched with his own observations. That valuable annalist, and the Italian Muratori, will continue the series of events from the year 1453 to 1481, the end of Mahomet's life and of this chapter.

were involved in the schemes of present and domestic ambition; and the distance or proximity of each object determined in their eyes its apparent magnitude. A more enlarged view of their interest would have taught them to maintain a defensive and naval war against the common enemy; and the support of Scanderbeg and his brave Albanians might have prevented the subsequent invasion of the kingdom of Naples. The siege and sack of Otranto by the Turks diffused a general consternation; and Pope Sixtus was preparing to fly beyond the Alps, when the storm was instantly dispelled by the death of Mahomet the Second, in the fifty-first year of his age.⁹⁶ His lofty genius aspired to the conquest of Italy: he was possessed of a strong city and a capacious harbour, and the same reign might have been decorated with the trophies of the New and the Ancient Rome.⁹⁷

Death of
Mahomet II.
A.D. 1481,
May 3, or
July 2.

⁹⁶ Besides the two annalists, the reader may consult Giannone (*Istoria Civile*, tom. iii. p. 449-455) for the Turkish invasion of the kingdom of Naples. For the reign and conquests of Mahomet II. I have occasionally used the *Memorie Istoriche de' Monarchi Ottomanni di Giovanni Sagredo* (Venezia, 1677, in 4to.). In peace and war the Turks have ever engaged the attention of the republic of Venice. All her despatches and archives were open to a procurator of St. Mark, and Sagredo is not contemptible either in sense or style. Yet he too bitterly hates the infidels: he is ignorant of their language and manners; and his narrative, which allows only seventy pages to Mahomet II. (p. 69-140), becomes more copious and authentic as he approaches the years 1640 and 1644, the term of the historic labours of John Sagredo.

⁹⁷ As I am now taking an everlasting farewell of the Greek empire, I shall briefly mention the great collection of Byzantine writers whose names and testimonies have been successively repeated in this work. The Greek presses of Aldus and the Italians were confined to the classics of a better age; and the first rude editions of Procopius, Agathias, Cedrenus, Zonaras, &c., were published by the learned diligence of the Germans. The whole Byzantine series (xxxvi. volumes in folio) has gradually issued (A.D. 1648, &c.) from the royal press of the Louvre, with some collateral aid from Rome and Leipsic; but the Venetian edition (A.D. 1729), though cheaper and more copious, is not less inferior in correctness than in magnificence to that of Paris. The merits of the French editors are various; but the value of Anna Comnena, Cinnamus, Villehardouin, &c., is enhanced by the historical notes of Charles du Fresne du Cange. His supplemental works, the Greek Glossary, the Constantinopolis Christiana, the *Familia Byzantinæ*, diffuse a steady light over the darkness of the Lower Empire.*

* The new edition of the Byzantines, projected by Niebuhr, and continued under the patronage of the Prussian government, is the most convenient in size, and contains some authors (Leo Diaconus, Johannes Lydus, Corippus, the new fragments of Dexippus, Eunapius, &c., discovered by Mai) which could not be comprised in the former collections;

but the names of such editors as Bekker, the Dindorfs, &c., raised hopes of something more than the mere republication of the text, and the notes of former editors. Little, I regret to say, has been added of annotation, and, in some cases, the old incorrect versions have been retained.—M.

CHAPTER LXIX.

STATE OF ROME FROM THE TWELFTH CENTURY. — TEMPORAL DOMINION OF THE POPES. — SEDITIONS OF THE CITY. — POLITICAL HERESY OF ARNOLD OF BRESCIA. — RESTORATION OF THE REPUBLIC. — THE SENATORS. — PRIDE OF THE ROMANS. — THEIR WARS. — THEY ARE DEPRIVED OF THE ELECTION AND PRESENCE OF THE POPES, WHO RETIRE TO AVIGNON. — THE JUBILEE. — NOBLE FAMILIES OF ROME. — FEUD OF THE COLONNA AND URSINI.

In the first ages of the decline and fall of the Roman empire our eye is invariably fixed on the royal city, which had given laws to the fairest portion of the globe. We contemplate her fortunes, at first with admiration, at length with pity, always with attention; and when that attention is diverted from the Capitol to the provinces, they are considered as so many branches which have been successively severed from the Imperial trunk. The foundation of a second Rome, on the shores of the Bosphorus, has compelled the historian to follow the successors of Constantine; and our curiosity has been tempted to visit the most remote countries of Europe and Asia, to explore the causes and the authors of the long decay of the Byzantine monarchy. By the conquests of Justinian we have been recalled to the banks of the Tiber, to the deliverance of the ancient metropolis; but that deliverance was a change, or perhaps an aggravation, of servitude. Rome had been already stripped of her trophies, her gods, and her Cæsars; nor was the Gothic dominion more inglorious and oppressive than the tyranny of the Greeks. In the eighth century of the Christian æra a religious quarrel, the worship of images, provoked the Romans to assert their independence: their bishop became the temporal, as well as the spiritual, father of a free people; and of the Western empire, which was restored by Charlemagne, the title and image still decorate the singular constitution of modern Germany. The name of Rome must yet command our involuntary respect: the climate (whatsoever may be its influence) was no longer the same:¹ the

¹ The abbé Dubos, who, with less genius than his successor Montesquieu, has asserted and magnified the influence of climate, objects to himself the degeneracy of the Romans and Batavians. To the first of these examples he replies, 1. That the change is less real than apparent, and that the modern Romans prudently conceal in themselves the virtues of their ancestors. 2. That the air, the soil, and the climate

purity of blood had been contaminated through a thousand channels; but the venerable aspect of her ruins, and the memory of past greatness, rekindled a spark of the national character. The darkness of the middle ages exhibits some scenes not unworthy of our notice. Nor shall I dismiss the present work till I have reviewed the state and revolutions of the ROMAN CITY, which acquiesced under the absolute dominion of the popes about the same time that Constantinople was enslaved by the Turkish arms.

In the beginning of the twelfth century,^a the æra of the first crusade, Rome was revered by the Latins as the metropolis of the world, as the throne of the pope and the emperor, who, from the eternal city, derived their title, their honours, and the right or exercise of temporal dominion. After so long an interruption it may not be useless to repeat that the successors of Charlemagne and the Othos were chosen beyond the Rhine in a national diet; but that these princes were content with the humble names of kings of Germany and Italy till they had passed the Alps and the Apennine, to seek their Imperial crown on the banks of the Tiber.^b At some distance from the city their approach was saluted by a long procession of the clergy and people with palms and crosses; and the terrific emblems of wolves and lions, of dragons and eagles, that floated in the military banners, represented the departed legions and cohorts of the republic. The royal oath to maintain the liberties of Rome was thrice reiterated, at the bridge, the gate, and on the stairs of the Vatican; and the distribution of a customary donative feebly imitated the magnificence of the first Cæsars. In the church of St. Peter the coronation was performed by his successor: the voice of God was confounded with that of the people; and the public consent was declared in the acclamations of "Long life and victory to our lord the pope! long life and victory to our lord the emperor! long life and victory to the Roman and Teutonic armies!"^c The names of Cæsar and Augustus, the laws

The French
and German
emperors of
Rome,
A.D.
800-1100.

of Rome have suffered a great and visible alteration (*Réflexions sur la Poésie et sur la Peinture*, part ii. sect. 16).^a

^b The reader has been so long absent from Rome that I would advise him to recollect or review the xlixth chapter of this History.

^c The coronation of the German emperors at Rome, more especially in the xith century, is best represented from the original monuments by Muratori (*Antiquitat. Italiz mediæ Ævi*, tom. i. dissertat. ii. p. 99, &c.) and Cenni (*Monument. Domin. Pontif. tom. ii. diss. vi. p. 261*), the latter of whom I only know from the copious extract of Schmidt (*Hist. des Allemands*, tom. iii. p. 255-266).

^d *Exercitui Romano et Teutonico!* The latter was both seen and felt; but the former was no more than magni nominis umbra.

^a This question is discussed at considerable length in Dr. Arnold's *History of Rome*, ch. xxiii. See likewise Bunsen's *Dissertation on the Aria Cattiva*. *Rome Beschreibung*, p. 82, 108.—M.

of Constantine and Justinian, the example of Charlemagne and Otho, established the supreme dominion of the emperors: their title and image was engraved on the papal coins;^o and their jurisdiction was marked by the sword of justice, which they delivered to the præfect of the city. But every Roman prejudice was awakened by the name, the language, and the manners of a barbarian lord. The Cæsars of Saxony or Franconia were the chiefs of a feudal aristocracy; nor could they exercise the discipline of civil and military power, which alone secures the obedience of a distant people, impatient of servitude, though perhaps incapable of freedom. Once, and once only, in his life, each emperor, with an army of Teutonic vassals, descended from the Alps. I have described the peaceful order of his entry and coronation; but that order was commonly disturbed by the clamour and sedition of the Romans, who encountered their sovereign as a foreign invader: his departure was always speedy, and often shameful; and, in the absence of a long reign, his authority was insulted and his name was forgotten. The progress of independence in Germany and Italy undermined the foundations of the Imperial sovereignty, and the triumph of the popes was the deliverance of Rome.

Of her two sovereigns, the emperor had precariously reigned by the right of conquest; but the authority of the pope was founded on the soft though more solid basis of opinion and habit. The removal of a foreign influence restored and endeared the shepherd to his flock. Instead of the arbitrary or venal nomination of a German court, the vicar of Christ was freely chosen by the college of cardinals, most of whom were either natives or inhabitants of the city. The applause of the magistrates and people confirmed his election; and the ecclesiastical power that was obeyed in Sweden and Britain had been ultimately derived from the suffrage of the Romans. The same suffrage gave a prince, as well as a pontiff, to the capital. It was universally believed that Constantine had invested the popes with the temporal dominion of Rome; and the boldest civilians, the most profane sceptics, were satisfied with disputing the right of the emperor and the validity of his gift. The truth of the fact, the authenticity of his donation, was deeply rooted in the ignorance and tradition of four centuries; and the fabulous origin was lost in the real and permanent effects. The name of *Dominus*, or Lord, was inscribed on the coin of the bishops:

^o Muratori has given the series of the papal coins (*Antiquitat. tom. ii. diss. xxvii. p. 548-554*). He finds only two more early than the year 800: fifty are still extant from Leo III. to Leo IX. with the addition of the reigning emperor; none remain of Gregory VII. or Urban II.; but in those of Paschal II. he seems to have renounced this badge of dependence.

their title was acknowledged by acclamations and oaths of allegiance, and, with the free or reluctant consent of the German Cæsars, they had long exercised a supreme or subordinate jurisdiction over the city and patrimony of St. Peter. The reign of the popes, which gratified the prejudices, was not incompatible with the liberties of Rome; and a more critical inquiry would have revealed a still nobler source of their power—the gratitude of a nation whom they had rescued from the heresy and oppression of the Greek tyrant. In an age of superstition it should seem that the union of the royal and sacerdotal characters would mutually fortify each other, and that the keys of Paradise would be the surest pledge of earthly obedience. The sanctity of the office might indeed be degraded by the personal vices of the man. But the scandals of the tenth century were obliterated by the austere and more dangerous virtues of Gregory the Seventh and his successors; and in the ambitious contests which they maintained for the rights of the church, their sufferings or their success must equally tend to increase the popular veneration. They sometimes wandered in poverty and exile, the victims of persecution; and the apostolic zeal with which they offered themselves to martyrdom must engage the favour and sympathy of every Catholic breast. And sometimes, thundering from the Vatican, they created, judged, and deposed the kings of the world; nor could the proudest Roman be disgraced by submitting to a priest whose feet were kissed and whose stirrup was held by the successors of Charlemagne.⁶ Even the temporal interest of the city should have protected in peace and honour the residence of the popes, from whence a vain and lazy people derived the greatest part of their subsistence and riches. The fixed revenue of the popes was probably impaired: many of the old patrimonial estates, both in Italy and the provinces, had been invaded by sacrilegious hands; nor could the loss be compensated by the claim, rather than the possession, of the more ample gifts of Pepin and his descendants. But the Vatican and Capitol were nourished by the incessant and increasing swarms of pilgrims and suppliants: the pale of Christianity was enlarged, and the pope and cardinals were overwhelmed by the judgment of ecclesiastical and secular causes. A new jurisprudence had established in the Latin church the right and practice of appeals;⁷ and from the North and West the bishops and

⁶ See Ducange, *Gloss. mediæ et infimæ Latinitat.* tom. vi. p. 364, 365, STAFFA. This homage was paid by kings to archbishops, and by vassals to their lords (Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 262); and it was the nicest policy of Rome to confound the marks of filial and of feudal subjection.

⁷ The appeals from all the churches to the Roman pontiff are deplored by the zeal of St. Bernard (*de Consideratione*, l. iii. tom. ii. p. 431-442, edit. Mabillon, Venet.

abbots were invited or summoned to solicit,* to complain, to accuse, or to justify, before the threshold of the apostles. A rare prodigy is once recorded, that two horses, belonging to the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, repassed the Alps, yet laden with gold and silver ;⁸ but it was soon understood that the success, both of the pilgrims and clients, depended much less on the justice of their cause than on the value of their offering. The wealth and piety of these strangers were ostentatiously displayed, and their expenses, sacred or profane, circulated in various channels for the emolument of the Romans.

Such powerful motives should have firmly attached the voluntary and pious obedience of the Roman people to their spiritual and temporal father. But the operation of prejudice and interest is often disturbed by the sallies of ungovernable passion. The Indian who fells the tree that he may gather the fruit,⁹ and the Arab who plunders the caravans of commerce, are actuated by the same impulse of savage nature, which overlooks the future in the present, and relinquishes for momentary rapine the long and secure possession of the most important blessings. And it was thus that the shrine of St. Peter was profaned by the thoughtless Romans, who pillaged the offerings and wounded the pilgrims, without computing the number and value of similar visits, which they prevented by their inhospitable sacrilege. Even the influence of superstition is fluctuating and precarious ; and the slave, whose reason is subdued, will often be delivered by his avarice or pride. A credulous devotion for the fables and oracles of the priesthood most powerfully acts on the mind of a barbarian ; yet such a mind is the least capable of preferring imagination to sense, of sacrificing to a distant motive, to an invisible, perhaps an ideal object, the appetites and interests of the present world. In the vigour of health and youth, his practice will perpetually contradict his belief, till the pressure of age, or sickness, or calamity, awakens his terrors, and compels him to satisfy the double debt of piety and remorse. I have already observed that the modern times of religious indifference are the most favourable to the peace and security of the clergy. Under the reign of superstition they had much to hope from the ignorance, and much to fear from

1750) and the judgment of Fleury (*Discours sur l'Hist. Ecclésiastique*, iv. et vii.). But the saint, who believed in the false decretals, condemns only the abuse of these appeals; the more enlightened historian investigates the origin and rejects the principles of this new jurisprudence.

⁸ Germanici . . . summari non levatis sarcinis onusti nihilominus repatriant invit. Nova res! quando hactenus aurum Roma refudit! Et nuno Romanorum consilio id usurpatum non credimus (*Bernard de Consideratione*, l. iii. c. 3, p. 437). The first words of the passage are obscure, and probably corrupt.

⁹ Quand les sauvages de la Louisiane veulent avoir du fruit, ils coupent l'arbre au pied et cueillent le fruit. Voilà le gouvernement despotique (*Esprit des Loix*, l. v. c. 13); and passion and ignorance are always despotic.

the violence, of mankind. The wealth, whose constant increase must have rendered them the sole proprietors of the earth, was alternately bestowed by the repentant father and plundered by the rapacious son: their persons were adored or violated; and the same idol, by the hands of the same votaries, was placed on the altar or trampled in the dust. In the feudal system of Europe, arms were the title of distinction and the measure of allegiance; and amidst their tumult the still voice of law and reason was seldom heard or obeyed. The turbulent Romans disdained the yoke and insulted the impotence of their bishop;¹⁰ nor would his education or character allow him to exercise, with decency or effect, the power of the sword. The motives of his election and the frailties of his life were exposed to their familiar observation; and proximity must diminish the reverence which his name and his decrees impressed on a barbarous world. This difference has not escaped the notice of our philosophic historian: "Though the name and authority of the court of Rome were so terrible in the remote countries of Europe, which were sunk in profound ignorance and were entirely unacquainted with its character and conduct, the pope was so little revered at home, that his inveterate enemies surrounded the gates of Rome itself, and even controlled his government in that city; and the ambassadors, who from a distant extremity of Europe carried to him the humble, or rather abject, submissions of the greatest potentate of the age, found the utmost difficulty to make their way to him and to throw themselves at his feet."¹¹

Since the primitive times the wealth of the popes was exposed to envy, their power to opposition, and their persons to violence. But the long hostility of the mitre and the crown increased the numbers and inflamed the passions of their enemies. The deadly factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines, so fatal to Italy, could never be embraced with truth or constancy by the Romans, the

Successors of
Gregory VII.
A.D.
1086-1305.

¹⁰ In a free conversation with his countryman Adrian IV., John of Salisbury accuses the avarice of the pope and clergy: *Provinciarum diripiunt spolia, ac si thesauros Croesi studeant reparare. Sed recte cum eis agit Altissimus, quoniam et ipsi aliis et sæpe villissimis hominibus dati sunt in direptionem* (de Nugis Curialium, l. vi. c. 24, p. 387). In the next page he blames the rashness and infidelity of the Romans, whom their bishops vainly strove to conciliate by gifts instead of virtues. It is pity that this miscellaneous writer has not given us less morality and erudition, and more pictures of himself and the times.

¹¹ Hume's History of England, vol. i. p. 419. The same writer has given us from Fitz-Stephen a singular act of cruelty perpetrated on the clergy by Geoffrey, the father of Henry II. "When he was master of Normandy the chapter of Seez presumed, without his consent, to proceed to the election of a bishop: upon which he ordered all of them, with the bishop elect, to be castrated, and made all their testicles be brought him in a platter." Of the pain and danger they might justly complain; yet, since they had vowed chastity, he deprived them of a superfluous treasure.

subjects and adversaries both of the bishop and emperor; but their support was solicited by both parties, and they alternately displayed in their banners the keys of St. Peter and the German eagle. Gregory the Seventh, who may be adored or detested as the founder of the papal monarchy, was driven from Rome, and died in exile at Salerno. Six-and-thirty of his successors,¹² till their retreat to Avignon, maintained an unequal contest with the Romans: their age and dignity were often violated; and the churches, in the solemn rites of religion, were polluted with sedition and murder. A repetition¹³ of such capricious brutality, without connection or design, would be tedious and disgusting; and I shall content myself with some events

Paschal II.
A.D.
1099-1118.

of the twelfth century which represent the state of the popes and the city. On Holy Thursday, while Paschal officiated before the altar, he was interrupted by the clamours of the multitude, who imperiously demanded the confirmation of a favourite magistrate. His silence exasperated their fury: his pious refusal to mingle the affairs of earth and heaven was encountered with menaces and oaths that he should be the cause and the witness of the public ruin. During the festival of Easter, while the bishop and the clergy, barefoot and in procession, visited the tombs of the martyrs, they were twice assaulted, at the bridge of St. Angelo and before the Capitol, with volleys of stones and darts. The houses of his adherents were levelled with the ground: Paschal escaped with difficulty and danger; he levied an army in the patrimony of St. Peter, and, his last days were embittered by suffering and inflicting the calamities of civil war.

Gelasius II.
A.D.
1118, 1119.

The scenes that followed the election of his successor Gelasius the Second were still more scandalous to the church and city. Cencio Frangipani,¹⁴ a potent and factious baron, burst into the assembly furious and in arms: the cardinals were stripped, beaten, and trampled under foot; and he seized, without

¹² From Leo IX. and Gregory VII. an authentic and contemporary series of the lives of the popes by the cardinal of Arragon, Pandulphus Pisanus, Bernard Guido, &c., is inserted in the Italian Historians of Muratori (tom. iii. P. i. p. 277-685), and has been always before my eyes.

¹³ The dates of years in the margin may throughout this chapter be understood as tacit references to the Annals of Muratori, my ordinary and excellent guide. He uses, and indeed quotes with the freedom of a master, his great Collection of the Italian Historians in xxviii. volumes; and as that treasure is in my library, I have thought it an amusement, if not a duty, to consult the originals.

¹⁴ I cannot refrain from transcribing the high-coloured words of Pandulphus Pisanus (p. 384): Hoc audiens inimicus pacis atque turbator jam fatus Centius Frangipane, more draconis immanissimi sibilans, et ab imis pectoribus trahens longa suspiria, accinctus retro gladio sine more ecurrit, valvas ac fores confregit. Ecclesiam furibundus introiit, inde custode remoto papam per gulam accepit, distraxit, pugnis calcibusque percussit, et tanquam brutum animal intra lumen ecclesie acriter calcaribus cruentavit; et latro tantum dominum per capillos et brachia, Jesu bono internum dormiente, detraxit, ad domum usque deduxit, inibi catenavit et inclusit.

pity or respect, the vicar of Christ by the throat. Gelasius was dragged by his hair along the ground, buffeted with blows, wounded with spurs, and bound with an iron chain in the house of his brutal tyrant. An insurrection of the people delivered their bishop: the rival families opposed the violence of the Frangipani; and Cencio, who sued for pardon, repented of the failure, rather than of the guilt, of his enterprise. Not many days had elapsed when the pope was again assaulted at the altar. While his friends and enemies were engaged in a bloody contest, he escaped in his sacerdotal garments. In this unworthy flight, which excited the compassion of the Roman matrons, his attendants were scattered or unhorsed; and, in the fields behind the church of St. Peter, his successor was found alone and half dead with fear and fatigue. Shaking the dust from his feet, the *apostle* withdrew from a city in which his dignity was insulted and his person was endangered; and the vanity of sacerdotal ambition is revealed in the involuntary confession that one emperor was more tolerable than twenty.¹⁵ These examples might suffice; but I cannot forget the sufferings of two pontiffs of the same age, the second and third of the name of Lucius. The former, as he ascended Lucius II.
A.D.
1144, 1145. in battle-array to assault the Capitol, was struck on the temple by a stone, and expired in a few days; the latter Lucius III.
A.D.
1181-1185. was severely wounded in the persons of his servants. In a civil commotion several of his priests had been made prisoners; and the inhuman Romans, reserving one as a guide for his brethren, put out their eyes, crowned them with ludicrous mitres, mounted them on asses with their faces to the tail, and extorted an oath that, in this wretched condition, they should offer themselves as a lesson to the head of the church. Hope or fear, lassitude or remorse, the characters of the men and the circumstances of the times, might sometimes obtain an interval of peace and obedience; and the pope was restored with joyful acclamations to the Lateran or Vatican, from whence he had been driven with threats and violence. But the root of mischief was deep and perennial; and a momentary calm was preceded and followed by such tempests as had almost sunk the bark of St. Peter. Rome continually presented the aspect of war and discord: the churches and palaces were fortified and assaulted by the factions and families; and, after giving peace to Europe, Calistus II.
A.D.
1119-1124. Calistus the Second alone had resolution and power to prohibit the use of private arms in the metropolis. Among Innocent II.
A.D.
1130-1143. the nations who revered the apostolic throne, the tumults of Rome provoked a general indignation; and, in a letter to his disciple

¹⁵ Ego coram Deo et Ecclesiâ dico, si unquam possibile esset, malle unum imperatorem quam tot dominos (Vit. Gelas. II. p. 398).

Eugenius the Third, St. Bernard, with the sharpness of his wit and zeal, has stigmatised the vices of the rebellious people.¹⁶ “Who is ignorant,” says the monk of Clairvaux, “of the vanity and arrogance of the Romans? a nation nursed in sedition, cruel, untractable, and scorning to obey, unless they are too feeble to resist. When they promise to serve, they aspire to reign; if they swear allegiance, they watch the opportunity of revolt; yet they vent their discontent in loud clamours if your doors or your counsels are shut against them. Dexterous in mischief, they have never learnt the science of doing good. Odious to earth and heaven, impious to God, seditious among themselves, jealous of their neighbours, inhuman to strangers, they love no one, by no one are they beloved; and while they wish to inspire fear, they live in base and continual apprehension. They will not submit: they know not how to govern; faithless to their superiors, intolerable to their equals, ungrateful to their benefactors, and alike impudent in their demands and their refusals. Lofty in promise, poor in execution: adulation and calumny, perfidy and treason, are the familiar arts of their policy.” Surely this dark portrait is not coloured by the pencil of Christian charity;¹⁷ yet the features, however harsh and ugly, express a lively resemblance of the Romans of the twelfth century.¹⁸

The Jews had rejected the Christ when he appeared among them in a plebeian character; and the Romans might plead their ignorance of his vicar when he assumed the pomp and pride of a temporal sovereign. In the busy age of the crusades some sparks of curiosity and reason were rekindled in the Western world: the heresy of Bulgaria, the Paulician sect, was successfully transplanted into the soil of Italy and France; the Gnostic visions were mingled with the simplicity of the Gospel; and the enemies of the clergy reconciled their passions with their conscience, the desire of freedom with the profession of piety.¹⁹ The trumpet of

Political
heresy of
Arnold of
Brescia,
A.D. 1140.

¹⁶ *Quid tam notum seculis quam protervia et cervicositas Romanorum? Gens insueta paci, tumultui assueta, gens immitis et intractabilis usque adhuc, subdi nescia, nisi cum non valet resistere (de Considerat. l. iv. c. 2, p. 441). The saint takes breath, and then begins again: Hi, invisi terræ et celo, utriusque injecere manus, &c. (p. 443).*

¹⁷ As a Roman citizen, Petrarch takes leave to observe that Bernard, though a saint, was a man; that he might be provoked by resentment, and possibly repent of his hasty passion, &c. (*Mémoires sur la Vie de Pétrarque, tom. i. p. 330.*)

¹⁸ Baronius, in his index to the xiiith volume of his *Annals*, has found a fair and easy excuse. He makes two heads, of *Romani Catholicici* and *Schismatici*: to the former he applies all the good, to the latter all the evil, that is told of the city.

¹⁹ The heresies of the xiith century may be found in Mosheim (*Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 419-427*), who entertains a favourable opinion of Arnold of Brescia. In the xiith volume I have described the sect of the Paulicians, and followed their migration from Armenia to Thrace and Bulgaria, Italy and France.

Roman liberty was first sounded by Arnold of Brescia,²⁰ whose promotion in the church was confined to the lowest rank, and who wore the monastic habit rather as a garb of poverty than as a uniform of obedience. His adversaries could not deny the wit and eloquence which they severely felt: they confess with reluctance the specious purity of his morals; and his errors were recommended to the public by a mixture of important and beneficial truths. In his theological studies he had been the disciple of the famous and unfortunate Abelard,²¹ who was likewise involved in the suspicion of heresy: but the lover of Eloisa was of a soft and flexible nature; and his ecclesiastic judges were edified and disarmed by the humility of his repentance. From this master Arnold most probably imbibed some metaphysical definitions of the Trinity, repugnant to the taste of the times: his ideas of baptism and the eucharist are loosely censured; but a *political* heresy was the source of his fame and misfortunes. He presumed to quote the declaration of Christ, that his kingdom is not of this world: he boldly maintained that the sword and the sceptre were intrusted to the civil magistrate; that temporal honours and possessions were lawfully vested in secular persons; that the abbots, the bishops, and the pope himself, must renounce either their state or their salvation; and that, after the loss of their revenues, the voluntary tithes and oblations of the faithful would suffice, not indeed for luxury and avarice, but for a frugal life in the exercise of spiritual labours. During a short time the preacher was revered as a patriot; and the discontent, or revolt, of Brescia against her bishop, was the first fruits of his dangerous lessons. But the favour of the people is less permanent than the resentment of the priest; and after the heresy of Arnold had been condemned by Innocent the Second,²² in the general council of the Lateran, the magistrates themselves were urged by

²⁰ The original pictures of Arnold of Brescia are drawn by Otho bishop of Frisingen (Chron. l. vii. c. 31, de Gestis Frederici I. l. i. c. 27, l. ii. c. 21), and in the iiid book of the Ligurinus, a poem of Gunther, who flourished A.D. 1200, in the monastery of Paris near Basil (Fabric. Biblioth. Latin. med. et infimæ ætatis, tom. iii. p. 174, 175). The long passage that relates to Arnold is produced by Guilliman (de Rebus Helveticis, l. iii. c. 5, p. 108).^a

²¹ The wicked wit of Bayle was amused in composing, with much levity and learning, the articles of ABELARD, FOULQUES, HELOISE, in his Dictionnaire Critique. The dispute of Abelard and St. Bernard, of scholastic and positive divinity, is well understood by Mosheim (Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 412-415).

²² ———— Damnatu ab illo
Præsule, qui numeros vetitum contingere nostros
Nomen ab *innocent* ducit laudabile vitæ.

We may applaud the dexterity and correctness of Ligurinus, who turns the unpoetical name of Innocent II. into a compliment.

^a Compare Franke, Arnold von Brescia und seine Zeit. Zürich, 1825.—M.

prejudice and fear to execute the sentence of the church. Italy could no longer afford a refuge; and the disciple of Abelard escaped beyond the Alps, till he found a safe and hospitable shelter in Zürich, now the first of the Swiss cantons. From a Roman station,²³ a royal villa, a chapter of noble virgins, Zürich had gradually increased to a free and flourishing city; where the appeals of the Milanese were sometimes tried by the Imperial commissaries.²⁴ In an age less ripe for reformation the precursor of Zuinglius was heard with applause: a brave and simple people imbibed, and long retained, the colour of his opinions; and his art, or merit, seduced the bishop of Constance, and even the pope's legate, who forgot, for his sake, the interest of their master and their order. Their tardy zeal was quickened by the fierce exhortations of St. Bernard;²⁵ and the enemy of the church was driven by persecution to the desperate measure of erecting his standard in Rome itself, in the face of the successor of St. Peter.

Yet the courage of Arnold was not devoid of discretion: he was protected, and had perhaps been invited, by the nobles and people; and in the service of freedom his eloquence thundered over the seven hills. Blending in the same discourse the texts of Livy and St. Paul, uniting the motives of Gospel and of classic enthusiasm, he admonished the Romans how strangely their patience and the vices of the clergy had degenerated from the primitive times of the church and the city. He exhorted them to assert the inalienable rights of men and Christians; to restore the laws and magistrates of the republic; to respect the *name* of the emperor; but to confine their shepherd to the spiritual government of his flock.²⁶ Nor could his spiritual government escape the censure

He exhorts
the Romans
to restore
the republic,
A. D.
1144-1154.

²³ A Roman inscription of *Statio Turicensis* has been found at Zürich (D'Anville, *Notice de l'Ancienne Gaul*, p. 642-644); but it is without sufficient warrant that the city and canton have usurped, and even monopolised, the names of *Tigurum* and *Pagus Tigurinus*.

²⁴ Guilliman (*de Rebus Helveticis*, l. iii. c. 5, p. 106) recapitulates the donation (A. D. 833) of the emperor Lewis the Pious to his daughter the Abbess Hildegardis. *Curtim nostram Turegum in ducatu Alamannie in pago Durgaugensi*, with villages, woods, meadows, waters, slaves, churches, &c.—a noble gift. Charles the Bald gave the *jus monetæ*, the city was walled under Otho I., and the line of the bishop of Frisingen,

Nobile Turegum multarum copia rerum,

is repeated with pleasure by the antiquaries of Zürich.

²⁵ Bernard, *Epistol.* cxcv. cxevi. tom. i. p. 187-190. Amidst his invectives he drops a precious acknowledgment, *qui, utinam quam sanæ esset doctrinæ quam districtæ est vitæ. He owns that Arnold would be a valuable acquisition for the church.*

²⁶ He advised the Romans,

*Consiliis armisque sua moderamina summa
Arbitrio tractare suo: nil juris in hæc re
Pontifici summo, modicum concedere regi
Suadebat populo. Sic læsâ stultus utraque
Majestate, reum geminæ se fecerat aulis.*

Nor is the poetry of Gunther different from the prose of Otho.

and control of the reformer; and the inferior clergy were taught by his lessons to resist the cardinals, who had usurped a despotic command over the twenty-eight regions or parishes of Rome.²⁷ The revolution was not accomplished without rapine and violence, the effusion of blood and the demolition of houses: the victorious faction was enriched with the spoils of the clergy and the adverse nobles. Arnold of Brescia enjoyed, or deplored, the effects of his mission: his reign continued above ten years, while two popes, Innocent the Second and Anastasius the Fourth, either trembled in the Vatican or wandered as exiles in the adjacent cities. They were succeeded by a more vigorous and fortunate pontiff, Adrian the Fourth,²⁸ the only Englishman who has ascended the throne of St. Peter; and whose merit emerged from the mean condition of a monk, and almost a beggar, in the monastery of St. Albans. On the first provocation, of a cardinal killed or wounded in the streets, he cast an interdict on the guilty people: and from Christmas to Easter Rome was deprived of the real or imaginary comforts of religious worship. The Romans had despised their temporal prince; they submitted with grief and terror to the censures of their spiritual father: their guilt was expiated by penance, and the banishment of the seditious preacher was the price of their absolution. But the revenge of Adrian was yet unsatisfied, and the approaching coronation of Frederic Barbarossa was fatal to the bold reformer, who had offended, though not in an equal degree, the heads of the church and state. In their interview at Viterbo, the pope represented to the emperor the furious, ungovernable spirit of the Romans: the insults, the injuries, the fears, to which his person and his clergy were continually exposed; and the pernicious tendency of the heresy of Arnold, which must subvert the principles of civil, as well as ecclesiastical, subordination. Frederic was convinced by these arguments, or tempted by the desire of the Imperial crown; in the balance of ambition the innocence or life of an individual is of small account; and their common enemy was sacrificed to a moment of political concord. After his retreat from Rome, Arnold had been protected by the viscounts of Campania; from whom he was extorted by the power of Cæsar: the præfect of the city pronounced his sentence: the martyr of freedom was burnt alive in the presence of a careless and ungrateful people; and his ashes were cast into the Tiber, lest the heretics should collect and

His execu-
tion,
A.D. 1155.

²⁷ See Baronius (A.D. 1148, No. 38, 39) from the Vatican MSS. He loudly condemns Arnold (A.D. 1141, No. 3) as the father of the political heretics, whose influence then hurt him in France.

²⁸ The English reader may consult the Biographia Britannica, ADRIAN IV.; but our own writers have added nothing to the fame or merits of their countryman.

worship the relics of their master.²⁹ The clergy triumphed in his death: with his ashes his sect was dispersed; his memory still lived in the minds of the Romans. From his school they had probably derived a new article of faith, that the metropolis of the Catholic church is exempt from the penalties of excommunication and interdict. Their bishops might argue that the supreme jurisdiction, which they exercised over kings and nations, more specially embraced the city and diocese of the prince of the apostles. But they preached to the winds, and the same principle that weakened the effect, must temper the abuse, of the thunders of the Vatican.

The love of ancient freedom has encouraged a belief that as early as the tenth century, in their first struggles against the Saxon Othos, the commonwealth was vindicated and restored by the senate and people of Rome; that two consuls were annually elected among the nobles, and that ten or twelve plebeian magistrates revived the name and office of the tribunes of the commons.³⁰ But this venerable structure disappears before the light of criticism. In the darkness of the middle ages the appellations of senators, of consuls, of the sons of consuls, may sometimes be discovered.³¹ They were bestowed by the emperors, or assumed by the most powerful citizens, to denote their rank, their honours,³² and perhaps the claim of a pure and patrician descent: but they float on the surface, without a series or a substance, the titles of men, not the orders of government; ³³ and it is only from the year of Christ one

Restoration
of the
senate,
A.D. 1144.

²⁹ Besides the historian and poet already quoted, the last adventures of Arnold are related by the biographer of Adrian IV. (Muratori, *Script. Rerum Ital.* tom. iii. P. i. p. 441, 442.)

³⁰ Ducange (*Gloss. Latinitatis mediæ et infimæ Ætatis*, *DECARCHONES*, tom. ii. p. 726) gives me a quotation from Blondus (*Decad. ii. l. ii.*): *Duo consules ex nobilitate quotannis fiebant, qui ad vetustum consulum exemplar summæ rerum præessent.* And in Sigonius (*de Regno Italiæ*, l. vi. *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 400) I read of the consuls and tribunes of the xth century. Both Blondus and even Sigonius too freely copied the classic method of supplying from reason or fancy the deficiency of records.

³¹ In the panegyric of Berengarius (Muratori, *Script. Rer. Ital.* tom. ii. P. i. p. 408) a Roman is mentioned as *consulis natus* in the beginning of the xth century. Muratori (*Dissert. v.*) discovers, in the years 952 and 956, Gratianus in *Dei nomine consul et dux*, Georgius *consul et dux*; and in 1015, Romanus, brother of Gregory VIII., proudly, but vaguely, styles himself *consul et dux et omnium Romanorum senator*.

³² As late as the xth century the Greek emperors conferred on the dukes of Venice, Naples, Amalphi, &c., the title of *βάρων* or consuls (see Chron. Sagornini, *passim*); and the successors of Charlemagne would not abdicate any of their prerogative. But in general the names of *consul* and *senator*, which may be found among the French and Germans, signify no more than count and lord (*Signeur*, Ducange, *Glossar.*). The monkish writers are often ambitious of fine classic words.

³³ The most constitutional form is a diploma of Otho III. (A.D. 998), *Consulibus senatûs populique Romani*; but the act is probably spurious. At the coronation of Henry I., A.D. 1014, the historian Dithmar (apud Muratori, *Dissert. xxiii.*) describes him, a *senatoribus duodecim vallatum, quorum sex rasi barbâ, alii proluxâ, mystice incedebant cum baculis*. The senate is mentioned in the panegyric of Berengarius (p. 406).

thousand one hundred and forty-four that the establishment of the senate is dated, as a glorious æra, in the acts of the city. A new constitution was hastily framed by private ambition or popular enthusiasm; nor could Rome, in the twelfth century, produce an antiquary to explain, or a legislator to restore, the harmony and proportions of the ancient model. The assembly of a free, of an armed, people, will ever speak in loud and weighty acclamations. But the regular distribution of the thirty-five tribes, the nice balance of the wealth and numbers of the centuries, the debates of the adverse orators, and the slow operation of votes and ballots, could not easily be adapted by a blind multitude, ignorant of the arts, and insensible of the benefits, of legal government. It was proposed by Arnold to revive and discriminate the equestrian order; but what could be the motive or measure of such distinction?³⁴ The pecuniary qualification of the knights must have been reduced to the poverty of the times: those times no longer required their civil functions of judges and farmers of the revenue; and their primitive duty, their military service on horseback, was more nobly supplied by feudal tenures and the spirit of chivalry. The jurisprudence of the republic was useless and unknown; the nations and families of Italy who lived under the Roman and barbaric laws were insensibly mingled in a common mass; and some faint tradition, some imperfect fragments, preserved the memory of the Code and Pandects of Justinian. With their liberty the Romans might doubtless have restored the appellation and office of consuls, had they not disdained a title so promiscuously adopted in the Italian cities, that it has finally settled on the humble station of the agents of commerce in a foreign land. But the rights of the tribunes, the formidable word that arrested the public counsels, suppose or must produce a legitimate democracy. The old patricians were the subjects, the modern barons the tyrants, of the state; nor would the enemies of peace and order, who insulted the vicar of Christ, have long respected the unarmed sanctity of a plebeian magistrate.³⁵

In the revolution of the twelfth century, which gave a new exist-

³⁴ In ancient Rome the equestrian order was not ranked with the senate and people as a third branch of the republic till the consulship of Cicero, who assumes the merit of the establishment (*Plin. Hist. Natur.* xxxiii. 3 [8]; *Beaufort, République Romaine*, tom. i. p. 144-155).

³⁵ The republican plan of Arnold of Brescia is thus stated by Gunther:—

Quin etiam titulos urbis renovare vetustos;
 Nomine plebeio secernere nomen equestre,
 Jura tribunorum, sanctum reparare senatum,
 Et senio fessas mutasque reponere leges.
 Lapsa ruinosis, et adhuc pendentia muris
 Reddere primævo Capitolia prisca nitore.

But of these reformations some were no more than ideas, others no more than words.

ence and æra to Rome, we may observe the real and important events that marked or confirmed her political independence.

The Capitol.

I. The Capitoline hill, one of her seven eminences,³⁶ is about four hundred yards in length, and two hundred in breadth. A flight of a hundred steps led to the summit of the Tarpeian rock; and far steeper was the ascent before the declivities had been smoothed and the precipices filled by the ruins of fallen edifices. From the earliest ages the Capitol had been used as a temple in peace, a fortress in war: after the loss of the city it maintained a siege against the victorious Gauls; and the sanctuary of the empire was occupied, assaulted, and burnt, in the civil wars of Vitellius and Vespasian.³⁷ The temples of Jupiter and his kindred deities had crumbled into dust; their place was supplied by monasteries and houses; and the solid walls, the long and shelving porticoes, were decayed or ruined by the lapse of time. It was the first act of the Romans, an act of freedom, to restore the strength, though not the beauty, of the Capitol; to fortify the seat of their arms and counsels; and as often as they ascended the hill, the coldest minds must have

The coin.

glowed with the remembrance of their ancestors. II. The first Cæsars had been invested with the exclusive coinage of the gold and silver; to the senate they abandoned the baser metal of bronze or copper:³⁸ the emblems and legends were inscribed on a more ample field by the genius of flattery; and the prince was relieved from the care of celebrating his own virtues. The successors of Diocletian despised even the flattery of the senate: their royal officers at Rome, and in the provinces, assumed the sole direction of the mint; and the same prerogative was inherited by the Gothic kings of Italy, and the long series of the Greek, the French, and the German dynasties. After an abdication of eight hundred years the

³⁶ After many disputes among the antiquaries of Rome, it seems determined that the summit of the Capitoline hill next the river is strictly the Mons Tarpeius, the Arx; and that on the other summit, the church and convent of Araceli, the barefoot friars of St. Francis occupy the temple of Jupiter (Nardini, *Roma Antica*, l. v. c. 11-16).^a

³⁷ Tacit. *Hist.* iii. 69, 70.

³⁸ This partition of the noble and baser metals between the emperor and senate must however be adopted, not as a positive fact, but as the probable opinion of the best antiquaries (see the *Science des Médailles* of the Père Joubert, tom. ii. f. 208-211, in the improved and scarce edition of the Baron de la Bastie).

^a The best modern writers on the topography of Rome have, however, come to a contrary conclusion. They maintain that the Arx is the north-eastern summit, now occupied by the church of Ara Celi; and that the Capitolium, or temple of Jupiter, is the south-western summit, which is now covered in part by the Pa-

lazzo Caffarelli. See Bunsen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, vol. iii. p. 10, *seq.*; Becker, *Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer*, vol. i. p. 385, *seq.*—S.

^b Dr. Cardwell (*Lecture on Ancient Coins*, p. 70 *et seq.*) assigns convincing reasons in support of this opinion.—M.

Roman senate asserted this honourable and lucrative privilege; which was tacitly renounced by the popes, from Paschal the Second to the establishment of their residence beyond the Alps. Some of these republican coins of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are shown in the cabinets of the curious. On one of these, a gold medal, Christ is depicted holding in his left hand a book with this inscription: "THE VOW OF THE ROMAN SENATE AND PEOPLE: ROME THE CAPITAL OF THE WORLD;" on the reverse, St. Peter delivering a banner to a kneeling senator in his cap and gown, with the name and arms of his family impressed on a shield.³⁹ III. With the empire, the præfect of the city had declined to a municipal officer; yet he still exercised in the last appeal the civil and criminal jurisdiction; and a drawn sword, which he received from the successors of Otho, was the mode of his investiture and the emblem of his functions.⁴⁰ The dignity was confined to the noble families of Rome: the choice of the people was ratified by the pope; but a triple oath of fidelity must have often embarrassed the præfect in the conflict of adverse duties.⁴¹ A servant, in whom they possessed but a third share, was dismissed by the independent Romans: in his place they elected a patrician;^a but this title, which Charlemagne had not disdained, was too lofty for a citizen or a subject; and after the first fervour of rebellion, they consented without reluctance to the restoration of the præfect. About fifty years after this event, Innocent the Third, the most ambitious, or at least the most fortunate of the pontiffs, delivered the Romans and himself from this badge of foreign dominion: he

³⁹ In his xxviiith dissertation on the Antiquities of Italy (tom. ii. p. 559-569), Muratori exhibits a series of the senatorian coins, which bore the obscure names of *Afortiati, Infortiati, Provisini, Papanini*. During this period, all the popes, without excepting Boniface VIII., abstained from the right of coining, which was resumed by his successor Benedict XI. and regularly exercised in the court of Avignon.

⁴⁰ A German historian, Gerard of Reicherspeg (in Baluz. Miscell. tom. v. p. 64, apud Schmidt, Hist. des Allemands, tom. iii. p. 265), thus describes the constitution of Rome in the xith century: *Grandiora urbis et orbis negotia spectant ad Romanum pontificem itemque ad Romanum Imperatorem, sive illius vicarium urbis præfectum, qui de sua dignitate respicit utrumque, videlicet dominum papam cui facit hominum, et dominum imperatorem a quo accipit sue potestatis insigne, scilicet gladium exertum.*

⁴¹ The words of a contemporary writer (Pandulph, Pisan, in Vit. Paschal. II. p. 357, 358) describe the election and oath of the præfect in 1118, *inconsultis patribus loca præfectoria Laudes præfectoriæ comitorum applausum juraturum populo in ambonem sublevant confirmari eum in urbe præfectum petunt.*

^a The Romans elected Jordanus patrician in the year 1144, in the pontificate of Lucius II. Lucius met his death in attempting to stem the popular torrent; but in 1145 his successor, Eugenius III.,

succeeded in abolishing the patriciate, banishing Jordanus, and rendering the senate dependent on himself. You Raumer, 'Hohenstaufen,' V^e Theil, p. 215.—S.

invested the præfect with a banner instead of a sword, and absolved him from all dependence of oaths or service to the German emperors.⁴³ In his place an ecclesiastic, a present or future cardinal, was named by the pope to the civil government of Rome; but his jurisdiction has been reduced to a narrow compass; and in the days of freedom the right or exercise was derived from the senate and people.

IV. After the revival of the senate,⁴³ the conscript fathers (if I may use the expression) were invested with the legislative and executive power; but their views seldom reached beyond the present day; and that day was most frequently disturbed by violence and tumult. In its utmost plenitude the order or assembly consisted of fifty-six senators,⁴⁴ the most eminent of whom were distinguished by the title of counsellors: they were nominated, perhaps annually, by the people; and a previous choice of their electors, ten persons in each region, or parish, might afford a basis for a free and permanent constitution.* The popes, who in this tempest submitted rather to bend than to break, confirmed by treaty the establishment and privileges of the senate, and expected from time, peace, and religion, the restoration of their government. The motives of public and private interest might sometimes draw from the Romans an occasional and temporary sacrifice of their claims; and they renewed their oath of allegiance to the successor of St. Peter and Constantine, the lawful head of the church and the republic.⁴⁵

The union and vigour of a public council was dissolved in a lawless city; and the Romans soon adopted a more strong and simple mode of administration. They condensed the name and authority of the senate in a single magistrate or two colleagues; and as they were changed at the end of a year, or of six months, the greatness of the trust was compensated by the shortness of the

⁴³ *Urbis præfectum ad ligiam fidelitatem recepit, et per mantum quod illi donavit de præfecturâ eum publice investivit, qui usque ad id tempus juramento fidelitatis imperatori fuit obligatus et ab eo præfecturæ tenuit honorem (Gesta Innocent. III. in Muratori, tom. iii. P. i. p. 487).*

⁴⁴ See Otho Frising. Chron. vii. 31, de Gest. Frederic. I., l. i. c. 27.

⁴⁵ Our countryman, Roger Hoveden, speaks of the single senators, of the *Capuzzi* family, &c., quorum temporibus melius regebatur Roma quam nunc (A.D. 1194) est temporibus lvi. senatorum (Ducange, Gloss. tom. vi. p. 191, SENATORES).

⁴⁵ Muratori (dissert. xlii. tom. iii. p. 785-788) has published an original treaty: *Concordia inter D. nostrum papam Clementem III. et senatores populi Romani super regalibus et aliis dignitatibus urbis, &c., anno 44^o senatûs*. The senate speaks, and speaks with authority: *Reddimus ad præsens . . . habebimus . . . dabitis presbyteria . . . jurabimus pacem et fidelitatem, &c.* A chartula de Tenimentis Tusculani, dated in the 47th year of the same æra, and confirmed decreto amplissimi ordinis senatûs, acclamatione P. R. publice Capitolio consistentis. It is there we find the difference of senators consiliarii and simple senators (Muratori, dissert. xlii. tom. iii. p. 787-789).

* On important emergencies the people decision by acclamation. Von Raumer, was assembled in the Capitol, and gave its 'Hohenstaufen,' *V^{er} Thöl*, p. 217.—S.

term. But in this transient reign the senators of Rome indulged their avarice and ambition: their justice was perverted by the interest of their family and faction; and as they punished only their enemies, they were obeyed only by their adherents. Anarchy, no longer tempered by the pastoral care of their bishop, admonished the Romans that they were incapable of governing themselves; and they sought abroad those blessings which they were hopeless of finding at home. In the same age, and from the same motives, most of the Italian republics were prompted to embrace a measure which, however strange it may seem, was adapted to their situation, and productive of the most salutary effects.⁴⁶ They chose, in some foreign but friendly city, an impartial magistrate of noble birth and unblemished character, a soldier and a statesman, recommended by the voice of fame and his country, to whom they delegated for a time the supreme administration of peace and war. The compact between the governor and the governed was sealed with oaths and subscriptions; and the duration of his power, the measure of his stipend, the nature of their mutual obligations, were defined with scrupulous precision. They swore to obey him as their lawful superior: he pledged his faith to unite the indifference of a stranger with the zeal of a patriot. At his choice, four or six knights and civilians, his assessors in arms and justice, attended the *Podestà*,⁴⁷ who maintained at his own expense a decent retinue of servants and horses: his wife, his son, his brother, who might bias the affections of the judge, were left behind: during the exercise of his office he was not permitted to purchase land, to contract an alliance, or even to accept an invitation in the house of a citizen; nor could he honourably depart till he had satisfied the complaints that might be urged against his government.

It was thus, about the middle of the thirteenth century, that the Romans called from Bologna the senator Brancaleone,⁴⁸ whose fame and merit have been rescued from oblivion by the pen of an English historian. A just anxiety for his

Brancaleone,
A.D.
1252-1258.

⁴⁶ Muratori (dissert. xlv. tom. iv. p. 64-92) has fully explained this mode of government; and the *Occulus Pastoralis*, which he has given at the end, is a treatise or sermon on the duties of these foreign magistrates.

⁴⁷ In the Latin writers, at least of the silver age, the title of *Potestas* was transferred from the office to the magistrate:—

Hujus qui trahitur prætextam sumere mavis;
An Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse *Potestas*.

(Juvenal. Satir. x. 99.)

⁴⁸ See the life and death of Brancaleone, in the *Historia Major* of Matthew Paris, p. 741, 757, 792, 797, 799, 810, 823, 833, 836, 840. The multitude of pilgrims and suitors connected Rome and St. Alban's, and the resentment of the English clergy prompted them to rejoice whenever the popes were humbled and oppressed.

reputation, a clear foresight of the difficulties of the task, had engaged him to refuse the honour of their choice: the statutes of Rome were suspended, and his office prolonged to the term of three years. By the guilty and licentious he was accused as cruel; by the clergy he was suspected as partial; but the friends of peace and order applauded the firm and upright magistrate by whom those blessings were restored. No criminals were so powerful as to brave, so obscure as to elude, the justice of the senator. By his sentence two nobles of the Annibaldi family were executed on a gibbet; and he inexorably demolished, in the city and neighbourhood, one hundred and forty towers, the strong shelters of rapine and mischief. The bishop, as a simple bishop, was compelled to reside in his diocese; and the standard of Brancaleone was displayed in the field with terror and effect. His services were repaid by the ingratitude of a people unworthy of the happiness which they enjoyed. By the public robbers, whom he had provoked for their sake, the Romans were excited to depose and imprison their benefactor; nor would his life have been spared if Bologna had not possessed a pledge for his safety. Before his departure the prudent senator had required the exchange of thirty hostages of the noblest families of Rome: on the news of his danger, and at the prayer of his wife, they were more strictly guarded; and Bologna, in the cause of honour, sustained the thunders of a papal interdict. This generous resistance allowed the Romans to compare the present with the past; and Brancaleone was conducted from the prison to the Capitol amidst the acclamations of a repentant people. The remainder of his government was firm and fortunate; and as soon as envy was appeased by death, his head, enclosed in a precious vase, was deposited on a lofty column of marble.⁴⁹

The impotence of reason and virtue recommended in Italy a more effectual choice: instead of a private citizen, to whom they yielded a voluntary and precarious obedience, the Romans elected for their senator some prince of independent power, who could defend them from their enemies and themselves. Charles of Anjou and Provence, the most ambitious and warlike monarch of the age, accepted at the same time the kingdom of Naples from the pope and the office of senator from the Roman people.⁵⁰ As he

Charles of
Anjou,
A.D.
1265-1276.

⁴⁹ Matthew Paris thus ends his account: *Caput vero ipsius Brancaleonis in vase pretioso super marmoream columnam collocatum, in signum sui valoris et probitatis, quasi reliquias, superstitione nimis et pompose sustulerunt. Fuerat enim superbiorum potentum et malefactorum urbis malleus et exstirpator, et populi protector et defensor, veritatis et justitiae imitator et amator* (p. 840). A biographer of Innocent IV (Muratori, *Script.* tom. iii, P. I, p. 591, 592) draws a less favourable portrait of this Ghibeline senator.

⁵⁰ The election of Charles of Anjou to the office of perpetual senator of Rome is mentioned by the historians in the viiith volume of the Collection of Muratori, by

passed through the city in his road to victory he received their oath of allegiance, lodged in the Lateran palace, and smoothed in a short visit the harsh features of his despotic character. Yet even Charles was exposed to the inconstancy of the people, who saluted with the same acclamations the passage of his rival, the unfortunate Conradin; and a powerful avenger, who reigned in the Capitol, alarmed the fears and jealousy of the popes. The absolute term of his life was superseded by a renewal every third year; and the enmity of Nicholas the Third obliged the Sicilian king to abdicate the government of Rome. In his bull, a perpetual law, the imperious pontiff asserts the truth, validity, and use of the donation of Constantine, not less essential to the peace of the city than to the independence of the church; establishes the annual election of the senator, and formally disqualifies all emperors, kings, princes, and persons of an eminent and conspicuous rank.⁵¹ This prohibitory clause was repealed in his own behalf by Martin the Fourth, who humbly solicited the suffrage of the Romans. In the presence, and by the authority, of the people two electors conferred, not on the pope, but on the noble and faithful Martin, the dignity of senator and the supreme administration of the republic,⁵² to hold during his natural life, and to exercise at pleasure by himself or his deputies. About fifty years afterwards the same title was granted to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria; and the liberty of Rome was acknowledged by her two sovereigns, who accepted a municipal office in the government of their own metropolis.

Pope
Martin IV.,
A.D. 1301.

The emperor
Lewis of
Bavaria,
A.D. 1328.

In the first moments of rebellion, when Arnold of Brescia had inflamed their minds against the church, the Romans artfully laboured to conciliate the favour of the empire, and to recommend their merit and services in the cause of Cæsar.

Addresses
of Rome to
the emperors.

The style of their ambassadors to Conrad the Third and Frederic the First is a mixture of flattery and pride, the tradition and the ignorance of their own history.⁵³ After some complaint of

Conrad III.,
A.D. 1144.

Nicholas de Jamsilla (p. 592), the monk of Padua (p. 724), Sabas Malaspina (l. ii. c. 9, p. 808), and Ricordano Malespini (c. 177, p. 999).

⁵¹ The high-sounding bull of Nicholas III., which founds his temporal sovereignty on the donation of Constantine, is still extant; and as it has been inserted by Boniface VIII. in the *Sexte* of the Decretals, it must be received by the Catholics, or at least by the Papists, as a sacred and perpetual law.

⁵² I am indebted to Fleury (*Hist. Ecclési.* tom. xviii. p. 306) for an extract of this Roman act, which he has taken from the Ecclesiastical Annals of Odericus Raynaldus, A.D. 1281, No. 14, 15.

⁵³ These letters and speeches are preserved by Otho bishop of Frisingen (*Fabric. Biblioth. Lat. med. et infim.* tom. v. p. 186, 187), perhaps the noblest of historians: he was son of Leopold marquis of Austria; his mother, Agnes, was daughter of the emperor Henry IV.; and he was half-brother and uncle to Conrad III. and Frederic I. He has left, in seven books, a Chronicle of the Times; in two, the *Gesta Frederici I.*, the last of which is inserted in the sixth volume of Muratori's *Historians*.

his silence and neglect, they exhort the former of these princes to pass the Alps, and assume from their hands the Imperial crown. "We beseech your majesty not to disdain the humility of your sons and vassals, not to listen to the accusations of our common enemies, who calumniate the senate as hostile to your throne, who sow the seeds of discord that they may reap the harvest of destruction. The pope and the *Sicilian* are united in an impious league to oppose *our* liberty and *your* coronation. With the blessing of God our zeal and courage has hitherto defeated their attempts. Of their powerful and factious adherents, more especially the Frangipani, we have taken by assault the houses and turrets: some of these are occupied by our troops, and some are levelled with the ground. The *Milvian* bridge, which they had broken, is restored and fortified for your safe passage, and your army may enter the city without being annoyed from the castle of St. Angelo. All that we have done, and all that we design, is for your honour and service, in the loyal hope that you will speedily appear in person to vindicate those rights which have been invaded by the clergy, to revive the dignity of the empire, and to surpass the fame and glory of your predecessors. May you fix your residence in Rome, the capital of the world; give laws to Italy and the Teutonic kingdom; and imitate the example of Constantine and Justinian,⁵⁴ who, by the vigour of the senate and people, obtained the sceptre of the earth."⁵⁵ But these splendid and fallacious wishes were not cherished by Conrad the Franconian, whose eyes were fixed on the Holy Land, and who died without visiting Rome soon after his return from the Holy Land.

His nephew and successor, Frederic Barbarossa, was more ambitious of the Imperial crown; nor had any of the successors of Otho acquired such absolute sway over the kingdom of Italy. Surrounded by his ecclesiastical and secular princes, he gave audience in his camp at Sutri to the ambassadors of Rome, who thus addressed him in a free and florid oration: "Incline your ear to the queen of cities; approach with a peaceful and friendly mind the precincts of Rome, which has cast away the yoke of the clergy, and is impatient to crown her legitimate emperor. Under your auspicious influence may the primitive times be restored. Assert the prerogatives of the eternal city, and reduce under her monarchy the insolence of the world. You are not ignorant that in former

⁵⁴ We desire (said the ignorant Romans) to restore the empire in eum statum, quo fuit tempore Constantini et Justiniani, qui totum orbem vigore senatûs et populi Romani suis tenere manibus.

⁵⁵ Otho Frising. de Gestis Frederici I., l. i. c. 28, p. 662-664

“ages, by the wisdom of the senate, by the valour and discipline of
 “the equestrian order, she extended her victorious arms to the East
 “and West, beyond the Alps, and over the islands of the ocean.
 “By our sins, in the absence of our princes, the noble institution of
 “the senate has sunk in oblivion; and with our prudence our strength
 “has likewise decreased. We have revived the senate and the eques-
 “trian order: the counsels of the one, the arms of the other, will be
 “devoted to your person and the service of the empire. Do you not
 “hear the language of the Roman matron? You were a guest, I
 “have adopted you as a citizen; a Transalpine stranger, I have
 “elected you for my sovereign,⁵⁶ and given you myself, and all that
 “is mine. Your first and most sacred duty is to swear and subscribe
 “that you will shed your blood for the republic; that you will main-
 “tain in peace and justice the laws of the city and the charters of
 “your predecessors; and that you will reward with five thousand
 “pounds of silver the faithful senators who shall proclaim your titles
 “in the Capitol. With the name assume the character of Augustus.”
 The flowers of Latin rhetoric were not yet exhausted; but Frederic,
 impatient of their vanity, interrupted the orators in the high tone of
 royalty and conquest. “Famous indeed have been the fortitude and
 “wisdom of the ancient Romans; but your speech is not seasoned
 “with wisdom, and I could wish that fortitude were conspicuous in
 “your actions. Like all sublunary things, Rome has felt the vicissi-
 “tudes of time and fortune. Your noblest families were translated
 “to the East, to the royal city of Constantine; and the remains of
 “your strength and freedom have long since been exhausted by the
 “Greeks and Franks. Are you desirous of beholding the ancient
 “glory of Rome, the gravity of the senate, the spirit of the knights,
 “the discipline of the camp, the valour of the legions? you will find
 “them in the German republic. It is not empire, naked and alone;
 “the ornaments and virtues of empire have likewise migrated beyond
 “the Alps to a more deserving people:⁵⁷ they will be employed in
 “your defence, but they claim your obedience. You pretend that
 “myself or my predecessors have been invited by the Romans: you
 “mistake the word; they were not invited, they were implored.
 “From its foreign and domestic tyrants the city was rescued by
 “Charlemagne and Otho, whose ashes repose in our country; and
 “their dominion was the price of your deliverance. Under that do-

⁵⁶ *Hospes eras, civem feci. Advena fuisti ex Transalpinis partibus; principem constitui.*

⁵⁷ *Non cessit nobis nudum imperium, virtute sua amictum venit, ornamenta sua secum traxit. Penes nos sunt consules tui, &c.* Cicero or Livy would not have rejected these images, the eloquence of a barbarian born and educated in the Heropynian forest.

“minion your ancestors lived and died. I claim by the right of inheritance and possession, and who shall dare to extort you from my hands? Is the hand of the Franks⁵⁸ and Germans enfeebled by age? Am I vanquished? Am I a captive? Am I not encompassed with the banners of a potent and invincible army? You impose conditions on your master; you require oaths: if the conditions are just, an oath is superfluous; if unjust, it is criminal. Can you doubt my equity? It is extended to the meanest of my subjects. Will not my sword be unsheathed in the defence of the Capitol? By that sword the northern kingdom of Denmark has been restored to the Roman empire. You prescribe the measure and the objects of my bounty, which flows in a copious but a voluntary stream. All will be given to patient merit; all will be denied to rude importunity.”⁵⁹ Neither the emperor nor the senate could maintain these lofty pretensions of dominion and liberty. United with the pope, and suspicious of the Romans, Frederic continued his march to the Vatican; his coronation was disturbed by a sally from the Capitol; and if the numbers and valour of the Germans prevailed in the bloody conflict, he could not safely encamp in the presence of a city of which he styled himself the sovereign. About twelve years afterwards he besieged Rome, to seat an antipope in the chair of St. Peter; and twelve Pisan galleys were introduced into the Tiber; but the senate and people were saved by the arts of negotiation and the progress of disease; nor did Frederic or his successors reiterate the hostile attempt. Their laborious reigns were exercised by the popes, the crusades, and the independence of Lombardy and Germany: they courted the alliance of the Romans; and Frederic the Second offered in the Capitol the great standard, the *Caroccio* of Milan.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Otho of Frisingen, who surely understood the language of the court and diet of Germany, speaks of the Franks in the xiith century as the reigning nation (*Proceres Franci, equites Franci, manus Francorum*): he adds, however, the epithet of *Teutonici*.

⁵⁹ Otho Frising. de *Gestis Frederici I.*, l. ii. c. 22, p. 720-723. These original and authentic acts I have translated and abridged with freedom, yet with fidelity.

⁶⁰ From the *Chronicles of Ricobaldo and Francis Pipin*, Muratori (*dissert. xxvi.* tom. ii. p. 492) has transcribed this curious fact with the doggerel verses that accompanied the gift:—

Ave decus orbis, ave! victus tibi destinor, ave!
 Currus ab Augusto Frederico Cæsare justo.
 Væ Mediolanum! jam sentis spernere vanum
 Imperii vires, proprias tibi tollere vires.
 Ergo triumphorum urbs potes memor esse priorum
 Quos tibi mittebant reges qui bella gerebant.

Ne si deo tacere (I now use the Italian *Dissertations*, tom. i. p. 444) che nell' anno 1727, una copia desso Caroccio in marmo dianzi ignoto si scopri, nel Campidoglio, presso alle carcere di quel luogo, dove Sisto V. l' avea fatto rinchiudere. Stava esso posto sopra quatro colonne di marmo fino colla sequente iscrizione, &c.; to the same purpose as the old inscription.

After the extinction of the house of Swabia, they were banished beyond the Alps; and their last coronations betrayed the impotence and poverty of the Teutonic Cæsars.⁶¹

Under the reign of Hadrian, when the empire extended from the Euphrates to the ocean, from Mount Atlas to the Grampian hills, a fanciful historian⁶² amused the Romans with the picture of their infant wars. "There was a time," says Florus, "when Tibur and Præneste, our summer retreats, ^{Wars of the Romans against the neighbouring cities.} were the objects of hostile vows in the Capitol, when we dreaded the shades of the Arician groves, when we could triumph without a blush over the nameless villages of the Sabines and Latins, and even Corioli could afford a title not unworthy of a victorious general." The pride of his contemporaries was gratified by the contrast of the past and the present: they would have been humbled by the prospect of futurity; by the prediction that, after a thousand years, Rome, despoiled of empire and contracted to her primæval limits, would renew the same hostilities, on the same ground which was then decorated with her villas and gardens. The adjacent territory on either side of the Tiber was always claimed, and sometimes possessed, as the patrimony of St. Peter; but the barons assumed a lawless independence, and the cities too faithfully copied the revolt and discord of the metropolis. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Romans incessantly laboured to reduce or destroy the contumacious vassals of the church and senate; and if their headstrong and selfish ambition was moderated by the pope, he often encouraged their zeal by the alliance of his spiritual arms. Their warfare was that of the first consuls and dictators, who were taken from the plough. They assembled in arms at the foot of the Capitol; sallied from the gates, plundered or burnt the harvests of their neighbours, engaged in tumultuary conflict, and returned home after an expedition of fifteen or twenty days. Their sieges were tedious and unskillful: in the use of victory they indulged the meaner passions of jealousy and revenge; and instead of adopting the valour, they trampled on the misfortunes, of their adversaries. The captives, in their shirts, with a rope round their necks, solicited their pardon: the fortifications, and even the buildings, of the rival cities were demolished, and the inhabitants were scattered in the adjacent villages.

⁶¹ The decline of the Imperial arms and authority in Italy is related with impartial learning in the *Annals of Muratori* (tom. x. xi. xii.); and the reader may compare his narrative with the *Histoire des Allemans* (tom. iii. iv.) by Schmidt, who has deserved the esteem of his countrymen.

⁶² *Tibur nunc suburbanum, et æstivæ Præneste deliciæ, nuncupatis in Capitolio votis petebantur.* The whole passage of Florus (l. i. c. 11) may be read with pleasure, and has deserved the praise of a man of genius (*Œuvres de Montesquieu*, tom. iii. p. 634, 635, quarto edition).

It was thus that the seats of the cardinal bishops, Porto, Ostia, Albanum, Tusculum, Præneste, and Tibur or Tivoli, were successively overthrown by the ferocious hostility of the Romans.⁶³ Of these,⁶⁴ Porto and Ostia, the two keys of the Tiber, are still vacant and desolate: the marshy and unwholesome banks are peopled with herds of buffaloes, and the river is lost to every purpose of navigation and trade. The hills, which afford a shady retirement from the autumnal heats, have again smiled with the blessings of peace; Frascati has arisen near the ruins of Tusculum; Tibur or Tivoli has resumed the honours of a city;⁶⁵ and the meaner towns of Albano and Palestrina are decorated with the villas of the cardinals and princes of Rome. In the work of destruction, the ambition of the Romans was often checked and repulsed by the neighbouring cities and their allies: in the first siege of Tibur they were driven from their camp; and the battles of Tusculum⁶⁶ and Viterbo⁶⁷ might be compared in their relative state to the memorable fields of Thrasymene and Cannæ. In the first of these petty wars thirty thousand Romans were overthrown by a thousand German horse, whom Frederic Barbarossa had detached to the relief of Tusculum; and if we number the slain at three, the prisoners at two thousand, we shall embrace the most authentic and moderate account. Sixty-eight years afterwards they marched against Viterbo in the ecclesiastical state with the whole force of the city; by a rare coalition the Teutonic eagle was blended, in the adverse banners, with the keys of St. Peter; and the pope's auxiliaries were commanded by a count of Toulouse and a bishop of Winchester. The Romans were discomfited with shame and slaughter; but the English prelate must have indulged the vanity of a pilgrim, if he multiplied their numbers to one hundred, and their loss in the field to thirty, thousand men. Had the policy of the senate and the discipline of the legions been restored with the Capitol, the divided

Battle of
Tusculum,
A.D. 1167.

Battle of
Viterbo,
A.D. 1234.

⁶³ *Ne a feritate Romanorum, sicut fuerant Hostienses, Portuenses, Tusculanenses, Albanenses, Labicenses, et nuper Tiburtini destruerentur* (Matthew Paris, p. 757). These events are marked in the *Annals and Index* (the xviiiith volume) of Muratori.

⁶⁴ For the state or ruin of these suburban cities, the banks of the Tiber, &c., see the lively picture of the P. Labat (*Voyage en Espagne et en Italie*), who had long resided in the neighbourhood of Rome; and the more accurate description of which P. Eschinard (*Roma, 1750, in octavo*) has added to the topographical map of Cingolani.

⁶⁵ Labat (tom. iii. p. 233) mentions a recent decree of the Roman government, which has severely mortified the pride and poverty of Tivoli: *in civitate Tiburtina non vivitur civiliter*.

⁶⁶ I depart from my usual method of quoting only by the date the *Annals of Muratori*, in consideration of the critical balance in which he has weighed nine contemporary writers who mention the battle of Tusculum (tom. x. p. 42-44).

⁶⁷ Matthew Paris, p. 345. This bishop of Winchester was Peter de Rupibus, who occupied the see thirty-two years (A.D. 1206-1238), and is described, by the English historian, as a soldier and a statesman (p. 178, 399).

condition of Italy would have offered the fairest opportunity of a second conquest. But in arms the modern Romans were not *above*, and in arts they were far *below*, the common level of the neighbouring republics. Nor was their warlike spirit of any long continuance: after some irregular sallies they subsided in the national apathy, in the neglect of military institutions, and in the disgraceful and dangerous use of foreign mercenaries.

Ambition is a weed of quick and early vegetation in the vineyard of Christ. Under the first Christian princes the chair of St. Peter was disputed by the votes, the venality, the The election of the pope. violence, of a popular election: the sanctuaries of Rome were polluted with blood; and, from the third to the twelfth century, the church was distracted by the mischief of frequent schisms. As long as the final appeal was determined by the civil magistrate, these mischiefs were transient and local: the merits were tried by equity or favour; nor could the unsuccessful competitor long disturb the triumph of his rival. But after the emperors had been divested of their prerogatives, after a maxim had been established that the vicar of Christ is amenable to no earthly tribunal, each vacancy of the holy see might involve Christendom in controversy and war. The claims of the cardinals and inferior clergy, of the nobles and people, were vague and litigious: the freedom of choice was overruled by the tumults of a city that no longer owned or obeyed a superior. On the decease of a pope, two factions proceeded in different churches to a double election: the number and weight of votes, the priority of time, the merit of the candidates, might balance each other: the most respectable of the clergy were divided; and the distant princes, who bowed before the spiritual throne, could not distinguish the spurious from the legitimate idol. The emperors were often the authors of the schism, from the political motive of opposing a friendly to an hostile pontiff; and each of the competitors was reduced to suffer the insults of his enemies, who were not awed by conscience, and to purchase the support of his adherents, who were instigated by avarice or ambition. A peaceful and perpetual succession was ascertained by Alexander the Third,⁶⁸ who finally abolished the tumultuary votes of the clergy and people, and defined the right of election in the sole college of cardinals.⁶⁹ The three orders of Right of the cardinals established by Alexander III., A.D. 1179. bishops, priests, and deacons, were assimilated to each other by this important privilege; the parochial clergy of

⁶⁸ See Mosheim, Institut. Histor. Ecclesiast. p. 401, 403. Alexander himself had nearly been the victim of a contested election; and the doubtful merits of Innocent had only preponderated by the weight of genius and learning which St. Bernard cast into the scale (see his life and writings).

⁶⁹ The origin, titles, importance, dress, precedence, &c., of the Roman cardinals, are

Rome obtained the first rank in the hierarchy : they were indifferently chosen among the nations of Christendom ; and the possession of the richest benefices, of the most important bishoprics, was not incompatible with their title and office. The senators of the Catholic church, the coadjutors and legates of the supreme pontiff, were robed in purple, the symbol of martyrdom or royalty ; they claimed a proud equality with kings ; and their dignity was enhanced by the smallness of their number, which, till the reign of Leo the Tenth, seldom exceeded twenty or twenty-five persons. By this wise regulation all doubt and scandal were removed, and the root of schism was so effectually destroyed, that in a period of six hundred years a double choice has only once divided the unity of the sacred college. But as the concurrence of two-thirds of the votes had been made necessary, the election was often delayed by the private interest and passions of the cardinals ; and while they prolonged their independent reign, the

Institution
of the
conclave by
Gregory X.
A.D. 1274.

Christian world was left destitute of a head. A vacancy of almost three years had preceded the elevation of Gregory the Tenth, who resolved to prevent the future abuse ; and his bull, after some opposition, has been consecrated in the code of the canon law.⁷⁰ Nine days are allowed for the obsequies of the deceased pope, and the arrival of the absent cardinals ; on the tenth, they are imprisoned, each with one domestic, in a common apartment or *conclave*, without any separation of walls or curtains ; a small window is reserved for the introduction of necessaries ; but the door is locked on both sides, and guarded by the magistrates of the city, to seclude them from all correspondence with the world. If the election be not consummated in three days, the luxury of their table is contracted to a single dish at dinner and supper ; and after the eighth day they are reduced to a scanty allowance of bread, water, and wine. During the vacancy of the holy see the cardinals are prohibited from touching the revenues, or assuming, unless in some rare emergency, the government of the church : all agreements and promises among the electors are formally annulled ; and their integrity is fortified by their solemn oath and the prayers of the Catholics. Some articles of inconvenient or superfluous rigour have been gradually relaxed, but the principle of confinement is vigorous and entire : they are still urged, by the personal motives of health and freedom, to accelerate the moment of their deliverance ; and the

very ably discussed by Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 1262-1287) ; but their purple is now much faded. The sacred college was raised to the definite number of seventy-two, to represent, under his vicar, the disciples of Christ.

⁷⁰ See the bull of Gregory X., *approbante sacro concilio*, in the *Sextis* of the Canon Law (l. i. tit. 6, c. 3), a supplement to the *Decretals*, which Boniface VIII. promulgated at Rome in 1298, and addressed to all the universities of Europe.

improvement of ballot or secret votes has wrapped the struggles of the conclave⁷¹ in the silky veil of charity and politeness.⁷² By these institutions the Romans were excluded from the election of their prince and bishop; and in the fever of wild and precarious liberty, they seemed insensible of the loss of this inestimable privilege. The emperor Lewis of Bavaria revived the example of the great Otho. After some negociation with the magistrates, the Roman people was assembled⁷³ in the square before St. Peter's: the pope of Avignon, John the Twenty-second, was deposed: the choice of his successor was ratified by their consent and applause. They freely voted for a new law, that their bishop should never be absent more than three months in the year, and two days' journey from the city; and that, if he neglected to return on the third summons, the public servant should be degraded and dismissed.⁷⁴ But Lewis forgot his own debility and the prejudices of the times: beyond the precincts of a German camp, his useless phantom was rejected; the Romans despised their own workmanship; the antipope implored the mercy of his lawful sovereign; ^{A.D. 1328.} and the exclusive right of the cardinals was more firmly established by this unseasonable attack.

Had the election been always held in the Vatican, the rights of the senate and people would not have been violated with impunity. But the Romans forgot, and were forgotten, in the absence of the successors of Gregory the Seventh, who ^{Absence of the popes from Rome.} did not keep as a divine precept their ordinary residence in the city

⁷¹ The genius of Cardinal de Retz had a right to paint a conclave (of 1655) in which he was a spectator and an actor (*Mémoires*, tom. iv. p. 15-57); but I am at a loss to appreciate the knowledge or authority of an anonymous Italian, whose history (*Conclavi de' Pontifici Romani*, in 4to. 1667) has been continued since the reign of Alexander VII. The accidental form of the work furnishes a lesson, though not an antidote, to ambition. From a labyrinth of intrigues we emerge to the adoration of the successful candidate; but the next page opens with his funeral.

⁷² The expressions of Cardinal de Retz are positive and picturesque: On y vécut toujours ensemble avec le même respect et la même civilité que l'on observe dans le cabinet des rois, avec la même politesse qu'on avoit dans la cour de Henri III., avec la même familiarité que l'on voit dans les collèges; avec la même modestie qui se remarque dans les noviciats; et avec la même charité, du moins en apparence, qui pourroit être entre des frères parfaitement unis.

⁷³ Richiesti per bando (says John Villani) sanatori di Roma, e 52 del popolo, et capitani de' 25, e consoli (*consoli?*), et 13 buone huomini, uno per rione. Our knowledge is too imperfect to pronounce how much of this constitution was temporary, and how much ordinary and permanent. Yet it is faintly illustrated by the ancient statutes of Rome.

⁷⁴ Villani (l. x. c. 68-71, in Muratori, *Script.* tom. xiii. p. 641-645) relates this law, and the whole transaction, with much less abhorrence than the prudent Muratori. Any one conversant with the darker ages must have observed how much the sense (I mean the nonsense) of superstition is fluctuating and inconsistent.

⁷⁵ In the first volume of the Popes of Avignon, see the second original Life of John XXII. p. 142-145; the confession of the antipope, p. 145-152; and the laborious notes of Baluze, p. 714, 715.

and diocese. The care of that diocese was less important than the government of the universal church; nor could the popes delight in a city in which their authority was always opposed, and their person was often endangered. From the persecution of the emperors, and the wars of Italy, they escaped beyond the Alps into the hospitable bosom of France; from the tumults of Rome they prudently withdrew to live and die in the more tranquil stations of Anagni, Perugia, Viterbo, and the adjacent cities. When the flock was offended or impoverished by the absence of the shepherd, they were recalled by a stern admonition, that St. Peter had fixed his chair, not in an obscure village, but in the capital of the world; by a ferocious menace that the Romans would march in arms to destroy the place and people that should dare to afford them a retreat. They returned with timorous obedience; and were saluted with the account of a heavy debt, of all the losses which their desertion had occasioned, the hire of lodgings, the sale of provisions, and the various expenses of servants and strangers who attended the court.⁷⁶ After a short interval of peace, and perhaps of authority, they were again banished by new tumults, and again summoned by the imperious or respectful invitation of the senate. In these occasional retreats the exiles and fugitives of the Vatican were seldom long, or far, distant from the metropolis; but in the beginning of the fourteenth century the apostolic throne was transported, as it might seem for ever, from the Tiber to the Rhône; and the cause of the transmigration may be deduced from the furious contest between Boniface the Eighth and the king of France.⁷⁷ The spiritual arms of excommunication and interdict were repulsed by the union of the three estates, and the privileges of the Gallican church; but the pope was not prepared against the carnal weapons which Philip the Fair had courage to employ. As the pope resided at Anagni, without the suspicion of danger, his palace and person were assaulted by three hundred horse, who had been secretly levied by William of Nogaret, a French minister, and Sciarra Colonna, of a noble but hostile family of Rome. The cardinals fled; the inhabitants of

Boniface
VIII.
A.D.
1294-1303

⁷⁶ Romani autem non valentes nec volentes ultra suam celare cupiditatem gravissimam, contra papam movere cœperunt questionem, exigentes ab eo urgentissime omnia quæ subierant per ejus absentiam damna et jacturas, videlicet in hospitibus locandis, in mercimoniis, in usuris, in redditibus, in provisionibus, et in aliis modis innumerabilibus. Quod cum audisset papa, præcordialiter ingemuit, et se comperiens *muscipulatum*, &c. Matt. Paris, p. 757. For the ordinary history of the popes, their life and death, their residence and absence, it is enough to refer to the ecclesiastical annalists, Spondanus and Fleury.

⁷⁷ Besides the general historians of the church of Italy and of France, we possess a valuable treatise composed by a learned friend of Thuanus, which his last and best editors have published in the appendix (*Histoire particulière du grand Différend entre Boniface VIII. et Philippe le Bel*, par Pierre du Puis, tom. vii. P. xi. p. 61-82).

Anagni were seduced from their allegiance and gratitude; but the dauntless Boniface, unarmed and alone, seated himself in his chair, and awaited, like the conscript fathers of old, the swords of the Gauls. Nogaret, a foreign adversary, was content to execute the orders of his master: by the domestic enmity of Colonna, he was insulted with words and blows; and during a confinement of three days his life was threatened by the hardships which they inflicted on the obstinacy which they provoked. Their strange delay gave time and courage to the adherents of the church, who rescued him from sacrilegious violence; but his imperious soul was wounded in a vital part; and Boniface expired at Rome in a frenzy of rage and revenge. His memory is stained with the glaring vices of avarice and pride; nor has the courage of a martyr promoted this ecclesiastical champion to the honours of a saint; a magnanimous sinner (say the chronicles of the times), who entered like a fox, reigned like a lion, and died like a dog. He was succeeded by Benedict the Eleventh, the mildest of mankind. Yet he excommunicated the impious emissaries of Philip, and devoted the city and people of Anagni by a tremendous curse, whose effects are still visible to the eyes of superstition.⁷⁸

After his decease, the tedious and equal suspense of the conclave was fixed by the dexterity of the French faction. A specious offer was made and accepted, that, in the term of forty days, they would elect one of the three candidates who should be named by their opponents. The archbishop of Bordeaux, a furious enemy of his king and country, was the first on the list; but his ambition was known; and his conscience obeyed the calls of fortune and the commands of a benefactor, who had been informed by a swift messenger that the choice of a pope was now in his hands. The terms were regulated in a private interview; and with such speed and secrecy was the business transacted, that the unanimous conclave applauded the elevation of Clement the Fifth.⁷⁹ The cardinals of both parties were soon astonished by a summons to attend him beyond the Alps; from whence, as they soon discovered, they must never hope to return. He was engaged by promise and affection to prefer the residence of France; and, after dragging his court through Poitou and Gascony, and devouring, by his expense, the cities and convents on the road, he finally reposed at Avignon,⁸⁰

Translation
of the holy
see to
Avignon,
A.D. 1309.

⁷⁸ It is difficult to know whether Labat (tom. iv. p. 53-57) be in jest or in earnest, when he supposes that Anagni still feels the weight of this curse, and that the corn-fields, or vineyards, or olive-trees, are annually blasted by Nature, the obsequious handmaid of the popes.

⁷⁹ See in the Chronicle of Giovanni Villani (l. viii. c. 63, 64, 80, in Muratori, tom. xiii.) the imprisonment of Boniface VIII. and the election of Clement V., the last of which, like most anecdotes, is embarrassed with some difficulties.

⁸⁰ The original lives of the eight popes of Avignon—Clement V., John XXII.

which flourished above seventy years⁸¹ the seat of the Roman pontiff and the metropolis of Christendom. By land, by sea, by the Rhône, the position of Avignon was on all sides accessible; the southern provinces of France do not yield to Italy itself; new palaces arose for the accommodation of the pope and cardinals; and the arts of luxury were soon attracted by the treasures of the church. They were already possessed of the adjacent territory, the Venaissin county,⁸² a populous and fertile spot; and the sovereignty of Avignon was afterwards purchased from the youth and distress of Jane, the first queen of Naples and countess of Provence, for the inadequate price of fourscore thousand florins.⁸³ Under the shadow of the French monarchy, amidst an obedient people, the popes enjoyed an honourable and tranquil state, to which they long had been strangers: but Italy deplored their absence; and Rome, in solitude and poverty, might repent of the ungovernable freedom which had driven from the Vatican the successor of St. Peter. Her repentance was tardy and fruitless: after the death of the old members, the sacred college was filled with French cardinals,⁸⁴ who beheld Rome and Italy with abhorrence and contempt, and perpetuated a series of national, and even provincial, popes, attached by the most indissoluble ties to their native country.

The progress of industry had produced and enriched the Italian republics: the æra of their liberty is the most flourishing period of

Benedict XII., Clement VI., Innocent VI., Urban V., Gregory XI., and Clement VII.—are published by Stephen Baluze (*Vitæ Papparum Avenionensium*; Paris, 1693, 2 vols. in 4to.) with copious and elaborate notes, and a second volume of acts and documents. With the true zeal of an editor and a patriot, he devoutly justifies or excuses the characters of his countrymen.

⁸¹ The exile of Avignon is compared by the Italians with Babylon, and the Babylonish captivity. Such furious metaphors, more suitable to the ardour of Petrarch than to the judgment of Muratori, are gravely refuted in Baluze's preface. The abbé de Sade is distracted between the love of Petrarch and of his country. Yet he modestly pleads that many of the local inconveniences of Avignon are now removed; and many of the vices against which the poet declaims had been imported with the Roman court by the strangers of Italy (tom. i. p. 23-28).

⁸² The comtat Venaissin was ceded to the popes in 1273 by Philip III., king of France, after he had inherited the dominions of the count of Toulouse. Forty years before, the heresy of Count Raymond had given them a pretence of seizure, and they derived some obscure claim from the thirteenth century to some lands *citra Rhodanum* (*Valesii Notitia Galliarum*, p. 459, 610; Longuerue, *Description de la France*, tom. i. p. 376-381).

⁸³ If a possession of four centuries were not itself a title, such objections might annul the bargain; but the purchase-money must be refunded, for indeed it was paid. *Civitatem Avenionem emit . . . per ejusmodi venditionem pecuniâ redundantes, &c.* (*ibid.* *Vita Clement. VI.* in Baluz. tom. i. p. 272; Muratori, *Script.* tom. iil. P. ii. p. 565). The only temptation for Jane and her second husband was ready money, and without it they could not have returned to the throne of Naples.

⁸⁴ Clement V. immediately promoted ten cardinals, nine French and one English (*Vita iv.*, p. 63, et Baluz. p. 625, &c.). In 1331 the pope refused two candidates recommended by the king of France, *quod xx. cardinales, de quibus xvii. de regno Franciæ originem traxissæ noscuntur in memorato collegio existant* (*Thomasini, Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 1281).

population and agriculture, of manufactures and commerce; and their mechanic labours were gradually refined into the arts of elegance and genius. But the position of Rome was less favourable, the territory less fruitful: the character of the inhabitants was debased by indolence and elated by pride; and they fondly conceived that the tribute of subjects must for ever nourish the metropolis of the church and empire. This prejudice was encouraged in some degree by the resort of pilgrims to the shrines of the apostles; and the last legacy of the popes, the institution of the HOLY YEAR,⁸⁵ was not less beneficial to the people than to the clergy. Since the loss of Palestine, the gift of plenary indulgences, which had been applied to the crusades, remained without an object; and the most valuable treasure of the church was sequestered above eight years from public circulation. A new channel was opened by the diligence of Boniface the Eighth, who reconciled the vices of ambition and avarice; and the pope had sufficient learning to recollect and revive the secular games which were celebrated in Rome at the conclusion of every century. To sound without danger the depth of popular credulity, a sermon was seasonably pronounced, a report was artfully scattered, some aged witnesses were produced; and on the first of January of the year thirteen hundred the church of St. Peter was crowded with the faithful, who demanded the *customary* indulgence of the holy time. The pontiff, who watched and irritated their devout impatience, was soon persuaded by ancient testimony of the justice of their claim; and he proclaimed a plenary absolution to all Catholics who, in the course of that year; and at every similar period, should respectfully visit the apostolic churches of St. Peter and St. Paul. The welcome sound was propagated through Christendom; and at first from the nearest provinces of Italy, and at length from the remote kingdoms of Hungary and Britain, the highways were thronged with a swarm of pilgrims who sought to expiate their sins in a journey, however costly or laborious, which was exempt from the perils of military service. All exceptions of rank or sex, of age or infirmity, were forgotten in the common transport; and in the streets and churches many persons were trampled to death by the eagerness of devotion. The calculation of their numbers could not be easy nor accurate; and they have probably been magnified by a dexterous clergy, well apprised of the contagion of example: yet we are assured by a judicious historian, who assisted at the ceremony, that Rome was

Institution
of the
jubilee or
holy year,
A.D. 1300.

⁸⁵ Our primitive account is from Cardinal James Caietan (Maxima Biblioth. Patrum, tom. xxv.); and I am at a loss to determine whether the nephew of Boniface VIII. be a fool or a knave; the uncle is a much clearer character.

never replenished with less than two hundred thousand strangers; and another spectator has fixed at two millions the total concourse of the year. A trifling oblation from each individual would accumulate a royal treasure; and two priests stood night and day, with rakes in their hands, to collect, without counting, the heaps of gold and silver that were poured on the altar of St. Paul.⁸⁶ It was fortunately a season of peace and plenty; and if forage was scarce, if inns and lodgings were extravagantly dear, an inexhaustible supply of bread and wine, of meat and fish, was provided by the policy of Boniface and the venal hospitality of the Romans. From a city without trade or industry all casual riches will speedily evaporate: but the avarice and envy of the next generation solicited Clement the Sixth⁸⁷ to anticipate the distant period of the century. The gracious pontiff complied with their wishes; afforded Rome this poor consolation for his loss; and justified the change by the name and practice of the Mosaic Jubilee.⁸⁸ His summons was obeyed; and the number, zeal, and liberality of the pilgrims did not yield to the primitive festival. But they encountered the triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine: many wives and virgins were violated in the castles of Italy; and many strangers were pillaged or murdered by the savage Romans, no longer moderated by the presence of their bishop.⁸⁹ To the impatience of the popes we may ascribe the successive reduction to fifty, thirty-three, and twenty-five years; although the second of these terms is commensurate with the life of Christ. The profusion of indulgences, the revolt of the Protestants, and the decline of superstition, have much diminished the value of the jubilee; yet even the nineteenth and last festival was a year of pleasure and profit to the Romans; and a philosophic smile will not disturb the triumph of the priest or the happiness of the people.⁹⁰

The second
Jubilee,
A.D. 1360.

In the beginning of the eleventh century Italy was exposed to the

⁸⁶ See John Villani (l. viii. c. 36) in the xiith, and the Chronicon Astense in the xith volume (p. 191, 192) of Muratori's Collection. *Papa innumerabilem pecuniam ab eisdem accepit, nam duo clerici, cum rstris, &c.*

⁸⁷ The two bulls of Boniface VIII. and Clement VI. are inserted in the *Corpus Juris Canonici* (Extravagant. Commun. l. v. tit. ix. c. 1, 2).

⁸⁸ The sabbatic years and jubilees of the Mosaic law (*Car. Sigon. de Republicâ Hebræorum*, Opp. tom. iv. l. iii. c. 14, 15, p. 151, 152), the suspension of all care and labour, the periodical release of lands, debts, servitude, &c., may seem a noble idea, but the execution would be impracticable in a *profane* republic; and I should be glad to learn that this ruinous festival was observed by the Jewish people.

⁸⁹ See the Chronicle of Matteo Villani (l. i. c. 56) in the xivth volume of Muratori, and the *Mémoires sur la Vie de Pétrarque*, tom. iii. p. 75-89.

⁹⁰ The subject is exhausted by M. Chais, a French minister at the Hague, in his *Lettres Historiques et Dogmatiques sur les Jubilés et les Indulgences*; la Haye, 1751, 3 vols. in 12mo.; an elaborate and pleasing work, had not the author preferred the character of a polemic to that of a philosopher.

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Seventh, who intrusted his faithful adherent with the government of Hadrian's mole, the tower of Crescentius, or, as it is now called, the castle of St. Angelo. Both the father and the son were the parents of a numerous progeny: their riches, the fruits of usury, were shared with the noblest families of the city; and so extensive was their alliance, that the grandson of the proselyte was exalted by the weight of his kindred to the throne of St. Peter. A majority of the clergy and people supported his cause: he reigned several years in the Vatican; and it is only the eloquence of St. Bernard, and the final triumph of Innocent the Second, that has branded Anacletus with the epithet of antipope. After his defeat and death the posterity of Leo is no longer conspicuous; and none will be found of the modern nobles ambitious of descending from a Jewish stock. It is not my design to enumerate the Roman families which have failed at different periods, or those which are continued in different degrees of splendour to the present time.⁹⁵ The old consular line of the *Frangipani* discover their name in the generous act of *breaking* or dividing bread in a time of famine; and such benevolence is more truly glorious than to have enclosed, with their allies the *Corsi*, a spacious quarter of the city in the chains of their fortifications; the *Savelli*, as it should seem a Sabine race, have maintained their original dignity; the obsolete surname of the *Capizucchi* is inscribed on the coins of the first senators; the *Conti* preserve the honour, without the estate, of the counts of Signia; and the *Annibaldi* must have been very ignorant, or very modest, if they had not descended from the Carthaginian hero.⁹⁶

But among, perhaps above, the peers and princes of the city, I

⁹⁵ Muratori has given two dissertations (xli. and xlii.) to the names, surnames, and families of Italy. Some nobles, who glory in their domestic fables, may be offended with his firm and temperate criticism; yet surely some ounces of pure gold are of more value than many pounds of base metal.

⁹⁶ The cardinal of St. George, in his poetical, or rather metrical, history of the election and coronation of Boniface VIII. (Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. P. 1. p. 641, &c.), describes the state and families of Rome at the coronation of Boniface VIII. (A.D. 1295):—

Interea titulis redimiti sanguine et armis
 Illustresque viri Romanâ a stirpe trahentes
 Nomen in emeritos tantæ virtutis honores
 Intulerant sese medios festumque colebant
 Auratâ fulgentes togâ sociante catervâ.
 Ex ipsâ devota domus præstantis ab *Urâ*
 Ecclesiæ, vultumque gerens demissius altum
 Festa *Columnæ* jociis, necnon *Sabellia* mitis;
 Stephanides senior, *Comites*, *Annibatica* proles,
 Præfectusque urbis magnum sine viribus nomen.

(l. ii. c. 5, 100, p. 647, 648.)

The ancient statutes of Rome (l. iii. c. 59, p. 174, 175) distinguish eleven families of barons, who are obliged to wear in concilio communi, before the senator, that they would not harbour or protect any malefactors, outlaws, &c.—a feeble security!

distinguish the rival houses of COLONNA and URSINI, whose private story is an essential part of the annals of modern Rome. I. The name and arms of Colonna⁹⁷ have been the theme The Colonna, of much doubtful etymology; nor have the orators and antiquarians overlooked either Trajan's pillar, or the columns of Hercules, or the pillar of Christ's flagellation, or the luminous column that guided the Israelites in the desert. Their first historical appearance in the year eleven hundred and four attests the power and antiquity, while it explains the simple meaning, of the name. By the usurpation of Cavæ the Colonna provoked the arms of Paschal the Second; but they lawfully held in the Campagna of Rome the hereditary fiefs of Zagarola and *Colonna*; and the latter of these towns was probably adorned with some lofty pillar, the relic of a villa or temple.⁹⁸ They likewise possessed one moiety of the neighbouring city of Tusculum; a strong presumption of their descent from the counts of Tusculum, who in the tenth century were the tyrants of the apostolic see. According to their own and the public opinion, the primitive and remote source was derived from the banks of the Rhine;⁹⁹ and the sovereigns of Germany were not ashamed of a real or fabulous affinity with a noble race, which in the revolutions of seven hundred years has been often illustrated by merit and always by fortune.¹⁰⁰ About the end of the thirteenth century the most powerful branch was composed of an uncle and six brothers, all conspicuous in arms or in the honours of the church. Of these, Peter was elected senator of Rome, introduced to the Capitol in a triumphant car, and hailed in some vain acclamations with the title of Caesar; while John and Stephen were declared marquis of Ancona and count of Romagna, by Nicholas the Fourth, a patron so partial to their family, that he has been delineated in satirical portraits, imprisoned as it were in a hollow

⁹⁷ It is pity that the Colonna themselves have not favoured the world with a complete and critical history of their illustrious house. I adhere to Muratori (Dissert. xiii. tom. iii. p. 647, 648).

⁹⁸ Pandulph. Pisan. in Vit. Paschal. II. in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. P. i. p. 335. The family has still great possessions in the Campagna of Rome; but they have alienated to the Hospogliosi this original fief of *Colonna* (Eschinard, p. 258, 259).

⁹⁹ *Te longinqua dedit tellus et pascua Rheni,*

says Petrarch; and in 1417 a duke of Guelders and Juliers acknowledges (Lenfant, Hist. du Concile de Constance, tom. ii. p. 539) his descent from the ancestors of Martin V. (Otho Colonna): but the royal author of the Memoirs of Brandenburg observes that the sceptre in his arms has been confounded with the column. To maintain the Roman origin of the Colonna it was ingeniously supposed (Diario di Monaldeschi, in the Script. Ital. tom. xii. p. 533) that a cousin of the emperor Nero escaped from the city and founded Mentz in Germany.

¹⁰⁰ I cannot overlook the Roman triumph or ovation of Marco Antonio Colonna, who had commanded the pope's galleys at the naval victory of Lepanto (Thuan. Hist. l. 7, tom. iii. p. 55, 56; Muret. Oratio x. Opp. tom. i. p. 180-190).

pillar.¹⁰¹ After his decease their haughty behaviour provoked the displeasure of the most implacable of mankind. The two cardinals, the uncle and the nephew, denied the election of Boniface the Eighth; and the Colonna were oppressed for a moment by his temporal and spiritual arms.¹⁰² He proclaimed a crusade against his personal enemies; their estates were confiscated; their fortresses on either side of the Tiber were besieged by the troops of St. Peter and those of the rival nobles; and after the ruin of Palestrina or Præneste, their principal seat, the ground was marked with a ploughshare, the emblem of perpetual desolation. Degraded, banished, proscribed, the six brothers, in disguise and danger, wandered over Europe without renouncing the hope of deliverance and revenge. In this double hope the French court was their surest asylum: they prompted and directed the enterprise of Philip; and I should praise their magnanimity had they respected the misfortune and courage of the captive tyrant. His civil acts were annulled by the Roman people, who restored the honours and possessions of the Colonna; and some estimate may be formed of their wealth by their losses, of their losses by the damages of one hundred thousand gold florins which were granted them against the accomplices and heirs of the deceased pope. All the spiritual censures and disqualifications were abolished¹⁰³ by his prudent successors; and the fortune of the house was more firmly established by this transient hurricane. The boldness of Sciarra Colonna was signalised in the captivity of Boniface, and long afterwards in the coronation of Lewis of Bavaria; and by the gratitude of the emperor the pillar in their arms was encircled with a royal crown. But the first of the family in fame and merit was the elder Stephen, whom Petrarch loved and esteemed as a hero superior to his own times and not unworthy of ancient Rome. Persecution and exile displayed to the nations his abilities in peace and war; in his distress he was an object, not of pity but of reverence; the aspect of danger provoked him to avow his name and country; and when he was asked, "Where is now your fortress?" he laid his hand on his heart, and answered,

¹⁰¹ Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. x. p. 216, 220.

¹⁰² Petrarch's attachment to the Colonna has authorised the abbé de Sade to expatiate on the state of the family in the fourteenth century, the persecution of Boniface VIII., the character of Stephen and his sons, their quarrels with the Ursini, &c. (*Mémoires sur Pétrarque*, tom. i. p. 98-110, 146-148, 174-176, 222-230, 275-280.) His criticism often rectifies the hearsay stories of Villani, and the errors of the less diligent moderns. I understand the branch of Stephen to be now extinct.

¹⁰³ Alexander III. had declared the Colonna who adhered to the emperor Frederic I. incapable of holding any ecclesiastical benefice (Villani, l. v. c. 1); and the last stains of annual excommunication were purified by Sixtus V. (*Vita di Sisto V.* tom. iii. p. 416). Treason, sacrilege, and proscription are often the best titles of ancient nobility.

“Here.” He supported with the same virtue the return of prosperity; and, till the ruin of his declining age, the ancestors, the character, and the children of Stephen Colonna exalted his dignity in the Roman republic and at the court of Avignon. II. The Ursini migrated from Spoleto; ¹⁰⁴ the sons of Ursus, as they ^{and Ursini.} are styled in the twelfth century, from some eminent person who is only known as the father of their race. But they were soon distinguished among the nobles of Rome by the number and bravery of their kinsmen, the strength of their towers, the honours of the senate and sacred college, and the elevation of two popes, Celestin the Third and Nicholas the Third, of their name and lineage. ¹⁰⁵ Their riches may be accused as an early abuse of nepotism: the estates of St. Peter were alienated in their favour by the liberal Celestin; ¹⁰⁶ and Nicholas was ambitious for their sake to solicit the alliance of monarchs; to found new kingdoms in Lombardy and Tuscany; and to invest them with the perpetual office of senators of Rome. All that has been observed of the greatness of the Colonna will likewise redound to the glory of the Ursini, their constant and equal antagonists in the long hereditary feud which distracted above two hundred and fifty years the ecclesiastical state. The jealousy of pre-eminence and ^{Their hereditary feuds.} power was the true ground of their quarrel; but as a specious badge of distinction, the Colonna embraced the name of Ghibelines and the party of the empire; the Ursini espoused the title of Guelphs and the cause of the church. The eagle and the keys were displayed in their adverse banners; and the two factions of Italy most furiously ragged when the origin and nature of the dispute were long since forgotten. ¹⁰⁷ After the retreat of the popes to Avignon they disputed

¹⁰⁴ ——— Vallis te proxima misit,
Appenninigenæ quæ prata virentia sylvæ
Spoletana metunt armenta gregesque protervi.

Monaldeschi (tom. xii. Script. Ital. p. 533) gives the Ursini a French origin, which may be remotely true.

¹⁰⁵ In the metrical life of Celestin V. by the Cardinal of St. George (Muratori, tom. iii. P. i. p. 613, &c.) we find a luminous and not inelegant passage (l. i. c. 3, p. 203, &c.):—

——— genuit quem nobilis Ursæ (*Ursi*?)
Progenies, Romana domus, veterataque magnis
Fascibus in clero, pompasque experta senatus,
Bellorumque manû grandi stipata parentum
Cardineos apices necnon fastigia dudum
Papatûs iterata tenens.

Muratori (Dissert. xlii. tom. iii.) observes that the first Ursini pontificate of Celestin III. was unknown: he is inclined to read *Ursi* progenies.

¹⁰⁶ Filii Ursi, quondam Cœlestini papæ nepotes, de bonis ecclesiæ Romanæ ditati (Vit. Innocent. III. in Muratori, Script. tom. iii. P. i.). The partial prodigality of Nicholas III. is more conspicuous in Villani and Muratori. Yet the Ursini would disdain the nephews of a *modern* pope.

¹⁰⁷ In his fifty-first Dissertation on the Italian Antiquities Muratori explains the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines.

in arms the vacant republic; and the mischiefs of discord were perpetuated by the wretched compromise of electing each year two rival senators. By their private hostilities the city and country were desolated, and the fluctuating balance inclined with their alternate success. But none of either family had fallen by the sword till the most renowned champion of the Ursini was surprised and slain by the younger Stephen Colonna.¹⁰⁸ His triumph is stained with the reproach of violating the truce; their defeat was basely avenged by the assassination, before the church door, of an innocent boy and his two servants. Yet the victorious Colonna, with an annual colleague, was declared senator of Rome during the term of five years. And the muse of Petrarch inspired a wish, a hope, a prediction, that the generous youth, the son of his venerable hero, would restore Rome and Italy to their pristine glory; that his justice would extirpate the wolves and lions, the serpents and bears, who laboured to subvert the eternal basis of the marble COLUMN.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ Petrarch (tom. i. p. 222-230) has celebrated this victory according to the Colonna; but two contemporaries, a Florentine (Giovanni Villani, l. x. c. 220) and a Roman (Ludovico Monaldeschi, p. 533, 534), are less favourable to their arms.

¹⁰⁹ The Abbé de Sade (tom. i. Notes, p. 61-66) has applied the vith Canzone of Petrarch, *Spirto Gentil*, &c., to Stephen Colonna the younger:—

*Orsi, lupi, leoni, aquile e serpi
Ad una gran marmorea colonna
Fanno noja sovente e à se danno.*

CHAPTER LXX.

CHARACTER AND CORONATION OF PETRARCH.—RESTORATION OF THE FREEDOM AND GOVERNMENT OF ROME BY THE TRIBUNE RIENZI.—HIS VIRTUES AND VICES, HIS EXPULSION AND DEATH.—RETURN OF THE POPES FROM AVIGNON.—GREAT SCHISM OF THE WEST.—REUNION OF THE LATIN CHURCH.—LAST STRUGGLES OF ROMAN LIBERTY.—STATUTES OF ROME.—FINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATE.

IN the apprehension of modern times Petrarch¹ is the Italian songster of Laura and love. In the harmony of his Tuscan rhymes Italy applauds, or rather adores, the father of her lyric poetry; and his verse, or at least his name, is repeated by the enthusiasm or affectation of amorous sensibility. Whatever may be the private taste of a stranger, his slight and superficial knowledge should humbly acquiesce in the taste of a learned nation; yet I may hope or presume that the Italians do not compare the tedious uniformity of sonnets and elegies with the sublime compositions of their epic muse, the original wildness of Dante, the regular beauties of Tasso, and the boundless variety of the incomparable Ariosto. The merits of the lover I am still less qualified to appreciate: nor am I deeply interested in a metaphysical passion for a nymph so shadowy, that her existence has been questioned;² for a matron so prolific,³ that she was delivered of eleven legitimate children,⁴ while her amorous swain sighed and sung at the fountain

Petrarch,
A. D. 1304,
June 19—
A. D. 1374,
July 19.

¹ The *Mémoires sur la Vie de François Pétrarque* (Amsterdam, 1764, 1767, 3 vols. in 4to.) form a copious, original, and entertaining work, a labour of love, composed from the accurate study of Petrarch and his contemporaries; but the hero is too often lost in the general history of the age, and the author too often languishes in the affectation of politeness and gallantry. In the preface to his first volume he enumerates and weighs twenty Italian biographers, who have professedly treated of the same subject.

² The allegorical interpretation prevailed in the xvth century; but the wise commentators were not agreed whether they should understand, by Laura, religion, or virtue, or the blessed Virgin, or ———. See the prefaces to the first and second volume.

³ Laure de Noves, born about the year 1307, was married in January, 1325, to Hugues de Sade, a noble citizen of Avignon, whose jealousy was not the effect of love, since he married a second wife within seven months of her death, which happened the 6th of April, 1348, precisely one-and-twenty years after Petrarch had seen and loved her.

⁴ *Corpus crebris partibus exhaustum*: from one of these it issued, in the tenth degree, the abbé de Sade, the fond and grateful biographer of Petrarch; and this domestic motive most probably suggested the idea of his work, and urged him to inquire into every circumstance that could affect the history and character of his

of Vacluse.⁵ But in the eyes of Petrarch and those of his graver contemporaries his love was a sin, and Italian verse a frivolous amusement. His Latin works of philosophy, poetry, and eloquence established his serious reputation, which was soon diffused from Avignon over France and Italy: his friends and disciples were multiplied in every city; and if the ponderous volume of his writings⁶ be now abandoned to a long repose, our gratitude must applaud the man who, by precept and example, revived the spirit and study of the Augustan age. From his earliest youth Petrarch aspired to the poetic crown. The academical honours of the three faculties had introduced a royal degree of master or doctor in the art of poetry;⁷ and the title of poet-laureat, which custom, rather than vanity, perpetuates in the English court,⁸ was first invented by the Cæsars of Germany. In the musical games of antiquity a prize was bestowed on the victor:⁹ the belief that Virgil and Horace had been crowned in the Capitol inflamed the emulation of a Latin bard;¹⁰ and the laurel¹¹ was endeared to the lover by a verbal resemblance with the

grandmother (see particularly tom. i. p. 122-133, notes, p. 7-58; tom. ii. p. 455-495, not. p. 76-82).

⁵ Vacluse, so familiar to our English travellers, is described from the writings of Petrarch, and the local knowledge of his biographer (*Mémoires*, tom. i. p. 340-359). It was, in truth, the retreat of a hermit; and the moderns are much mistaken if they place Laura and a happy lover in the grotto.

⁶ Of 1250 pages, in a close print, at Basil in the xvth century, but without the date of the year. The abbé de Sade calls aloud for a new edition of Petrarch's Latin works; but I much doubt whether it would redound to the profit of the bookseller or the amusement of the public.

⁷ Consult Selden's *Titles of Honour*, in his works (vol. iii. p. 457-466). An hundred years before Petrarch, St. Francis received the visit of a poet qui ab imperatore fuerat coronatus et exinde rex versuum dictus.

⁸ From Augustus to Louis the muse has too often been false and venal; but I much doubt whether any age or court can produce a similar establishment of a stipendiary poet, who, in every reign and at all events, is bound to furnish twice a-year a measure of praise and verse, such as may be sung in the chapel, and, I believe, in the presence, of the sovereign. I speak the more freely, as the best time for abolishing this ridiculous custom is while the prince is a man of virtue, and the poet a man of genius.

⁹ Isocrates (in *Panegyrico*, tom. i. p. 116, 117, edit. Battie, Cantab. 1729) claims for his native Athens the glory of first instituting and recommending the *ἀλώνας*—and τὰ ἄλλα μίμνησθαι—μη μόνον τὰ χεῖρας καὶ ῥόμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγον καὶ γνῶμης. The example of the Panathenæa was imitated at Delphi; but the Olympic games were ignorant of a musical crown, till it was extorted by the vain tyranny of Nero (Sueton. in *Nerone*, c. 23; Philostrate, apud Casaubon ad locum; Dion Cassius, or Xiphilin, l. lxxiii. [c. 9, 20] p. 1032, 1041; Potter's *Greek Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 445, 450).

¹⁰ The Capitoline games (certamen quinquennale, *musicum*, equestre, gymnicum) were instituted by Domitian (Sueton. c. 4) in the year of Christ 86 (*Censorin. de Die Natali*, c. 18, p. 100, edit. Havercamp.), and were not abolished in the ivth century (Ausonius de Professoribus Burdegal. V.). If the crown were given to superior merit, the exclusion of Statius (*Capitolia nostræ inficiata lyrae*, *Silv.* l. iii. v. 31) may do honour to the games of the Capitol; but the Latin poets who lived before Domitian were crowned only in the public opinion.

¹¹ Petrarch and the senators of Rome were ignorant that the laurel was not the Capitoline, but the Delphic, crown (*Plin. Hist. Natur.* xv. 39; *Hist. Critique de la République des Lettres*, tom. i. p. 150-220). The victors in the Capitol were crowned with a garland of oak-leaves (*Martial*, l. iv. epigram 54).

name of his mistress. The value of either object was enhanced by the difficulties of the pursuit; and if the virtue or prudence of Laura was inexorable,¹² he enjoyed, and might boast of enjoying, the nymph of poetry. His vanity was not of the most delicate kind, since he applauds the success of his own *labours*; his name was popular; his friends were active; the open or secret opposition of envy and prejudice was surmounted by the dexterity of patient merit. In the thirty-sixth year of his age he was solicited to accept the object of his wishes; and on the same day, in the solitude of Vaucluse, he received a similar and solemn invitation from the senate of Rome and the university of Paris. The learning of a theological school, and the ignorance of a lawless city, were alike unqualified to bestow the ideal though immortal wreath which genius may obtain from the free applause of the public and of posterity: but the candidate dismissed this troublesome reflection; and, after some moments of complacency and suspense, preferred the summons of the metropolis of the world.

The ceremony of his coronation¹³ was performed in the Capitol, by his friend and patron the supreme magistrate of the republic. Twelve patrician youths were arrayed in scarlet; six representatives of the most illustrious families, in green robes, with garlands of flowers, accompanied the procession; in the midst of the princes and nobles, the senator, count of Anguil-lara, a kinsman of the Colonna, assumed his throne; and at the voice of a herald Petrarch arose. After discoursing on a text of Virgil, and thrice repeating his vows for the prosperity of Rome, he knelt before the throne and received from the senator a laurel crown, with a more precious declaration, "This is the reward of merit." The people shouted, "Long life to the Capitol and the poet!" A sonnet in praise of Rome was accepted as the effusion of genius and gratitude; and after the whole procession had visited the Vatican the profane wreath was suspended before the shrine of St. Peter. In the act or diploma¹⁴ which was presented to Petrarch, the title and prerogatives of poet-laureat are revived in the Capitol after the lapse of thirteen hundred years; and he receives the perpetual privilege of wearing, at his choice, a crown of laurel, ivy, or myrtle, of assuming

His poetic
coronation
at Rome,
A.D. 1341,
April 8.

¹² The pious grandson of Laura has laboured, and not without success, to vindicate her immaculate chastity against the censures of the grave and the sneers of the profane (tom. ii. notes, p. 76-82).

¹³ The whole process of Petrarch's coronation is accurately described by the abbé de Sade (tom. i. p. 425-435; tom. ii. p. 1-6, notes, p. 1-13) from his own writings, and the Roman diary of Ludovico Monaldeschi, without mixing in this authentic narrative the more recent fables of Sannuccio Delbene.

¹⁴ The original act is printed among the *Pièces Justificatives* in the *Mémoires sur Pétrarque*, tom. iii. p. 50-53.

the poetic habit, and of teaching, disputing, interpreting, and composing, in all places whatsoever, and on all subjects of literature. The grant was ratified by the authority of the senate and people; and the character of citizen was the recompense of his affection for the Roman name. They did him honour, but they did him justice. In the familiar society of Cicero and Livy he had imbibed the ideas of an ancient patriot; and his ardent fancy kindled every idea to a sentiment, and every sentiment to a passion. The aspect of the seven hills and their majestic ruins confirmed these lively impressions; and he loved a country by whose liberal spirit he had been crowned and adopted. The poverty and debasement of Rome excited the indignation and pity of her grateful son: he dissembled the faults of his fellow-citizens; applauded with partial fondness the last of their heroes and matrons; and in the remembrance of the past, in the hope of the future, was pleased to forget the miseries of the present time. Rome was still the lawful mistress of the world; the pope and the emperor, her bishop and general, had abdicated their station by an inglorious retreat to the Rhône and the Danube; but if she could resume her virtue, the republic might again vindicate her liberty and dominion. Amidst the indulgence of enthusiasm and eloquence,¹⁵ Petrarch, Italy, and Europe were astonished by a revolution which realised for a moment his most splendid visions. The rise and fall of the tribune Rienzi will occupy the following pages: ¹⁶ the subject is interesting, the materials are rich, and the glance of a patriot bard ¹⁷ will sometimes vivify the copious, but simple, narrative of the Florentine,¹⁸ and more especially of the Roman,¹⁹ historian.

¹⁵ To find the proofs of his enthusiasm for Rome, I need only request that the reader would open, by chance, either Petrarch or his French biographer. The latter has described the poet's first visit to Rome (tom. i. p. 323-335). But, in the place of much idle rhetoric and morality, Petrarch might have amused the present and future age with an original account of the city and his coronation.

¹⁶ It has been treated by the pen of a Jesuit, the P. du Cerçeau, whose posthumous work (*Conjuration de Nicolas Gabrini, dit de Rienzi, Tyran de Rome, en 1347*) was published at Paris, 1748, in 12mo. I am indebted to him for some facts and documents in John Hocsemius, canon of Liege, a contemporary historian (*Fabricius, Biblioth. Lat. med. Ævi, tom. iii. p. 273; tom. iv. p. 85*).

¹⁷ The abbé de Sade, who so freely expatiates on the history of the xvth century, might treat, as his proper subject, a revolution in which the heart of Petrarch was so deeply engaged (*Mémoires, tom. ii. p. 50, 51, 320-417, notes, p. 70-76; tom. iii. p. 221-243, 366-375*). Not an idea or a fact in the writings of Petrarch has probably escaped him.

¹⁸ Giovanni Villani, l. xii. c. 89, 104, in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, tom. xiii. p. 969, 970, 981-983.

¹⁹ In his third volume of *Italian Antiquities* (p. 249-548) Muratori has inserted the *Fragmenta Historiæ Romanæ ab Anno 1327 usque ad Annum 1354*, in the original dialect of Rome or Naples in the xvth century, and a Latin version for the benefit of strangers. It contains the most particular and authentic life of Cola (Nicholas) di Rienzi, which had been printed at Bracciano, 1627, in 4to., under the name of Tomaso Fortiflocca, who is only mentioned in this work as having been punished by the tribune for forgery. Human nature is scarcely capable of such sublime or stupid

In a quarter of the city which was inhabited only by mechanics and Jews, the marriage of an innkeeper and a washerwoman produced the future deliverer of Rome.²⁰ ^b From such ^{Birth, character, and patriotic designs of Rienzi.} parents Nicholas Rienzi Gabrini could inherit neither dignity nor fortune; and the gift of a liberal education, which they painfully bestowed, was the cause of his glory and untimely end. The study of history and eloquence, the writings of Cicero, Seneca, Livy, Cæsar, and Valerius Maximus, elevated above his equals and contemporaries the genius of the young plebeian: he perused with indefatigable diligence the manuscripts and marbles of antiquity; loved to dispense his knowledge in familiar language, and was often provoked to exclaim, "Where are now these Romans? their virtue, their justice, their power? why was I not born in those happy times?"²¹ When the republic addressed to the throne of Avignon an embassy of the three orders, the spirit and eloquence of Rienzi recommended him to a placè among the thirteen deputies of the commons. The orator had the honour of haranguing Pope Clement the Sixth, and the satisfaction of conversing with Petrarch, a congenial mind; but his aspiring hopes were chilled by disgrace and poverty, and the patriot was reduced to a single garment and the charity of

impartiality; but whosoever is the author of these Fragments, he wrote on the spot and at the time, and paints, without design or art, the manners of Rome and the character of the tribune.^a

²⁰ The first and splendid period of Rienzi, his tribunitian government, is contained in the xviiiith chapter of the Fragments (p. 399-479), which, in the new division, forms the iid book of the history in xxxviii smaller chapters or sections.

²¹ The reader may be pleased with a specimen of the original idiom: *Fò da soa juventùne nutricato di latte-de eloquentia, bono gramatico, migliore rettuorico, autorista bravo. Deh como et quanto era veloce lettore! moito usava Tito Livio, Seneca, et Tullio, et Balerio Massimo, moito li dilettava le magnificentie di Julio Cesare raccontare. Tutta la die se speculava negl' intagli di marmo lequali iaccio intorno Roma. Non era altri che esso, che sapevo lejere li antichi pataffii. Tutte scritte antiche vulgarizzava; quesse fiure di marmo justamente interpretava. Oh come spesso diceva, "Dove suono quelli buoni Romani? dove ene loro somma justitia? poleramme trovare " in tempo che quessi furiano!"*

^a Since the publication of my first edition of Gibbon some new and very remarkable documents have been brought to light in a Life of Nicolas Rienzi—Cola di Rienzo und seine Zeit—by Dr. Felix Papencordt. The most important of these documents are letters from Rienzi to Charles the Fourth, emperor and king of Bohemia, and to the archbishop of Prague: they enter into the whole history of his adventurous career during its first period, and throw a strong light upon his extraordinary character. These documents were first discovered and made use of, to a certain extent, by Pelzel, the historian of Bohemia. The originals have disap-

peared, but a copy made by Pelzel for his own use is now in the library of Count Thun at Teschen. There seems no doubt of their authenticity. Dr. Papencordt has printed the whole in his *Urkunden*, with the exception of one long theological paper.—M. 1845.

^b But see in Dr. Papencordt's work, and in Rienzi's own words, his claim to be a bastard son of the emperor Henry the Seventh, whose intrigue with his mother Rienzi relates with a sort of proud shamelessness. Compare account by the editor of Dr. Papencordt's work in *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxi. —M. 1845.

the hospital.^a From this misery he was relieved by the sense of merit or the smile of favour; and the employment of apostolic notary afforded him a daily stipend of five gold florins, a more honourable and extensive connection, and the right of contrasting, both in words and actions, his own integrity with the vices of the state. The eloquence of Rienzi was prompt and persuasive: the multitude is always prone to envy and censure: he was stimulated by the loss of a brother and the impunity of the assassins; nor was it possible to excuse or exaggerate the public calamities. The blessings of peace and justice, for which civil society has been instituted, were banished from Rome: the jealous citizens, who might have endured every personal or pecuniary injury, were most deeply wounded in the dishonour of their wives and daughters;²² they were equally oppressed by the arrogance of the nobles and the corruption of the magistrates;^b and the abuse of arms or of laws was the only circumstance that distinguished the lions from the dogs and serpents of the Capitol. These allegorical emblems were variously repeated in the pictures which Rienzi exhibited in the streets and churches; and while the spectators gazed with curious wonder, the bold and ready orator unfolded the meaning, applied the satire, inflamed their passions, and announced a distant hope of comfort and deliverance. The privileges of Rome, her eternal sovereignty over her princes and provinces, was the theme of his public and private discourse; and a monument of servitude became in his hands a title and incentive of liberty. The decree of the senate, which granted the most ample prerogatives to the emperor Vespasian, had been inscribed on a copper-plate still extant in the choir of the church of St. John Lateran.²³ A numerous assembly of nobles and plebeians was invited to this political lecture, and a convenient theatre was erected for their reception. The notary appeared in a magnificent and mysterious habit, explained the inscription by a version and commentary,²⁴ and descanted with eloquence

²² Petrarch compares the jealousy of the Romans with the easy temper of the husbands of Avignon (*Mémoires*, tom. i. p. 330).

²³ The fragments of the *Lex regia* may be found in the Inscriptions of Gruter, tom. i. p. 242, and at the end of the Tacitus of Ernesti, with some learned notes of the editor, tom. ii.

²⁴ I cannot overlook a stupendous and laughable blunder of Rienzi. The *Lex regia* empowers Vespasian to enlarge the Pomærium, a word familiar to every antiquary. It was not so to the tribune; he confounds it with pomarium, an orchard, translates

^a Sir J. Hobhouse published (in his *Illustrations of Childe Harold*) Rienzi's joyful letter to the people of Rome, on the apparently favourable termination of this mission.—M. 1845.

^b All this Rienzi, writing at a later

period to the archbishop of Prague, attributed to the criminal abandonment of his flock by the supreme pontiff. See *Urkunde* apud Papencordt, p. xliiv; *Quarterly Review*, p. 355.—M. 1845.

and zeal on the ancient glories of the senate and people, from whom all legal authority was derived. The supine ignorance of the nobles was incapable of discerning the serious tendency of such representations: they might sometimes chastise with words and blows the plebeian reformer; but he was often suffered in the Colonna palace to amuse the company with his threats and predictions; and the modern Brutus²⁵ was concealed under the mask of folly and the character of a buffoon. While they indulged their contempt, the restoration of the *good estate*, his favourite expression, was entertained among the people as a desirable, a possible, and at length as an approaching, event; and while all had the disposition to applaud, some had the courage to assist, their promised deliverer.

A prophecy, or rather a summons, affixed on the church door of St. George, was the first public evidence of his designs,—a nocturnal assembly of an hundred citizens on Mount Aventine, the first step to their execution. After an oath of secrecy and aid, he represented to the conspirators the importance and facility of their enterprise; that the nobles, without union or resources, were strong only in the fear of their imaginary strength; that all power, as well as right, was in the hands of the people; that the revenues of the apostolical chamber might relieve the public distress; and that the pope himself would approve their victory over the common enemies of government and freedom. After securing a faithful band to protect his first declaration, he proclaimed through the city, by sound of trumpet, that on the evening of the following day all persons should assemble without arms before the church of St. Angelo, to provide for the re-establishment of the good estate. The whole night was employed in the celebration of thirty masses of the Holy Ghost; and in the morning Rienzi, bareheaded, but in complete armour, issued from the church, encompassed by the hundred conspirators. The pope's vicar, the simple bishop of Orvieto, who had been persuaded to sustain a part in this singular ceremony, marched on his right hand, and three great standards were borne aloft

He assumes
the govern-
ment of
Rome,
A.D. 1347,
May 20;

lo Jardino de Roma cioene Italia, and is copied by the less excusable ignorance of the Latin translator (p. 406) and the French historian (p. 33). Even the learning of Muratori has slumbered over the passage.

²⁵ *Priori (Bruto) tamen similior, juvenis uterque, longe ingenio quam cujus simulationem induerat, ut sub hoc obtentu liberator ille P. R. aperiretur tempore suo. . . . Ille regibus, hic tyrannis contemptus (Opp. p. 536).**

* Fateor attamen quod—nunc fatuum, nunc hystrionem, nunc gravem, nunc simplicem, nunc astutum, nunc fervidum, nunc timidum simulatorem, et dissimulatorem ad hunc caritativum finem, quem dixi, constitui sepius memet ipsum.

Writing to an archbishop (of Prague), Rienzi alleges Scriptural examples. Satisfactor coram archa David et insanus apparuit coram Rege; blanda, astuta, et tecta Judith astitit Holoferni; et astute Jacob meruit benedicti. Urkunde, xlix.—M. 1845.

as the emblems of their design. In the first, the banner of *liberty*, Rome was seated on two lions, with a palm in one hand and a globe in the other; St. Paul, with a drawn sword, was delineated in the banner of *justice*; and in the third, St. Peter held the keys of *concord* and *peace*. Rienzi was encouraged by the presence and applause of an innumerable crowd, who understood little and hoped much; and the procession slowly rolled forwards from the castle of St. Angelo to the Capitol. His triumph was disturbed by some secret emotions which he laboured to suppress: he ascended without opposition, and with seeming confidence, the citadel of the republic; harangued the people from the balcony, and received the most flattering confirmation of his acts and laws. The nobles, as if destitute of arms and counsels, beheld in silent consternation this strange revolution; and the moment had been prudently chosen when the most formidable, Stephen Colonna, was absent from the city. On the first rumour he returned to his palace, affected to despise this plebeian tumult, and declared to the messenger of Rienzi that at his leisure he would cast the madman from the windows of the Capitol. The great bell instantly rang an alarm, and so rapid was the tide, so urgent was the danger, that Colonna escaped with precipitation to the suburb of St. Laurence: from thence, after a moment's refreshment, he continued the same speedy career till he reached in safety his castle of Palestrina, lamenting his own imprudence, which had not trampled the spark of this mighty conflagration. A general and peremptory order was issued from the Capitol to all the nobles that they should peaceably retire to their estates: they obeyed, and their departure secured the tranquillity of the free and obedient citizens of Rome.

But such voluntary obedience evaporates with the first transports of zeal; and Rienzi felt the importance of justifying his usurpation by a regular form and a legal title. At his own choice, the Roman people would have displayed their attachment and authority by lavishing on his head the names of senator or consul, of king or emperor: he preferred the ancient and modest appellation of tribune;^a the protection of the commons was the essence of that sacred office, and they were ignorant that it had never been invested with any share in the legislative or executive powers of the republic. In this character, and with the consent of the Romans, the tribune enacted the most salutary laws for the restoration

with the
title and
office of
tribune.

Laws of the
good estate.

^a Et ego, Dao semper auctore, ipsa die pristina (leg. primâ) Tribunatus, quas quidem dignitas a tempore deflorati Imperii, et per annos V^o et ultra sub tyrannicâ occupatione vacavit, ipsos omnes potentates indifferenter Deum et justitiam odientes, a meâ, ymo a Dei facie fugiendo vehementi Spiritu dissipavi, et nullo effusc cruore trementes expuli, sine ictu remanente Romane terre facie renovatâ. Libellus Tribunum ad Cæsarem, p. xxxiv.—M. 1845.

and maintenance of the good estate. By the first he fulfils the wish of honesty and inexperience, that no civil suit should be protracted beyond the term of fifteen days. The danger of frequent perjury might justify the pronouncing against a false accuser the same penalty which his evidence would have inflicted: the disorders of the times might compel the legislator to punish every homicide with death and every injury with equal retaliation. But the execution of justice was hopeless till he had previously abolished the tyranny of the nobles. It was formally provided that none, except the supreme magistrate, should possess or command the gates, bridges, or towers of the state; that no private garrisons should be introduced into the towns or castles of the Roman territory; that none should bear arms or presume to fortify their houses in the city or country; that the barons should be responsible for the safety of the highways and the free passage of provisions; and that the protection of malefactors and robbers should be expiated by a fine of a thousand marks of silver. But these regulations would have been impotent and nugatory, had not the licentious nobles been awed by the sword of the civil power. A sudden alarm from the bell of the Capitol could still summon to the standard above twenty thousand volunteers: the support of the tribune and the laws required a more regular and permanent force. In each harbour of the coast a vessel was stationed for the assurance of commerce: a standing militia of three hundred and sixty horse and thirteen hundred foot was levied, clothed, and paid in the thirteen quarters of the city; and the spirit of a commonwealth may be traced in the grateful allowance of one hundred florins, or pounds, to the heirs of every soldier who lost his life in the service of his country. For the maintenance of the public defence, for the establishment of granaries, for the relief of widows, orphans, and indigent convents, Rienzi applied, without fear of sacrilege, the revenues of the apostolic chamber: the three branches of hearth-money, the salt-duty, and the customs, were each of the annual produce of one hundred thousand florins;²⁶ and scandalous were the abuses, if in four or five months the amount of the salt-duty could be trebled by his judicious economy. After thus restoring the forces and finances of the republic, the tribune recalled the nobles from their solitary independence, required their personal appearance in the Capitol, and imposed an oath of allegiance to the new government, and of submission to the laws of the good estate. Apprehensive for their safety, but still more apprehensive of the

²⁶ In one MS. I read (l. ii. c. 4, p. 409) *perfumante quatro solli*; in another, *quatro fiorini*—an important variety, since the florin was worth ten Roman *solidi* (Muratori, *dissert.* xxviii.). The former reading would give us a population of 25,000, the latter of 250,000, families; and I much fear that the former is more consistent with the decay of Rome and her territory.

danger of a refusal, the princes and barons returned to their houses at Rome in the garb of simple and peaceful citizens: the Colonna and Ursini, the Savelli and Frangipani, were confounded before the tribunal of a plebeian, of the vile buffoon whom they had so often derided, and their disgrace was aggravated by the indignation which they vainly struggled to disguise. The same oath was successively pronounced by the several orders of society, the clergy and gentlemen, the judges and notaries, the merchants and artisans, and the gradual descent was marked by the increase of sincerity and zeal. They swore to live and die with the republic and the church, whose interest was artfully united by the nominal association of the bishop of Orvieto, the pope's vicar, to the office of tribune. It was the boast of Rienzi that he had delivered the throne and patrimony of St. Peter from a rebellious aristocracy; and Clement the Sixth, who rejoiced in its fall, affected to believe the professions, to applaud the merits, and to confirm the title of his trusty servant. The speech, perhaps the mind, of the tribune, was inspired with a lively regard for the purity of the faith: he insinuated his claim to a supernatural mission from the Holy Ghost; enforced by a heavy forfeiture the annual duty of confession and communion; and strictly guarded the spiritual as well as temporal welfare of his faithful people.²⁷

Never perhaps has the energy and effect of a single mind been more remarkably felt than in the sudden, though transient, reformation of Rome by the tribune Rienzi. A den of robbers was converted to the discipline of a camp or convent: patient to hear, swift to redress, inexorable to punish, his tribunal was always accessible to the poor and stranger; nor could birth, or dignity, or the immunities of the church, protect the offender or his accomplices. The privileged houses, the private sanctuaries in Rome, on which no officer of justice would presume to trespass, were abolished; and he applied the timber and iron of their barricades in the fortifications of the Capitol. The venerable father of the Colonna was exposed in his own palace to the double shame of being desirous and of being unable to protect a criminal. A mule, with a jar of oil, had been stolen near Capranica; and the lord of the Ursini family was condemned to restore the damage and to discharge a fine of four hundred florins for his negligence in guarding the highways. Nor were the persons of the barons more inviolate than their lands or houses; and, either from accident or design, the same impartial rigour was exercised against the heads of the adverse factions. Peter

Freedom and
prosperity of
the Roman
republic.

²⁷ Hocsemius, p. 398, apud du Cerçeau, Hist. de Rienzi, p. 194. The fifteen tribunitian laws may be found in the Roman historian (whom for brevity I shall name) Fortificoca, l. ii. c. 4.

Agapet Colonna, who had himself been senator of Rome, was arrested in the street for injury or debt; and justice was appeased by the tardy execution of Martin Ursini, who, among his various acts of violence and rapine, had pillaged a shipwrecked vessel at the mouth of the Tiber.²⁸ His name, the purple of two cardinals his uncles, a recent marriage, and a mortal disease, were disregarded by the inflexible tribune, who had chosen his victim. The public officers dragged him from his palace and nuptial bed: his trial was short and satisfactory; the bell of the Capitol convened the people: stripped of his mantle, on his knees, with his hands bound behind his back, he heard the sentence of death, and, after a brief confession, Ursini was led away to the gallows. After such an example, none who were conscious of guilt could hope for impunity, and the flight of the wicked, the licentious, and the idle, soon purified the city and territory of Rome. In this time (says the historian) the woods began to rejoice that they were no longer infested with robbers; the oxen began to plough; the pilgrims visited the sanctuaries; the roads and inns were replenished with travellers; trade, plenty, and good faith were restored in the markets; and a purse of gold might be exposed without danger in the midst of the highway. As soon as the life and property of the subject are secure, the labours and rewards of industry spontaneously revive: Rome was still the metropolis of the Christian world, and the fame and fortunes of the tribune were diffused in every country by the strangers who had enjoyed the blessings of his government.

The deliverance of his country inspired Rienzi with a vast and perhaps visionary idea of uniting Italy in a great federative republic, of which Rome should be the ancient and lawful head, and the free cities and princes the members and associates. His pen was not less eloquent than his tongue, and his numerous epistles were delivered to swift and trusty messengers. On foot, with a white wand in their hand, they traversed the forests and mountains; enjoyed, in the most hostile states, the sacred security of ambassadors; and reported, in the style of flattery or truth, that the highways along their passage were lined with kneeling multitudes,

The tribune
is respected
in Italy, &c.;

²⁸ Fortificoca, l. ii. c. 11. From the account of this shipwreck we learn some circumstances of the trade and navigation of the age. 1. The ship was built and freighted at Naples for the ports of Marseilles and Avignon. 2. The sailors were of Naples and the isle of CEnaria, less skilful than those of Sicily and Genoa. 3. The navigation from Marseilles was a coasting voyage to the mouth of the Tiber, where they took shelter in a storm; but, instead of finding the current, unfortunately ran on a shoal: the vessel was stranded, the mariners escaped. 4. The cargo, which was pillaged, consisted of the revenue of Provence for the royal treasury, many bags of pepper and cinnamon, and bales of French cloth, to the value of 20,000 florins: a rich prize.

who implored Heaven for the success of their undertaking. Could passion have listened to reason, could private interest have yielded to the public welfare, the supreme tribunal and confederate union of the Italian republic might have healed their intestine discord, and closed the Alps against the barbarians of the North. But the propitious season had elapsed; and if Venice, Florence, Sienna, Perugia, and many inferior cities, offered their lives and fortunes to the good estate, the tyrants of Lombardy and Tuscany must despise or hate the plebeian author of a free constitution. From them, however, and from every part of Italy, the tribune received the most friendly and respectful answers: they were followed by the ambassadors of the princes and republics; and in this foreign conflux, on all the occasions of pleasure or business, the low-born notary could assume the familiar or majestic courtesy of a sovereign.²⁹ The most glorious circumstance of his reign was an appeal to his justice from Lewis king of Hungary, who complained that his brother and her husband had been perfidiously strangled by Jane queen of Naples:³⁰ her guilt or innocence was pleaded in a solemn trial at Rome; but after hearing the advocates,³¹ the tribune adjourned this weighty and invidious cause, which was soon determined by the sword of the Hungarian. Beyond the Alps, more especially at Avignon, the revolution was the theme of curiosity, wonder, and applause.* Petrarch had been the private friend, per-

²⁹ It was thus that Oliver Cromwell's old acquaintance, who remembered his vulgar and ungracious entrance into the House of Commons, were astonished at the ease and majesty of the Protector on his throne (see Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 27-34, from Clarendon, Warwick, Whitelocke, Waller, &c.). The consciousness of merit and power will sometimes elevate the manners to the station.

³⁰ See the causes, circumstances, and effects of the death of Andrew, in Giannone (tom. iii. l. xxiii. p. 220-229), and the Life of Petrarch (Mémoires, tom. ii. p. 143-148, 245-250, 375-379, notes, p. 21-37). The abbé de Sade wishes to extenuate her guilt.

³¹ The advocate who pleaded against Jane could add nothing to the logical force and brevity of his master's epistle. *Johanna inordinata vita præcedens, retentio potestatis in regno, neglecta vindicta, vir alter susceptor, et excusatio subsequens, necis viri tui te probant fuisse participem et consortem.* Jane of Naples and Mary of Scotland have a singular conformity.

* In his letter to the archbishop of Prague, Rienzi thus describes the effect of his elevation on Italy and on the world: "Did I not restore real peace among the cities which were distracted by factions? did I not cause all the citizens, exiled by party violence, with their wretched wives and children, to be readmitted? had I not begun to extinguish the factious names (scismatica nomina) of Guelf and Ghibelline, for which countless thousands had perished body and soul, under the eyes of their pastors, by the reduction

"of the city of Rome and all Italy into one amicable, peaceful, holy, and united confederacy? the consecrated standards and banners having been by me collected and blended together, and, in witness to our holy association and perfect union, offered up in the presence of the ambassadors of all the cities of Italy, on the day of the assumption of our Blessed Lady." P. xlvii.

In the *Libellus ad Cæsarem*:—"I received the homage and submission of all the sovereigns of Apulia, the barons and

haps the secret counsellor, of Rienzi: his writings breathe the most ardent spirit of patriotism and joy; and all respect for the pope, all gratitude for the Colonna, was lost in the superior duties of a Roman citizen. The poet-laureat of the Capitol maintains the act, applauds the hero, and mingles with some apprehension and advice the most lofty hopes of the permanent and rising greatness of the republic.³²

and celebrated by Petrarch.

While Petrarch indulged these prophetic visions, the Roman hero was fast declining from the meridian of fame and power; and the people, who had gazed with astonishment on the ascending meteor, began to mark the irregularity of its course, and the vicissitudes of light and obscurity. More eloquent than judicious, more enterprising than resolute, the faculties of Rienzi were not balanced by cool and commanding reason; he magnified in a tenfold proportion the objects of hope and fear; and prudence, which could not have erected, did not presume to fortify, his throne. In the blaze of prosperity, his virtues were insensibly tinctured with the adjacent vices; justice with cruelty, liberality with profusion, and the desire of fame with puerile and ostentatious vanity.^a He might have learned that the ancient tribunes, so strong and sacred in the public opinion, were not distinguished in style, habit, or appearance, from an ordinary plebeian;³³ and that, as often as they visited the city on foot, a single

His vices and follies.

³² See the *Epistola Hortatoria de Capessenda Republica*, from Petrarch to Nicholas Rienzi (Opp. p. 535-540), and the *vth* eulogium or pastoral, a perpetual and obscure allegory.

³³ In his *Roman Questions*, Plutarch ([c. 81] *Opuscul. tom. i. p. 505, 506*, edit. Græc. Hen. Steph.) states, on the most constitutional principles, the simple greatness of the tribunes, who were not properly magistrates, but a check on magistracy. It was their duty and interest *ῥησιεύεσθαι καὶ σχήματα καὶ σολῆ καὶ διαίτη τοῖς ἰστυρχάουσιν τῶν πολιτῶν . . . καταπατίεσθαι δὲ* (a saying of C. Curio) *καὶ μὴ σιμῶν εἶναι ἢ ἔψαι μὴδὲ δυσπρόσοδοι . . . ἴσθαι δὲ μᾶλλον ἰσκασινοῦνται τῷ νόμῳ, τοσούτω μᾶλλον ἀξίοναι τῷ δυνάμει*, &c. Rienzi, and Petrarch himself, were incapable perhaps of reading a Greek philosopher; but they might have imbibed the same modest doctrines from their favourite Latins, Livy and Valerius Maximus.

"counts, and almost all the people of Italy. I was honoured by solemn embassies and letters by the emperor of Constantinople and the king of England. The queen of Naples submitted herself and her kingdom to the protection of the tribunes. The king of Hungary, by two solemn embassies, brought his cause against his queen and his nobles before my tribunal; and I venture to say further, that the fame of the tribune alarmed the sultan of Babylon. When the Christian pilgrims to the sepulchre of our Lord related to the Christian and Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem all the yet unheard-of and wonderful circumstances of the reformation in Rome, both

"Jews and Christians celebrated the event with unusual festivities. When the sultan inquired the cause of these rejoicings, and received this intelligence about Rome, he ordered all the havens and cities on the coast to be fortified and put in a state of defence." P. xxxv.—M. 1845.

"An illustrious female writer has drawn, with a single stroke, the character of Rienzi, Crescentius, and Arnold of Brescia, the fond restorers of Roman liberty: 'Qui ont pris les souvenirs pour les espérances.' Corinne, tom. i. p. 159. 'Could Tacitus have excelled this?' Hallam, vol. i. p. 418.—M.

viator, or beadle, attended the exercise of their office. The Gracchi would have frowned or smiled, could they have read the sonorous titles and epithets of their successor,—“NICHOLAS, SEVERE AND “MERCIFUL; DELIVERER OF ROME; DEFENDER OF ITALY;”³⁴ FRIEND “OF MANKIND, AND OF LIBERTY, PEACE, AND JUSTICE; TRIBUNE “AUGUST:” his theatrical pageants had prepared the revolution; but Rienzi abused, in luxury and pride, the political maxim of speaking to the eyes, as well as the understanding, of the multitude. From nature he had received the gift of a handsome person,³⁵ till it was swelled and disfigured by intemperance: and his propensity to laughter was corrected in the magistrature by the affectation of gravity and sternness. He was clothed, at least on public occasions, in a parti-coloured robe of velvet or satin, lined with fur, and embroidered with gold: the rod of justice, which he carried in his hand, was a sceptre of polished steel, crowned with a globe and cross of gold, and enclosing a small fragment of the true and holy wood. In his civil and religious processions through the city, he rode on a white steed, the symbol of royalty: the great banner of the republic, a sun with a circle of stars, a dove with an olive-branch, was displayed over his head; a shower of gold and silver was scattered among the populace; fifty guards with halberds encompassed his person; a troop of horse preceded his march; and their tymbals and trumpets were of massy silver.

The ambition of the honours of chivalry³⁶ betrayed the meanness of his birth and degraded the importance of his office; and the equestrian tribune was not less odious to the nobles, whom he adopted, than to the plebeians, whom he deserted.

All that yet remained of treasure, or luxury, or art, was exhausted on that solemn day. Rienzi led the procession from the Capitol to the Lateran; the tediousness of the way was relieved with decorations and games; the ecclesiastical, civil, and military orders marched under their various banners; the Roman ladies attended his wife; and the ambassadors of Italy might loudly applaud or secretly

The pomp of his knighthood, A.D. 1347, August 1;

³⁴ I could not express in English the forcible, though barbarous, title of *Zelator Italiae*, which Rienzi assumed.

³⁵ *Era bell' homo* (l. ii. c. 1, p. 399). It is remarkable that the *riso sarcastico* of the Bracciano edition is wanting in the Roman MS. from which Muratori has given the text. In his second reign, when he is painted almost as a monster, Rienzi *travea una ventresca tonna trionfale, a modo de uno Abbate Asiano, or Asinino* (l. iii. c. 18, p. 523).

³⁶ Strange as it may seem, this festival was not without a precedent. In the year 1327, two barons, a Colonna and an Ursini, the usual balance, were created knights by the Roman people: their bath was of rose-water, their beds were decked with royal magnificence, and they were served at St. Maria of Araceli in the Capitol by the twenty-eight *buoni uomini*. They afterwards received from Robert king of Naples the sword of chivalry (*Hist. Rom.* l. i. c. 2, p. 259).

deride the novelty of the pomp. In the evening, when they had reached the church and palace of Constantine, he thanked and dismissed the numerous assembly, with an invitation to the festival of the ensuing day. From the hands of a venerable knight he received the order of the Holy Ghost; the purification of the bath was a previous ceremony; but in no step of his life did Rienzi excite such scandal and censure as by the profane use of the porphyry vase in which Constantine (a foolish legend) had been healed of his leprosy by Pope Sylvester.³⁷ With equal presumption the tribune watched or reposed within the consecrated precincts of the baptistery; and the failure of his state-bed was interpreted as an omen of his approaching downfall. At the hour of worship he showed himself to the returning crowds in a majestic attitude, with a robe of purple, his sword, and gilt spurs; but the holy rites were soon interrupted by his levity and insolence. Rising from his throne, and advancing towards the congregation, he proclaimed in a loud voice, "We summon to our tribunal Pope Clement, and command him to reside in his diocese of Rome: we also summon the sacred college of cardinals.³⁸ We again summon the two pretenders, Charles of Bohemia and Lewis of Bavaria, who style themselves emperors: we likewise summon all the electors of Germany to inform us on what pretence they have usurped the inalienable right of the Roman people, the ancient and lawful sovereigns of the empire."³⁹ Unsheathing his maiden sword, he thrice brandished it to the three parts of the world, and thrice repeated the extravagant declaration, "And this too is mine!" The pope's vicar, the bishop of Orvieto, attempted to check this career of folly; but his feeble protest was silenced by martial music; and instead of withdrawing from the assembly, he consented to dine with his brother tribune at a table which had hitherto been reserved for the supreme pontiff. A banquet, such as the Cæsars had given, was prepared for the Romans. The apartments, porticoes, and courts of the Lateran were spread with innumerable tables for either sex and every condition; a stream of wine flowed from the nostrils of Constantine's brazen horse; no complaint, except of the scarcity of water, could be heard; and the

³⁷ All parties believed in the leprosy and bath of Constantine (Petrarch, *Epist.* Famil. vi. 2), and Rienzi justified his own conduct by observing to the court of Avignon, that a vase which had been used by a pagan could not be profaned by a pious Christian. Yet this crime is specified in the bull of excommunication (Hocsemius, *apud du Cerçeau*, p. 189, 190).

³⁸ This *verbal* summons of Pope Clement VI., which rests on the authority of the Roman historian and a Vatican MS., is disputed by the biographer of Petrarch (tom. ii. not. p. 70-76) with arguments rather of decency than of weight. The court of Avignon might not choose to agitate this delicate question.

³⁹ The summons of the two rival emperors, a monument of freedom and folly, is extant in Hocsemius (*Cerçeau*, p. 163-166).

licentiousness of the multitude was curbed by discipline and fear. A subsequent day was appointed for the coronation of Rienzi;⁴⁰ and seven crowns of different leaves or metals were successively placed on his head by the most eminent of the Roman clergy; they represented the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost; and he still professed to imitate the example of the ancient tribunes.^a These extraordinary spectacles might deceive or flatter the people; and their own vanity was gratified in the vanity of their leader. But in his private life he soon deviated from the strict rule of frugality and abstinence; and the plebeians, who were awed by the splendour of the nobles, were provoked by the luxury of their equal. His wife, his son, his uncle (a barber in name and profession), exposed the contrast of vulgar manners and princely expense; and without acquiring the majesty, Rienzi degenerated into the vices, of a king.

A simple citizen describes with pity, or perhaps with pleasure, the humiliation of the barons of Rome. "Bareheaded, their hands crossed on their breast, they stood with downcast looks in the presence of the tribune; and they trembled, good God, how they trembled!"⁴¹ As long as the yoke of Rienzi was that of justice and their country, their conscience forced them to esteem the man whom pride and interest provoked them to hate: his extravagant conduct soon fortified their hatred by contempt; and they conceived the hope of subverting a power which was no longer so deeply rooted in the public confidence. The old animosity of the Colonna and Ursini was suspended for a moment by their common disgrace: they associated their wishes, and perhaps their designs; an assassin was seized and tortured; he accused the nobles; and as

⁴⁰ It is singular that the Roman historian should have overlooked this sevenfold coronation, which is sufficiently proved by internal evidence, and the testimony of Hocsemius, and even of Rienzi (Cerçeau, p. 167-170, 229).

⁴¹ *Puoi se faceva stare donante a se, mentre sedeva, li baroni tutti in piedi ritti co le vracia piecate, e co li capucci tratti. Deh como stavano paurosi!* (Hist. Rom. l. ii. c. 20, p. 439.) He saw them, and we see them.

^a It was on this occasion that he made the profane comparison between himself and our Lord; and the striking circumstance took place which he relates in his letter to the archbishop of Prague. In the midst of all the wild and joyous exultation of the people, one of his most zealous supporters, a monk, who was in high repute for his sanctity, stood apart in a corner of the church and wept bitterly! A domestic chaplain of Rienzi's inquired the cause of his grief. "Now," replied the man of God, "is thy master cast down from heaven—never saw I man so proud. "By the aid of the Holy Ghost he has

"driven the tyrants from the city without drawing a sword; the cities and the sovereigns of Italy have submitted to his power. Why is he so arrogant and ungrateful towards the Most High? Why does he seek earthly and transitory rewards for his labours, and in his wanton speech liken himself to the Creator? Tell thy master that he can only atone for this offence by tears of penitence." In the evening the chaplain communicated this solemn rebuke to the Tribune; it appalled him for the time, but was soon forgotten in the tumult and hurry of business.—M. 1845.

soon as Rienzi deserved the fate, he adopted the suspicions and maxims, of a tyrant. On the same day, under various pretences, he invited to the Capitol his principal enemies, among whom were five members of the Ursini and three of the Colonna name. But instead of a council or a banquet, they found themselves prisoners under the sword of despotism or justice; and the consciousness of innocence or guilt might inspire them with equal apprehensions of danger. At the sound of the great bell the people assembled; they were arraigned for a conspiracy against the tribune's life; and though some might sympathise in their distress, not a hand nor a voice was raised to rescue the first of the nobility from their impending doom. Their apparent boldness was prompted by despair; they passed in separate chambers a sleepless and painful night; and the venerable hero, Stephen Colonna, striking against the door of his prison, repeatedly urged his guards to deliver him by a speedy death from such ignominious servitude. In the morning they understood their sentence from the visit of a confessor and the tolling of the bell. The great hall of the Capitol had been decorated for the bloody scene with red and white hangings: the countenance of the tribune was dark and severe; the swords of the executioners were unsheathed; and the barons were interrupted in their dying speeches by the sound of trumpets. But in this decisive moment Rienzi was not less anxious or apprehensive than his captives: he dreaded the splendour of their names, their surviving kinsmen, the inconstancy of the people, the reproaches of the world; and, after rashly offering a mortal injury, he vainly presumed that, if he could forgive, he might himself be forgiven. His elaborate oration was that of a Christian and a suppliant; and, as the humble minister of the commons, he entreated his masters to pardon these noble criminals, for whose repentance and future service he pledged his faith and authority. "If you are spared," said the tribune, "by the mercy of the Romans, will you not promise to support the good estate with your lives and fortunes?" Astonished by this marvellous clemency, the barons bowed their heads; and while they devoutly repeated the oath of allegiance, might whisper a secret, and more sincere, assurance of revenge. A priest, in the name of the people, pronounced their absolution; they received the communion with the tribune, assisted at the banquet, followed the procession; and, after every spiritual and temporal sign of reconciliation, were dismissed in safety to their respective homes, with the new honours and titles of generals, consuls, and patricians.⁴²

⁴² The original letter, in which Rienzi justifies his treatment of the Colonna (Hoesemius, apud Du Cerceau, p. 222-229), displays, in genuine colours, the mixture of the knave and the madman.

During some weeks they were checked by the memory of their danger, rather than of their deliverance, till the most powerful of the Ursini, escaping with the Colonna from the city, erected at Marino the standard of rebellion. The fortifications of the castle were hastily restored; the vassals attended their lord; the outlaws armed against the magistrate; the flocks and herds, the harvests and vineyards from Marino to the gates of Rome, were swept away or destroyed; and the people arraigned Rienzi as the author of the calamities which his government had taught them to forget. In the camp Rienzi appeared to less advantage than in the rostrum; and he neglected the progress of the rebel barons till their numbers were strong, and their castles impregnable. From the pages of Livy he had not imbibed the art, or even the courage, of a general: an army of twenty thousand Romans returned without honour or effect from the attack of Marino; and his vengeance was amused by painting his enemies, their heads downwards, and drowning two dogs (at least they should have been bears) as the representatives of the Ursini. The belief of his incapacity encouraged their operations: they were invited by their secret adherents; and the barons attempted, with four thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse, to enter Rome by force or surprise. The city was prepared for their reception; the alarm-bell rung all night; the gates were strictly guarded, or insolently open; and after some hesitation they sounded a retreat. The two first divisions had passed along the walls, but the prospect of a free entrance tempted the headstrong valour of the nobles in the rear; and after a successful skirmish, they were overthrown and massacred without quarter by the crowds of the Roman people. Stephen Colonna the younger, the noble spirit to whom Petrarch ascribed the restoration of Italy, was preceded or accompanied in death by his son John, a gallant youth, by his brother Peter, who might regret the ease and honours of the church, by a nephew of legitimate birth, and by two bastards of the Colonna race; and the number of seven, the seven crowns, as Rienzi styled them, of the Holy Ghost, was completed by the agony of the deplorable parent, of the veteran chief, who had survived the hope and fortune of his house. The vision and prophecies of St. Martin and Pope Boniface had been used by the tribune to animate his troops: ⁴³ he displayed, at least in

They oppose
Rienzi in
arms.

Defeat and
death of the
Colonna.
Nov. 20.

⁴³ Rienzi, in the above-mentioned letter, ascribes to St. Martin the tribune, Boniface VIII, the enemy of Colonna, himself, and the Roman people, the glory of the day, which Villani likewise (l. xii. c. 104) describes as a regular battle. The disorderly skirmish, the flight of the Romans, and the cowardice of Rienzi, are painted in the simple and minute narrative of Fortificoca, or the anonymous citizen (l. ii. c. 34-37).

the pursuit, the spirit of an hero; but he forgot the maxims of the ancient Romans, who abhorred the triumphs of civil war. The conqueror ascended the Capitol; deposited his crown and sceptre on the altar; and boasted, with some truth, that he had cut off an ear which neither pope nor emperor had been able to amputate.⁴⁴ His base and implacable revenge denied the honours of burial; and the bodies of the Colonna, which he threatened to expose with those of the vilest malefactors, were secretly interred by the holy virgins of their name and family.⁴⁵ The people sympathised in their grief, repented of their own fury, and detested the indecent joy of Rienzi, who visited the spot where these illustrious victims had fallen. It was on that fatal spot that he conferred on his son the honour of knighthood: and the ceremony was accomplished by a slight blow from each of the horsemen of the guard, and by a ridiculous and inhuman ablution from a pool of water, which was yet polluted with patrician blood.⁴⁶

A short delay would have saved the Colonna, the delay of a single month, which elapsed between the triumph and the exile of Rienzi. In the pride of victory he forfeited what yet remained of his civil virtues, without acquiring the fame of military prowess. A free and vigorous opposition was formed in the city; and when the tribune proposed in the public council⁴⁷ to impose a new tax, and to regulate the government of Perugia, thirty-nine members voted against his measures, repelled the injurious charge of treachery and corruption, and urged him to prove, by their forcible exclusion, that, if the populace adhered to his cause, it was already disclaimed by the most respectable citizens. The pope and the sacred college had never been dazzled by his specious professions; they were justly offended by the insolence of his conduct; a cardinal

Fall and flight of the tribune Rienzi, A.D. 1347, Dec. 15.

⁴⁴ In describing the fall of the Colonna, I speak only of the family of Stephen the elder, who is often confounded by the P. du Cerceau with his son. That family was extinguished, but the house has been perpetuated in the collateral branches, of which I have not a very accurate knowledge. *Circumspice (says Petrarch) familiae tunc statum. Columnensium domos: solito pauciores habent columnas. Quid ad rem! modo fundamentum stabile, solidumque permanent.*

⁴⁵ The convent of St. Silvester was founded, endowed, and protected by the Colonna cardinals, for the daughters of the family who embraced a monastic life, and who, in the year 1318, were twelve in number. The others were allowed to marry with their kinsmen in the fourth degree, and the dispensation was justified by the small number and close alliances of the noble families of Rome (*Mémoires sur Pétrarque, tom. i. p. 110, tom. ii. p. 401*).

⁴⁶ Petrarch wrote a stiff and pedantic letter of consolation (*Fam. l. vii. epist. 13, p. 682, 683*). The friend was lost in the patriot. *Nulla toto orbe principum familia carior; carior tamen republica, carior Roma, carior Italia.*

Je rends grâces aux Dieux de n'être pas Romain.

⁴⁷ This council and opposition is obscurely mentioned by Pollistore, a contemporary writer, who has preserved some curious and original facts (*Rec. Italicarum, tom. xxv. c. 31, p. 798-804*).

legate was sent to Italy, and after some fruitless treaty, and two personal interviews, he fulminated a bull of excommunication, in which the tribune is degraded from his office, and branded with the guilt of rebellion, sacrilege, and heresy.⁴⁸ The surviving barons of Rome were now humbled to a sense of allegiance; their interest and revenge engaged them in the service of the church; but as the fate of the Colonna was before their eyes, they abandoned to a private adventurer the peril and glory of the revolution. John Pepin, count of Minorbino,⁴⁹ in the kingdom of Naples, had been condemned for his crimes, or his riches, to perpetual imprisonment; and Petrarch, by soliciting his release, indirectly contributed to the ruin of his friend. At the head of one hundred and fifty soldiers the count of Minorbino introduced himself into Rome, barricaded the quarter of the Colonna, and found the enterprise as easy as it had seemed impossible. From the first alarm the bell of the Capitol incessantly tolled; but instead of repairing to the well-known sound, the people were silent and inactive; and the pusillanimous Rienzi, deploring their ingratitude with sighs and tears, abdicated the government and palace of the republic.

Without drawing his sword, Count Pepin restored the aristocracy and the church; three senators were chosen, and the legate, assuming the first rank, accepted his two colleagues from the rival families of Colonna and Ursini. The acts of the tribune were abolished, his head was proscribed; yet such was the terror of his name, that the barons hesitated three days before they would trust themselves in the city, and Rienzi was left above a month in the castle of St. Angelo, from whence he peaceably withdrew, after labouring, without effect, to revive the affection and courage of the Romans. The vision of freedom and empire had vanished: their fallen spirit would have acquiesced in servitude, had it been smoothed by tranquillity and order; and it was scarcely observed that the new senators derived their authority from the Apostolic See, that four cardinals were appointed to reform, with dictatorial power, the state of the republic. Rome was again agitated by the bloody feuds of the barons, who detested each other and despised the commons: their hostile fortresses, both in town and country, again rose, and were again demolished: and the peaceful citizens, a flock of sheep, were devoured, says the Florentine historian, by these rapacious

Revolutions
of Rome,
A.D.
1347-1354.

⁴⁸ The briefs and bulls of Clement VI. against Rienzi are translated by the P. du Cerceau (p. 198, 232) from the Ecclesiastical Annals of Odericus Raynaldus (A.D. 1347, No. 15, 17, 21, &c.), who found them in the archives of the Vatican.

⁴⁹ Matteo Villani describes the origin, character, and death of this count of Minorbino, a man *da natura inconstante e senza fede*, whose grandfather, a crafty notary, was enriched and ennobled by the spoils of the Saracens of Nocera (l. vii. c. 102, 103). See his imprisonment, and the efforts of Petrarch, tom. ii. p. 149-151.

wolves. But when their pride and avarice had exhausted the patience of the Romans, a confraternity of the Virgin Mary protected or avenged the republic: the bell of the Capitol was again tolled, the nobles in arms trembled in the presence of an unarmed multitude; and of the two senators, Colonna escaped from the window of the palace, and Ursini was stoned at the foot of the altar. The dangerous office of tribune was successively occupied by two plebeians, Cerroni and Baroncelli. The mildness of Cerroni was unequal to the times, and after a faint struggle he retired with a fair reputation and a decent fortune to the comforts of rural life. Devoid of eloquence or genius, Baroncelli was distinguished by a resolute spirit: he spoke the language of a patriot, and trod in the footsteps of tyrants; his suspicion was a sentence of death, and his own death was the reward of his cruelties. Amidst the public misfortunes the faults of Rienzi were forgotten, and the Romans sighed for the peace and prosperity of the good estate.⁵⁰

After an exile of seven years, the first deliverer was again restored to his country. In the disguise of a monk or a pilgrim he escaped from the castle of St. Angelo, implored the friendship of the king of Hungary at Naples, tempted the ambition of every bold adventurer, mingled at Rome with the pilgrims of the jubilee, lay concealed among the hermits of the Apennine, and wandered through the cities of Italy, Germany, and Bohemia. His person was invisible, his name was yet formidable; and the anxiety of the court of Avignon supposes, and even magnifies, his personal merit. The emperor Charles the Fourth gave audience to a stranger, who frankly revealed himself as the tribune of the republic, and astonished an assembly of ambassadors and princes by the eloquence of a patriot and the visions of a prophet, the downfall of tyranny and the kingdom of the Holy Ghost.⁵¹ Whatever had been his hopes, Rienzi found himself a captive; but he supported a character of inde-

⁵⁰ The troubles of Rome, from the departure to the return of Rienzi, are related by Matteo Villani (l. ii. c. 47, l. iii. c. 33, 57, 78) and Thomas Fortificocca (l. iii. c. 1-4). I have slightly passed over these secondary characters, who imitated the original tribune.

⁵¹ These visions, of which the friends and enemies of Rienzi seem alike ignorant, are surely magnified by the zeal of Pollistore, a Dominican inquisitor (Rer. Ital. tom. xxv. c. 36, p. 819). Had the tribune taught that Christ was succeeded by the Holy Ghost, that the tyranny of the pope would be abolished, he might have been convicted of heresy and treason, without offending the Roman people.*

* So far from having magnified these visions, Pollistore is more than confirmed by the documents published by Papencordt. The adoption of all the wild doctrines of the Fratricelli, the Spirituals, in which, for the time at least, Rienzi appears

to have been in earnest, his magnificent offers to the emperor, and the whole history of his life, from his first escape from Rome to his imprisonment at Avignon, are among the most curious chapters of his eventful life.—M. 1845.

pendence and dignity, and obeyed, as his own choice, the irresistible summons of the supreme pontiff. The zeal of Petrarch, which had been cooled by the unworthy conduct, was rekindled by the sufferings and the presence of his friend; and he boldly complains of the times in which the saviour of Rome was delivered by her emperor into the hands of her bishop. Rienzi was transported slowly but in safe custody from Prague to Avignon: his entrance into the city was that of a malefactor; in his prison he was chained by the leg, and four cardinals were named to inquire into the crimes of heresy and rebellion. But his trial and condemnation would have involved some questions which it was more prudent to leave under the veil of mystery: the temporal supremacy of the popes, the duty of residence, the civil and ecclesiastical privileges of the clergy and people of Rome. The reigning pontiff well deserved the appellation of *Clement*: the strange vicissitudes and magnanimous spirit of the captive excited his pity and esteem; and Petrarch believes that he respected in the hero the name and sacred character of a poet.⁵² Rienzi was indulged with an easy confinement and the use of books; and in the assiduous study of Livy and the Bible he sought the cause and the consolation of his misfortunes.

The succeeding pontificate of Innocent the Sixth opened a new prospect of his deliverance and restoration; and the court of Avignon was persuaded that the successful rebel could alone appease and reform the anarchy of the metropolis. After a solemn profession of fidelity, the Roman tribune was sent into Italy with the title of senator; but the death of Baroncelli appeared to supersede the use of his mission; and the legate, Cardinal Albornoz,⁵³ a consummate statesman, allowed him with reluctance, and without aid, to undertake the perilous experiment. His first reception was equal to his wishes: the day of his entrance was a public festival, and his eloquence and authority revived the laws of the good estate. But this momentary sunshine was soon clouded by his own vices and those of the people: in the Capitol he might often regret the prison of Avignon; and after a second administration of four months Rienzi was massacred in a tumult which had been fomented by the Roman barons. In the society of the Germans and Bohemians

⁵² The astonishment, the envy almost, of Petrarch, is a proof, if not of the truth of this incredible fact, at least of his own veracity. The abbé de Sade (*Mémoires*, tom. iii. p. 242) quotes the sixth epistle of the thirteenth book of Petrarch, but it is of the royal MS. which he consulted, and not of the ordinary Basil edition (p. 920).

⁵³ *Ægidius*, or Giles Albornoz, a noble Spaniard, archbishop of Toledo, and cardinal legate in Italy (A.D. 1353-1367), restored, by his arms and counsels, the temporal dominion of the popes. His life has been separately written by Sepulveda; but Dryden could not reasonably suppose that his name, or that of Wolsey, had reached the ears of the Mufti in Don Sebastian.

he is said to have contracted the habits of intemperance and cruelty : adversity had chilled his enthusiasm without fortifying his reason or virtue ; and that youthful hope, that lively assurance, which is the pledge of success, was now succeeded by the cold impotence of distrust and despair. The tribune had reigned with absolute dominion, by the choice, and in the hearts, of the Romans ; the senator was the servile minister of a foreign court ; and while he was suspected by the people, he was abandoned by the prince. The legate Alborno, who seemed desirous of his ruin, inflexibly refused all supplies of men and money : a faithful subject could no longer presume to touch the revenues of the apostolical chamber ; and the first idea of a tax was the signal of clamour and sedition. Even his justice was tainted with the guilt or reproach of selfish cruelty : the most virtuous citizen of Rome was sacrificed to his jealousy ; and in the execution of a public robber, from whose purse he had been assisted, the magistrate too much forgot, or too much remembered, the obligations of the debtor.⁵⁴ A civil war exhausted his treasures and the patience of the city : the Colonna maintained their hostile station at Palestrina ; and his mercenaries soon despised a leader whose ignorance and fear were envious of all subordinate merit. In the death, as in the life, of Rienzi, the hero and the coward were strangely mingled. When the Capitol was invested by a furious multitude, when he was basely deserted by his civil and military servants, the intrepid senator, waving the banner of liberty, presented himself on the balcony, addressed his eloquence to the various passions of the Romans, and laboured to persuade them that in the same cause himself and the republic must either stand or fall. His oration was interrupted by a volley of imprecations and stones ; and after an arrow had transpierced his hand, he sunk into abject despair, and fled weeping to the inner chambers, from whence he was let down by a sheet before the windows of the prison. Destitute of aid or hope, he was besieged till the evening : the doors of the Capitol were destroyed with axes and fire ; and while the senator attempted to escape in a plebeian habit, he was discovered and dragged to the platform of the palace, the fatal scene of his judgments and executions. A whole hour, without voice or motion, he stood amidst the multitude half naked and half dead : their rage was hushed into curiosity and wonder : the last feelings of reverence and compassion yet struggled in his favour ; and they might have prevailed, if a bold assassin had not plunged

⁵⁴ From Matteo Villani and Fortificoca, the P. du Cerceau (p. 344-394) has extracted the life and death of the Chevalier Montreal, the life of a robber and the death of a hero. At the head of a free company, the first that desolated Italy, he became rich and formidable: he had money in all the banks,—60,000 ducats in Padua alone.

a dagger in his breast. He fell senseless with the first stroke; the impotent revenge of his enemies inflicted a thousand wounds; and the senator's body was abandoned to the dogs, to the Jews, and to the flames. Posterity will compare the virtues and failings of this extraordinary man; but in a long period of anarchy and servitude, the name of Rienzi has often been celebrated as the deliverer of his country, and the last of the Roman patriots.⁵⁵

His death,
A. D. 1354,
Sept. 8.

The first and most generous wish of Petrarch was the restoration of a free republic; but after the exile and death of his plebeian hero, he turned his eyes from the tribune to the king of the Romans. The Capitol was yet stained with the blood of Rienzi when Charles the Fourth descended from the Alps to obtain the Italian and Imperial crowns. In his passage through Milan he received the visit, and repaid the flattery, of the poet laureat; accepted a medal of Augustus; and promised, without a smile, to imitate the founder of the Roman monarchy. A false application of the names and maxims of antiquity was the source of the hopes and disappointments of Petrarch; yet he could not overlook the difference of times and characters; the immeasurable distance between the first Cæsars and a Bohemian prince, who by the favour of the clergy had been elected the titular head of the German aristocracy. Instead of restoring to Rome her glory and her provinces, he had bound himself by a secret treaty with the pope to evacuate the city on the day of his coronation; and his shameful retreat was pursued by the reproaches of the patriot bard.⁵⁶

After the loss of liberty and empire, his third and more humble wish was to reconcile the shepherd with his flock; to recall the Roman bishop to his ancient and peculiar diocese. In the fervour of youth, with the authority of age, Petrarch addressed his exhortations to five successive popes, and his eloquence was always inspired by the enthusiasm of sentiment and the freedom of language.⁵⁷ The son of a citizen of Florence invariably preferred the country of his birth to that of his education; and Italy, in his eyes, was the queen and garden of the world. Amidst her

He solicits
the popes of
Avignon to
fix their
residence at
Rome.

⁵⁵ The exile, second government, and death of Rienzi, are minutely related by the anonymous Roman, who appears neither his friend nor his enemy (l. iii. c. 12-25). Petrarch, who loved the *tribune*, was indifferent to the fate of the *senator*.

⁵⁶ The hopes and the disappointment of Petrarch are agreeably described in his own words by the French biographer (*Mémoires*, tom. iii. p. 375-413); but the deep, though secret, wound was the coronation of Zanubi, the poet-laureat, by Charles IV.

⁵⁷ See, in his accurate and amusing biographer, the application of Petrarch and Rome to Benedict XII. in the year 1334 (*Mémoires*, tom. i. p. 261-265), to Clement VI. in 1342 (tom. ii. p. 45-47), and to Urban V. in 1366 (tom. iii. p. 677-691): his praise (p. 711-715) and excuse (p. 771) of the last of these pontiffs. His angry controversy on the respective merits of France and Italy may be found *Opp.* p. 1068-1085.

domestic factions she was doubtless superior to France both in art and science, in wealth and politeness; but the difference could scarcely support the epithet of barbarous, which he promiscuously bestows on the countries beyond the Alps. Avignon, the mystic Babylon, the sink of vice and corruption, was the object of his hatred and contempt; but he forgets that her scandalous vices were not the growth of the soil, and that in every residence they would adhere to the power and luxury of the papal court. He confesses that the successor of St. Peter is the bishop of the universal church; yet it was not on the banks of the Rhône, but of the Tiber, that the apostle had fixed his everlasting throne: and while every city in the Christian world was blessed with a bishop, the metropolis alone was desolate and forlorn. Since the removal of the Holy See the sacred buildings of the Lateran and the Vatican, their altars and their saints, were left in a state of poverty and decay; and Rome was often painted under the image of a disconsolate matron, as if the wandering husband could be reclaimed by the homely portrait of the age and infirmities of his weeping spouse.²⁰ But the cloud which hung over the seven hills would be dispelled by the presence of their lawful sovereign: eternal fame, the prosperity of Rome, and the peace of Italy, would be the recompense of the pope who should dare to embrace this generous resolution. Of the five whom Petrarch exhorted, the three first, John the Twenty-second, Benedict the Twelfth, and Clement the Sixth, were importuned or amused by the boldness of the orator; but the memorable change which had been attempted by Urban the Fifth was finally accomplished by Gregory the Eleventh. The execution of their design was opposed by weighty and almost insuperable obstacles. A king of France, who has deserved the epithet of wise, was unwilling to release them from a local dependence: the cardinals, for the most part his subjects, were attached to the language, manners, and climate of Avignon; to their stately palaces; above all, to the wines of Burgundy. In their eyes Italy was foreign or hostile; and they reluctantly embarked at Marseilles, as if they had been sold or banished into the land of the Saracens. Urban the Fifth resided three years in the Vatican with safety and honour; his sanctity was protected by a guard of two thousand horse; and the king of Cyprus, the queen of Naples, and the emperors of

Return of
Urban V.,
A.D. 1367,
October 16—
A.D. 1370,
April 12.

²⁰ *Squalida sed quoniam facies, neglectaque caltra
Cesaris; multisque malis lassata senectus
Eripuit solitam effigiem: vetus accipe nomen;
Roma vocor.*

(*Carin.* l. ii. p. 77.)

He spins this allegory beyond all measure or patience. The Epistles to Urban V. in *passo* are more ample and persuasive (*Senilium*, l. vii. p. 811-827; l. ix. epist. l. p. 844-854).

the East and West, devoutly saluted their common father in the chair of St. Peter. But the joy of Petrarch and the Italians was soon turned into grief and indignation. Some reasons of public or private moment, his own impatience or the prayers of the cardinals, recalled Urban to France; and the approaching election was saved from the tyrannic patriotism of the Romans. The powers of heaven were interested in their cause: Bridget of Sweden, a saint and pilgrim, disapproved the return, and foretold the death, of Urban the Fifth; the migration of Gregory the Eleventh was encouraged by St. Catherine of Sienna, the spouse of Christ and ambassadress of the Florentines; and the popes themselves, the great masters of human credulity, appear to have listened to these visionary females.⁵⁹ Yet those celestial admonitions were supported by some arguments of temporal policy. The residence of Avignon had been invaded by hostile violence: at the head of thirty thousand robbers an hero had extorted ransom and absolution from the vicar of Christ and the sacred college; and the maxim of the French warriors, to spare the people and plunder the church, was a new heresy of the most dangerous import.⁶⁰ While the pope was driven from Avignon, he was strenuously invited to Rome. The senate and people acknowledged him as their lawful sovereign, and laid at his feet the keys of the gates, the bridges, and the fortresses; of the quarter at least beyond the Tiber.⁶¹ But this loyal offer was accompanied by a declaration that they could no longer suffer the scandal and calamity of his absence; and that his obstinacy would finally provoke them to revive and assert the primitive right of election. The abbot of Mount Cassin had been consulted whether he would accept the triple crown⁶² from the clergy and people:

Final
return of
Gregory XI.,
A.D. 1377,
Jan. 17.

⁵⁹ I have not leisure to expatiate on the legends of St. Bridget or St. Catherine, the last of which might furnish some amusing stories. Their effect on the mind of Gregory XI. is attested by the last solemn words of the dying pope, who admonished the assistants, *ut caverent ab hominibus, sive viris, sive mulieribus, sub specie religionis loquentibus visiones sui capitis, quia per tales ipse seductus, &c.* (Baluz. Not. ad Vit. Pap. Avenionensium, tom. i. p. 1223).

⁶⁰ This predatory expedition is related by Froissard (Chronique, tom. i. p. 230), and in the Life of Du Guesclin (Collection Générale des Mémoires Historiques, tom. iv. c. 16, p. 107-113). As early as the year 1361 the court of Avignon had been molested by similar freebooters, who afterwards passed the Alps (Mémoires sur Pétrarque, tom. iii. p. 563-569).

⁶¹ Fleury alleges, from the annals of Odericus Raynaldus, the original treaty which was signed the 21st of December, 1376, between Gregory XI. and the Romans (Hist. Eccles. tom. xx. p. 275).

⁶² The first crown or regnum (Ducange, Gloss. Latin. tom. v. p. 702) on the episcopal mitre of the popes is ascribed to the gift of Constantine, or Clovis. The second was added by Boniface VIII., as the emblem not only of a spiritual, but of a temporal, kingdom. The three states of the church are represented by the triple crown, which was introduced by John XXII. or Benedict XII. (Mémoires sur Pétrarque, tom. i. p. 258, 259).

"I am a citizen of Rome,"⁶³ replied that venerable ecclesiastic, "and my first law is the voice of my country."⁶⁴

If superstition will interpret an untimely death;⁶⁵ if the merit of counsels be judged from the event; the heavens may seem to frown on a measure of such apparent reason and propriety.

His death,
A.D. 1378,
March 27.

Gregory the Eleventh did not survive above fourteen months his return to the Vatican; and his decease was followed by the great schism of the West, which distracted the Latin church above forty years. The sacred college was then composed of twenty-two cardinals: six of these had remained at Avignon; eleven Frenchmen, one Spaniard, and four Italians, entered the conclave in the usual form. Their choice was not yet limited to the purple; and their unanimous votes acquiesced in the archbishop of Bari, a subject of Naples, conspicuous for his zeal and learning, who ascended the throne of St. Peter under the name of Urban the Sixth. The epistle of the sacred college affirms his free and regular election, which had been inspired as usual by the Holy Ghost; he was adored, invested, and crowned, with the customary rites; his temporal authority was obeyed at Rome and Avignon, and his ecclesiastical supremacy was acknowledged in the Latin world. During several weeks the cardinals attended their new master with the fairest professions of attachment and loyalty, till the summer heats permitted a decent escape from the city. But as soon as they were united at Anagni and Fundi, in a place of security, they cast aside the mask, accused their own falsehood and hypocrisy, excommunicated the apostate and antichrist of Rome, and proceeded to a new election of Robert of Geneva, Clement the Seventh, whom they announced to the nations as the true and rightful vicar of Christ. Their first choice, an involuntary and illegal act, was annulled by the fear of death and the menaces of the Romans; and their complaint is justified by the strong evidence of

Election of
Urban VI.,
April 9.

Election of
Clement VII.
Sept. 21.

⁶³ Baluze (Not. ad Pap. Avenion. tom. i. p. 1194, 1195) produces the original evidence which attests the threats of the Roman ambassadors, and the resignation of the abbot of Mount Cassin, qui, ultro se offerens, respondit se civem Romanum esse, et illud velle quod ipsi vellent.

⁶⁴ The return of the popes from Avignon to Rome, and their reception by the people, are related in the original Lives of Urban V. and Gregory XI. in Baluze (Vit. Paparum Avenionensium, tom. i. p. 363-486) and Muratori (Script. Rer. Italicarum, tom. iii. P. i. p. 610-712). In the disputes of the schism every circumstance was severely, though partially, scrutinised; more especially in the great inquest which decided the obedience of Castile, and to which Baluze, in his notes, so often and so largely appeals from a MS. volume in the Harley library (p. 1281, &c.).

⁶⁵ Can the death of a good man be esteemed a punishment by those who believe in the immortality of the soul? They betray the instability of their faith. Yet as a mere philosopher, I cannot agree with the Greeks, ὅτι οἱ Σοφοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκου νίος (Brunck, Poetæ Gnomici, p. 231). See in Herodotus (l. i. c. 31) the moral and pleasing tale of the Argive youths.

probability and fact. The twelve French cardinals, above two-thirds of the votes, were masters of the election; and whatever might be their provincial jealousies, it cannot fairly be presumed that they would have sacrificed their right and interest to a foreign candidate, who would never restore them to their native country. In the various, and often inconsistent, narratives,⁶⁶ the shades of popular violence are more darkly or faintly coloured: but the licentiousness of the seditious Romans was inflamed by a sense of their privileges, and the danger of a second emigration. The conclave was intimidated by the shouts, and encompassed by the arms, of thirty thousand rebels; the bells of the Capitol and St. Peter's rang an alarm; "Death, or an Italian pope!" was the universal cry; the same threat was repeated by the twelve bannerets or chiefs of the quarters, in the form of charitable advice; some preparations were made for burning the obstinate cardinals; and had they chosen a Transalpine subject, it is probable that they would never have departed alive from the Vatican. The same constraint imposed the necessity of dissembling in the eyes of Rome and of the world; the pride and cruelty of Urban presented a more inevitable danger; and they soon discovered the features of the tyrant, who could walk in his garden and recite his breviary while he heard from an adjacent chamber six cardinals groaning on the rack. His inflexible zeal, which loudly censured their luxury and vice, would have attached them to the stations and duties of their parishes at Rome; and had he not fatally delayed a new promotion, the French cardinals would have been reduced to a helpless minority in the sacred college. For these reasons, and in the hope of repassing the Alps, they rashly violated the peace and unity of the church; and the merits of their double choice are yet agitated in the Catholic schools.⁶⁷ The vanity, rather than the interest of the nation, determined the court and clergy of France.⁶⁸ The states of Savoy, Sicily, Cyprus, Arragon, Castile, Navarre, and Scotland, were inclined by their example and authority to the obedience of Clement the Seventh, and, after his

⁶⁶ In the first book of the *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, M. Lenfant has abridged and compared the original narratives of the adherents of Urban and Clement, of the Italians and Germans, the French and Spaniards. The latter appear to be the most active and loquacious, and every fact and word in the original lives of Gregory XI. and Clement VII. are supported in the notes of their editor Baluze.

⁶⁷ The ordinal numbers of the popes seem to decide the question against Clement VII. and Benedict XIII., who are boldly stigmatised as antipopes by the Italians, while the French are content with authorities and reasons to plead the cause of doubt and toleration (Baluze, in *Præfat.*). It is singular, or rather it is not singular, that saints, visions, and miracles should be common to both parties.

⁶⁸ Baluze strenuously labours (Not. p. 1271-1280) to justify the pure and pious motives of Charles V., king of France: he refused to hear the arguments of Urban; but were not the Urbanists equally deaf to the reasons of Clement, &c. ?

decease, of Benedict the Thirteenth. Rome and the principal states of Italy, Germany, Portugal, England,⁶⁹ the Low Countries, and the kingdoms of the North, adhered to the prior election of Urban the Sixth, who was succeeded by Boniface the Ninth, Innocent the Seventh, and Gregory the Twelfth.

From the banks of the Tiber and the Rhône the hostile pontiffs encountered each other with the pen and the sword: the civil and ecclesiastical order of society was disturbed; and the Romans had their full share of the mischiefs of which they may be arraigned as the primary authors.⁷⁰ They had vainly flattered themselves with the hope of restoring the seat of the ecclesiastical monarchy, and of relieving their poverty with the tributes and offerings of the nations; but the separation of France and Spain diverted the stream of lucrative devotion; nor could the loss be compensated by the two jubilees which were crowded into the space of ten years. By the avocations of the schism, by foreign arms, and popular tumults, Urban the Sixth and his three successors were often compelled to interrupt their residence in the Vatican. The Colonna and Ursini still exercised their deadly feuds: the bannerets of Rome asserted and abused the privileges of a republic: the vicars of Christ, who had levied a military force, chastised their rebellion with the gibbet, the sword, and the dagger; and, in a friendly conference, eleven deputies of the people were perfidiously murdered and cast into the street. Since the invasion of Robert the Norman, the Romans had pursued their domestic quarrels without the dangerous interposition of a stranger. But in the disorders of the schism, an aspiring neighbour, Ladislaus king of Naples, alternately supported and betrayed the pope and the people; by the former he was declared *gonfalonier*, or general, of the church, while the latter submitted to his choice the nomination of their magistrates. Besieging Rome by land and water, he thrice entered the gates as a barbarian conqueror; profaned the altars, violated the virgins, pillaged the merchants, performed his devotions at St. Peter's, and left a garrison in the castle of St. Angelo. His arms were sometimes unfortunate, and to a delay of three days he was indebted for his life and crown: but Ladislaus triumphed in his turn; and it was only his premature death that could save the metropolis and the ecclesiastical

⁶⁹ An epistle, or declamation, in the name of Edward III. (Baluz. Vit. Pap. Avenion. tom. i. p. 553) displays the zeal of the English nation against the Clementines. Nor was their zeal confined to words: the bishop of Norwich led a crusade of 60,000 bigots beyond sea (Hume's History, vol. iii. p. 57, 58).

⁷⁰ Besides the general historians, the Diaries of Delphinus Gentilis, Peter Antonius, and Stephen Infessura, in the great Collection of Muratori, represent the state and misfortunes of Rome.

state from the ambitious conqueror, who had assumed the title, or at least the powers, of King of Rome.⁷¹

I have not undertaken the ecclesiastical history of the schism ; but Rome, the object of these last chapters, is deeply interested in the disputed succession of her sovereigns. The first counsels for the peace and union of Christendom arose from the university of Paris, from the faculty of the Sorbonne, whose doctors were esteemed, at least in the Gallican church, as the most consummate masters of theological science.⁷² Prudently waiving all invidious inquiry into the origin and merits of the dispute, they proposed, as a healing measure, that the two pretenders of Rome and Avignon should abdicate at the same time, after qualifying the cardinals of the adverse factions to join in a legitimate election ; and that the nations should *subtract* ⁷³ their obedience, if either of the competitors preferred his own interest to that of the public. At each vacancy these physicians of the church deprecated the mischiefs of a hasty choice ; but the policy of the conclave and the ambition of its members were deaf to reason and entreaties ; and whatsoever promises were made, the pope could never be bound by the oaths of the cardinal. During fifteen years the pacific designs of the university were eluded by the arts of the rival pontiffs, the scruples or passions of their adherents, and the vicissitudes of French factions, that ruled the insanity of Charles the Sixth. At length a vigorous resolution was embraced ; and a solemn embassy, of the titular patriarch of Alexandria, two archbishops, five bishops, five abbots, three knights, and twenty doctors, was sent to the courts of Avignon and Rome, to require, in the name of the church and king, the abdication of the two pretenders, of Peter de Luna, who styled himself Benedict the Thirteenth, and of Angelo Corrario, who assumed the name of Gregory the Twelfth. For the ancient honour of Rome, and the success of their commission, the ambassadors solicited a conference with the magistrates of the city, whom they gratified by a positive declaration that the most Christian king did

⁷¹ It is supposed by Giannone (tom. iii. p. 292) that he styled himself *Rex Romæ*, a title unknown to the world since the expulsion of Tarquin. But a nearer inspection has justified the reading of *Rex Romæ*, of Rama, an obscure kingdom annexed to the crown of Hungary.

⁷² The leading and decisive part which France assumed in the schism is stated by Peter du Puis in a separate history, extracted from authentic records, and inserted in the seventh volume of the last and best edition of his friend Thuanus (P. xi. p. 110-184).

⁷³ Of this measure John Gerson, a stout doctor, was the author or the champion. The proceedings of the university of Paris and the Gallican church were often prompted by his advice, and are copiously displayed in his theological writings, of which Le Clerc (Bibliothèque Choisie, tom. x. p. 1-78) has given a valuable extract. John Gerson acted an important part in the councils of Pisa and Constance.

not entertain a wish of transporting the holy see from the Vatican, which he considered as the genuine and proper seat of the successor of St. Peter. In the name of the senate and people, an eloquent Roman asserted their desire to co-operate in the union of the church, deplored the temporal and spiritual calamities of the long schism, and requested the protection of France against the arms of the king of Naples. The assents of Benedict and Gregory were alike effusive and alike detestful; and, in evading the demand of their abdication, the two rivals were animated by a common spirit. They agreed on the necessity of a previous interview; but the time, the place, and the manner, could never be ascertained by mutual consent. "If the see advances," says a servant of Gregory, "the other retreats; the one appears an animal fearful of the hand, the other a creature apprehensive of the water. And thus, for a short remnant of life "and power, will these aged priests endanger the peace and salvation of the Christian world."²²

The Christian world was at length provoked by their obstinacy and fraud: they were deserted by their cardinals, who embraced each other as friends and colleagues; and their revolt was supported by a numerous assembly of prelates and ambassadors. With equal justice, the council of Pisa deposed the popes Alexander the Fifth, and his vacant seat was soon filled by a similar election of John the Twenty-third, the most profigate of monarchs. But instead of extinguishing the schism, the rashness of the French and Italians had given a third pretender to the chair of St. Peter. Such new claims of the synod and conclave were disputed; three kings, of Germany, Hungary, and Naples, adhered to the cause of Gregory the Twelfth; and Benedict the Thirteenth, himself a Spaniard, was acknowledged by the devotion and patriotism of that powerful nation. The rash proceedings of Pisa were corrected by the council of Constance; the emperor Sigismund acted a conspicuous part as the advocate or protector of the Catholic church; and the number and weight of civil and ecclesiastical members might seem to constitute the states-general of Europe.

Of the three popes, John the Twenty-third was the first victim: he had and was brought back a prisoner: the most scandalous charges were suppressed: the vicar of Christ was only accused of piracy, murder, rape, sodomy, and incest; and after subscribing his own

²² Lamentable Roman Aristian, one of the witnesses of divine burning in Italy, who, after writing many years as secretary to the Roman court, retired to the heremetic obscurity of the regularity of Florence (Patrie, Biblioth. mss. 87, tom. 1, p. 247). Lantini has given the version of this curious episode (Oncle de Pisa, tom. 1, p. 192-195).

condemnation, he expiated in prison the imprudence of trusting his person to a free city beyond the Alps. Gregory the Twelfth, whose obedience was reduced to the narrow precincts of Rimini, descended with more honour from the throne; and his ambassador convened the session in which he renounced the title and authority of lawful pope. To vanquish the obstinacy of Benedict the Thirteenth or his adherents, the emperor in person undertook a journey from Constance to Perpignan. The kings of Castile, Arragon, Navarre, and Scotland, obtained an equal and honourable treaty: with the concurrence of the Spaniards, Benedict was deposed by the council; but the harmless old man was left in a solitary castle to excommunicate twice each day the rebel kingdoms which had deserted his cause. After thus eradicating the remains of the schism, the synod of Constance proceeded with slow and cautious steps to elect the sovereign of Rome and the head of the church. On this momentous occasion the college of twenty-three cardinals was fortified with thirty deputies; six of whom were chosen in each of the five great nations of Christendom,—the Italian, the German, the French, the Spanish, and the *English*:⁷⁵ the interference of strangers was softened by their generous preference of an Italian and a Roman; and the hereditary, as well as personal, merit of Otho Colonna recommended him to the conclave. Rome accepted with joy and obedience the noblest of her sons; the ecclesiastical state was defended by his powerful family; and the elevation of Martin the Fifth is the æra of the restoration and establishment of the popes in the Vatican.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ I cannot overlook this great national cause, which was vigorously maintained by the English ambassadors against those of France. The latter contended that Christendom was essentially distributed into the four great nations and votes of Italy, Germany, France, and Spain; and that the lesser kingdoms (such as England, Denmark, Portugal, &c.) were comprehended under one or other of these great divisions. The English asserted that the British islands, of which they were the head, should be considered as a fifth and co-ordinate nation, with an equal vote; and every argument of truth or fable was introduced to exalt the dignity of their country. Including England, Scotland, Wales, the four kingdoms of Ireland, and the Orkneys, the British islands are decorated with eight royal crowns, and discriminated by four or five languages, English, Welsh, Cornish, Scotch, Irish, &c. The greater island from north to south measures 800 miles, or 40 days' journey; and England alone contains 32 counties and 52,000 parish churches (a bold account!) besides cathedrals, colleges, priories, and hospitals. They celebrate the mission of St. Joseph of Arimathea, the birth of Constantine, and the legatine powers of the two primates, without forgetting the testimony of Bartholemey de Glanville (A.D. 1360), who reckons only four Christian kingdoms—1, of Rome; 2, of Constantinople; 3, of Ireland, which had been transferred to the English monarchs; and, 4, of Spain. Our countrymen prevailed in the council, but the victories of Henry V. added much weight to their arguments. The adverse pleadings were found at Constance by Sir Robert Wingfield, ambassador from Henry VIII. to the emperor Maximilian I., and by him printed in 1517 at Louvain. From a Leipsic MS. they are more correctly published in the Collection of Von der Hardt, tom. v.; but I have only seen Lenfant's abstract of these acts (Concile de Constance, tom. ii. p. 447, 453, &c.).

⁷⁶ The histories of the three successive councils, Pisa, Constance, and Basil, have

The royal prerogative of coining money, which had been exercised near three hundred years by the senate, was *first* resumed by Martin the Fifth,⁷⁷ and his image and superscription introduce the series of the papal medals. Of his two immediate successors, Eugenius the Fourth was the *last* pope expelled by the tumults of the Roman people,⁷⁸ and Nicholas the Fifth, the *last* who was imperturbed by the presence of a Roman emperor.⁷⁹ I. The conflict of Eugenius with the fathers of Basil, and the weight or apprehension of a new excise, emboldened and provoked the Romans to usurp the temporal government of the city. They rose in arms; elected seven governors of the republic, and a constable of the Capitol; imprisoned the pope's nephew; besieged his person in the palace; and shot volleys of arrows into his bark as he escaped down the Tiber in the habit of a monk. But he still possessed in the castle of St. Angelo a faithful garrison and a train of artillery: their batteries incessantly thundered on the city, and a bullet more dexterously pointed broke down the barricade of the bridge, and scattered with a single shot the heroes of the republic. Their constancy was exhausted by a rebellion of five months. Under the tyranny of the Ghibeline nobles, the wisest patriots regretted the dominion of the church; and their repentance was unanimous and effectual. The troops of St. Peter again occupied the Capitol; the magistrates departed to their homes; the most guilty were executed or exiled; and the legate, at the head of two thousand foot and four thousand horse, was saluted as the father of the city. The synods of Ferrara and Florence, the fear or resentment of Eugenius, prolonged his absence: he was received by a submissive people; but the pontiff understood, from the acclamations of his triumphal entry, that, to secure their loyalty and his own repose, he must grant without delay the abolition of the odious excise. II. Rome was restored, adorned, and enlightened, by the peaceful reign of Nicholas the Fifth. In the

Martin V.,
A.D. 1431.

Eugenius IV.,
A.D. 1431.

Nicholas V.,
A.D. 1447.

Last revolt
of Rome,
A.D. 1434,
May 29—
October 26.

been written with a tolerable degree of candour, industry, and elegance, by a Protestant minister, M. Lenfant, who retired from France to Berlin. They form six volumes in quarto; and as Basil is the worst, so Constance is the best, part of the Collection.

⁷⁷ See the xxvith Dissertation of the Antiquities of Muratori, and the 1st Instruction of the Science des Médailles of the Père Joubert and the Baron de la Bastie. The Metallic History of Martin V. and his successors has been composed by two monks, Moulinet a Frenchman, and Bonanni an Italian: but I understand that the first part of the series is restored from more recent coins.

⁷⁸ Besides the Lives of Eugenius IV. (Rerum Italic. tom. iii. P. i. p. 869, and tom. xxv. p. 256), the Diaries of Paul Petroni and Stephen Infessura are the best original evidence for the revolt of the Romans against Eugenius IV. The former, who lived at the time and on the spot, speaks the language of a citizen, equally afraid of priestly and popular tyranny.

⁷⁹ The coronation of Frederic III. is described by Lenfant (Concile de Basle, tom. ii. p. 276-288) from Æneas Sylvius, a spectator and actor in that splendid scene.

midst of these laudable occupations, the pope was alarmed by the approach of Frederic the Third of Austria; though his fears could not be justified by the character or the power of the Imperial candidate. After drawing his military force to the metropolis, and imposing the best security of oaths⁸⁰ and treaties, Nicholas received with a smiling countenance the faithful advocate and vassal of the church. So tame were the times, so feeble was the Austrian, that the pomp of his coronation was accomplished with order and harmony: but the superfluous honour was so disgraceful to an independent nation, that his successors have excused themselves from the toilsome pilgrimage to the Vatican, and rest their Imperial title on the choice of the electors of Germany.

Last coronation of a German emperor, Frederic III., A.D. 1452, March 18.

A citizen has remarked, with pride and pleasure, that the king of the Romans, after passing with a slight salute the cardinals and prelates who met him at the gate, distinguished the dress and person of the senator of Rome; and in this last farewell, the pageants of the empire and the republic were clasped in a friendly embrace.⁸¹ According to the laws of Rome⁸² her first magistrate was required to be a doctor of laws, an alien, of a place at least forty miles from the city, with whose inhabitants he must not be connected in the third canonical degree of blood or alliance. The election was annual: a severe scrutiny was instituted into the conduct of the departing senator; nor could he be recalled to the same office till after the expiration of two years. A liberal salary of three thousand florins was assigned for his expense and reward; and his public appearance represented the majesty of the republic. His robes were of gold brocade or crimson velvet, or in the summer season of a lighter silk: he bore in his hand an ivory sceptre; the sound of trumpets announced his approach; and his solemn steps were preceded at least by four lictors or attendants, whose red wands were enveloped with bands or streamers of the golden colour or livery of the city. His oath in the Capitol proclaims his right and duty, to observe and assert the laws, to control the proud, to protect

The statutes and government of Rome.

⁸⁰ The oath of fidelity imposed on the emperor by the pope is recorded and sanctified in the Clementines (l. ii. tit. ix.); and Æneas Sylvius, who objects to this new demand, could not foresee that in a few years he should ascend the throne and imbibe the maxims of Boniface VIII.

⁸¹ Lo senatore di Roma, vestito di broccato con quella beretta, e con quelle maniche, et ornamenti di pelle, co' quali va alle feste di Testaccio e Nagone, might escape the eye of Æneas Sylvius, but he is viewed with admiration and complacency by the Roman citizen (Diario di Stephano Infessura, p. 1133).

⁸² See in the statutes of Rome the *senator and three judges* (l. i. c. 3-14), the *conservators* (l. i. c. 15, 16, 17, l. iii. c. 4), the *caporioni* (l. i. c. 18, l. iii. c. 8), the *secret council* (l. iii. c. 2), the *common council* (l. iii. c. 3). The title of *feuds, defiances, acts of violence, &c.*, is spread through many a chapter (c. 14-4) of the second book.

the poor, and to exercise justice and mercy within the extent of his jurisdiction. In these useful functions he was assisted by three learned strangers; the two *collaterals* and the judge of criminal appeals: their frequent trials of robberies, rapes, and murders are attested by the laws; and the weakness of these laws connives at the licentiousness of private feuds and armed associations for mutual defence. But the senator was confined to the administration of justice: the Capitol, the treasury, and the government of the city and its territory were intrusted to the three *conservators*, who were changed four times in each year: the militia of the thirteen regions assembled under the banners of their respective chiefs, or *caporioni*; and the first of these was distinguished by the name and dignity of the *prior*. The popular legislature consisted of the secret and the common councils of the Romans. The former was composed of the magistrates and their immediate predecessors, with some fiscal and legal officers, and three classes of thirteen, twenty-six, and forty counsellors; amounting in the whole to about one hundred and twenty persons. In the common council all male citizens had a right to vote; and the value of their privilege was enhanced by the care with which any foreigners were prevented from usurping the title and character of Romans. The tumult of a democracy was checked by wise and jealous precautions: except the magistrates, none could propose a question; none were permitted to speak, except from an open pulpit or tribunal; all disorderly acclamations were suppressed; the sense of the majority was decided by a secret ballot; and their decrees were promulgated in the venerable name of the Roman senate and people. It would not be easy to assign a period in which this theory of government has been reduced to accurate and constant practice, since the establishment of order has been gradually connected with the decay of liberty. But in the year one thousand five hundred and eighty the ancient statutes were collected, methodised in three books, and adapted to present use, under the pontificate, and with the approbation, of Gregory the Thirteenth: ⁶³ this civil and criminal code is the modern law of the city; and, if the popular assemblies have been abolished, a foreign senator, with the three conservators, still resides in the palace of the Capitol.⁶⁴ The policy of the Cæsars has been repeated by the

⁶³ *Statuta almæ Urbis Romæ Auctoritate S. D. N. Gregorii XIII. Pont. Max. a Senatû Populoque Rom. reformata et edita.* Romæ, 1580, in folio. The obsolete, repugnant statutes of antiquity were confounded in five books, and Lucas Pætus, a lawyer and antiquarian, was appointed to act as the modern Tribonian. Yet I regret the old code, with the rugged crust of freedom and barbarism.

⁶⁴ In my time (1765), and in M. Grosley's (*Observations sur l'Italie*, tom. ii. p. 361), the senator of Rome was M. Bielke, a noble Swede, and a proselyte to the Catholic faith. The pope's right to appoint the senator and the conservator is implied, rather than affirmed, in the statutes.

popes; and the bishop of Rome affected to maintain the form of a republic, while he reigned with the absolute powers of a temporal, as well as spiritual, monarch.

It is an obvious truth that the times must be suited to extraordinary characters, and that the genius of Cromwell or Retz might now expire in obscurity. The political enthusiasm of Rienzi had exalted him to a throne; the same enthusiasm, in the next century, conducted his imitator to the gallows. The birth of Stephen Porcaro was noble, his reputation spotless: his tongue was armed with eloquence, his mind was enlightened with learning; and he aspired, beyond the aim of vulgar ambition, to free his country and immortalise his name. The dominion of priests is most odious to a liberal spirit: every scruple was removed by the recent knowledge of the fable and forgery of Constantine's donation; Petrarch was now the oracle of the Italians; and as often as Porcaro revolved the ode which describes the patriot and hero of Rome, he applied to himself the visions of the prophetic bard. His first trial of the popular feelings was at the funeral of Eugenius the Fourth: in an elaborate speech he called the Romans to liberty and arms; and they listened with apparent pleasure till Porcaro was interrupted and answered by a grave advocate, who pleaded for the church and state. By every law the seditious orator was guilty of treason; but the benevolence of the new pontiff, who viewed his character with pity and esteem, attempted by an honourable office to convert the patriot into a friend. The inflexible Roman returned from Anagni with an increase of reputation and zeal; and, on the first opportunity, the games of the place Navona, he tried to inflame the casual dispute of some boys and mechanics into a general rising of the people. Yet the humane Nicholas was still averse to accept the forfeit of his life; and the traitor was removed from the scene of temptation to Bologna, with a liberal allowance for his support, and the easy obligation of presenting himself each day before the governor of the city. But Porcaro had learned from the younger Brutus that with tyrants no faith or gratitude should be observed: the exile declaimed against the arbitrary sentence; a party and a conspiracy was gradually formed; his nephew, a daring youth, assembled a band of volunteers; and on the appointed evening a feast was prepared at his house for the friends of the republic. Their leader, who had escaped from Bologna, appeared among them in a robe of purple and gold: his voice, his countenance, his gestures, bespoke the man who had devoted his life or death to the glorious cause. In a studied oration he expatiated on the motives and the means of their enterprise; the name and liberties of Rome; the

Conspiracy
of Porcaro,
A.D. 1463,
January 9.

sloth and pride of their ecclesiastical tyrants; the active or passive consent of their fellow-citizens; three hundred soldiers and four hundred exiles, long exercised in arms or in wrongs; the licence of revenge to edge their swords, and a million of ducats to reward their victory. It would be easy (he said) on the next day, the festival of the Epiphany, to seize the pope and his cardinals before the doors or at the altar of St. Peter's; to lead them in chains under the walls of St. Angelo; to extort, by the threat of their instant death, a surrender of the castle; to ascend the vacant Capitol; to ring the alarm-bell; and to restore in a popular assembly the ancient republic of Rome. While he triumphed, he was already betrayed. The senator, with a strong guard, invested the house: the nephew of Porcaro cut his way through the crowd; but the unfortunate Stephen was drawn from a chest, lamenting that his enemies had anticipated by three hours the execution of his design. After such manifest and repeated guilt even the mercy of Nicholas was silent. Porcaro, and nine of his accomplices, were hanged without the benefit of the sacraments; and, amidst the fears and invectives of the papal court, the Romans pitied, and almost applauded, these martyrs of their country.⁶⁵ But their applause was mute, their pity ineffectual, their liberty for ever extinct; and, if they have since risen in a vacancy of the throne or a scarcity of bread, such accidental tumults may be found in the bosom of the most abject servitude.

But the independence of the nobles, which was fomented by discord, survived the freedom of the commons, which must be founded in union. A privilege of rapine and oppression was long maintained by the barons of Rome: their houses were a Last disorders of the nobles of Rome. fortress and a sanctuary; and the ferocious train of banditti and criminals, whom they protected from the law, repaid the hospitality with the service of their swords and daggers. The private interest of the pontiffs, or their nephews, sometimes involved them in these domestic feuds. Under the reign of Sixtus the Fourth, Rome was distracted by the battles and sieges of the rival houses: after the conflagration of his palace, the protonotary Colocna was tortured and beheaded; and Savelli, his captive friend, was murdered on the spot for refusing to join in the acclamations of the victorious Ursini.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Besides the curious, though concise, narrative of Machiavel (*Istoria Fiorentina*, l. vi. Opere, tom. i. p. 210, 211, edit. Londra, 1747, in 4to.), the Porcarian conspiracy is related in the *Diary of Stephen Infessura* (*Res. Ital.* tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1134, 1135), and in a separate tract by Leo Baptista Alberti (*Res. Ital.* tom. xxv. p. 609-614). It is amusing to compare the style and sentiments of the courtier and citizen. *Facinus profecto quo . . . neque periculo horribilium, neque audaciâ detestabilium, neque crudelitâ tetrum, a quoquam perditissimo uspianæ excoogitatum sit . . . Perdette la vita quell' huomo da bene, e amatore dello bene e libertà di Roma.*

⁶⁶ The disorders of Rome, which were much inflamed by the partiality of Sixtus IV.

But the popes no longer trembled in the Vatican: they had strength to command, if they had resolution to claim, the obedience of their subjects; and the strangers who observed these partial disorders admired the easy taxes and wise administration of the ecclesiastical state.⁸⁷

The spiritual thunders of the Vatican depend on the force of opinion; and if that opinion be supplanted by reason or passion, the sound may idly waste itself in the air; and the helpless priest is exposed to the brutal violence of a noble or a plebeian adversary. But after their return from Avignon, the keys of St. Peter were guarded by the sword of St. Paul. Rome was commanded by an impregnable citadel: the use of cannon is a powerful engine against popular seditions: a regular force of cavalry and infantry was enlisted under the banners of the pope: his ample revenues supplied the resources of war; and, from the extent of his domain, he could bring down on a rebellious city an army of hostile neighbours and loyal subjects.⁸⁸ Since the union of the duchies of Ferrara and Urbino, the ecclesiastical state extends from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic, and from the confines of Naples to the banks of the Po; and as early as the sixteenth century the greater part of that spacious and fruitful country acknowledged the lawful claims and temporal sovereignty of the Roman pontiffs. Their claims were readily deduced from the genuine or fabulous donations of the darker ages: the successive steps of their final settlement would engage us too far in the transactions of Italy, and even of Europe; the crimes of Alexander the Sixth, the martial operations of Julius the Second, and the liberal policy of Leo the Tenth, a theme which has been adorned by the pens of the noblest historians of the times.⁸⁹

are exposed in the Diaries of two spectators, Stephen Infessura and an anonymous citizen. See the troubles of the year 1484, and the death of the protonotary Colonna, in tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1083, 1158.

⁸⁷ Est toute la terre de l'église troublée pour cette partialité (des Colonnes et des Ursins), comme nous dirions Luce et Grammont, ou en Hollande Houc et Caballan; et quand ce ne seroit ce différend la terre de l'église seroit la plus heureuse habitation pour les sujets qui soit dans tout le monde (car ils ne payent ni tailles ni guères autres choses), et seroient toujours bien conduits (car toujours les papes sont sages et bien conseillés); mais très souvent en advient de grands et cruels meurtres et pilleries.

⁸⁸ By the economy of Sixtus V. the revenue of the ecclesiastical state was raised to two millions and a half of Roman crowns (*Vita*, tom. ii. p. 291-296); and so regular was the military establishment, that in one month Clement VIII. could invade the duchy of Ferrara with three thousand horse and twenty thousand foot (tom. iii. p. 64). Since that time (A.D. 1597) the papal arms are happily rusted, but the revenue must have gained some nominal increase.*

⁸⁹ More especially by Guicciardini and Machiavel; in the general history of the

* On the financial measures of Sixtus V. see Ranke, *Die Römischen Päpste*, i. p. 459.—M.

In the first period of their conquests, till the expedition of Charles the Eighth, the popes might successfully wrestle with the adjacent princes and states, whose military force was equal or inferior to their own. But as soon as the monarchs of France, Germany, and Spain contended with gigantic arms for the dominion of Italy, they supplied with art the deficiency of strength, and concealed, in a labyrinth of wars and treaties, their aspiring views and the immortal hope of chasing the barbarians beyond the Alps. The nice balance of the Vatican was often subverted by the soldiers of the North and West, who were united under the standard of Charles the Fifth: the feeble and fluctuating policy of Clement the Seventh exposed his person and dominions to the conqueror; and Rome was abandoned seven months to a lawless army, more cruel and rapacious than the Goths and Vandals.⁹⁰ After this severe lesson the popes contracted their ambition, which was almost satisfied, resumed the character of a common parent, and abstained from all offensive hostilities, except in an hasty quarrel, when the vicar of Christ and the Turkish sultan were armed at the same time against the kingdom of Naples.⁹¹ The French and Germans at length withdrew from the field of battle: Milan, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the sea-coast of Tuscany, were firmly possessed by the Spaniards; and it became their interest to maintain the peace and dependence of Italy, which continued almost without disturbance from the middle of the sixteenth to the opening of the eighteenth century. The Vatican was swayed and protected by the religious policy of the Catholic king: his prejudice and interest disposed him in every dispute to support the prince against the people; and instead of the encouragement, the aid, and the asylum which they obtained from the adjacent states, the friends of liberty or the enemies of law were enclosed on all sides within the iron circle of despotism. The long habits of obedience and education subdued the turbulent spirit of the nobles and commons of Rome. The barons

former; in the Florentine history, the 'Prince,' and the political discourses of the latter. These, with their worthy successors, Fra-Paolo and Davila, were justly esteemed the first historians of modern languages, till, in the present age, Scotland arose to dispute the prize with Italy herself.

⁹⁰ In the history of the Gothic siege I have compared the barbarians with the subjects of Charles V. (vol. iv. p. 108, 109)—an anticipation which, like that of the Tartar conquests, I indulged with the less scruple, as I could scarcely hope to reach the conclusion of my work.

⁹¹ The ambitious and feeble hostilities of the Caraffa pope, Paul IV., may be seen in Thuanus (l. xvi-xviii) and Giannone (tom. iv. p. 149-163). Those Catholic bigots, Philip II. and the duke of Alva, presumed to separate the Roman prince from the vicar of Christ; yet the holy character, which would have sanctified his victory, was decently applied to protect his defeat."

* But compare Ranke, *Die Römischen Päpste*, i. p. 289.—M.

forgot the arms and factions of their ancestors, and insensibly became the servants of luxury and government. Instead of maintaining a crowd of tenants and followers, the produce of their estates was consumed in the private expenses which multiply the pleasures and diminish the power of the lord.⁹² The Colonna and Ursini vied with each other in the decoration of their palaces and chapels; and their antique splendour was rivalled or surpassed by the sudden opulence of the papal families. In Rome the voice of freedom and discord is no longer heard; and, instead of the foaming torrent, a smooth and stagnant lake reflects the image of idleness and servitude.

A Christian, a philosopher,⁹³ and a patriot, will be equally scandalised by the temporal kingdom of the clergy; and the local majesty of Rome, the remembrance of her consuls and triumphs, may seem to embitter the sense and aggravate the shame of her slavery. If we calmly weigh the merits and defects of the ecclesiastical government, it may be praised in its present state as a mild, decent, and tranquil system, exempt from the dangers of a minority, the sallies of youth, the expenses of luxury, and the calamities of war. But these advantages are overbalanced by a frequent, perhaps a septennial, election of a sovereign, who is seldom a native of the country: the reign of a *young* statesman of threescore, in the decline of his life and abilities, without hope to accomplish, and without children to inherit, the labours of his transitory reign. The successful candidate is drawn from the church, and even the convent,—from the mode of education and life the most adverse to reason, humanity, and freedom. In the trammels of servile faith he has learned to believe because it is absurd, to revere all that is contemptible, and to despise whatever might deserve the esteem of a rational being; to punish error as a crime, to reward mortification and celibacy as the first of virtues; to place the saints of the calendar⁹⁴ above the heroes of Rome and the sages of Athens; and to consider the missal, or the crucifix, as more useful instruments than the plough or the loom. In the office of nuncio, or the rank of cardinal, he may acquire some knowledge of the world; but the primitive stain will adhere to his

⁹² This gradual change of manners and expense is admirably explained by Dr. Adam Smith (*Wealth of Nations*, vol. i. p. 495-504), who proves, perhaps too severely, that the most salutary effects have flowed from the meanest and most selfish causes.

⁹³ Mr. Hume (*Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 389) too hastily concludes that, if the civil and ecclesiastical powers be united in the same person, it is of little moment whether he be styled prince or prelate, since the temporal character will always predominate.

⁹⁴ A Protestant may disdain the unworthy preference of St. Francis or St. Dominic, but he will not rashly condemn the zeal or judgment of Sixtus V., who placed the statues of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul on the vacant columns of Trajan and Antonine.

mind and manners: from study and experience he may suspect the mystery of his profession; but the sacerdotal artist will imbibe some portion of the bigotry which he inculcates. <sup>Sixtus V.,
A.D.
1585-1590.</sup> The genius of Sixtus the Fifth⁹⁵ burst from the gloom of a Franciscan cloister. In a reign of five years he exterminated the outlaws and banditti, abolished the *profane* sanctuaries of Rome,⁹⁶ formed a naval and military force, restored and emulated the monuments of antiquity, and, after a liberal use and large increase of the revenue, left five millions of crowns in the castle of St. Angelo. But his justice was sullied with cruelty, his activity was prompted by the ambition of conquest: after his decease the abuses revived; the treasure was dissipated; he entailed on posterity thirty-five new taxes and the venality of offices; and, after his death, his statue was demolished by an ungrateful or an injured people.⁹⁷ The wild and original character of Sixtus the Fifth stands alone in the series of the pontiffs: the maxims and effects of their temporal government may be collected from the positive and comparative view of the arts and philosophy, the agriculture and trade, the wealth and population, of the ecclesiastical state. For myself, it is my wish to depart in charity with all mankind, nor am I willing, in these last moments, to offend even the pope and clergy of Rome.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ A wandering Italian, Gregorio Leti, has given the *Vita di Sisto Quinto* (Amstel. 1721, 3 vols. in 12mo.), a copious and amusing work, but which does not command our absolute confidence. Yet the character of the man, and the principal facts, are supported by the annals of Spondanus and Muratori (A.D. 1585-1590) and the contemporary history of the great Thuanus (l. lxxxii. c. 1, 2; l. lxxxiv. c. 10; l. c. c. 8).^a

⁹⁶ These privileged places, the *quartiers* or *franchises*, were adopted from the Roman nobles by the foreign ministers. Julius II. had once abolished the abominandum et detestandum franchitiarum hujusmodi nomen; and after Sixtus V. they again revived. I cannot discern either the justice or magnanimity of Louis XIV., who, in 1687, sent his ambassador, the marquis de Lavardin, to Rome, with an armed force of a thousand officers, guards, and domestics, to maintain this iniquitous claim, and insult Pope Innocent XI. in the heart of his capital (*Vita di Sisto V.* tom. iii. p. 260-278; Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. xv. p. 494-496; and Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* tom. ii. c. 14, p. 58, 59).

⁹⁷ This outrage produced a decree, which was inscribed on marble, and placed in the Capitol. It is expressed in a style of manly simplicity and freedom: *Si quis, sive privatus, sive magistratum gerens de collocandâ vivo pontifici statuâ mentionem facere ausit, legitimo S. P. Q. R. decreto in perpetuum infamis et publicorum munus muneris expers esto.* MDXC. mense Augusto (*Vita di Sisto V.* tom. iii. p. 469). I believe that this decree is still observed, and I know that every monarch who deserves a statue should himself impose the prohibition.

⁹⁸ The histories of the church, Italy, and Christendom, have contributed to the chapter which I now conclude. In the original Lives of the Popes we often discover the city and republic of Rome; and the events of the xvth and xvth centuries are preserved in the rude and domestic chronicles which I have carefully inspected, and shall recapitulate in the order of time.

1. Monaldeschi

^a The industry of M. Ranke has discovered the document, a kind of scandalous chronicle of the time, from which Leti wrought up his amusing romances. See also M. Ranke's *Observations on the Life of Sixtus by Tempesti*, b. iii. p. 317, 324.—M.

1. Monaldeschi (Ludovici Boncomitis) *Fragmenta Annalium Roman.* A.D. 1328, in the *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum* of Muratori, tom. xii. p. 525. N.B. The credit of this fragment is somewhat hurt by a singular interpolation, in which the author relates *his own death* at the age of 115 years.
2. *Fragmenta Historiæ Romanæ* (vulgo Thomas Fortificæ), in *Romana Dialecto vulgari* (A.D. 1327-1354, in Muratori, *Antiquitat. mediæ Ævi Italiæ*, tom. iii. p. 247-548); the authentic groundwork of the history of Rienzi.
3. Delphini (Gentilis) *Diarium Romanum* (A.D. 1370-1410), in the *Rerum Italicarum*, tom. iii. P. ii. p. 846.
4. Antonii (Petri) *Diarium Rom.* (A.D. 1404-1417), tom. xxiv. p. 969.
5. Petroni (Pauli) *Miscellanea Historica Romana* (A.D. 1433-1446), tom. xxiv. p. 1101.
6. Volaterrani (Jacob.) *Diarium Rom.* (A.D. 1472-1484), tom. xxiii. p. 81.
7. Anonymi *Diarium Urbis Romæ* (A.D. 1481-1492), tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1069.
8. Infessuræ (Stephani) *Diarium Romanum* (A.D. 1294, or 1378-1494), tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1109.
9. *Historia Arcana Alexandri VI. sive Excerpta ex Diario Joh. Burcardi* (A.D. 1492-1503), edita a Godefr. Gulielm. Leibnizio, Hanover, 1697, in 4to. The large and valuable *Journal* of Burcard might be completed from the MSS. in different libraries of Italy and France (M. de Foncemagne, in the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscris.* tom. xvii. p. 597-606).

Except the last, all these fragments and diaries are inserted in the Collections of Muratori, my guide and master in the history of Italy. His country, and the public, are indebted to him for the following works on that subject:—1. *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (A.D. 500-1500), *quorum potissima pars nunc primum in lucem prodit, &c.*, xxviii vols. in folio, Milan, 1723-1738, 1751. A volume of chronological and alphabetical tables is still wanting as a key to this great work, which is yet in a disorderly and defective state. 2. *Antiquitates Italiæ mediæ Ævi*, vi vols. in folio, Milan, 1738-1743, in lxxv curious dissertations, on the manners, government, religion, &c., of the Italians of the darker ages, with a large supplement of charters, chronicles, &c. 3. *Dissertazioni sopra le Antichità Italiane*, iii vols. in 4to. Milano, 1751, a free version by the author, which may be quoted with the same confidence as the Latin text of the Antiquities. 4. *Annali d'Italia*, xviii vols. in octavo, Milan, 1753-1756, a dry, though accurate and useful, abridgment of the history of Italy, from the birth of Christ to the middle of the xviiiith century. 5. *Dell' Antichità Estense ed Italiane*, ii vols. in folio, Modena, 1717, 1740. In the history of this illustrious race, the parent of our Brunswick kings, the critic is not seduced by the loyalty or gratitude of the subject. In all his works Muratori approves himself a diligent and laborious writer, who aspires above the prejudices of a Catholic priest. He was born in the year 1672, and died in the year 1750, after passing near sixty years in the libraries of Milan and Modena (Vita del Proposto Ludovico Antonio Muratori, by his nephew and successor Gian. Francesco Soli Muratori, Venezia, 1756, in 4to.).

CHAPTER LXXI.

PERSPECT OF THE RUINS OF ROME IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. — FOUR CAUSES OF DECAY AND DESTRUCTION. — EXAMPLE OF THE COLISEUM. — RENOVATION OF THE CITY. — CONCLUSION OF THE WHOLE WORK.

IN the last days of Pope Eugenius the Fourth,² two of his servants, the learned Poggius¹ and a friend, ascended the Capitoline hill, reposed themselves among the ruins of columns and temples, and viewed from that commanding spot the wide and various prospect of desolation.³ The place and the object gave ample scope for moralising on the vicissitudes of fortune, which spares neither man nor the proudest of his works, which buries empires and cities in a common grave; and it was agreed that, in proportion to her former greatness, the fall of Rome was the more awful and deplorable. “Her primeval state, such as she might appear “in a remote age, when Evander entertained the stranger of Troy,⁴ “has been delineated by the fancy of Virgil. This Tarpeian rock “was then a savage and solitary thicket: in the time of the poet it “was crowned with the golden roofs of a temple; the temple is over- “thrown, the gold has been pillaged, the wheel of fortune has “accomplished her revolution, and the sacred ground is again dis- “figured with thorns and brambles. The hill of the Capitol, on which “we sit, was formerly the head of the Roman empire, the citadel of “the earth, the terror of kings; illustrated by the footsteps of so “many triumphs, enriched with the spoils and tributes of so many “nations. This spectacle of the world, how is it fallen! how changed! “how defaced! the path of victory is obliterated by vines, and the “benches of the senators are concealed by a dunghill. Cast your

View and
discourse of
Poggius
from the
Capitoline
hill,
A.D. 1430.

¹ I have already (notes 50, 51, on chap. lrv.) mentioned the age, character, and writings of Poggius; and particularly noticed the date of this elegant moral lecture on the varieties of fortune.

² *Consedimus in ipsa Tarpeis arcis ruina, pone ingens portæ ejuſdem, ut puto, templi, marmoreum limen, plurimasque paſſim contractas columnas, unde magnâ ex parte proſpectus urbis patet* (p. 5).

³ *Æneid viii. 97-369.* This ancient picture, ſo artfully introduced, and ſo exquisitely finiſhed, muſt have been highly intereſting to an inhabitant of Rome; and our early ſtudies allow us to ſympathiſe in the feelings of a Roman.

⁴ It ſhould be Pope Martin the Fifth. and Hobhouſe, *Illustrations of Childe See Gibbon's own note, ch. lrv. note 51; Harold, p. 155.—M.*

“ eyes on the Palatine hill, and seek among the shapeless and enormous fragments the marble theatre, the obelisks, the colossal statues, the porticoes of Nero’s palace : survey the other hills of the city, the vacant space is interrupted only by ruins and gardens. “ The forum of the Roman people, where they assembled to enact their laws and elect their magistrates, is now enclosed for the cultivation of pot-herbs, or thrown open for the reception of swine and buffaloes. The public and private edifices, that were founded for eternity, lie prostrate, naked, and broken, like the limbs of a mighty giant ; and the ruin is the more visible, from the stupendous relics that have survived the injuries of time and fortune.” ⁴

These relics are minutely described by Poggius, one of the first who raised his eyes from the monuments of legendary to those of classic superstition.⁵ 1. Besides a bridge, an arch, a sepulchre, and the pyramid of Cestius, he could discern, of the age of the republic, a double row of vaults in the salt-office of the Capitol, which were inscribed with the name and munificence of Catulus. 2. Eleven temples were visible in some degree, from the perfect form of the Pantheon to the three arches and a marble column of the temple of Peace, which Vespasian erected after the civil wars and the Jewish triumph. 3. Of the number, which he rashly defines, of seven *thermæ*, or public baths, none were sufficiently entire to represent the use and distribution of the several parts ; but those of Diocletian and Antoninus Caracalla still retained the titles of the founders, and astonished the curious spectator, who, in observing their solidity and extent, the variety of marbles, the size and multitude of the columns, compared the labour and expense with the use and importance. Of the baths of Constantine, of Alexander, of Domitian, or rather of Titus, some vestige might yet be found. 4. The triumphal arches of Titus, Severus, and Constantine, were entire, both the structure and the inscriptions : a falling fragment was honoured with the name of Trajan ; and two arches, then extant, in the Flaminian way, have been ascribed to the baser memory of Faustina and Gallienus.⁶ 5. After the wonder of the Coliseum, Poggius might

⁴ Capitolium adeo . . . immutatum ut vineæ in senatorum subsellia successerint, stercorum ac purgamentorum receptaculum factum. Respice ad Palatinum montem . . . vasta rudera . . . cæteros colles perlustra omnia vacua ædificiis, ruinis vineisque oppleta conspicies (Poggius de Varietat. Fortunæ, p. 21).

⁵ See Poggius, p. 8-22.

⁶ One was in the Via Nomentana; est alter præterea Gallieno principi dicatus, ut superscriptio indicat, *Via Nomentanâ*. Hobhouse, p. 154. Poggio likewise mentions the building which Gibbon ambiguously says he “ might have overlooked.” —M.

have overlooked a small amphitheatre of brick, most probably for the use of the prætorian camp: the theatres of Marcellus and Pompey were occupied in a great measure by public and private buildings; and in the Circus, Agonalis and Maximus, little more than the situation and the form could be investigated. 6. The columns of Trajan and Antonine were still erect; but the Egyptian obelisks were broken or buried. A people of gods and heroes, the workmanship of art, was reduced to one equestrian figure of gilt brass and to five marble statues, of which the most conspicuous were the two horses of Phidias and Praxiteles. 7. The two mausoleums or sepulchres of Augustus and Hadrian could not totally be lost; but the former was only visible as a mound of earth, and the latter, the castle of St. Angelo, had acquired the name and appearance of a modern fortress. With the addition of some separate and nameless columns, such were the remains of the ancient city; for the marks of a more recent structure might be detected in the walls, which formed a circumference of ten miles, included three hundred and seventy-nine turrets, and opened into the country by thirteen gates.

This melancholy picture was drawn above nine hundred years after the fall of the Western empire, and even of the Gothic kingdom of Italy. A long period of distress and anarchy, in which empire, and arts, and riches had migrated from the banks of the Tiber, was incapable of restoring or adorning the city; and, as all that is human must retrograde if it do not advance, every successive age must have hastened the ruin of the works of antiquity. To measure the progress of decay, and to ascertain, at each æra, the state of each edifice, would be an endless and a useless labour; and I shall content myself with two observations, which will introduce a short inquiry into the general causes and effects. 1. Two hundred years before the eloquent complaint of Poggius, an anonymous writer composed a description of Rome.⁶ His ignorance may repeat the same objects under strange and fabulous names. Yet this barbarous topographer had eyes and ears; he could observe the visible remains; he could listen to the tradition of the people; and he distinctly enumerates seven theatres, eleven baths, twelve arches, and eighteen palaces, of which many had disappeared before the time of Poggius. It is apparent that many stately monuments of antiquity

Gradual
decay of
Rome.

⁶ Liber de Mirabilibus Romæ, ex Registro Nicolai Cardinalis de Arragoniâ, in Bibliothecâ St. Isidori Arnario IV. No. 69. This treatise, with some short but pertinent notes, has been published by Montfaucon (*Diarium Italicum*, p. 283-301), who thus delivers his own critical opinion: *Scriptor xiii^m circiter sæculi, ut ibidera notatur; antiquariâ rei imperitus, et, ut ab illo sævo, nugis et anilibus fabellis refertur: sed, quia monumenta quæ iis temporibus Romæ supererant pro modulo recenset, non parum inde lucis mutuabitur qui Romanis antiquitatibus indagandis operam navabit* (p. 283).

survived till a late period,⁷ and that the principles of destruction acted with vigorous and increasing energy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. 2. The same reflection must be applied to the three last ages; and we should vainly seek the Septizonium of Severus,⁸ which is celebrated by Petrarch and the antiquarians of the sixteenth century. While the Roman edifices were still entire, the first blows, however weighty and impetuous, were resisted by the solidity of the mass and the harmony of the parts; but the slightest touch would precipitate the fragments of arches and columns, that already nodded to their fall.

After a diligent inquiry I can discern four principal causes of the ruin of Rome, which continued to operate in a period of more than a thousand years. I. The injuries of time and nature. II. The hostile attacks of the barbarians and Christians. III. The use and abuse of the materials. And, IV. The domestic quarrels of the Romans.

I. The art of man is able to construct monuments far more permanent than the narrow span of his own existence: yet these monuments, like himself, are perishable and frail; and in the boundless annals of time his life and his labours must equally be measured as a fleeting moment. Of a simple and solid edifice it is not easy however to circumscribe the duration. As the wonders of ancient days, the pyramids⁹ attracted the curiosity of the ancients: a hundred generations, the leaves of autumn,¹⁰ have dropped into the grave; and after the fall of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies, the Cæsars and caliphs, the same pyramids stand erect and unshaken above the floods of the Nile. A complex figure of various and minute parts is more accessible to injury and decay; and the silent lapse of time is often accelerated by hurricanes and earthquakes, by fires and inundations. The air and earth have doubtless been shaken; and the lofty turrets of Rome have tottered from their foundations; but the seven hills do not appear to be placed on the great cavities of the globe; nor has

⁷ The Pere Mabillon (*Analecta*, tom. iv. p. 502) has published an anonymous pilgrim of the ixth century, who, in his visit round the churches and holy places of Rome, touches on several buildings, especially porticoes, which had disappeared before the xiiiith century.

⁸ On the Septizonium, see the *Mémoires sur Pétrarque* (tom. i. p. 325), Donatus (p. 338), and Nardini (p. 117, 414).

⁹ The age of the pyramids is remote and unknown, since Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. i. c. 44, p. 72) is unable to decide whether they were constructed 1000 or 3400 years before the cxxxth Olympiad. Sir John Marsham's contracted scale of the Egyptian dynasties would fix them about 2000 years before Christ (*Canon. Chronicus*, p. 47).

¹⁰ See the speech of Glaucus in the *Iliad* (z. 146). This natural but melancholy image is familiar to Homer.

the city, in any age, been exposed to the convulsions of nature, which, in the climate of Antioch, Lisbon, or Lima, have crumbled in a few moments the works of ages into dust. Fire is the most powerful agent of life and death: the rapid mischief may be kindled and propagated by the industry or negligence of mankind; and every period of the Roman annals is marked by the repetition of similar calamities. A memorable conflagration, the guilt or misfortune of Nero's reign, continued, though with unequal fury, either six or nine days.¹¹ Innumerable buildings, crowded in close and crooked streets, supplied perpetual fuel for the flames; and when they ceased, four only of the fourteen regions were left entire; three were totally destroyed, and seven were deformed by the relics of smoking and lacerated edifices.¹² In the full meridian of empire the metropolis arose with fresh beauty from her ashes; yet the memory of the old deplored their irreparable losses, the arts of Greece, the trophies of victory, the monuments of primitive or fabulous antiquity. In the days of distress and anarchy every wound is mortal, every fall irretrievable; nor can the damage be restored either by the public care of government, or the activity of private interest. Yet two causes may be alleged which render the calamity of fire more destructive to a flourishing than a decayed city. 1. The more combustible materials of brick, timber, and metals, are first melted or consumed; but the flames may play without injury or effect on the naked walls and massy arches that have been despoiled of their ornaments. 2. It is among the common and plebeian habitations that a mischievous spark is most easily blown to a conflagration; but as soon as they are devoured, the greater edifices which have resisted or escaped are left as so many islands in a state of solitude and safety. From her situation, Rome is exposed to the danger of frequent inundations. Without excepting the Tiber, the rivers that descend from either side of the Apennine have a short and irregular course; a shallow stream in the summer heats; an impetuous torrent when it is swelled in the spring or winter, by the fall of rain and the melting of the snows. When the current is repelled from the sea by

¹¹ The learning and criticism of M. des Vignoles (*Histoire Critique de la République des Lettres*, tom. viii. p. 74-118; ix. p. 172-187) dates the fire of Rome from A.D. 64, July 19, and the subsequent persecution of the Christians from November 15 of the same year.

¹² *Quippe in regiones quatuordecim Roma dividitur, quarum quatuor integræ manebant, tres solo tenuis dejectæ: septem reliquis pauca tectorum vestigia supererant, lacera et semiusta.* Among the old relics that were irreparably lost, Tacitus enumerates the temple of the Moon of Servius Tullius; the fane and altar consecrated by Evander præsentî Herculi; the temple of Jupiter Stator, a vow of Romulus; the palace of Numa; the temple of Vesta cum Penatibus populi Romani. He then deplores the opes tot victoriis quæsitæ et Græcarum artium decora . . . multa quæ seniores meminerant, quæ reparari nequibant (*Annal.* xv. 40, 41).

adverse winds, when the ordinary bed is inadequate to the weight of waters, they rise above the banks, and overspread, without limits or control, the plains and cities of the adjacent country. Soon after the triumph of the first Punic war the Tiber was increased by unusual rains; and the inundation, surpassing all former measure of time and place, destroyed all the buildings that were situate below the hills of Rome. According to the variety of ground, the same mischief was produced by different means; and the edifices were either swept away by the sudden impulse, or dissolved and undermined by the long continuance, of the flood.¹³ Under the reign of Augustus the same calamity was renewed: the lawless river overturned the palaces and temples on its banks;¹⁴ and, after the labours of the emperor in cleansing and widening the bed that was encumbered with ruins,¹⁵ the vigilance of his successors was exercised by similar dangers and designs. The project of diverting into new channels the Tiber itself, or some of the dependent streams, was long opposed by superstition and local interests;¹⁶ nor did the use compensate the toil and cost of the tardy and imperfect execution. The servitude of rivers is the noblest and most important victory which man has obtained over the licentiousness of nature;¹⁷ and if such were the ravages of the Tiber under a firm and active government, what could oppose, or who can enumerate, the injuries of the city after the fall of the Western empire? A remedy was at length produced by the evil itself: the

¹³ A. u. c. 507, *repentina subversio ipsius Romæ prævenit triumphum Romanorum . . . diversæ ignium aquarumque clades pene absumsere urbem. Nam Tiberis insolitis auctus imbribus et ultra opinionem, vel diurnitate vel magnitudine redundans, omnia Romæ ædificia in plano posita delevit. Diversæ qualitates locorum ad unam convenere perniciem: quoniam et quæ segnior inundatio tenuit madefacta dissolvit, et quæ cursus torrentis invenit impulsu dejecit* (Orosius, *Hist. l. iv. c. 11, p. 244, edit. Havercamp*). Yet we may observe that it is the plan and study of the Christian apologist to magnify the calamities of the pagan world.

¹⁴ *Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis
Littore Etrusco violenter undis,
Ire dejectum monumenta Regis
Templaque Vestæ.* (Horat. *Carm. i. 2.*)

If the palace of Numa and temple of Vesta were thrown down in Horace's time, what was consumed of those buildings by Nero's fire could hardly deserve the epithets of *vestissimæ* or *incorruptæ*.

¹⁵ *Ad coercendas inundationes alveum Tiberis laxavit ac repurgavit, completum olim rudericibus, et ædificiorum prolapsionibus coarctatum* (Suetonius in *Augusto, c. 30*).

¹⁶ Tacitus (*Annal. i. 79*) reports the petitions of the different towns of Italy to the senate against the measure; and we may applaud the progress of reason. On a similar occasion local interests would undoubtedly be consulted; but an English House of Commons would reject with contempt the arguments of superstition, "that nature had assigned to the rivers their proper course," &c.

¹⁷ See the *Epoques de la Nature* of the eloquent and philosophic Buffon. His picture of Guyana, in South America, is that of a new and savage land, in which the waters are abandoned to themselves, without being regulated by human industry (p. 212, 561, quarto edition).

accumulation of rubbish and the earth that has been washed down from the hills is supposed to have elevated the plain of Rome fourteen or fifteen feet, perhaps, above the ancient level;¹⁸ and the modern city is less accessible to the attacks of the river.¹⁹

II. The crowd of writers of every nation, who impute the destruction of the Roman monuments to the Goths and the Christians, have neglected to inquire how far they were animated by an hostile principle, and how far they possessed the means and the leisure to satiate their enmity. In the preceding volumes of this History I have described the triumph of barbarism and religion; and I can only resume, in a few words, their real or imaginary connection with the ruin of ancient Rome. Our fancy may create, or adopt, a pleasing romance, that the Goths and Vandals sallied from Scandinavia, ardent to avenge the flight of Odin;²⁰ to break the chains, and to chastise the oppressors, of mankind; that they wished to burn the records of classic literature, and to found their national architecture on the broken members of the Tuscan and Corinthian orders. But in simple truth, the northern conquerors were neither sufficiently savage, nor sufficiently refined, to entertain such aspiring ideas of destruction and revenge. The shepherds of Scythia and Germany had been educated in the armies of the empire, whose discipline they acquired, and whose weakness they invaded: with the familiar use of the Latin tongue they had learned to reverence the name and titles of Rome; and, though incapable of emulating, they were more inclined to admire than to abolish the arts and studies of a brighter period. In the transient possession of a rich and unresisting capital, the soldiers of Alaric and Genseric were stimulated by the passions of a victorious army; amidst the wanton indulgence of lust or cruelty, portable wealth was the object of their search: nor could they derive either pride or pleasure from the unprofitable reflection that they had battered to the ground the works of the consuls and Cæsars. Their moments

II. The hostile attacks of the barbarians and Christians.

¹⁸ In his Travels in Italy, Mr. Addison (his Works, vol. ii. p. 98, Baskerville's edition) has observed this curious and unquestionable fact.

¹⁹ Yet in modern times the Tiber has sometimes damaged the city, and in the years 1530, 1557, 1593, the Annals of Muratori record three mischievous and memorable inundations (tom. xiv. p. 283, 429; tom. xv. p. 93, &c.).^a

²⁰ I take this opportunity of declaring that, in the course of twelve years, I have forgotten, or renounced, the flight of Odin from Anoph to Sweden, which I never very seriously believed (vol. i. p. 377). The Goths are apparently Germans; but all beyond Cæsar and Tacitus is darkness or fable in the antiquities of Germany.

^a The level of the Tiber was at one time supposed to be considerably raised: recent investigations seem to be conclusive against this supposition. See a brief, but satisfactory, statement of the question in Bunsen and Platner, *Roms Beschreibung*, vol. i. p. 32.—M.

were indeed precious: the Goths evacuated Rome on the sixth,²¹ the Vandals on the fifteenth day;²² and, though it be far more difficult to build than to destroy, their hasty assault would have made a slight impression on the solid piles of antiquity. We may remember that both Alaric and Genseric affected to spare the buildings of the city; that they subsisted in strength and beauty under the auspicious government of Theodoric;²³ and that the momentary resentment of Totila²⁴ was disarmed by his own temper and the advice of his friends and enemies. From these innocent barbarians the reproach may be transferred to the Catholics of Rome. The statues, altars, and houses of the dæmons were an abomination in their eyes; and in the absolute command of the city, they might labour with zeal and perseverance to erase the idolatry of their ancestors. The demolition of the temples in the East²⁵ affords to *them* an example of conduct, and to *us* an argument of belief; and it is probable that a portion of guilt or merit may be imputed with justice to the Roman proselytes. Yet their abhorrence was confined to the monuments of heathen superstition; and the civil structures that were dedicated to the business or pleasure of society might be preserved without injury or scandal. The change of religion was accomplished, not by a popular tumult, but by the decrees of the emperors, of the senate, and of time. Of the Christian hierarchy, the bishops of Rome were commonly the most prudent and least fanatic; nor can any positive charge be opposed to the meritorious act of saving and converting the majestic structure of the Pantheon.²⁶

III. The value of any object that supplies the wants or pleasures of mankind is compounded of its substance and its form, of the materials and the manufacture. Its price must depend on the number of persons by whom it may be acquired and used; on the extent of the market; and consequently on the ease or

²¹ *History of the Decline, &c.*, vol. iv. p. 108.

²² _____, vol. iv. p. 256.

²³ _____, vol. v. p. 19-21.

²⁴ _____, vol. v. p. 223.

²⁵ _____, vol. iii. c. xxviii. p. 413-416.

²⁶ Eodem tempore petiit a Phocæte principe templum, quod appellatur *Pantheon*, in quo fecit ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ semper Virginis, et omnium martyrum; in quâ ecclesiæ princeps multa bona obtulit (Anastasius vel potius Liber Pontificalis in Bonifacio IV. in Muratori, *Script. Herum Italicarum*, tom. iii. P. i. p. 185). According to the anonymous writer in Montfaucon, the Pantheon had been vowed by Agrippa to Cybele and Neptune, and was dedicated by Boniface IV. on the calends of November to the Virgin, quæ est mater omnium sanctorum (p. 297, 298).

* The popes, under the dominion of the emperor and of the exarchs, according to Fœa's just observation, did not possess the power of disposing of the buildings and monuments of the city according to their own will. Bunsen and Platner, vol. i. p. 241.—M.

difficulty of remote exportation, according to the nature of the commodity, its local situation, and the temporary circumstances of the world. The barbarian conquerors of Rome usurped in a moment the toil and treasure of successive ages; but, except the luxuries of immediate consumption, they must view without desire all that could not be removed from the city in the Gothic waggons or the fleet of the Vandals.²⁷ Gold and silver were the first objects of their avarice; as in every country, and in the smallest compass, they represent the most ample command of the industry and possessions of mankind. A vase or a statue of those precious metals might tempt the vanity of some barbarian chief; but the grosser multitude, regardless of the form, was tenacious only of the substance; and the melted ingots might be readily divided and stamped into the current coin of the empire. The less active or less fortunate robbers were reduced to the baser plunder of brass, lead, iron, and copper: whatever had escaped the Goths and Vandals was pillaged by the Greek tyrants; and the emperor Constans, in his rapacious visit, stripped the bronze tiles from the roof of the Pantheon.²⁸ The edifices of Rome might be considered as a vast and various mine: the first labour of extracting the materials was already performed; the metals were purified and cast; the marbles were hewn and polished; and after foreign and domestic rapine had been satiated, the remains of the city, could a purchaser have been found, were still venal. The monuments of antiquity had been left naked of their precious ornaments; but the Romans would demolish with their own hands the arches and walls, if the hope of profit could surpass the cost of the labour and exportation. If Charlemagne had fixed in Italy the seat of the Western empire, his genius would have aspired to restore, rather than to violate, the works of the Cæsars; but policy confined the French monarch to the forests of Germany; his taste could be gratified only by destruction; and the new palace of Aix la Chapelle was decorated with the marbles of Ravenna²⁹ and Rome.³⁰ Five

²⁷ Flaminius Vacca (apud Montfaucon, p. 155, 156: his memoir is likewise printed, p. 21, at the end of the *Roma Antica* of Nardini) and several Romans, doctrinâ graves, were persuaded that the Goths buried their treasures at Rome, and bequeathed the secret marks *filii nepotibusque*. He relates some anecdotes to prove that, in his own time, these places were visited and rifled by the Transalpine pilgrims, the heirs of the Gothic conquerors.

²⁸ *Omnia quæ erant in ære ad ornatum civitatis deposuit; sed et ecclesiam B. Maris ad martyros quæ de tegulis æreis cooperta discooperuit* (Anast. in Vitalian. p. 141). The base and sacrilegious Greek had not even the poor pretence of plundering an heathen temple; the Pantheon was already a Catholic church.

²⁹ For the spoils of Ravenna (*musiva atque marmora*) see the original grant of Pope Adrian I. to Charlemagne (Codex Carolin. epist. lxxvii. in Muratori, *Script. Ital.* tom. iii. P. ii. p. 223).

³⁰ I shall quote the authentic testimony of the Saxon poet (A. D. 887-899), de

hundred years after Charlemagne, a king of Sicily, Robert, the wisest and most liberal sovereign of the age, was supplied with the same materials by the easy navigation of the Tiber and the sea; and Petrarch sighs an indignant complaint, that the ancient capital of the world should adorn from her own bowels the slothful luxury of Naples.³¹ But these examples of plunder or purchase were rare in the darker ages; and the Romans, alone and unenvied, might have applied to their private or public use the remaining structures of antiquity, if in their present form and situation they had not been useless in a great measure to the city and its inhabitants. The walls still described the old circumference, but the city had descended from the seven hills into the Campus Martius; and some of the noblest monuments which had braved the injuries of time were left in a desert far remote from the habitations of mankind. The palaces of the senators were no longer adapted to the manners or fortunes of their indigent successors: the use of baths³² and porticoes was forgotten: in the sixth century the games of the theatre, amphitheatre, and circus had been interrupted: some temples were devoted to the prevailing worship; but the Christian churches preferred the holy figure of the cross; and fashion, or reason, had distributed after a peculiar model the cells and offices of the cloister. Under the ecclesiastical reign the number of these pious foundations was enormously multiplied; and the city was crowded with forty monasteries of men, twenty of women, and

Robus gestis Caroli Magni, l. v. 437-440, in the *Historians of France* (tom. v. p. 180):—

Ad quæ marmoreas præstabat ROMA columnas,
Quasdam præcipuas pulchra Ravenna dedit,
De tam longinquâ poterit regione vetustas
Illius ornatum, Francia, ferre tibi.

And I shall add, from the Chronicle of Sigebert (*Historians of France*, tom. v. p. 378) extruxit etiam Aquisgrani basilicam plurimæ pulchritudinis, ad cujus structuram a ROMA et Ravenna columnas et marmora devehit fecit.

³¹ I cannot refuse to transcribe a long passage of Petrarch (*Opp.* p. 536, 537) in *Epistolâ hortatoriâ ad Nicolaum Laurentium*; it is so strong and full to the point: Nec pudor aut pietas continuit quominus impii spoliata Dei templa, occupatas arces, opes publicas, regiones urbis, atque honores magistratûm inter se divisos; (*habeant?*) quam unâ in re, turbulentis ac seditiosi homines et totius reliquæ vitæ consilii et rationibus discordes, inhumani fœderis stupendâ societate convenirent, in pontes et moenia atque immeritos lapides desciverent. Denique post vi vel senio collapsa palatia, quæ quondam ingentes tenuerunt viri, post diruptos arcus triumphales (unde majores horum forsitan corruerunt), de ipsius vetustatis ac propriæ impietatis fragminibus vilem quæstum turpi mercimonio captare non puduit. Itaque nunc, heu dolor! heu scelus indignum! de vestris marmoreis columnis, de liminibus templorum (ad quæ nuper ex orbe toto concursus devotissimus fiebat), de imaginibus sepulchrorum sub quibus patrum vestrorum venerabilis civis (*civis?*) erat, ut reliquas sileam, desidiiosa Neapolis adornatur. Sic paullatim ruinæ ipsæ deficiunt. Yet king Robert was the friend of Petrarch.

³² Yet Charlemagne washed and swam at Aix-la-Chapelle with an hundred of his courtiers (*Eginhart*, c. 22, p. 108, 109); and Muratori describes, as late as the year 814, the public baths which were built at Spoleto in Italy (*Annali*, tom. vi. p. 416).

sixty chapters and colleges of canons and priests,³³ who aggravated, instead of relieving, the depopulation of the tenth century. But if the forms of ancient architecture were disregarded by a people insensible of their use and beauty, the plentiful materials were applied to every call of necessity or superstition; till the fairest columns of the Ionic and Corinthian orders, the richest marbles of Paros and Numidia, were degraded, perhaps to the support of a convent or a stable. The daily havoc which is perpetrated by the Turks in the cities of Greece and Asia may afford a melancholy example; and in the gradual destruction of the monuments of Rome, Sixtus the Fifth may alone be excused for employing the stones of the Septizonium in the glorious edifice of St. Peter's.³⁴ A fragment, a ruin, howsoever mangled or profaned, may be viewed with pleasure and regret; but the greater part of the marble was deprived of substance, as well as of place and proportion; it was burnt to lime for the purpose of cement.^a Since the arrival of Poggius the temple of Concord³⁵ and many capital structures had vanished from his eyes; and an epigram of the same age expresses a just and pious fear that the continuance of this practice would finally annihilate all the monuments of antiquity.³⁶ The smallness of their numbers was the sole check on the demands and depredations of the Romans. The imagination of Petrarch might create the presence of a mighty people;³⁷ and I hesitate to believe that, even in the fourteenth century, they could be

³³ See the Annals of Italy, A. D. 988. For this and the preceding fact Muratori himself is indebted to the Benedictine history of Père Mabillon.

³⁴ Vita di Sisto Quinto, da Gregorio Leti, tom. iii, p. 50.

³⁵ Porticus sedis Concordia, quam cum primum ad urbem accessi vidi fere integram opere marmoreo admodum specioso: Romani postmodum ad calcem ædem totam et porticus partem disiectis columnis sunt demoliti (p. 12). The temple of Concord was therefore *not* destroyed by a sedition in the thirteenth century, as I have read in a MS. treatise del' Governo civile di Rome, lent me formerly at Rome, and ascribed (I believe falsely) to the celebrated Gravina. Poggius likewise affirms that the sepulchre of Cæcilia Metella was burnt for lime (p. 19, 20).

³⁶ Composed by Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., and published by Mabillon, from a MS. of the queen of Sweden (Musæum Italicum, tom. i, p. 97).

Oblectat me, Roma, tuas spectare ruinas;
 Ex cujus lapsu gloria prisca patet.
 Sed tuus hic populus muris defossa vetustis
Calcis in obsequium marmora dura coquit.
 Impia tercentum si sic gens egerit annos
 Nullum hinc indicium nobilitatis erit.

³⁷ Vagabamur pariter in illâ urbe tam magnâ; quæ, cum propter spatium vacua videretur, populum habet immensum (Opp. p. 605, Epist. Familiares, ii. 14).

^a From the quotations in Bunsen's Dissertation it may be suspected that this slow but continual process of destruction was the most fatal. Ancient Rome was considered a quarry from which the church, the castle of the baron, or even the hovel of the peasant, might be repaired.—M.

reduced to a contemptible list of thirty-three thousand inhabitants. From that period to the reign of Leo the Tenth, if they multiplied to the amount of eighty-five thousand,³⁸ the increase of citizens was in some degree pernicious to the ancient city.

IV. I have reserved for the last the most potent and forcible cause of destruction, the domestic hostilities of the Romans themselves. Under the dominion of the Greek and French emperors the peace of the city was disturbed by accidental, though frequent, seditions: it is from the decline of the latter, from the beginning of the tenth century, that we may date the licentiousness of private war, which violated with impunity the laws of the Code and the Gospel, without respecting the majesty of the absent sovereign, or the presence and person of the vicar of Christ. In a dark period of five hundred years Rome was perpetually afflicted by the sanguinary quarrels of the nobles and the people, the Guelphs and Ghibelines, the Colonna and Ursini; and if much has escaped the knowledge, and much is unworthy of the notice, of history, I have exposed in the two preceding chapters the causes and effects of the public disorders. At such a time, when every quarrel was decided by the sword, and none could trust their lives or properties to the impotence of law, the powerful citizens were armed for safety, or offence, against the domestic enemies whom they feared or hated. Except Venice alone, the same dangers and designs were common to all the free republics of Italy; and the nobles usurped the prerogative of fortifying their houses, and erecting strong towers³⁹ that were capable of resisting a sudden attack. The cities were filled with these hostile edifices; and the example of Lucca, which contained three hundred towers; her law, which confined their height to the measure of fourscore feet, may be extended with suitable latitude to the more opulent and populous states. The first step of the senator Brancalione in the establishment of peace and justice was to demolish (as we have already seen) one hundred and forty of the towers of Rome; and, in the last days of anarchy and discord, as late as the reign of Martin the Fifth, forty-four still stood in one of the thirteen or fourteen regions of the city. To this mischievous purpose the remains of antiquity were most readily adapted: the temples and arches afforded a broad and solid basis for the new structures of brick and stone; and we can name the modern turrets

³⁸ These states of the population of Rome at different periods are derived from an ingenious treatise of the physician Lancisi, *de Romani Coeli Qualitibus* (p. 122).

³⁹ All the facts that relate to the towers at Rome, and in other free cities of Italy, may be found in the laborious and entertaining compilation of Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae medii Aevi*, d'assertat. xxvi. (tom. ii. p. 493-496, of the Latin; tom. i. p. 446, of the Italian work).

that were raised on the triumphal monuments of Julius Cæsar, Titus, and the Antonines.* With some slight alterations, a theatre, an amphitheatre, a mausoleum, was transformed into a strong, and spacious citadel. I need not repeat that the mole of Hadrian has assumed the title and form of the castle of St. Angelo; † the Septizodium of Severus was capable of standing against a royal army; ‡ the sepulchre of Metella has sunk under its outworks; § the theatres of Pompey and Marcellus were occupied by the Savelli and Ursini families; ¶ and the rough fortress has been gradually softened to the splendour and elegance of an Italian palace. Even the churches were encompassed with arms and bulwarks, and the military engines on the roof of St. Peter's were the terror of the Vaican and the scandal of the Christian world. Whatever is fortified will be attacked; and whatever is attacked may be destroyed. Could the Romans have wrested from the popes the castle of St. Angelo, they had resolved by a public decree to annihilate that monument of servitude. Every building of defence was exposed to a siege; and in every siege the arts and engines of destruction were laboriously employed. After the death of Nicholas the Fourth, Rome, without a sovereign or a senate, was abandoned six months to the fury of civil war. "The houses," says a cardinal and poet of the times, †

* As for instance, Templum Jovi nunc dicitur, turris Cælii Fraugripianæ; et sane Jaso imperatoris turris hæcruitæ esseque hodieque vestigia superant (Maffiæcæca Urbium habitum, p. 186). The anonymous writer (p. 255) commemorates arces Tit, turris Octavianæ; arces Julii Cæsaris et Sæptimianæ, turres de Bravis; arces Antoninæ, turris de Coenosa, &c.

† Hadrianæ molem magna ex parte Romanorum injuria destructam; quod esse funditus everitissimæ, et servam manibus perire, absumptis gradibus arvis, religium molis existissimæ (Poggio de Varietate Fortunæ, p. 131).

‡ Argues the emperor Henry IV. (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. ix, p. 147).

§ I must copy an important passage of Montfaucon: Turris magna rotunda Cæcilie Metellæ sepulchrum erit, cujus sunt tres colidi, et septem pyramis altissima intus vocantur superstiti: et Turris de Pace dicitur, a beata capitula mure inscripta. Hæc æquidam erit, tempore interitionum bellorum, cum urbe sub adjuncta fuit, cujus nomina et turris etiamnum remanent; in ea sepulchrum Metellæ quasi ex æquidali fabricæ. Perpetuum in urbe parietibus, cum Urbi sequi Colimænesis muribus claudis peractura interrent erunt, in vicinis partibus ditionem cedentet magna novam erit (p. 142).

¶ See the inscription of Divesius, Savelli, and Montfaucon. In the Savelli palace the remains of the theatre of Marcellus are still great and conspicuous.

‡ James, cardinal of St. George, ad velum aëreum, in his medical Life of Pope Calistus V. (Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. i. p. iii, p. 81, l. 1, e. 1, ver. 152, &c.)

Hæc divites sat est, Romanæ curiæ Senata

Morsibus exercis bene est; belloque vocatum (secundo)

In sedem, in socio fraterqueo valibus patris;

Turmentis pecore viris immensa saxi;

Perfidos domus trahibus, facies rursus

Ignibus; immanis turres, obsecrante fumo

Lamina vicinis, quo est spoliosa sepulcræ.

* This is inaccurately expressed. The sepulchre is still standing. See Hobbeson, p. 304.—M.

“ were crushed by the weight and velocity of enormous stones ;⁴⁶ the “ walls were perforated by the strokes of the battering-ram ; the “ towers were involved in fire and smoke ; and the assailants were “ stimulated by rapine and revenge.” The work was consummated by the tyranny of the laws ; and the factions of Italy alternately exercised a blind and thoughtless vengeance on their adversaries, whose houses and castles they razed to the ground.⁴⁷ In comparing the *days* of foreign with the *ages* of domestic hostility, we must pronounce that the latter have been far more ruinous to the city ; and our opinion is confirmed by the evidence of Petrarch. “ Behold,” says the laureat, “ the relics of Rome, the image of her pristine greatness ! neither time nor the barbarian can boast the merit of this “ stupendous destruction : it was perpetrated by her own citizens, by “ the most illustrious of her sons ; and your ancestors (he writes to a “ noble Annibaldi) have done with the battering-ram what the Punic “ hero could not accomplish with the sword.”⁴⁸ The influence of the two last principles of decay must in some degree be multiplied by each other ; since the houses and towers which were subverted by civil war required a new and perpetual supply from the monuments of antiquity.^a

These general observations may be separately applied to the amphitheatre of Titus, which has obtained the name of the COLISEUM,⁴⁹ either from its magnitude, or from Nero’s colossal statue : an edifice, had it been left to time and

The
Coliseum or
amphitheatre
of Titus.

⁴⁶ Muratori (Dissertazione sopra le Antiquità Italiane, tom. i. p. 427–431) finds that stone bullets of two or three hundred pounds’ weight were not uncommon ; and they are sometimes computed at xii or xviii *cantari* of Genoa, each *cantaro* weighing 150 pounds.

⁴⁷ The vith law of the Visconti prohibits this common and mischievous practice ; and strictly enjoins that the houses of banished citizens should be preserved pro communi utilitate (Gualvanus de la Flamma, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xii, p. 1041).

⁴⁸ Petrarch thus addresses his friend, who, with shame and tears, had shown him the mœnia, lacera specimen miserabile Romæ, and declared his own intention of restoring them (Carmina Latina, l. ii. epist. Paulo Annibalensi, xii. p. 97, 98).

Nec te parva manet servatis fama ruinis
Quanta quod integræ fuit olim gloria Romæ
Reliquiæ testantur adhuc ; quas longior ætas
Frangere non valuit ; non vis aut ira cruenti
Hostis, ab egregiis franguntur civibus, heu ! heu !
Quod ille nequivit (*Hannibal*)
Perficit hic aries.

⁴⁹ The fourth part of the Verona Illustrata of the Marquis Maffei professedly treats of amphitheatres, particularly those of Rome and Verona, of their dimensions, wooden galleries, &c. It is from magnitude that he derives the name of *Colosseum*, or

^a Bunsen has shown that the hostile Guiscard, who burned down whole districts, inflicted the worst damage on the but more particularly that of Robert ancient city. Vol. i. p. 247.—M.

nature, which might perhaps have claimed an eternal duration. The curious antiquaries, who have computed the numbers and seats, are disposed to believe that above the upper row of stone steps the amphitheatre was encircled and elevated with several stages of wooden galleries, which were repeatedly consumed by fire, and restored by the emperors. Whatever was precious, or portable, or profane, the statues of gods and heroes, and the costly ornaments of sculpture, which were cast in brass, or overspread with leaves of silver and gold, became the first prey of conquest or fanaticism, of the avarice of the barbarians or the Christians. In the massy stones of the Coliseum many holes are discerned; and the two most probable conjectures represent the various accidents of its decay. These stones were connected by solid links of brass or iron, nor had the eye of rapine overlooked the value of the baser metals;⁵⁰ the vacant space was converted into a fair or market; the artisans of the Coliseum are mentioned in an ancient survey; and the chasms were perforated or enlarged to receive the poles that supported the shops or tents of the mechanic trades.⁵¹ Reduced to its naked majesty, the Flavian amphitheatre was contemplated with awe and admiration by the pilgrims of the North; and their rude enthusiasm broke forth in a sublime proverbial expression, which is recorded in the eighth century, in the fragments of the venerable Bede: "As long as the Coliseum stands, Rome shall stand; when the Coliseum falls, Rome will fall; when Rome falls, the world will fall."⁵² In the modern system of war, a situation commanded by three hills would not be chosen for a fortress; but the strength of the walls and arches could resist the engines of assault; a numerous garrison might be lodged

Coliseum: since the same appellation was applied to the amphitheatre of Capua, without the aid of a colossal statue; since that of Nero was erected in the court (*in atrio*) of his palace, and not in the Coliseum (P. iv. p. 15-19, l. i. c. 4).

⁵⁰ Joseph Maria Suerés, a learned bishop, and the author of an history of Fræneste, has composed a separate dissertation on the seven or eight probable causes of these holes, which has been since reprinted in the Roman Thesaurus of Sallengre. Montfaucon (*Diarium*, p. 233) pronounces the rapine of the barbarians to be the *unam germanamque causam foraminum*.^a

⁵¹ Donatus, *Roma Vetus et Nova*, p. 285.^b

⁵² *Quamdiu stabit Colyseus, stabit et Roma; quando cadet Colyseus, cadet Roma; quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus* (Beda in *Excerptis seu Collectaneis* apud Ducange *Glossar. med. et infimæ Latinitatis*, tom. ii. p. 407, edit. Basil). This saying must be ascribed to the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims who visited Rome before the year 735, the æra of Bede's death; for I do not believe that our venerable monk ever passed the sea.

^a The improbability of this theory is shown by Bunsen, vol. i. p. 239.—M.

^b Gibbon has followed Donatus, who supposes that a silk manufactory was established in the xiith century in the Coli-

seum. The *Bandonarii*, or *Bandereri*, were the officers who carried the standards of their *school* before the pope. Hobhouse, p. 269.—M.

in the enclosure; and while one faction occupied the Vatican and the Capitol, the other was intrenched in the Lateran and the Coliseum.⁵³

The abolition at Rome of the ancient games must be understood with some latitude; and the carnival sports, of the Testacean mount and the Circus Agonalis,⁵⁴ were regulated by the law⁵⁵ or custom of the city. The senator presided with dignity and pomp to adjudge and distribute the prizes, the gold ring, or the *pallium*,⁵⁶ as it was styled, of cloth or silk. A tribute on the Jews supplied the annual expense;⁵⁷ and the races, on foot, on horseback, or in chariots, were ennobled by a tilt and tournament of seventy-two of the Roman youth. In the year one thousand three hundred and thirty-two, a bull-feast, after the fashion of the Moors and Spaniards, was celebrated in the Coliseum itself; and the living manners are painted in a diary of the times.⁵⁸ A convenient order of benches was restored; and a general proclamation, as far as Rimini and Ravenna, invited the nobles to exercise their skill and courage in this perilous adventure. The Roman ladies were marshalled in three squadrons, and seated in three balconies, which on this day, the third of September, were lined with scarlet cloth. The fair Jacova di Rovere led the matrons from beyond the Tiber, a pure and native race, who still represent the features and character of antiquity. The remainder of the city was

Games of
Rome.

A bull-feast
in the
Coliseum,
A.D. 1332,
Sept. 3.

⁵³ I cannot recover, in Muratori's original Lives of the Popes (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. i.), the passage that attests this hostile partition, which must be applied to the end of the xith or the beginning of the xiith century.

⁵⁴ Although the structure of the Circus Agonalis be destroyed, it still retains its form and name (Agona, Nagona, Navona); and the interior space affords a sufficient level for the purpose of racing. But the Monte Testaceo, that strange pile of broken pottery, seems only adapted for the annual practice of hurling from top to bottom some waggon-loads of live hogs for the diversion of the populace (Statuta Urbis Romæ, p. 186).

⁵⁵ See the Statuta Urbis Romæ, l. iii. c. 87, 88, 89, p. 185, 186. I have already given an idea of this municipal code. The races of Nagona and Monte Testaceo are likewise mentioned in the Diary of Peter Antonius from 1404 to 1417 (Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xxiv. p. 1124).

⁵⁶ The *Pallium*, which Menage so foolishly derives from *Palmarium*, is an easy extension of the idea and the words, from the robe or cloak to the materials, and from thence to their application as a prize (Muratori, dissert. xxxiii.).

⁵⁷ For these expenses the Jews of Rome paid each year 1150 florins, of which the odd thirty represented the pieces of silver for which Judas had betrayed his Master to their ancestors. There was a foot-race of Jewish as well as of Christian youths (Statuta Urbis, ibidem).

⁵⁸ This extraordinary bull-feast in the Coliseum is described, from tradition rather than memory, by Ludovico Buonconte Monaldesco, in the most ancient fragments of Roman annals (Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xii. p. 535, 536); and however fanciful they may seem, they are deeply marked with the colours of truth and nature.

* "The division is mentioned in Vit. "frequent other records of it at other
"Innocent. Pap. II. ex Cardinale Arra- "dates." Hobhouse's Illustrations of
"gonio (Script. Rer. Ital. vol. iii. P. i. Childe Harold, p. 130.—M.
"p. 435), and Gibbon might have found

divided as usual between the Colonna and Ursini: the two factions were proud of the number and beauty of their female bands: the charms of Savella Ursini are mentioned with praise; and the Colonna regretted the absence of the youngest of their house, who had sprained her ankle in the garden of Nero's tower. The lots of the champions were drawn by an old and respectable citizen; and they descended into the arena, or pit, to encounter the wild bulls, on foot as it should seem, with a single spear. Amidst the crowd, our annalist has selected the names, colours, and devices of twenty of the most conspicuous knights. Several of the names are the most illustrious of Rome and the ecclesiastical state: Malatesta, Polenta, della Valle, Cafarello, Savelli, Capoccio, Conti, Annibaldi, Altieri, Corsi: the colours were adapted to their taste and situation; the devices are expressive of hope or despair, and breathe the spirit of gallantry and arms. "I am alone, like the youngest of the Horatii," the confidence of an intrepid stranger: "I live disconsolate," a weeping widower: "I burn under the ashes," a discreet lover: "I adore Lavinia, or Lucretia," the ambiguous declaration of a modern passion: "My faith is as pure," the motto of a white livery: "Who is stronger than myself?" of a lion's hide: "If I am drowned in blood, what a pleasant death!" the wish of ferocious courage. The pride or prudence of the Ursini restrained them from the field, which was occupied by three of their hereditary rivals, whose inscriptions denoted the lofty greatness of the Colonna name: "Though sad, I am strong:" "Strong as I am great:" "If I fall," addressing himself to the spectators, "you fall with me:"—intimating (says the contemporary writer) that, while the other families were the subjects of the Vatican, they alone were the supporters of the Capitol. The combats of the amphitheatre were dangerous and bloody. Every champion successively encountered a wild bull; and the victory may be ascribed to the quadrupeds, since no more than eleven were left on the field, with the loss of nine wounded and eighteen killed on the side of their adversaries. Some of the noblest families might mourn, but the pomp of the funerals, in the churches of St. John Lateran and Sta. Maria Maggiore, afforded a second holiday to the people. Doubtless it was not in such conflicts that the blood of the Romans should have been shed; yet, in blaming their rashness, we are compelled to applaud their gallantry; and the noble volunteers, who display their magnificence, and risk their lives, under the balconies of the fair, excite a more generous sympathy than the thousands of captives and malefactors who were reluctantly dragged to the scene of slaughter.*

* Muratori has given a separate dissertation (the xxixth) to the games of the Italians in the middle ages.

This use of the amphitheatre was a rare, perhaps a singular, festival: the demand for the materials was a daily and continual want, which the citizens could gratify without restraint or remorse. In the fourteenth century a scandalous act of concord secured to both factions the privilege of extracting stones from the free and common quarry of the Coliseum;⁶⁰ and Poggius laments that the greater part of these stones had been burnt to lime by the folly of the Romans.⁶¹ To check this abuse, and to prevent the nocturnal crimes that might be perpetrated in the vast and gloomy recess, Eugenius the Fourth surrounded it with a wall; and, by a charter, long extant, granted both the ground and edifice to the monks of an adjacent convent.⁶² After his death the wall was overthrown in a tumult of the people; and had they themselves respected the noblest monument of their fathers, they might have justified the resolve that it should never be degraded to private property. The inside was damaged: but in the middle of the sixteenth century, an æra of taste and learning, the exterior circumference of one thousand six hundred and twelve feet was still entire and inviolate; a triple elevation of fourscore arches, which rose to the height of one hundred and eight feet. Of the present ruin the nephews of Paul the Third are the guilty agents; and every traveller who views the Farnese palace may curse the sacrilege and luxury of these upstart princes.⁶³ A similar reproach is applied to the Barberini; and the repetition of injury might be dreaded from every reign, till the Coliseum was placed under the safeguard of religion by the most liberal of the pontiffs, Benedict the Fourteenth, who consecrated a spot which persecution and fable had stained with the blood of so many Christian martyrs.⁶⁴

and consecration of the Coliseum.

⁶⁰ In a concise but instructive memoir, the abbé Barthelemy (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxviii. p. 585) has mentioned this agreement of the factions of the xivth century de Tiburtino faciendo in the Coliseum, from an original act in the archives of Rome.

⁶¹ Coliseum . . . ob stultitiam Romanorum *majori ex parte* ad calcem deletum, says the indignant Poggius (p. 17): but his expression, too strong for the present age, must be very tenderly applied to the xvth century.

⁶² Of the Olivetan monks. Montfaucon (p. 142) affirms this fact from the memoirs of Flaminius Vacca (No. 72). They still hoped, on some future occasion, to revive and vindicate their grant.

⁶³ After measuring the *prisus amphitheatri gyrus*, Montfaucon (p. 142) only adds that it was entire under Paul III.; *tacendo clamat*. Muratori (*Annali d' Italia*, tom. xiv. p. 371) more freely reports the guilt of the Farnese pope, and the indignation of the Roman people. Against the nephews of Urban VIII. I have no other evidence than the vulgar saying, "*Quod non fecerunt Barbari, fecere Barberini*," which was perhaps suggested by the resemblance of the words.

⁶⁴ As an antiquarian and a priest, Montfaucon thus deprecates the ruin of the Coliseum: *Quod si non suopte merito atque pulchritudine dignum fuisset quod improbas arceret manus, indigna res utique in locum tot martyrum cruore sacrum tantopere revivum esse.*

When Petrarch first gratified his eyes with a view of those monuments whose scattered fragments so far surpass the most eloquent descriptions, he was astonished at the supine indifference⁶⁵ of the Romans themselves; ^{Ignorance and barbarism of the Romans.} ⁶⁶ he was humbled rather than elated by the discovery that, except his friend Rienzi, and one of the Colonna, a stranger of the Rhône was more conversant with these antiquities than the nobles and natives of the metropolis.⁶⁷ The ignorance and credulity of the Romans are elaborately displayed in the old survey of the city which was composed about the beginning of the thirteenth century; and, without dwelling on the manifold errors of name and place, the legend of the Capitol⁶⁸ may provoke a smile of contempt and indignation. "The Capitol," says the anonymous writer, "is so named as being the head of the world; "where the consuls and senators formerly resided for the government "of the city and the globe. The strong and lofty walls were covered "with glass and gold, and crowned with a roof of the richest and "most curious carving. Below the citadel stood a palace, of gold "for the greatest part, decorated with precious stones, and whose "value might be esteemed at one third of the world itself. The "statues of all the provinces were arranged in order; each with a "small bell suspended from its neck; and such was the contrivance "of art magic,⁶⁹ that, if the province rebelled against Rome, the "statue turned round to that quarter of the heavens, the bell rang, "the prophet of the Capitol reported the prodigy, and the senate "was admonished of the impending danger." A second example, of

⁶⁵ Yet the Statutes of Rome (l. iii. c. 81, p. 182) impose a fine of 500 *aurei* on whosoever shall demolish any ancient edifice, ne ruinis civitas deformetur, et ut antiqua ædificia decorem urbis perpetuo representent.

⁶⁶ In his first visit to Rome (A. D. 1337; see *Mémoires sur Pétrarque*, tom. i. p. 322, &c.) Petrarch is struck mute miraculo rerum tantarum, et stuporis mole obrutus . . . Præsentia vero, mirum dictû, nihil imminuit: vere major fuit Roma majoresque sunt reliquiæ quam rebar. Jam non orbem ab hæc urbe domitum, sed tam sero domitum, miror (Opp. p. 605, *Familiares*, ii. 14, Joanni Columnæ).

⁶⁷ He excepts and praises the *rare* knowledge of John Colonna. Qui enim hodie magis ignari rerum Romanarum, quam Romani cives? Invitus dico, nusquam minus Roma cognoscitur quam Roma.

⁶⁸ After the description of the Capitol, he adds, statuæ erant quot sunt mundi provinciæ; et habebat qualibet tintinnabulum ad collum. Et erant ita per magicam artem dispositæ, ut quando aliqua regio Romano Imperio rebellis erat, statium imago illius provinciæ vertebat se contra illam; unde tintinnabulum resonabat quod pendebat ad collum; tunoque vates Capitoli qui erant custodes senatui, &c. He mentions an example of the Saxons and Suevi, who, after they had been subdued by Agrippa, again rebelled: tintinnabulum sonuit; sacerdos qui erat in speculo in hebdomadâ senatoribus nuntiavit: Agrippa marched back and reduced the — Persians (Anonym. in *Montfaucon*, p. 297, 298).

⁶⁹ The same writer affirms that Virgil captus a Romanis invisibiliter exiit, ivitque Neapolim. A Roman magician, in the sixth century, is introduced by William of Malmesbury (*de Gestis Regum Anglorum*, l. ii. p. 86); and in the time of Flaminius Vaca (No. 51, 103) it was the vulgar belief that the strangers (the *Goths*) invoked the dæmons for the discovery of hidden treasures.

less importance, though of equal absurdity, may be drawn from the two marble horses, led by two naked youths, which have since been transported from the baths of Constantine to the Quirinal hill. The groundless application of the names of Phidias and Praxiteles may perhaps be excused; but these Grecian sculptors should not have been removed above four hundred years from the age of Pericles to that of Tiberius; they should not have been transformed into two philosophers or magicians, whose nakedness was the symbol of truth and knowledge, who revealed to the emperor his most secret actions; and, after refusing all pecuniary recompense, solicited the honour of leaving this eternal monument of themselves.⁷⁰ Thus awake to the power of magic, the Romans were insensible to the beauties of art: no more than five statues were visible to the eyes of Poggius; and of the multitudes which chance or design had buried under the ruins, the resurrection was fortunately delayed till a safer and more enlightened age.⁷¹ The Nile, which now adorns the Vatican, had been explored by some labourers, in digging a vineyard near the temple, or convent, of the Minerva; but the impatient proprietor, who was tormented by some visits of curiosity, restored the unprofitable marble to its former grave.⁷² The discovery of a statue of Pompey, ten feet in length, was the occasion of a lawsuit. It had been found under a partition wall: the equitable judge had pronounced, that the head should be separated from the body to satisfy the claims of the contiguous owners; and the sentence would have been executed if the intercession of a cardinal, and the liberality of a pope, had not rescued the Roman hero from the hands of his barbarous countrymen.⁷³

But the clouds of barbarism were gradually dispelled; and the peaceful authority of Martin the Fifth and his successors restored the ornaments of the city as well as the order of the ecclesiastical state. The improvements of Rome, since

Restoration
and orna-
ments of
the city,
A.D. 1430, &c.

⁷⁰ Anonym. p. 289. Montfaucon (p. 191) justly observes that, if Alexander be represented, these statues cannot be the work of Phidias (Olympiad lxxxiii.) or Praxiteles (Olympiad civ.), who lived before that conqueror (Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxiv. 19).

⁷¹ William of Malmesbury (l. ii. p. 86, 87) relates a marvellous discovery (A.D. 1046) of Pallas, the son of Evander, who had been slain by Turnus; the perpetual light in his sepulchre, a Latin epitaph, the corpse, yet entire, of a young giant, the enormous wound in his breast (pectus perforat ingens), &c. If this fable rests on the slightest foundation, we may pity the bodies, as well as the statues, that were exposed to the air in a barbarous age.

⁷² Prope porticum Minervæ, statua est recubantis, cujus caput integrâ effigie tantæ magnitudinis, ut signa omnia excedat. Quidam ad plantandas arbores scrobes faciens detexit. Ad hoc visendum cum plures in dies magis concurrerent, strepitum aduentium fastidiumque pertæsus, horti patronus congestâ humo texit (Poggius de Varietate Fortunæ, p. 12).

⁷³ See the memorials of Flaminius Vacca, No. 57, p. 11, 12, at the end of the Roma Antica of Nardini (1704, in 4to.).

the fifteenth century, have not been the spontaneous produce of freedom and industry. The first and most natural root of a great city is the labour and populousness of the adjacent country, which supplies the materials of subsistence, of manufactures, and of foreign trade. But the greater part of the Campagna of Rome is reduced to a dreary and desolate wilderness: the overgrown estates of the princes and the clergy are cultivated by the lazy hands of indigent and hopeless vassals; and the scanty harvests are confined or exported for the benefit of a monopoly. A second and more artificial cause of the growth of a metropolis is the residence of a monarch, the expense of a luxurious court, and the tributes of dependent provinces. Those provinces and tributes had been lost in the fall of the empire; and if some streams of the silver of Peru and the gold of Brazil have been attracted by the Vatican, the revenues of the cardinals, the fees of office, the oblations of pilgrims and clients, and the remnant of ecclesiastical taxes, afford a poor and precarious supply, which maintains, however, the idleness of the court and city. The population of Rome, far below the measure of the great capitals of Europe, does not exceed one hundred and seventy thousand inhabitants;⁷⁴ and within the spacious enclosure of the walls, the largest portion of the seven hills is overspread with vineyards and ruins. The beauty and splendour of the modern city may be ascribed to the abuses of the government, to the influence of superstition. Each reign (the exceptions are rare) has been marked by the rapid elevation of a new family, enriched by the childless pontiff at the expense of the church and country. The palaces of these fortunate nephews are the most costly monuments of elegance and servitude: the perfect arts of architecture, painting, and sculpture, have been prostituted in their service; and their galleries and gardens are decorated with the most precious works of antiquity, which taste or vanity has prompted them to collect. The ecclesiastical revenues were more decently employed by the popes themselves in the pomp of the Catholic worship; but it is superfluous to enumerate their pious foundations of altars, chapels, and churches, since these lesser stars are eclipsed by the sun of the Vatican, by the dome of St. Peter, the most glorious structure that ever has been applied to the use of religion. The

⁷⁴ In the year 1709 the inhabitants of Rome (without including eight or ten thousand Jews) amounted to 138,568 souls (Labat, *Voyages en Espagne et en Italie*, tom. iii. p. 217, 218). In 1740 they had increased to 146,080; and in 1765 I left them, without the Jews, 161,899. I am ignorant whether they have since continued in a progressive state."

^a By the census taken in 1838 the population of Rome was 148,902 souls, exclusive of 4500 Jews.—S.

fame of Julius the Second, Leo the Tenth, and Sixtus the Fifth, is accompanied by the superior merit of Bramante and Fontana, of Raphael and Michael Angelo; and the same munificence which had been displayed in palaces and temples was directed with equal zeal to revive and emulate the labours of antiquity. Prostrate obelisks were raised from the ground, and erected in the most conspicuous places; of the eleven aqueducts of the Cæsars and consuls, three were restored; the artificial rivers were conducted over a long series of old or of new arches, to discharge into marble basins a flood of salubrious and refreshing waters: and the spectator, impatient to ascend the steps of St. Peter's, is detained by a column of Egyptian granite, which rises between two lofty and perpetual fountains to the height of one hundred and twenty feet. The map, the description, the monuments of ancient Rome, have been elucidated by the diligence of the antiquarian and the student;⁷⁵ and the footsteps of heroes, the relics, not of superstition, but of empire, are devoutly visited by a new race of pilgrims from the remote and once savage countries of the North.

Of these pilgrims, and of every reader, the attention will be excited by an *Final conclusion.* History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire; the greatest, perhaps, and most awful scene in the history of mankind. The various causes and progressive effects are connected with many of the events most interesting in human annals: the artful policy of the Cæsars, who long maintained the name and image of a free republic; the disorders of military despotism; the rise, establishment, and sects of Christianity; the foundation of Constantinople; the division of the monarchy; the invasion and settlements of the barbarians of Germany and Scythia; the institutions of the civil law; the character and religion of Mahomet; the temporal

⁷⁵ The Père Montfaucon distributes his own observations into twenty days, he should have styled them weeks, or months, of his visits to the different parts of the city (*Diarium Italicum*, c. 8-20, p. 104-301). That learned Benedictine reviews the topographers of ancient Rome; the first efforts of Blondus, Fulvius, Martianus, and Faunus, the superior labours of Pyrrhus Ligorius, had his learning been equal to his labours; the writings of Onuphrius Panvinus, qui omnes obscuravit, and the recent but imperfect books of Donatus and Nardini. Yet Montfaucon still sighs for a more complete plan and description of the old city, which must be attained by the three following methods:—1. The measurement of the space and intervals of the ruins. 2. The study of inscriptions and the places where they were found. 3. The investigation of all the acts, charters, diaries of the middle ages, which name any spot or building of Rome. The laborious work, such as Montfaucon desired, must be promoted by princely or public munificence: but the great modern plan of Nolli (A.D. 1748) would furnish a solid and accurate basis for the ancient topography of Rome.

sovereignty of the popes ; the restoration and decay of the Western empire of Charlemagne ; the crusades of the Latins in the East ; the conquests of the Saracens and Turks ; the ruin of the Greek empire ; the state and revolutions of Rome in the middle age. The historian may applaud the importance and variety of his subject ; but, while he is conscious of his own imperfections, he must often accuse the deficiency of his materials. It was among the ruins of the Capitol that I first conceived the idea of a work which has amused and exercised near twenty years of my life, and which, however inadequate to my own wishes, I finally deliver to the curiosity and candour of the public.

LAFONTAINE,
June 27, 1787.

GENERAL INDEX.

[N.B. The Roman numerals indicate the volumes; the Arabic figures the pages; the letters M., G., and S., the notes of Dean Milman, M. Guizot, and Dr. Smith respectively.]

ABAN.

A.

- ABAN, the Saracen, heroism of his widow in avenging his death, vi. 309.
- ABBAS, uncle of Mahomet, captured at the battle of Beder, vi. 249, *note S.*; his posterity, 281.
- ABBASAH, sister of Harun al Rashid, account of, vi. 405, *note S.*
- ABBASSIDES, or descendants of Abbas, history of the first caliphs collected or forged under their reign, vi. 275, *note*; their machinations against the house of Ommyyah, 390; establishment of their dynasty, 393.
- ABDALLAH, son of Abdol Motalleb, father of Mahomet, vi. 217.
- ABDALLAH, Ibn Saba, founds the sect of 'The Return,' vi. 272, *note S.*
- ABDALLAH, son of Jaafar, his expedition against the fair of Abyla, vi. 314; rescued by Caled, *ib.*
- ABDALLAH, son of Said, invades Africa, vi. 343; his history and character, *ib.*
- ABDALLAH, son of Zobeir; his character, and wars against the house of Ommyyah, vi. 349.
- ABDALMALEK, caliph, resumes the conquest of Africa, vi. 350; refuses to pay the Greek tribute, 377; establishes a national mint, *ib.*; account of his coinage, *ib.* and *note M.*
- ABDALRAHMAN, or ABD ERRAHMAN, son of Caled, leader of the Saracens against Constantinople, vi. 375, *note S.*; expeditions into France, 386 and *note S.*; defeats Eudes Duke of Aquitain, 387; defeated by Charles Martel, and slain, 389.
- ABDALRAHMAN, sole surviving Ommyade, establishes that dynasty in Spain, vi. 393.
- ABDALRAHMAN III., caliph of Spain,

ABU BEKER.

- constructs the city and palace of Zehra, vi. 396; number of his happy days, 397.
- ABDELAZIZ, son of Musa, reduces the Mediterranean coast of Spain, vi. 361; his treaty with the Gothic Prince Theodemir, 362; marriage with Eglona, widow of Roderic, and death, 364.
- ABDIGATION, Diocletian's, the first example of, ii. 93.
- ABDOL MOTALLEB, grandfather of Mahomet, vi. 216; compels Abraham to raise the siege of Mecca, 217; family history, *ib.*
- ABGARUS, King of Edessa, alleged correspondence of Christ with, vi. 137.
- ABGARUS, last King of Edessa, sent in chains to Rome, i. 343.
- ABLAVIUS, prime minister of Constantine the Great, satirizes that Emperor, ii. 355, *note*; massacred by Constantius II., 365.
- AEORAS, or Araxes, boundary of the Roman empire and Persia, ii. 86; course of, 87, *note S.*
- ABRAHAM, slave of a Roman merchant, becomes King of the Homerites, v. 208; Arabian account, *ib. note M.*; overthrown by the Persians, 209; besieges Mecca, vi. 216; interview with and defeat by Abdol Motalleb, 217; helped by a miracle, *ib.*
- ABU AYUB, or Job, an Ansar and companion of Mahomet, his death and funeral at Constantinople, vi. 376; reverence paid to his memory and mosch in his honour, *ib.*; his sepulchre at Constantinople revealed, viii. 179; ceremony of girding the Sultans with the sword of empire performed at, *ib.*
- ABU BEKER, collects and publishes the

ABU CAAB.

- Koran, vi. 228 and *note*; adopts and spreads the religion of Mahomet, 238; etymology of his name, *ib. note S.*; account of, *ib.*; accompanies Mahomet in his flight from Mecca, 242; chosen by Mahomet to supply his place, 260; address on Mahomet's death, 261 and *note S.*; election as caliph, and reign, 270; death, 271; leaves the sceptre to Omar, *ib.*; date of his death, *ib. note S.*; reduces the Arabs to submission, 286; cause of his ordering a collection of the Koran, 287, *note S.*; his frugality, 287; undertakes the invasion of Syria, 300; instructions to his generals, 301.
- ABU CAAB, chief of the Andalusian Arabs, his stratagem to retain them in Crete, vi. 408.
- ABULFEDA, character of his 'Annales Moslemici,' vi. 238, *note S.*, 290, *note*; his description of the magnificence of the Caliph Mochtader, 396; assists at the siege of Acre by Sultan Khalil, vii. 276.
- ABULGHAZI BAHADUR, his genealogical History of the Tatars, iii. 296, *note.*
- ABULPHARAGIUS, or Gregory Bar-Hebraeus, primate of the East, account of, vi. 55; his narrative of the destruction of the Alexandrian Library by Amrou examined, 336.
- ABU MOSLEM, author of the 'Call of the Abbassides,' his character, vi. 391.
- ABUNA, or primate of the Abyssinian church, vi. 64 and *note.*
- ABUNDANTIUS, patron of Eutropius, ruined and banished by that eunuch, iv. 141.
- ABU OBEIDAH, general of Abubeker in the Syrian war, vi. 302; saves Damascus from sack, 311; conduct at the battle of Yermuk, 318; takes Jerusalem, 320; Aleppo and Antioch, 322; death, 326.
- ABU SAID, the Carmathian, conquers Bahrein, vi. 418.
- ABU SOPHAN, chief of the branch of Ommiyah, and Prince of Mecca, meditates the death of Mahomet, vi. 241; his caravans intercepted by the Moslems, 249; fruitless siege of Medina, 250; surrenders Mecca and confesses the mission of Mahomet, 253.
- ABU TAHER, the Carmathian, son of Abu Said, threatens Bagdad, vi. 419;

ACRE.

- self-immolation of his followers, *ib.*; takes Mecca and profanes the Caaba, *ib.*
- ABU TALEB, uncle and guardian of Mahomet, vi. 218; advises Mahomet to relinquish his mission, 239; opposes his doctrine, but protects his person, 240.
- ABYLA, fair of, its site, vi. 313, *note*; plundered by the Saracens, 314.
- ABYSSINIA, Christians of, still retain the Mosaic rites, ii. 161, *note.*
- ABYSSINIANS, or Axumites, Christianized by Frumentius, iii. 25; an Arab race, v. 206 and *notes*; their civilization, *ib.*; subdue the Homerites, 207 and *note M.*; zeal for Christianity, *ib.*; accept the alliance of Justinian, 208; expelled from Arabia by Nushirvan, 364; their church, vi. 64; Jacobitism established in by Theodora, *ib.*; visit of the Portuguese, *ib.*; mission of the Jesuits, 65; their Emperor submits to the Pope, 66; religious wars, *ib.*; expulsion of the Jesuits and return to the Monophysite doctrine, 67.
- ACACIUS, bishop of Amida, redeems 7000 Persian captives, iv. 167.
- ACACIUS, master of the bears, father of the Empress Theodora, v. 42.
- ACADEMY, Roman, members of, accused of paganism, viii. 119, *note.*
- ACCAIOLI, Italian family of, sovereigns of Athens, vii. 386.
- ACCENTS, Greek, power of unknown to the first professors in the West, viii. 115.
- ACCLAMATIONS addressed to the Greek Emperors, vii. 22.
- ACESIUS, Novatian bishop, rallied by Constantine, iii. 42, *note.*
- ACEPHALI, Egyptian sect of, vi. 32.
- ACHAIA, Roman province, its extent, i. 159.
- ACHELOUS, Greeks defeated at, by Simeon King of the Bulgarians, vii. 68 and *note S.*
- ACHILLES, the, of the Vandals, nephew of Hilderic, v. 97.
- ACHOLIVS, bishop of Thessalonica, baptizes Theodosius the Great, iii. 363.
- ACOLYTH, or commander of the Varangi at Constantinople, vii. 20.
- ACRE, or Ptolemais, siege and conquest of by the crusaders, vii. 262; delivered by Edward I., 275; becomes

ACROPOLITA.

- the metropolis of the Latin Christians, 276; dissoluteness and anarchy of, *ib.*; taken by the Sultan Khalil, *ib.*
- ACROPOLITA, George, the logothete and historian, ignominiously punished by Theodore Lascaris II., vii. 360.
- ACTA Sanctorum, character of, iv. 189, *note*.
- ACTIONS, judicial, right of, how founded, v. 311; Roman laws respecting, *ib. sq.*
- ACTIUM, victory of, state of the Roman world after, i. 196.
- ADAM, a prophet, according to the Koran, vi. 225; apocryphal books of, *ib. note*.
- ADARMAN, general of Nushirvan, his conquests in Syria, v. 365.
- ADAUCTUS, martyrdom of, ii. 276.
- ADDISON, his description of the Apennine, iv. 69, *note*.
- ADHED, last of the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt, vii. 253.
- ADHEMAR, bishop of Puy, Pope's legate in the first crusade, vii. 183; character, 198; death, 229.
- ADIABENE, name of Assyria, iii. 194, *note*.
- ADMIRAL, etymology of that name, vii. 20.
- ADOLPHUS, reinforces his brother-in-law, Alaric, iv. 94; made count of the domestics to Attalus, 98; succeeds Alaric, 112; his political views, *ib.*; concludes a peace with Honorius, 113; marches into Gaul as a Roman general, *ib.*; marries Placidia, daughter of Theodosius the Great, 114; nuptial gift, 115; allies himself with Jovinus, 122; driven from Narbonne by Constantius, 125, *note S.*; marches against the barbarians in Spain, *ib.*; assassinated at Barcelona, 126.
- ADOPTION, two sorts of under the Greek empire, vii. 206 and *note*.
- ADORATION of the emperor, introduced by Diocletian, ii. 95; custom described, vii. 20; derivation of the term, *ib. note*, and *note S.*
- ADORNO, governor of the Genoese colony at Phocæa, lends his fleet to Sultan Amurath II., viii. 69.
- ADRIAN I., Pope, alliance with Charlemagne against the Lombards, vi. 155; receives Charlemagne at Rome, 158; accepts the decrees of the second

ÆNEAS SYLVIUS.

- Nicene Council with regard to images, 165; threatens the Greek emperors with excommunication, 167; his greatness, 168.
- ADRIAN IV., Pope, his vigorous measures against Arnold of Brescia, viii. 197; engages Frederic Barbarossa against him, *ib.*
- ADULIS, seaport, trade, v. 61; site, *ib. note M.*
- ADULTERY, how punished by Augustus, v. 321; regulation of Severus respecting, *ib. note*; declared capital by the Christian emperors, 322; punishment mitigated by Justinian, 323; Mahomet's law respecting, vi. 267 and *note S.*
- ADULTRESS, how punished by the Germans, i. 363, *note*.
- ADVENTUS, prætorian prefect, i. 273; resigns the empire to Macrinus, 275.
- ÆDESIVS, the Platonist, initiates Julian in allegory, iii. 139; his school at Pergamus, 142.
- ÆDUI, Gallic tribe, numbers and territory of, ii. 340; capitulation of, under Constantine, *ib.*; modern dioceses comprehended in their territory, *ib. notes*.
- ÆGIDIUS, master-general of Gaul, maintains an independent sovereignty during the sway of Ricimer, iv. 275; elected King of the Franks, 276; defeats the Visigoths at Orleans, 287.
- ÆLIA CAPITOLINA founded by Hadrian, ii. 159.
- ÆLIANUS, or Lælianus, competitor of Posthumus, medals of, ii. 13, *notes*.
- ÆLIANUS, leader of the Bagaudæ, ii. 70.
- ÆLIUS GALLUS, his invasion of Arabia, vi. 203, *note*.
- ÆMILIANUS defeats the Goths, i. 387; saluted Emperor, *ib.*; letter to the senate, 388; murdered, *ib.*
- ÆMONA (Laybach), its site and importance, ii. 140, *note*; resists the arms of Maximus, iii. 382.
- ÆNEAS, story of his galley preserved at Rome, v. 228, *note*.
- ÆNEAS of Gaza, testifies to the extraordinary Catholic miracle at Tipasa, iv. 336.
- ÆNEAS SYLVIUS, his description of the impracticability of a European war against the Turks, viii. 184; his at-

ERAS.

- tempt to conduct one when raised to the papal throne as Pius II., *ib.*
- ERAS**, Greek and Latin, how and when adopted, v. 95; remarkable of the world, *ib.*, *notes*; era of Cæsar, account of, vi. 356; Gelalæan, vii. 166.
- AERIAL** tribute, what, v. 67.
- ÆSTIANS**, or Livonians, send ambassadors to Theodoric King of Italy, v. 15.
- ÆSTII**, reduced by Hermanric, iii. 283; a collective name, *ib.* *note* S.
- ÆTHIOPIA**, attempted reduction of, i. 138; Christian princes of, iii. 84 and *note* M.; Christians of, their commercial relations with Justinian, v. 61.
- ÆTIUS**, surnamed the Atheist, account of, iii. 59; his talents for disputation, 60; patronised by the Arian bishops, *ib.*
- ÆTIUS**, general of Placidia, character, iv. 175; supports the usurper John, 176; plots against his rival, Count Boniface, *ib.*; battle with, 184; flies to the Huns in Pannonia, 185; who compel Placidia to restore him, 221; seizes the administration of the West, *ib.*; character of by Renatus, *ib.* *sq.*; wise and vigorous government, 222; connexion with the Huns and Alani, 223; defeats Clodion near Artois, 228; forms an alliance with Theodoric King of the Ostrogoths, 223; relieves Orleans, 234; defeats Attila at Châlons, 237; alone opposes him in Italy, 244; urges the marriage of his son Gaudentius with the Princess Eudoxia, 249; murdered by Valentinian III., *ib.*
- AFRICA**, province of, i. 161; western, limits of the Roman dominion in, 162; tribute, 296; revolts from Diocletian, ii. 76; rapid growth of Christianity in, 212; the last province Christianized, *ib.* *note*; religious discord in, iii. 42; mal-administration of, by Count Romanus, 272; the Africans join the rebellion of Firmus the Moor, 273; quelled by Theodosius, 274; state of Africa described, 276; ancient fables respecting its interior, *ib.*; Gildo the Moor transfers that province from Honorius to Arcadius, iv. 16; revolt of Count Boniface, 176; invasion of the Vandals, 178; persecution of the Donatists, 179; desolated by the Vandals,

AHRIMAN.

- 181; view of the Vandal persecution in, 330; reduced by Belisarius, v. 114; Catholic church re-established by Justinian, 115; civil government remodelled, *ib.*; taxes of, increased by Justinian, 210; revolt of led by Stoza, 211; reduced, 214; desolation of, *ib.*; first invasion of by the Saracens, vi. 342 and *note* S.; limits of their conquests, 347; their final reduction of, 352; extinction of Christianity in, 369; conquests of the Normans in, vii. 135.
- AGATHIAS**, his account of the Franks, iv. 363 and *note*; continued the history of Procopius, 40; his character of the Persian language, v. 186.
- AGATHYRSI**, vassal-tribe of the Alani, iii. 315.
- AGAUNUM**, or St. Maurice, monastery of, founded by Sigismund King of the Burgundians, iv. 356.
- AGENTS** (*agentes in rebus*), or spies, number of, under Constantine, ii. 331.
- AGIAMOGLANS**, Turkish class of, viii. 74.
- AGLABITES**, Saracen dynasty of, founded, vi. 420.
- AGLÆE**, her passion for St. Boniface, ii. 277; Lord Hailes' opinion of that story, 278 *note* M.
- AGNATS**, what, v. 307; their right of inheritance, *ib.*
- AGNÆE**, daughter of the Duke of Brunswick, marries Andronicus the Younger, Emperor of Constantinople, vii. 395 and *note*.
- AGRARIAN** laws, Roman, related only to the *Ager Publicus*, v. 304, *note* S.
- AGRICOLA** defeats the Caledonians, i. 140; contemplates the reduction of Ireland, *ib.*; recalled, *ib.*; his forts in Scotland, 141, *note* S.; his origin, ii. 309.
- AGRICULTURE**, progress of in the Western provinces, i. 189; decay of, in Italy, iv. 303 and *note* M.; state of in the East, under Justinian, v. 65.
- AGRIVECTIGALES**, what, i. 302, *note* S.
- AGRIFFA**, censor with Augustus, i. 197.
- AGRIFFINA**, ambition of, i. 285.
- AHMED EFF ARABSHAH**, his history of Timour, and testimony respecting Pajazet's iron cage, viii. 58.
- AHRIMAN**, principle of evil among the Persians, i. 334; final defeat of, 335 and *note* S.

AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, Charlemagne's palace at, how decorated, viii. 275.

AIENADIN, site of, vi. 306, *note* S.; battle of, between the Romans and Saracens, 307; date of, 309, *note* S.

AJAX, his sepulchre, ii. 291.

AKBAR, lieutenant of Moswiyah, his conquests in Africa, vi. 846; his expedition confounded with that of Musa, 848, *note* S.; founds Cairoan, 849 and *note* S.

ALANI invade Asia, ii. 39; repulsed by Tacitus, *ib.*; nation of the, described, iii. 315; worshipped a naked scimitar, *ib.*; vanquished by and united with the Huns, *ib.*; their ethnology examined, *ib.* *note* S.; join Radagaisus in invading Italy, iv. 45; overrun Gaul, 51; settle in Carthagea and Lusitania, 125; colonies of, in Gaul, 223 and *notes*; devoted to Aëtius, 224; arrival of the Turks among the, v. 176.

ALARIC, the Goth, learns the art of war under Theodosius, iii. 400; leads the Gothic revolt in the reign of Honorius, iv. 24; invades Greece, *ib.*; passes Thermopylæ, 25; takes Athens, *ib.*; Corinth, Argos, and Sparta, 26; date of his invasion, 27, *note* S.; defeated by Stilicho, 28; escapes into Epirus, 29; concludes a treaty with Arcadius, *ib.*; made master-general of eastern Illyricum, 30; proclaimed King of the Visigoths, 31; invades Italy, *ib.*; defeated by Stilicho at Pollentia, 36; marches into Tuscany, 38; concludes a treaty with Honorius, *ib.*; defeated near Verona, 39, and *note* S.; retreat, 39; renounces the service of Arcadius for that of Honorius, 57; appointed master-general in Illyricum, *ib.*; demands reimbursement and a Western province as a settlement for the Goths, 58; requires hostages in security of his demands, 68; marches towards Rome, 69; blockades it, 90; insulting reception of the Roman ambassadors, 92; accepts a ransom, and raises the siege, 93; date of that event, 92, *note* S.; marches into Tuscany, 93; reinforced, 94; his proposals to the court of Ravenna, *ib.*; rejected by Olympius, *ib.*; renewed, 95; rage at the letter of Honorius, 96; takes the port of Ostia, 98; obliges the Romans to

ALBOIN.

elect Attalus emperor in place of Honorius, *ib.*; deposes him, 101; his friendship renounced by Honorius, *ib.*; third expedition against and sack of Rome, 102; moderation, *ib.*; evacuates the city, 109; ravages the south of Italy, *ib.* 97.; projects of conquest, 112; death and funeral, *ib.*

ALARIC, King of the Visigoths, interview with Clovis near Amboise, iv. 357; defeated and killed by Clovis near Poitiers, 359.

ALATHEUS and Saphrax, chiefs of the Ostrogoths, after their defeat by the Huns, save their infant king, Witheric, iii. 318; solicit Valens for permission to pass the Danube, 322; pass by force, 324; voluntary retreat, 351; death of Alatheus, 352.

ALAUDA, Roman legion, i. 146, *note*; Gibbon's mistake corrected, *ib.* *note* S.

ALAVIVUS and Fritigern, judges of the Visigoths, conduct them to the Danube, iii. 318.

ALBANIA, reduced by Trajan, i. 143.

ALBANIAN, the, ravage the Moera, viii. 181.

ALBERIC, son of Marozia, expels her new husband, Hugh King of Burgundy, from Rome, and seizes the government, vi. 185; supposed to have restored the consuls and tribunes, *ib.* and *note*.

ALBIGEOIS, persecution of the, vii. 58.

ALBINUS, Clodius, Governor of Britain, family and character, i. 246; declares against Julianus, 247; accepts the rank of Cæsar, 254; vanquished by Severus, 255; death, 257.

ALBINUS, the Pontiff, conversion of, iii. 412, *note*; Gibbon's account of, from Jerom, corrected, *ib.* *note* S.

ALBINUS, friend of Boethius, accused of treason, v. 30.

AL BOCCARI compiles the *Sonna*, vi. 229.

ALBOLEDA, sister of Clovis, married to Theoderic the Great, iv. 350.

ALBOIN, King of the Lombards, assists Justinian against the Goths, v. 231; Gibbon's mistake respecting his forces corrected, *ib.* *note* M.; early prowess of, 332; adventure at the banquet of Turisund, *ib.*; carries off Rosamond, daughter of the King of

ALBORNOZ.

the Gepidæ, 333; contracts an alliance with the Avars, and defeats the Gepidæ, *ib.*; undertakes the conquest of Italy, 335; overruns the greater part, 337; besieges Pavia, 338; makes that city his capital, *ib.*; compels Rosamond to drink^e from her father's skull, 339; assassinated at her instigation, 340.

ALBORNOZ, Cardinal and Papal Legate, his character, and treatment of Rienzi, viii. 246 and *note*.

ALCOUVMY suppressed in Egypt by Diocletian, ii. 77; origin and progress of that study, 78; infatuation of the Arabians for, vi. 403.

ALDUS MANUTIUS, his press, when established at Venice, viii. 118 and *note*; not the first Greek printer, *ib.*

ALEMANNI, origin, i. 393; name, *ib.*; etymology of, *ib.* *note* S.; method of fighting, *ib.*; invade Gaul and Italy, *ib.*; repulsed from Rome, 394; reputed defeat at Milan, *ib.*; invade Italy, ii. 13; defeated by Aurelianus, *ib.*; their embassy, 14; re-enter Italy, *ib.*; again defeated by Aurelianus, 15; vanquished by Constantius Chlorus at Langres and Vindonissa, 75; establish themselves in Alsace and Lorraine, 412; defeated by Julian at Strasburg, 416; invade Gaul, iii. 257; defeated by Jovinus at Scarponna, 258; and on the Moselle, *ib.*; at Châlons, *ib.*; by Valentinian I. at Mount Solicinium, 260; invade Gaul under Priarius, 331; their settlements on the Rhine and in Gaul, iv. 349; defeated and subdued by Clovis at the battle of Tolbiac, *ib.*; institutions of, ratified by the Merovingian Kings, 365; invade Italy, v. 237; overthrown by Narses, 240; limits of their country under Charlemagne, vi. 174.

ALEPPO, siege and capture of, by the Saracens under Abu Obeidah, vi. 322; taken and sacked by Nicephorus Phocas and Zimisceus, 427; taken and sacked by Timour, viii. 51; cadhis of, their interview with him, 52; city burnt, 51.

ALEXANDER, Archbishop of Alexandria, excommunicates Arius, iii. 53.

ALEXANDER, uncle and colleague of Constantine VII., Porphyrogenitus, his vices and death, v. 101.

ALEXIUS.

ALEXANDER III., Pope, rejects the alliance of the Emperor Manuel, iii. 139; establishes the election to the papal throne in the college of cardinals, viii. 211.

ALEXANDER, the Scribe, surnamed Psalidium, fiscal minister of Justinian in Italy, his oppressions, v. 217 and *note* S.

ALEXANDER SEVERUS: *v.* Severus.

ALEXANDRIA, massacre at, by Caracalla, i. 272; otherwise oppressed, *ib.* *note* G.; described, 413; tumults at, 414; religious disputes frequent, *ib.* *note* M.; statistical register, 415; taken by Diocletian, ii. 76; Christian church of, in the reign of Hadrian, 210; bishops of, their succession, *ib.* *note*; school of, iii. 46; Jews at; embrace the Platonic system, *ib.*; publish the 'Wisdom of Solomon,' 47; united the Mosaic faith and Grecian philosophy, *ib.*; Trinitarian controversy revived at, 53; awful earthquake at, 293; temple of Serapis at, described, 417; library of the Ptolemies destroyed, *ib.* *note*; a new one founded by Cleopatra, *ib.*; Gibbon's account corrected, *ib.* *note* S.; library of the Serapeum, when destroyed, 419, *note* S.; taken by Chosroes II., v. 293; patriarch of, his miraculous loan to Heraclius, 399; besieged by Amrou, vi. 333; taken, 335; date, *ib.* *note* and *note* S.; burning of the library of, 336; reasons for doubting that fact, *ib.* *sq.*; authorities in confirmation of, 338, *notes* M. and S.

ALEXANDRIANS, character of the, i. 413.

ALEXIUS I., son of John Comnenus, his character and education, vi. 116; takes Constantinople and deposes Nicephorus Botaniates, 117; ascends the throne, *ib.*; character and policy, 118; a hypocrite, 119; efforts to convert the Paulicians, vii. 56; burns Basil, the monk, *ib.*; marches to the relief of Durazzo, 122; army, how composed, 123; defeat and flight, 125; able defence, 126; alliance with the emperor Henry III., 127; alliance with the Venetians, 130; naval defeat, 131; invokes the aid of the Latins against the Turks, 171; sends an embassy to the council of Placentia, 180; induces the crusaders to

ALEXIUS.

- cross the Bosphorus, 194; anxiety on the approach of the crusaders, 204; suspicious policy towards the Latins, 205; obtains the homage of the crusaders, 206 and 208, *note*; adopts Godfrey of Bouillon, 206; recovers Nice, 212; enlarges his empire during the crusades, 237.
- ALEXIUS II., Comnenus, Emperor of Constantinople, vi. 123; deposed by Andronicus, 128; and murdered, 129.
- ALEXIUS III., Angelus, usurps the throne of his brother Isaac, vii. 287; supineness and despondency on the approach of the crusaders, 300; flies from Constantinople, 305; receives and blinds Mourzoufle, 325; sent prisoner to Italy, 326.
- ALEXIUS IV., son of Isaac Angelus, flies from his uncle, who had usurped his father's throne, vii. 288; forms an alliance with the French and Venetian crusaders, 296; his promises, 297; crowned with his father, 306; persuades the crusaders to remain at Constantinople, 307; deposed and murdered by Mourzoufle, 310.
- ALEXIUS Strategopulus, Cæsar, and general of Michael Palæologus, takes Constantinople, vii. 344.
- ALFRED the Great, religious rigour of, iv. 341; his ambassadors visit the shrine of St. Thomas at Madras, vi. 51 and *note*.
- ALGEBRA, invented by Diophantus, vi. 401.
- ALGEZIRE, name of the town of Count Julian, in Spain, vi. 356.
- ALHARR, invasion of France by, vi. 386 and *note* S.
- ALI, son of Abu Taleb, embraces the doctrine of Mahomet, vi. 238; prowess, 252; marries Fatima, daughter of Mahomet, 268; character, 269 and 270, *note* M.; waives his claim to the caliphate in favour of Omar and Othman, 271; succeeds Othman, 272; his simple manners, *ib.*; how regarded by the Shiites, *ib.*; sect of 'The Return' founded in his favour, *ib. note* S.; his inauguration, 274; reign, *ib.*; defeats the rebels Telha and Zobeir, 275; valour and humanity in the war with Moawiyah, *ib.* and *note* S.; vanquished and assassinated, 276; date, *ib. note* S.;

AMALAFRIDA.

- tomb at Cufa, 277 and *notes*; posterity, 280.
- ALIGERN, brother of Teias, defends the royal treasure at Cumæ, v. 235; intrepid conduct, 237; takes service under Narses, *ib.*; commandant at Cesena, 238.
- ALITURUS, a Jewish actor under Nero, ii. 236 and *note*.
- ALECTUS murders Carausius and seizes Britain, ii. 72; slain, 73.
- ALLOBICH, commander of the guards, assassinated by order of Honorius, iv. 96.
- ALMA, mount, vineyard planted by the soldiers of Probus, ii. 51.
- ALMAMON, caliph, his splendour, vi. 395; encouragement of literature, 398; and astronomy, 401.
- ALMANSOR, caliph, founds Bagdad, vi. 394; his riches and splendour, 395; encouraged science, 398.
- ALMOHADES, or Princes of Morocco, vii. 134.
- ALMONDAR, Arab King of Hira, supported by Chosroes Nushirvan in his dispute with Arethas, v. 188.
- ALMUS, King of the Hungarians, vii. 71.
- ALP ARSLAN, son of Togrul Beg, sultan of the Turkmans, vii. 157; conquers Armenia and Georgia, 158; defeats and captures Romanus Diogenes, 161; assassinated by Joseph, the Carizmian, 163; dying reflections, *ib.*; character, 164; epitaph, *ib.*
- ALPHABET, Mæso-Gothic, invention of, by Ulphilas, iv. 323 and *note* M.
- ALPHONSO the Chaste, his Spanish dominions, vi. 176.
- ALPS, passages of, ii. 127 and *notes*; route of Hannibal over, *ib. note* S.; roads over, 128.
- ALTAI, mountain of Central Asia, v. 172, *note* S., 173.
- ALYPIUS, commissioned by Julian to restore the temple of Jerusalem, iii. 159.
- AMALA, King of the Goths, i. 379.
- AMALA, a name of hereditary sanctity and honour among the Ostrogoths, v. 1, *note* M.; Sanscrit etymology of, *ib.* 2.
- AMALI, royal line of the, v. 1 and *note*.
- AMALAFRIDA, sister of Theodoric the Great, marries Thrasimond, Vandal King of Africa, v. 125; captivity and death, *ib.*

AMALASONTHA.

- AMALASONTHA**, daughter of Theodoric, erects a splendid tomb for his remains, v. 34; her birth and character, 125; marries Eutharic, 126; becomes guardian of her son Athalaric, and regent of Italy, *ib.*; her counsels directed by Cassiodorus, *ib.*; negotiates with Justinian, 127; marries Theodotus, and seizes the throne of Italy, 128; imprisonment and death, *ib.*
- AMALPHI**, story of the discovery of the Pandects at, v. 287 and *note M.*; Roman colony of, 348; city described, vii. 115; trade, 116; present state, *ib.* *note G.*; republic of, promoted pilgrimage and trade to the East, 172 and *note.*
- AMALRIC**, or **AMAURY**, King of Jerusalem, character, vii. 252; unsuccessful attempt upon Egypt, 253.
- AMANDUS**, leader of the Bagaudæ, ii. 70.
- AMANTIUS**, eunuch of Anastasius, outwitted by Justin, v. 36; beheaded on a charge of heresy, 37.
- AMAZONS**, existence of, examined, ii. 27, *note* and *note M.*
- AMBASSADORS**, ancient treatment of, v. 205 and *note.*
- AMBER**, i. 191 and 192 *note*; analysis of, v. 14, *note.*
- AMBITION**, reflections on, vi. 132.
- AMBROSE**, St., lively expression concerning heresy, iii. 56; his birth and early history, 376; refuses to the Empress Justina the liberty of Arian worship, 377; further disputes with her, 378; triumph of Ambrose, 379; banished, but refuses to obey, 380; exhumes the bones of the martyrs Gervastius and Protasius, *ib.*; their miraculous power, 381; influence of Ambrose over Theodosius, 393; refuses to administer the eucharist to him after the massacre of Thessalonica, 394; refuses him admittance into the church, and subjects him to public penance, *ib.* 397; character of Ambrose's writings, *ib.* *note*; refuses to acknowledge the usurper Eugenius, 402; opposes the petition of Symmachus in favour of the goddess of Victory, 410.
- AMBROSIUS AURELIAN**, the Roman, defender of Britain from the Saxons, iv. 392 and *notes*; confounded with Natanleod, *ib.* *note.*
- AMELIUS**, neo-Platonist, ii. 104.

AMROU.

- AMELOT de la HOUSSATE**, character of his 'Histoire de Venise,' iv. 244, *note.*
- AMIDA**, city described, ii. 407; besieged by Sapor, *ib.*; identical with Diarbekir, *ib.* *note*; captured by the Persians, 409; date of that event, *ib.* *note S.*; receives the banished citizens of Nisibis, iii. 225; long and destructive siege of by Cabades, v. 86.
- AMINA**, the Zahrte, her marriage with Abdallah, son of Abdol Motaleb, vi. 217; whether a Jewess, *ib.* *notes M.* and *S.*; her dream after giving birth to Mahomet, *ib.* *note S.*
- AMIB**, Turkish Prince of Ionia, his character and friendship for John Cantacuzene, viii. 25; rescue of, and delicacy towards the Empress Irene, *ib.*; slain at Smyrna, 26.
- AMBROUTZES**, George, protovestiarius of Trebizond, letter on the capture of that city, viii. 182, *note M.*
- AMMATAS**, brother of Gellimer, his rashness and death, v. 108.
- AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS**, sarcasm respecting the power of Eusebius, ii. 387; character as a writer, 389, *note*; took part in the defence of Amida, 407, *note*; his character of the religion or superstition of Constantius II., iii. 67; of the Christians, 96; account of the preternatural obstacles to the rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem, 160; account of the vices of the church of Rome under Valentinian, 255; his impartiality, 346; description of Roman manners in his own times, iv. 77.
- AMMON**, the mathematician, his account of the walls of Rome corrected, iv. 88, *note S.*
- AMMONIUS**, the monk, his body how honoured by Cyril of Alexandria, vii. 13.
- AMMONIUS**, neo-Platonist, ii. 104.
- AMORIAN war**, vi. 413.
- AMORIUM**, birthplace of the Emperor Theophilus, vi. 414; ruins of, *ib.* *note S.*; taken and destroyed by the caliph Motassem, 415.
- AMPOUILLE**, Sainte, brought down for the baptism of Clovis, iv. 351, *note.*
- AMPHILOCHIUS**, bishop of Iconium, orthodox *bon mot* of, iii. 364.
- AMPHITHEATRE** of Titus described, ii. 59; height, *ib.* *note.*
- AMROU**, converted to Mahometanism,

AMROU.

- vi. 253; assists the rebellion of Moawiyah, 277; birth and character, 323; anecdote of his sword, 329; invades Egypt, *ib.*; date, *ib. note S.*; takes Memphis, 331; besieges Alexandria, 333; his capture and escape, 334; takes Alexandria, 335; recaptures it twice, *ib.*; burns the library, 336; administration of Egypt, 338; opens a canal between the Nile and Red Sea, 339 and *note*; his description of Egypt, 340; takes Tripoli, 342, *note S.*
- AMROU, brother of Jacob the Sofarite, captured by the Samanides and sent prisoner to Bagdad, vi. 422.
- AMURATH I., Sultan of the Turks, his conquests in Europe, viii. 28; crushes the Slavonians at Corsova, 30; killed, *ib.* and *note M.*; his testimony in a civil suit rejected by the mufti, *ib.*
- AMURATH II., Sultan, takes Adrianople, viii. 69; besieges Constantinople, 71; recalled to Boursa, 72; character, 125; reign, *ib.*; orthography of his name, *ib. note*; double abdication, 126; nature of his retirement, *ib. note M.*; death, 127; conduct at the battle of Varna, 132; erects a column to the memory of Ladislaus, *ib. note.*
- AMYCUS, dwelling of, on the Bosphorus, ii. 288, *note.*
- ANACHORETS, origin of, iv. 306; multitude of, at Nitria, 307; their way of life, 319.
- ANACLETUS, pope, confers the crown of Sicily on count Roger II., vii. 133; grandson of Leo the Jew, viii. 220.
- ANAH, or Anatho, city of, described, iii. 193 and *note S.*; inhabitants transplanted into Syria by Julian, *ib.*
- ANAGNI, residence of the popes, viii. 214; cursed by pope Benedict XI., 215 and *note.*
- ANASTASIA, sister of Constantine, marries Bassianus, ii. 139; marries Optatus, 348.
- ANASTASIA declared empress by her husband Tiberius II., v. 343.
- ANASTASIA, Gregory's orthodox conventicle at Constantinople, why so called, iii. 367.
- ANASTASIUS, becomes emperor of the East by marrying Ariadne, v. 5; war with Theodoric the Ostrogoth, 16; relieved his subjects from taxa-

ANDRONICUS.

- tion, 63; character of, by Lydus, *ib. note M.*; parsimony and treasure, 64; builds a wall from the Propontis to the Euxine, 80; war with Persia, 85; founds the city of Daru, 86; religious troubles at Constantinople under, vii. 33; implores the mercy of the Catholics in the Circus, 34.
- ANASTASIUS II., emperor of Constantinople, vi. 81; his defence of Constantinople against the Arabs, 378.
- ANASTASIUS, patriarch of Constantinople, his tergiversation and punishment, vi. 144, *note M.*
- ANASTASIUS, St., martyrdom of, v. 394.
- ANATHO, v. Anah.
- ANATOLIA, conquered by the Mongols, viii. 13; division of, among the Turkish emirs, 24.
- ANATOLIUS, master of the offices, killed in Julian's retreat, iii. 212; Julian's grief for his loss, 214.
- ANATOMY, state of that science among the Greeks and Arabians, vi. 402.
- ANBAR, reduced by Caled, vi. 291; site and foundation of, *ib. note S.*
- ANCONA, besieged by Frederick Barbarossa, vii. 138 and *note.*
- ANCYRA, marble of, i. 138, *note*; council of, ii. 202; taken by Chosroes II., v. 393.
- ANDAGES, the Ostrogoth, slays Theodoric at Châlons, iv. 237.
- ANDALUSIA, Spain so called by the Arabs, vi. 353, *note*; probable etymology of the name, *ib.*
- ANDALUSIAN ARABS, subdue Crete and Sicily, vi. 407.
- ANDERIDA (Andredes Ceaster) destroyed by the Saxons, iv. 394; site, *ib. note.*
- ANDERSON'S History of Commerce, character of that work, vii. 84, *note.*
- ANDIANS, or Quartodecimans, their unorthodox mode of fixing Easter made capital by Theodosius, iii. 374.
- ANDRAGATHIUS, general of cavalry to Maximus, puts Gratian to death, iii. 360.
- ANDREW, St., his body transported to Constantinople, iii. 427; adopted as the spiritual founder of that city, 428, *note.*
- ANDRONICUS I., grandson of Alexius Comnenus, his character and adventures, vi. 123; treason and imprisonment, 124; escape, *ib.*; appointed

ANDRONICUS.

- to the Cilician frontier, 126; intrigue with Philippa, daughter of Raymond of Poitou, *ib.*; with Theodora queen of Jerusalem, *ib.*; settles among the Turks of Asia Minor, *ib.*; submission to Manuel, and pardon, 127; seizes the empire, 128; visits the sepulchre of Manuel, *ib.*; puts Alexius II. and his mother Maria to death, 129; his reign, *ib.*; tyranny, 130; deposed by Isaac Angelus, *ib.*; miserable death, 131.
- ANDRONICUS II., or Elder, Palæologus, associated in the empire by his father Michael, vii. 371; denies him Christian burial, 375; character of, 388; his disputes with the patriarch Athanasius, *ib.*; associates his son Michael in the empire, 390; his wars with his grandson Andronicus the Younger, 392; dethroned by him, 393; turns monk under the name of Anthony, 394; death, *ib.* and *note* M.
- ANDRONICUS III., or Younger, Palæologus, grandson of the Elder, character, vii. 390; kills his brother Manuel, 391; three civil wars against his grandfather, *ib.*; dethrones him, 392; reign and death, 394; marriages, 395; his defeat by Orchan the Turk, viii. 23; sends an embassy to pope Benedict XII., 77.
- ANDRONICUS I., surnamed Gidon, second emperor of Trebizond, vii. 327, *note* M.
- ANDRONICUS, president of Libya, his cruelty and rapine, iii. 37; excommunicated by Synesius, *ib.*
- ANGAMALA, bishop of, metropolitan of India and patriarch of the Nestorians, vi. 51.
- ANGELS, an Asiatic name for bishops, ii. 192, *note*.
- ANGLES invade Britain, iv. 388.
- ANGLO-SAXONS, laws against idolatry, iv. 341 and *note*.
- ANGORA, battle of, between Timour and Bajazet, viii. 54.
- ANIANUS, bishop of Orleans, defends that city against Attila, iv. 232.
- ANICIAN family at Rome, high antiquity of, iv. 72; first public office obtained by, *ib.* *note* S.; their name proverbial for wealth and splendour, 73.
- ANICIUS JULIAN, the first senator who embraced Christianity 73.

ANTIOCH.

- ANNA COMNENA, her history of her father Alexius I., vi. 117; contemplates dethroning her brother John, 119; how punished, *ib.*; her learning, vii. 41 and *note*; account of, 204, *note*.
- ANNE, daughter of the emperor Romanus, marries Wolodimir, great prince of Russia, vii. 26.
- ANNIBALDI, Italian family, viii. 220.
- ANNIBALIANUS, general of Probus, ii. 44.
- ANNONA, tax under Justinian, v. 66.
- ANSARS, or auxiliaries of Medina, vi. 244.
- ANSES, Gothic demigods, i. 380.
- ANTALAS the Moor, admonishes Justinian to recall Solomon and his nephews, v. 213.
- ANTAR, romance of, a vivid picture of Arabian manners, vi. 206, *note* M.
- ANTES, Slavonian tribe, v. 168, *note* S.; occupy Moldavia and Wallachia, 170.
- ANTHEMIUS, grandfather of the emperor, assumes the government of the East on the death of Arcadius, iv. 160.
- ANTHEMIUS named emperor of the West by Leo the Great, iv. 280; history, *ib.*; acknowledged by the senate and people of Rome, *ib.*; marries his daughter to Ricimer, *ib.*; his religious toleration, 281; invites the Britons to assist the Gauls, 288; breach with Ricimer, 291; killed by him in the sack of Rome, 293.
- ANTHEMIUS, the architect, his philosophical contrivances for annoying Zeno, v. 72; plans the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, 73.
- ANTHIMUS, bishop of Nicomedia, execution of, ii. 271, *note*.
- ANTHROPOMORPHISM, its prevalence among the monks of Egypt and Catholics of Africa, vi. 7.
- ANTICUS, title of Justinian, v. 170, *note*.
- ANTIGONUS, pretended vision of, iii. 14, *note*.
- ANTINÖS, i. 214 and *note*.
- ANTIOCH captured by Sapor, i. 404; date, *ib.* *notes*; battle of, between Aurelian and Zenobia, ii. 23; church of, 208; council of, iii. 74; composes a semi-Arian creed, *ib.*; deposes and exiles Athanasius, *ib.*; Olympic games at, 167 and *note*; Malala's error respecting, *ib.* *note* S.;

ANTIOCHUS.

cathedral of, shut up by Julian, 170; his residence in that city, 182; licentiousness of the inhabitants, *ib.*; their hatred of Julian, 183; scarcity and public discontent, *ib.*; insulting songs against Julian, 184; who retaliates by his Misopogon, 185; persecution at for magic, how occasioned, 243, *note*; sedition at, against Theodosius, 389; his sentence, 390; grants the city a free pardon, *ib.*; taken and burnt by Nushirvan, v. 190; great earthquake at, 252; taken by Chosroes II., 292; taken by the Saracens under Abu Obeidah, vi. 322; degraded to a provincial town, 323; date of its capture, *ib.* *note* and *note* S.; recovered by Nicephorus Phocas, 426 and *note* S.; betrayed to sultan Soliman, vii. 170; taken by the crusaders, 215; state of, at that time, 216; gates, *ib.* and *note* S.; princes of, disclaim the supremacy of the kings of Jerusalem, 230 and *note* S.; occupied and ruined by the sultan Bondocar, 275.

ASTIOCHUS, restores Chosroes to the throne of Armenia, ii. 369.

ASTIOCHUS, proconsul of Greece, under Aca dius, iv. 24.

ANTI-TRIBONIANA, origin of that legal sect, v. 253, *note*.

ASTONIXA, wife of Belisarius, assists Theodora in her plot against John of Cappadocia, v. 70; birth and character, 101; reproaches pope Sylvester for his treachery, 144; her boldness and activity, 146; her secret history, 157; connection with Theodosius, 158; surprised with her lover by Belisarius, *ib.*; persecutes her son Theodosius, 159; who persuades Belisarius to punish her, *ib.*; procures an ignominious pardon for Belisarius, 162; prevents the marriage of her daughter Joannina with Anastasius, nephew of Theodora, 227; founds a convent, 246.

ASTONIKES, the, found a school at Athens, i. 194, *note*; adoption of the, 214; assigned salaries to the Athenian professors, v. 91; favoured all the sects equally, 92.

ASTONIKUS PRUS, wall of in Scotland, i. 141; policy, 144 *sq.*; reign and character, 215; Gibbon's mistakes respecting, *ib.* *note* W.

APOCALYPSE.

ASTONIKUS, M. Aur., defensive wars, i. 145; obliges the Quadi and Marcomanni to supply troops, 151, *note*; reign and character, 215; his 'Meditations,' 216; rejected the services of barbarians, *ib.* *note* M.; his excessive indulgence, 221; deifies Faustina, 222; associates Commodus in the empire, *ib.*; distress from the German conspiracy, 370, *note*; his supposed edict, and treatment of the Christians, ii. 256; Gibbon's account corrected, *ib.* *note* M.; his reign the most fatal to the Christians, *ib.*

ASTONINUS, name of Geta and Caracalla, i. 265.

ASTONINUS, name of Elagabalus, i. 279; v. Elagabalus.

ASTONINUS, Arrius, executed, i. 228.

ASTONINUS, proconsul of Asia, his remark to the Christians who sought martyrdom, ii. 252.

ASTONINUS, minister of Sapor, opposes peace with the Romans, ii. 405.

ASTONINUS, L., revolt of, i. 211, *note*.

ASTONY, St., and his monks, announce the sanctuary of Athanasius to the Alexandrians, iii. 82, *note*; founder of monasticism, history of, iv. 306.

ASTONY, Mark, presents the library of Pergamus to Cleopatra, iii. 417, *note*.

ASTONSTON, rank of, among the Franks, iv. 367 and *note*; fine for the murder of, 368.

ATULINUS, prefect, murdered, i. 320.

ATULINUS, praetorian prefect, declares for Maxentius, ii. 115.

ATULINUS, master of Diocletian, ii. 64.

ATAMEA, or CORA, junction of the Tigris and Euphrates at, iii. 194, *note*.

ATER, Arrius, praetorian prefect, ii. 61; killed by Diocletian for the imputed murder of Numerian, 62; pun concerning, 63, *note*.

ATHEBAX, ambassador of Narses to Galerius, ii. 85.

ATHDAL, sultan, restores the authority of the Fatimite caliphs in Palestine, vii. 223 and *note*.

APOCALYPSE, the, tacitly rejected by the council of Laodicea, ii. 175, *note*; causes of its present reception, *ib.*; Wetstein's interpretation of, *ib.* *note* M.; why rejected by the Alogians, 207, *note*.

APOCAUCUS.

- APOCAUCUS**, great duke or admiral, conspires against John Cantacuzene, vii. 397; massacred, 400.
- APOLLINARIS**, son of Sidonius, killed at the battle between Clovis and Alaric II., iv. 360.
- APOLLINARIS**, bishop of Laodicea, his doctrine of the divine incarnation, vi. 9; account of, *ib.*; his heresy condemned, 10.
- APOLLINARIS**, his forcible elevation to the patriarchate of Alexandria, vi. 60; his massacres, *ib.*
- APOLLONIATES**, lake, i. 399.
- APOLLONIUS**, ambassador of Marcian to Attila, firm and courageous conduct of, iv. 220.
- APOLLONIUS** of Tyana, ii. 22 and *note*.
- APOLOGISTS**, early Christian, relied too much on prophecy, ii. 218; which they misused and adulterated, *ib.*
- APOSTATES**, Christian, their numbers small, ii. 254, *note* G.; the penitent, how treated, 254 and *note*.
- APOSTLES** declined the office of legislation, ii. 190; whether they suffered martyrdom, 232 and *note*; influence of their relics at Rome, v. 357.
- APPARITORS**, what, ii. 313.
- ARSIMAR** deposes Leontius and ascends the throne, vi. 78; executed by Justinian II., 79.
- APULIA** conquered by the Normans, vii. 105; counts of, 106.
- AQUEDUCTS**, Roman, i. 185; v. 21 and *note* M.
- AQUILEIA** besieged by Maximin, i. 319; by Jovinus, general of Julian, iii. 119; taken and destroyed by Attila, iv. 240, 241; name applied to Forum Julia, *ib.* *note*.
- AQUITAIN**, Gallic province, i. 156; occupied by the Goths, iv. 128; described, *ib.*; increased by the addition of Septimania, *ib.* and *note* S.; conquered by the Franks, 360; revolt of, punished by Charlemagne, vi. 173.
- AQUYRON**, palace of Constantine, his death at, ii. 363.
- ARABIA**, daughter of Justin II., married to Baduarus, superintendent of the palace, v. 341.
- ARABIA**, attempted reduction of, i. 138; coasts of ravaged by Trajan, 143; part of, made a Roman province, *ib.* *note* S.; enlarged by Severus, *ib.*;

ARABS.

- description of, vi. 195; best works on the ancient geography and ante-Mahometan history of, 196, *note* S.; division of, into the Sandy, Stony, and Happy, 197; horses of, 199; cities, 200; Roman province of, 202 and *note*; jurisdiction of the Turks in, 203; religious sects settled in, 214; subdued by Mahomet, 254; Christians not excluded from, *ib.* *note*; one of the provinces of Syria, called Arabia by the Romans, 303.
- ARABIC** of the Koran taught as a dead language at Mecca, vi. 373.
- ARABS**, condition of, under the Roman empire, i. 161; assist the Romans against the Persians, ii. 370; their predatory life, *ib.* *note*; their friendship cultivated by Valens, iii. 339, *notes*; often fought naked, *ib.*; prophecy of their perpetual independence discussed, v. 364 and *note* M.; vi. 202 and *note*; their military virtues, 203; domestic freedom and character, 204; oratory, 205; their singular views as descendants of the outlaw Ismael, 206; robberies, *ib.*; civil wars and private revenge, 207; annual truce, *ib.*; language and alphabet, 208; proverbs, *ib.* *notes*; love of poetry, 209; hospitality and generosity, *ib.*; examples of, *ib.*; religion, 210; human sacrifices, 213 and *note* S.; Jewish rites, *ib.*; accepted the Old Testament, 216; incontinence of the, 266; sovereignty of the, how lost, 284; union of the, 285; military tactics, 292; their conquests of Persia under the caliph Omar and Othman, 296; of Transoxiana, 299; invade and conquer Syria, 300-325; their estimation of monks, 302 and *notes* M. and S.; further conquests after that of Syria, 326; naval exploits, 327; invade Egypt, 329; invade Africa, 342; convert and adopt the Moors, 353; ravage the coasts of Andalusia, *ib.*; invade Spain, 355; date, 356 and *note*; prosperity of Spain under the, 364; limits of their conquests, 374; besiege Constantinople, *ib.*; second siege of Constantinople by, and destruction of their fleet, 378-380; invade France, 384; conquests in, 386, *note* S.; expelled from, 389 and *note* S.; introduction of learning

ARABIC.

- among, 398; libraries, 400; real progress in the sciences, *ib.*; want of erudition and taste, 403; take Sicily, 408; invade Italy, 409; threaten Rome, 410; their military character and tactics, vii. 32.
- ARABIC, king of the Goths, passes the Danube, ii. 360.
- ARAXES, river, described, v. 402, *note* (v. Aboras).
- ARBALIST, or cross-bow, unknown to the Orientals, vii. 213 and *note*.
- ARBELA, chariots at the battle of, i. 344, *note*.
- ARBETIO, veteran general of Constantine, opposes the revolted Procopius, iii. 241.
- ARBETIO, general of Julian, presides as a judge at Chalcedon, iii. 126.
- ARBOGASTES, the Frank, becomes general of Theodosius, iii. 364; puts Victor, son of Maximus, to death, 385; created master-general in Gaul, 397; his ambition, *ib.*; shuts up Valentinian in the palace of Vienna, *ib.*; puts him to death, 398; bestows the purple on Eugenius, *ib.*; defeat by Theodosius and suicide, 402; a pagan, *ib. note M.*
- ARCADIUS, son of Theodosius, raised to the purple, iii. 364; succeeds to the empire of the East, iv. 1; marries Eudoxia, daughter of Bauto, the Frank, 8; encourages the revolt of Gildo, the Moor, 16; pomp and luxury of the court of Arcadius, 136; governed by Eutropius, 138; unjust law against treason, 142; condemns Eutropius at the demand of Tribigild and persuasion of Eudoxia, 146; base submission to the rebels Gainas and Tribigild, 148; death, 158; supposed testament, 159; column of, at Constantinople, vii. 325, *note*.
- ARCH of Constantine, how constructed, ii. 134; inscription on, iii. 15.
- ARCHERY, how esteemed by the ancients, v. 102 and *note*.
- ARCHILOCHUS, bishop of Iconium, his interview with Theodosius and practical argument against Arianism, iii. 364.
- ARCHIPELAGO, etymology of the name, vii. 6.
- ARCHITECTURE, Roman, its magnificence shown by existing ruins, i. 181;

ARISTOTLE.

- Gothic, oldest model of, v. 22 and *note M.*
- ARDABURIUS leads an army against the usurper John, iv. 172; carried prisoner into Ravenna, 173; successful conspiracy against John, *ib.*
- ARDARIC, king of the Gepidae, victory over the Huns, iv. 247; occupies the palace of Attila and country of Dacia, 248.
- AREOBINDUS, exarch of Justinian, killed at Carthage by Gontharis, v. 212.
- ARETHAS, chief of the Arab tribe Gassan, supported by the Romans in his dispute with Almondar, v. 188; his intractable spirit when in the service of Belisarius, 192.
- ARETHAS, St., prince of Negra, martyrdom of, v. 207, *notes*.
- ARETHUSA, or Restan, its site and foundation, iii. 166, *note*.
- ARETINUS, Leonardus Brunus, account of, viii. 255, *note*.
- ARGENTARIA (or Colmar), battle of, iii. 332; site, *ib. note*.
- ARGYRUS, officer of Constantine Monomachus, transactions with the Normans, vii. 108.
- ARIADNE, daughter of Leo and Verina, gives her hand and empire to Anastasius, v. 5.
- ARIANISM communicated to the barbarians by Ulphilas, iv. 327; their conversion from, 337, 340.
- ARIANS, proscribed throughout the East by Theodosius, iii. 369; why less firm in adversity than the orthodox party, *ib.*
- ARII, tribe of the, described, ii. 44.
- ARINTHEUS, Julian's general of horse, iii. 192.
- ARINTHEUS, general of Valens, his extraordinary beauty, strength, and valour, iii. 241 and *note*; distinguishes himself against Procopius, *ib.*; commands against the Goths, 235.
- ARIOVISTUS, seizes two-thirds of the land of the Sequani for himself and followers, iv. 371.
- ARISTIDES, philosopher and Christian, ii. 215.
- ARISTOBULUS, minister of Carus and Diocletian, ii. 65.
- ARISTOTLE, philosophy of, adopted by the Arabians, vi. 400; character of his dialectics, 401; studied by the

ARIUS.

- Latins in a corrupt version, vii. 348.
- ARIUS**, character of, iii. 53 and *note*; trial and excommunication, *ib.*; his numerous party, *ib.*; origin of his heresy, *ib. note*; decision on, referred to the council of Nice, 54; his sentiments respecting the Trinity and Logos, *ib.*; assumed moderation of his followers, 56; eighteen sects of, 58; tenets of the three principal, 59, *sq.*; dissemination of Arianism in the East, 61; Constantine's letter to Arius and Alexander, 63; Arius banished by Constantine, 64; his sect branded with the name of Porphyrians, *ib.*; recalled with honour, 65; sudden and horrible death, *ib.* and *note*; first introduced sacred music, 88, *note M.*; prevalence of his sect in the East under Valens, 250.
- ARIUS**, paternal severity of, v. 293.
- ARLES**, council of, iii. 39, 78; annual assembly of the seven provinces of Gaul at, iv. 134; taken by Abderame, vi. 386.
- ARMENIA**, a Roman province, i. 143; conquered by the Persians, 403; its state under the Persians, ii. 79; revolt, *ib.*; nobles of, 80; recovered by the Persians, 82; by the Romans, 88; when christianized, 213; the first nation that embraced Christianity, *ib. note M.*, 368 and *note M.* (*cf.* iii. 24, *note M.*); Christian priests expelled after the death of Tiridates, 363; polytheists of, invite Sapor, *ib.*; Chosroes restored to the throne, 369; made tributary to Persia, *ib.*; its history after Tiridates, *ib. note M.*; Romans compelled to abandon, by the treaty of Dura, 220; reduced to a Persian province by Sapor, 278; restored to an independent neutrality, 280; divided between the Romans and Persians, iv. 168; date, *ib. note M.*; languages used in, and invention of an Armenian alphabet, *ib. note*; Western Armenia made subject to the Romans on the death of Arsaces, *ib.*; acknowledges Chosroes, 169; further revolutions, *ib.* and *note M.*; reduced to a Persian province, 170; new division with the Romans, *ib.*; conquered by the Mongols, viii. 13 and *note M.*
- ARMENIANS**, schism of the, vi. 57 and

ARSACES TIRANUS.

- note*; adopt the Eutyctian heresy, 58; present state of their church, *ib.*
- ARMENTARIUS**, surname of Galerius, ii. 67.
- ARMORICA**, its independence confirmed by Honorius, iv. 131; revolutions and form of government, *ib.* and *note M.*; united to the kingdom of Clovis, 353; British settlement in, 391 and *note S.*; western part called Cornwall and Lesser Britain (Bretagne), 392 and *note S.*; formed a powerful state, 432.
- ARMOUR**, use of, abandoned by the Roman infantry, iii. 405.
- ARMS** of the Roman soldiers, i. 149.
- ARMY**, Roman, numbers under Hadrian and his successors, i. 153; how posted, *ib.*; how governed by Augustus, 210; obedience of, and exceptions, 211; the latter understated by Gibbon, *ib. note W.*; licence of, how encouraged, 212, 259; how regulated and stationed by Constantine, ii. 319; pernicious distinction in, 321; numbers of, under the successors of Constantine, 323; slaves admitted into, *ib.*; constitution of under Constantine, *ib.*; Gibbon's view corrected, 324, *note S.*; mutilation to escape service in, 324; heavy fines on recusants, *ib.*; increase of barbarian auxiliaries, *ib.*
- ARNOLD** of Brescia, his theological studies under Abelard, viii. 195; disputes the temporal power of priests, *ib.*; condemned in the council of the Lateran, *ib.*; flies to Zurich, 196; effects a revolution at Rome, 197; reign, *ib.*; burnt, *ib.*
- ARNULPH**, duke of Moravia, checks the progress of the Hungarians, vii. 75.
- AROMATICS**, use of, i. 192 and *notes W.* and *M.*
- ARPA**, king of the Hungarians, vii. 71; royal Hungarian house of, 80.
- ARRAGON**, name whence derived, i. 155, *note.*
- ARRECHIS**, duke of Beneventum, preserves his territory from the arms of Charlemagne, vi. 174.
- ARRIAN**, his description of the Euxine, v. 198.
- ARSACES TIRANUS**, king of Armenia, account of, ii. 370, *note M.*; character, iii. 189; refuses to assist Julian against the Persians, *ib.*; chronology

ARSACES.

of his reign, *ib. note S.*; his treachery, 205; imprisonment of by Sapor, and death, 278; another version of his catastrophe by M. St. Martin, *ib. note M.*

ARSACES, reigns in Western Armenia as vassal of Arcadius, iv. 168.

ARSACIDES of Armenia, deification of the, ii. 79; degraded from the royal dignity, iv. 169; duration of their dynasty, 170 and *note S.*

ARSENITES, schism of the, at Constantinople, vii. 371.

ARSENIVS, bishop, Athanasius falsely charged with the murder of, iii. 72.

ARSENIVS, tutor of Arcadius, iv. 7.

ARSENIUS, patriarch of Nice, guardian of the infant emperor John Lascaris, vii. 361; becomes patriarch of Constantinople, 369; excommunicates the emperor Michael Palæologus, *ib.*; banishment and death, 370; nature of the charges against, *ib. note M.*

ARTABAN, king of Parthia, defeated by Artaxerxes, i. 331.

ARTABAN, an Armenian prince, stabs the usurper Gontharis, and re-establishes the Roman dominion at Carthage, v. 212 and *note*; conspires against Justinian, 226; detected and pardoned, *ib.*; appointed to command an expedition against Sicily, 229.

ARTABANUS, Armenian prince, retires to the court of Leo I. of Constantinople, vi. 96; history of his descendants, *ib.*

ARTABAZUS, a Persian in the service of Justinian, occupies Verona, v. 215; killed, *ib.*

ARTASIREN (Ardaschir), successor of Chosroes, deposed from the throne of Armenia by Bahran, king of Persia, 169.

ARTAVASDES appointed commander of the Armenian army, ii. 80.

ARTAVASDES seizes the Byzantine throne on the death of Leo III., and associates his son Nicephorus, vi. 83, *note S.*; put to death by Constantine Copronymus, *ib.*; restores image-worship, 143.

ARTAXERXES (Ardshir) restores the Persian monarchy, i. 331; date, *ib. note*; incorrectly charged with intolerance, 339, *note M.*; establishes his authority, *ib.*; ambition, 340, 343; commands the Romans to leave

VOL. VIII.

ASIA.

Asia, 343; whether defeated by Al. Severus, 344 and *note S.*; his undaunted resolution, 345; reign, character, and maxims, 346; code, *ib. and note.*

ARTAXERXES succeeds Sapor in Persia, iii. 280, *note.*

ARTEMIVS, duke of Egypt, executed at Antioch, iii. 127; his character, *ib. note.*

ARTEMON, followers of described, ii. 215.

ARTEMITA, residence of Chosroes II., v. Dastagerd.

ARTHUR, king, exploits against the Saxons, iv. 393; traditions respecting, gradually embellished, *ib.*; round table, *ib.*; Greek poem respecting, *ib. note S.*

ARTILLERY, Roman, i. 152.

ARTOIS, count of, brother of Louis IX., storms Massoura, vii. 272; slain, 273.

ARTOGERASSA, siege of, by Sapor, and brave defence of the consort of Arsaces Tiranus, iii. 278 and *note M.*

ARTS, decline of, under Diocletian, ii. 103; in the age of Constantine, 134.

ARVANDUS, prætorian præfect in Gaul, trial of, iv. 288 *sq.*

ARZANENE, province of, ii. 87 and *notes.*

ARZEMA (or Buran), queen of Persia, deposed, vi. 291 and *note S.*

AS, Roman, weight and value of the, v. 264.

ASAN, Bulgarian chief, excites a revolt from Isaac Angelus, vii. 286.

'ASATYR of the Ancients,' Mahomet charged with taking his doctrines from the, vi. 224, *note S.*

ASBAD, the Gepid, slays Totila, v. 234; killed, *ib.*

ASCALON, battle of, between the Crusaders and Fatamites, vii. 229.

'ASCENSIO ISALÆ,' when written, vi. 3, *note M.*

ASCETICS, Christian, ii. 187; in second century, 188, *note*; account of, iv. 305.

ASCLEPIODATUS, general of Probus, ii. 44.

ASCLEPIODOTUS, defeats Allectus in Britain, ii. 73.

ASGARD, residence of Odin, i. 377.

ASHĀB, or "Companions" of Mahomet, vi. 237, *note S.*

ASIA, Roman provinces in, i. 160; pro-

ASIA MINOR.

- vince of, *ib.*; boundary of Asia and Africa, 161; revolutions of, 330; how accounted for by Montesquieu, iii. 299, *note*; nomadic tribes of, described, 302, *note S.*; seven churches of, ruined by the Turks, vii. 24.
- ASIA MINOR conquered by Chosroes II., v. 393; by the Turks, vii. 168.
- ASIARCH, office of, ii. 205, *note*.
- ASIATIC tribute, raised by Pompey, i. 295; Plutarch's statement examined, *ib.* *note S.*
- ASIATICS, ignorant of the art and genius of history, vi. 290.
- ASINIUS QUADRATUS, his account of the Alemanni, i. 393, *notes*.
- ASPACTRAS, vassal of Sauromaces, made king of the Iberians by Sapor, iii. 278.
- ASPAR, son of Ardaburius, assists his father in reducing the usurper John, and restoring Placidia, iv. 173; goes to the assistance of count Boniface in Africa, 183; refuses the eastern empire from religious motives, 278; recommends his steward, Leo of Thrace, as emperor, 279; murdered by him, v. 3.
- ASPER, Turkish coin, its value, viii. 71, *note* and *note M.*
- ASSASSINS, or Ismaelians, account of, viii. 12 and *notes*; extirpated by Holagou, khan of the Mongols, *ib.*; histories of, *ib.* and *note M.*
- ASSEMBLIES of the people abolished by the Roman emperors, i. 205.
- ASSYRIA, Roman province of, i. 143; described, iii. 194; assumes the name of Adiabene, *ib.* *note*; canals, 195; fertility, *ib.* and 208, *note*; revenue, 196 and *note*; invaded by Julian, 196; conquered by the Arabian caliph Omar, vi. 293.
- ASTA besieged by Alaric, iv. 35.
- ASTARTE, name of the moon, i. 282 and *note S.*; image brought to Rome, *ib.*
- ASTERIUS, count, marches against the Vandals in Spain, iv. 177.
- ASTINGI, an illustrious Vandal race, ii. 859.
- ASTOLPHUS, king of the Lombards, takes Ravenna, and finally expels the exarcha, vi. 153; threatens Rome, 155; defeated by Pepin, *ib.*
- ASTROLOGY, belief of the Romans in, iv. 83; professed by the Arabian astronomers, vi. 401.

ATHANASIUS, ST.

- ASTRONOMY encouraged by the caliph Almamon and his successors, vi. 401.
- ASTURIANS, i. 156.
- ATABEKS, Turkish tribe of Syria, vii. 249.
- ATAULPH, the Goth, his marriage with Placidia, i. 367, *note G.*
- ATHALARIC, son of Amalasontha, appointed king of Italy by the testament of his grandfather Theodoric, v. 34; his education and character, 127; death, *ib.*
- ATHANARIC, judge of the Visigoths, leads the Goths against Valens, iii. 285; defeated, 286; interview and treaty with Valens on the Danube, *ib.*; defeated by the Huns on the Dniester, 318; retires into Caucaland, *ib.*; reappears among the Goths, 349; visits Theodosius at Constantinople, 350; death and funeral, *ib.*; persecuted the Christian Goths, iv. 323.
- ATHANASIUS, St., acts of spiritual power, iii. 36; unable to comprehend the divinity of the Logos, 50; hatred of the Arians, 58; defended the Sabellianism of Marcellus, *ib.*; deposed and banished by Constantine, 65; account of the death of Arius, *ib.* *note*; character and adventures of, 69, *seq.*; zeal for the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, *ib.*; defective biographies of, *ib.* *note*; skill in divination, 70 and *note*; irregularity of his election, 71 and *note*; popularity, 71; resists Constantine, *ib.*; charges against him, 72; summoned to appear before the council of Tyre, *ib.*; brings Arsenius thither, whom he had been accused of murdering, *ib.*; interview with Constantine, 73; charged with intercepting the corn-fleet, *ib.*; first exile to Trèves, 74; restored by Constantine II., *ib.*; again deposed and exiled by the council of Antioch, *ib.*; residence at Rome, *ib.* and *note*; acquitted by the Italian bishops, 75; summoned to Milan by Constans, *ib.*; acquitted by the Latin prelates at the council of Sardica, *ib.*; restored by Constantine on the demand of Constans, 76; interview with Constantius at Antioch, *ib.*; enters Alexandria in triumph, 77; arraigned in the councils of Arles and Milan, 78; *see*

ATHANASIUS.

- and arguments of his friends, 79; condemned and deposed, 80; third expulsion from Alexandria, 82; intrepid behaviour, 84; disappears for six years, *id.*; sheltered by the monks of the Thebais, 85; various adventures, 86; invectives against Constantius, 87; restoration, 174; again expelled by Julian, 175; again retires to the desert, 176; Jovian's excessive admiration for him, 229; restored, *id.*; date of his death, *id.* *note*; assumed fifth exile, and death, 251; introduced monasticism at Rome, iv. 308; not the author of the famous creed, 335, *note*.
- ATHANASIUS, patriarch of Constantinople, secretly anathematizes Andronicus the Elder, Palæologus, vii. 388; recall and second retirement, 389.
- ATHELSTAN subdues Cornwall, iv. 391, *note*.
- ATHENAÏA, daughter of the Athenian sophist Leontius, history of, iv. 164; marries Theodosius the Younger, *id.*; assumes the Christian name of Eudocia, *id.* (*v. Eudocia*).
- ATHENIANS, fleet of the, ii. 146, *note*.
- ATHENS, number of citizens, i. 170, 371, *note*; sack of, by the Goths, 402; taken by Alaric, iv. 25; walls of, restored by Justinian, v. 80; schools of, their history, 69; professors, how paid, 91; Hadrian's library at, *id.*; fatal influence of Christianity upon the schools, 92; they are suppressed by Justinian, 93; city assigned to Otho de la Roche, with the title of Grand Sire, vii. 334; succession of the Latin sovereigns of, and origin of the title of Duke, 355, *note S.*; conquered by the Catalans, 386; an appanage of the kings of Sicily, *id.*; subject to the Accaioli, *id.*; present state of, *id.*; modern Greek dialect of, 387 and *note*.
- ATHOS, mount, absurd tenets of the monks of, vii. 404.
- ATREVA, name of the Persian priests in the Zendavesta, i. 337, *note S.*
- ATLAS, mount, described, i. 162 and *note*.
- ATHEIDAN, or ancient Hippodrome of Constantinople, ii. 297.
- ATROPATENE, province, restored to Persia by the Armenians, ii. 369.

ATTILA.

- ARSIK, the Cariznian, lieutenant of Malek Shah, his conquests in Syria, vii. 176.
- ATTACOTTI, Caledonian tribe of, accused of cannibalism, iii. 270; akin to the Scoti, *id.* *note S.*
- ATTALUS, prefect of Rome, made emperor by Alaric, iv. 98; character, 99; negotiations with Honorius, and insolvency, *id.*; ill success of his African armament, 100; betrayed by Jovius, 101; ignominiously deposed by Alaric, *id.*; leads the chorus at the wedding of Adolphus, 115; ambassador between Adolphus and Jovinus, 122; abandoned by Adolphus, 123; mutilated and banished to Lipari by Honorius, *id.*
- ATTALUS of Auvergne, adventures of, iv. 373.
- ATTICA ravaged by Alaric, iv. 26.
- ATTILA (Etzel), king of the Huns, the hero of the Nibelungen Lied, iv. 191, *note S.*; dictates conditions of peace to Theodosius the Younger, 193; etymology of his name, *id.* *note S.*; his genealogy, person, and character, 194; discovers the sword of Mars, 195; puts his brother and colleague Bleda to death, *id.*; conquers Scythia and Germany, 196; his power overstated by Gibbon, 197, *note S.*; alliance with Genseric and invasion of the Eastern empire, 199; defeats the Romans on the Utus, 200; at Marcianopolis, *id.*; in the Chersonesus, *id.*; ravages Thrace and Macedonia, *id.*; dictates a peace to Theodosius the Younger, 205; insulting embassies, 207 *sq.*; contemptuous reception of Maximin, 210; royal village and palace of Attila, 211; site, 212 and *note M.*; simple way of life, 213; behaviour to the Roman ambassadors, *id.*; marries Escam, 214 and *note M.*; progress to, and residence at, the royal village, *id.*; banquet, 215; sends Eslaw and Orestes to reprimand Theodosius for his attempt to assassinate him, 217; pardons the culprits and concludes an advantageous treaty, 218; insolent message to the courts of Ravenna and Constantinople, 220; declares himself the lover of the princess Honoria, 229; is refused her hand, 230; in-

ATTUARI.

vades Gaul, 231; besieges Orleans, 232; retires to Châlons on the approach of Aëtius and Theodoric, 234; address to his troops, 235; a fatalist, *ib.*; defeated, 237; retires across the Rhine, 239; repeats his demand for Honoria, *ib.*; invades Italy, *ib.*; takes Aquileia, 240; ravages Lombardy, 241; site of his encampment, 245 and *note*; receives an embassy from Valentinian III., *ib.*; grants a peace on receiving the dowry of Honoria, *ib.*; marries Ildico, 246; death, *ib.*; funeral, 247.

ATTUARI, Frankish tribe, subdued by Julian, iii. 110.

ATYS and CYBELE, story of, allegorized by Julian, iii. 140; excellence of Catullus' poem on, *ib. note*.

AUCTIONS, tax on, i. 299.

AUGURS, their functions, iii. 407; office of, coveted by the most illustrious Romans, 408.

AUGUSTAN history, why silent respecting the Christians, ii. 230, *note M*.

AUGUST and Cæsars, relative powers, ii. 67, *note M*, 96.

AUGUSTIN, St., a Manichæan, ii. 164, *note*; sentiments on persecution, iii. 423, *notes*; account of the prodigies performed by the relics of St. Stephen, 430; character of his work 'De Civitate Dei,' *ib. note*; account of the defeat of Radagaisus, iv. 48; his 'City of God' occasioned by the sack of Rome by Alaric, 103; sentiments on persecution, 179 and *note*; death at Hippo, 182; character, *ib.*; library, *ib.*; learning and genius, 183; theological system, *ib.*; compared with Calvin's, *ib. note*; history of his relics, v. 114, *note*.

AUGUSTULUS made emperor of the West by his father Orestes, iv. 296; compelled to resign by Odoacer, 299; his name of Romulus, 300; banished to the castle of Lucullus, in Campania, *ib.*

AUGUSTUS, his moderation, i. 138; testament, 139; recovers the standard of Crassus, *ib.*; his policy pursued by Hadrian and the Antonines, 145; situation of, after the battle of Actium, 196; reforms the senate, 197; affects to resign supreme power, 198; nominated emperor, *ib.*; divides

AUREUS.

the provinces with the senate, 201; retains the military command and numerous guards at Rome, 202; also the consular and tribunician offices, *ib.*; is made supreme pontiff and censor, 204; but the latter under an altered title, *ib. note S*; institutes the Consilium, 206, *note S*; his origin and family, 208; character and policy, 209; retained the image of liberty, *ib.*; his fear of the army, 210; restores the ancient discipline, 211 and *note*; adopts Tiberius, 212; his Rationarium or Register, 295 and *note W*; taxes introduced by, 298 *sq.*; orders sacrifices at Jerusalem, ii. 153; his moderation in the use of wine, iv. 85, *note*; his ostentatious modesty, vi. 194.

AUGUSTUS, that title explained, i. 208; implied something divine, *ib. note S*.

AURASIUS, mount, in Numidia, besieged by Solomon the eunuch, v. 123.

AURELIAN recommended by Claudius as his successor, ii. 8; origin and services, 9; heroic valour, *ib. note*; adopted by Ulpian Crinitus, 10; successful reign, *ib.*; severe discipline, *ib.*; treaty with the Goths, 11; relinquishes Dacia to them, 12; defeats the Alemanni, 13; finally vanquishes them, 15; fortifies Rome, 16; extent of his walls, 17 and *note S*; tranquilizes Gaul, 19; expedition against Zenobia, 22; defeats her, 23; besieges Palmyra, 24; treatment of the captive Zenobia, 25; puts Longinus to death, 26; suppresses the rebellion of Firmus in Egypt, *ib.*; triumph, 27; magnificence, 29; suppresses a sedition at Rome, 30; cruelty, 31; expedition into the East, 32; assassinated, *ib.*; whether he persecuted the Christians, 261, *note G*; his design of vineyards along the coast of Etruria, iv. 85 and *note*.

AURENGZEBE, camp of, i. 341, *note*; last of the Great Moguls who retained their entire empire, viii. 66.

AUREOLUS elected emperor, ii. 1; defeated and besieged at Milan, 2; attempts to negotiate with Claudius, 4; executed, *ib.*

AUREUS, value of that coin under Constantine, ii. 338, *notes*.

AUSONIUS.

- AUSONIUS**, tutor of Gratian, controversy as to his religion, iii. 356 and *note S.*, iv. 110, *note*; promotion of, 357, *note*.
- AUTHARIS**, son of Clepho, elected king of the Lombards, v. 347; recovers the greater part of Italy from the Franks and Greeks, 348; his adventurous gallantry and marriage with Theodelinda, daughter of the king of Bavaria, 353; death, *ib.*
- AUTUN** stormed by the Gallic legions, ii. 19.
- AUVERGNE**, Gallic province, description and revolutions of, iv. 376.
- AUXILIARIES**, how composed and employed, i. 151; ill effects of in the Roman armies, 368; barbarian, increase of, under Constantine, ii. 324.
- AUXIMUM**, v. Osimo.
- AVARS** subdued by the Turks, v. 176; were a Turkish stock, *ib.* *note S.*; send an embassy to Justinian, 177; advance into Poland and Germany, *ib.*; embassy of the, to Justin II., 331; alliance with the Lombards, 333; defeat the Gepidae, and occupy their country, 334; extend their dominion after the ruin of the Gepidae, 376; perfidious attempt on Heraclius, 397; their alliance with the Persians and attack on Constantinople, 405; repulsed, 406; their country, Pannonia, reduced by Charlemagne, vi. 175.
- AVERNUS**, lake, iv. 79, *note*.
- AVERROES**, Arabian philosopher, opinions of, vi. 404, *note*.
- AVERSA**, town of, founded for the Normans, vii. 103 and 104, *note G.*
- AVICENNA**, Arabian physician, vi. 402.
- AVIENUS**, his embassy to Attila, with Trigetius and Leo, iv. 244.
- AVIGNON** becomes the residence of the popes, viii. 215; Lives of the popes of, *ib.* *note*; sovereignty of, purchased from Jane queen of Naples, 216.
- AVITUS**, the senator, embassy to Theodoric, iv. 233; made commander in Gaul by Maximus, 258; his origin and character, 259; villa, *ib.*; treats with the Visigoths, *ib.*; proclaimed emperor by the assembly of Arles, 260; fixes his residence at Rome, 263; profligacy and unpopularity, 264; deposed by count Ricimer, *ib.*; made bishop of Placentia, 265; death, *ib.*

BABYLON.

- AVITUS**, bishop of Vienna, his answer to Gundobald king of the Burgundians, iv. 354.
- AWsites**, Arabian tribe of, vi. 243.
- AXUCH**, a Turkish slave, refuses to accept the confiscated fortune of Anna Comnena, vi. 119.
- AXUM**, kings of, iii. 84, *note M.*; inscription of, v. 207, *note M.*; residence of the Negus of Abyssinia, 208; ruins of, *ib.* *notes*.
- AXUMITES**, v. Abyssinians.
- AYESHA**, daughter of Abubeker and wife of Mahomet, vi. 266; chastity suspected, 267; story of her opposing her father's elevation, 270 and *note S.*; hatred of Ali and his family, 274 and *note S.*; assists the rebellion of Telha and Zobeir, *ib.*; courage in the Day of the Camel, 275; respect and delicacy of Ali towards her, *ib.* and *note M.*
- AYOUBITES**, their descent, vii. 253, *note*.
- AYUB**, father of Saladin, his prudent and determined conduct, vii. 254.
- AZIMUS**, or Azimuntium, city of Thrace, alone holds out against the arms of Attila, iv. 206 and *notes*; its privilege violated by Peter, brother of the emperor Maurice, v. 381.
- AZYMS**, furious debate concerning, between the Greek and Latin churches, vii. 280.
- AZZADIN**, sultan of Iconium, takes refuge at Constantinople from the Mongols, viii. 13.
- AZZO**, marquis of Lombardy, ancestor of the lines of Brunswick and Este, vii. 119, *note*.

B.

- BAALEBEO**, or Heliopolis, vi. 315; ruins of, described, 316.
- BABEO**, father of Artaxerxes, i. 331, *note*.
- BABYLAS**, St., bishop of Antioch, corpse of, transferred to the grove of Daphne by Gallus, iii. 169; pompous removal of, by the Christians at the command of Julian, *ib.*
- BABYLON**, that name applied to Rome by the early Christians, ii. 175; circumference of, 295, *note*; converted into a royal park, iii. 195; licentiousness of the women, 199, *note*.

BACCHANALS.

- BACCHANALS** at Rome, ii. 210 and 211, *note*.
- BACCHUS**, temple of, at Alexandria, iii. 418 and *note* S.
- BACON**, distribution of, at Rome, iv. 84.
- BADOERI**, dukes of Venice, their illustrious descent, v. 341, *note*.
- BADUARIUS**, superintendent of the palace, marries Arabia daughter of Justin II., v. 341.
- BÆTICA**, province of Spain, i. 155.
- BAFINA**, queen of the Thuringians, becomes the mother of Clovis, by Childeric, iv. 346.
- BAGAUDA**, or Gaulish peasants, described, ii. 69; etymology of their name, *ib.*; *note*; rebellion, *ib.*; quelled by Maximian, 70; their leaders, whether Christians? *ib.*; sell a free passage over the Alps to the troops of Honorius, iv. 55; confederations of the, in Gaul and Spain, 252.
- BAGAVAN**, mount, ii. 79.
- BAGDAD** founded by the caliph Almanzor, vi. 394 and *note*; etymology of the name, 395, *note*; site, 395 and *note* S.; college at, 399; stormed and sacked by the Mongols, viii. 13; pyramid of ninety thousand heads erected at, by Timour, 53.
- BAHARITES**, Mamluke dynasty of the, vii. 274 and *note*.
- BAHRAM**, or Varanes, Persian general, birth, character, and exploits, v. 368; defeated by the Romans, 370; insulted by Hormouz, *ib.*; rebellion, *ib.*; defeats and deposes Chosroes, son of Hormouz, 372; usurps the sceptre, 374; defeated by Narses on the Zab, *ib.*; flight and death, *ib.* and *note* M.
- BAHREIN**, district of Persia, vi. 198.
- BAIAN**, chagan of the Avars, his pride and power, v. 376; perfidy, 378; takes Sirmium, *ib.*; razes Singidunum, 379; generosity, *ib.*; extent of his dominion, *ib.*
- BAIKAL**, lake, described, iii. 308 and *notes*.
- BAJAZET I.**, sultan, son and successor of Amurath I., surnamed "Ilderim," or "the Lightning," viii. 30; first of his family who assumed the title of sultan, *ib.* *note* S.; his conquests from the Euphrates to the Danube, 31; character and administration, *ib.*; defeats Sigismund king of Hungary, 32;

BALTIC SEA.

- puts the French prisoners to death, 33 and *note* M.; his hunting and hawking, 35; answer to the letter of Timour, 50; styled kaissar of Roum, 51; defeated by Timour at Angora, 54; made prisoner, 55; story of his iron cage, 56; death, 57; testimonies as to his harsh treatment by Timour, 58, 59; probable conclusion, 59; Von Hammer's explanation, 60, *note* M.; civil wars of his sons, 66.
- BAJAZET II.**, sultan, facilitates Lascares' search for Greek MSS., viii. 117, *note*.
- BALBATUS** (*v.* Vabalathus).
- BALBINUS** elected emperor with Maximus, i. 316; character, *ib.* (*v.* Maximus).
- BALBUS**, Cornelius, family and rise of, i. 316, *note*.
- BALDWIN**, count of Flanders, a leader in the fourth crusade, vii. 290; elected emperor of the East, 321; his government, 322; defeated and captured by the Comans and Bulgarians, 330; death, 331 and *note*.
- BALDWIN II.**, emperor of Constantinople, vii. 339; his misfortunes and mendicancy, 340; visits to England, *ib.*; disgraceful alliance with the Turks and Comans, 341; sale of relics to St. Louis, 342; escapes to Italy on the taking of Constantinople by the Greeks, 346.
- BALDWIN**, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, his quarrel with Tancred, vii. 214 and *note* S.; adopted by the governor of Edessa, 215 and *note* S.; seizes that city and founds a principality, *ib.*; becomes king of Jerusalem, 230.
- BALDWIN II.**, king of Jerusalem, vii. 256.
- BALDWIN III.**, king of Jerusalem, vii. 256.
- BALDWIN IV.**, king of Jerusalem, vii. 257.
- BALTHA OGLI**, admiral of Mahomet II., punishment of his defeat, viii. 163.
- BALTI**, or Balthæ, family of Alaric, etymology of the name, iv. 24 and *note* S.
- BALTIC** sea, i. 350, *notes*; subsidence of the, knowledge of, how acquired by the Romans, iii. 263, *note*.

BALUZE.

- BALUZE**, character of his 'Lives of the Popes of Avignon,' viii. 215, *note*.
BAMBYCK, a name of Hierapolis, iii. 188, *note S*.
BANCHOR, monastery of, iv. 309.
BAPTISM, ancient theory and practice of, iii. 21; deathbed, how regarded by the fathers, *ib. note*.
BARADÆUS, James, monk, revives and gives the name of Jacobites to the sect of Monophysites, vi. 54.
BARBARIANS introduced into the army by Probus, ii. 47; their mutual dissensions fomented by Diocletian, 74; he distributes the vanquished among the Roman provinces, 75; conversion of the, iii. 24, iv. 322, 324; its effects, 326; imbibed Arianism, 327; converted from that heresy, 337; laws of the, 364 *sq.*; best collection of, 366, *note M*.
BARBARY, derivation of the name of that country, vi. 351, *note*; Moors of, become Mahometans, 353.
BARRATIO, general, receives Gallus at Petorio, ii. 393; marches to the assistance of Julian in Gaul, 416; treachery and retreat of, *ib*.
BARCOCHEBAS rebels against Hadrian, ii. 222.
BARCLAY, his 'Apology for the Quakers,' ii. 188, *note*.
BARDAÑES assumes the purple and the name of Philippicus, vi. 80; deposed, 80; prediction of an Asiatic prophet to, 89.
BARDAΣ, uncle of Michael III., a protector of letters, vii. 39; his school at Magnaura, 40.
BARDAΣ murdered by his uncle, the emperor Michael III., vi. 197.
BARDS, Welsh, their legends neglected, iv. 392 and *note S*; protected by the laws of queen Elizabeth, 398; account of the, *ib*.
BARGUS accuses his patron Timasius, iv. 141.
BARHAM, or Baharam, *v.* Varanes.
BARI, conquest of, by the Greeks and Latins, vii. 97; unsuccessful attempts of the German emperors on, 99; besieged by Robert Guiscard, 114.
BARLAAM, Calabrian monk, attacks and ridicules the monks of mount Athos respecting the light of mount Thabor, vii. 405; apostasy and flight, 406;

BASIL.

- ambassador from Andronicus Palaeologus the Younger to pope Benedict XII., viii. 77; his instructions, 78; his learning and lectures on Homer, 108; connection with Petrarch, *ib.*; made a bishop in Calabria, 109.
BARMECIDES extirpated by Harun al Rashid, vi. 405; probable motives of that act, *ib. note S*.
BARONCELLI, tribune of Rome, viii. 245.
BARSUMAS, chief of the monks, votes at the second council of Ephesus, vi. 25.
BARTHOLEMY, Peter, discovers the Holy Lance, vii. 220; submits to a judgment of God, and death, 222 and *note M*.
BARTOLUS, the civilian, a pensioner of Charles IV., vi. 193.
BASIL I., the Macedonian, emperor of Constantinople, v. 95; not an Arscid, *ib. note S*; early history of, 96; bodily strength, 97; associated in the empire by Michael III., *ib.*; murders Michael, *ib.*; wise and glorious reign, 98; publishes the Basilics, 99; death, *ib.*; genealogy of his dynasty, 100, *note S*; his legal reforms, vii. 45, *note S*; reduced by Chrysocheir, the Paulician, to sue for peace, 54; shoots three arrows through Chrysocheir's head, *ib.*; alliance with the emperor Lewis II., 97.
BASIL II., emperor of Constantinople, vi. 107; reduces the rebels Phocas and Sclernus, *ib.*; overthrows the Bulgarians, 108; penitence and death, *ib.*; conquers the Bulgarians, vii. 69; his horrible cruelty towards them, *ib*.
BASIL, archbishop of Caesarea, transactions with Valens, iii. 252; Gibbon's statement respecting, corrected, *ib. note S*; account of, 365; his pride, 366; founder of the monasteries of Pontus, iv. 309.
BASIL the Great, his canonical epistles, iii. 36, *note*.
BASIL, the monk, founder of the Gnostic sect of Bogomites, burnt by Alexius Comnenus, vii. 56 and *note*.
BASIL, St., Calabrian monks of, viii. 108 and *note*.
BASIL, council of, proceedings against pope Eugenius IV., viii. 93; city de-

BELISARIUS.

general assault, 141; his vigilance and precautions, 142; uxoriousness, 144; letter to Justinian, 145; receives reinforcements, *ib.*; haughty reception of the Gothic ambassadors, 146; grants a truce, *ib.*; recovers many Italian cities, *ib.*; compels Vitiges to raise the siege of Rome, 147; and of Rimini, 148; arbitrary execution of Constantine, governor of Spoleto, 149; firmness during the defection of Narses, 150; takes Urbino, *ib.*; reduces Osimo, 153; lays siege to Ravenna, *ib.*; evades the imprudent treaty sent by Justinian to Vitiges, 154; takes Ravenna by stratagem, *ib.*; refuses the kingdom of Italy, 155; recalled by Justinian, *ib.*; his greatness, popularity, and virtues, 156; duped by his wife Antonina, 158; recalls her lover Theodosius, 159; persuaded by Photius to punish her, *ib.*; compelled by Theodora to pardon her, 160; second Persian campaign, 161; disgraced, *ib.*; pardon and mean submission, *ib.*; accepts the Italian command, 162; account of his Persian campaigns, 191; reception of the Persian ambassadors, 192; hastens the retreat of Chosroes, 193; recalled to the Italian war, *ib.*; lands at Ravenna, 218; letter to Justinian, 219; returns to Dyrrachium for reinforcements, *ib.*; sails to the Tiber, 221; forces the barriers of Totila, *ib.*; the misconduct of his officers obliges him to retreat, *ib.*; dissuades Totila from destroying Rome, 223; recaptures Rome, and holds it against Totila, 224; campaign in southern Italy and flight to Sicily, 225; final recall, *ib.*; made general of the east and count of the domestics, 226; defends Constantinople from the Bulgarians, 244; accused of conspiring against Justinian, 246; disgrace, restoration, and death, *ib.*; fortune confiscated, *ib.*; his beggary an idle fable, *ib.*; Lord Mahon's opinion on that point examined, 247, *note S.*; Le Beau's and Finlay's theories respecting the origin of the story, *ib.*; his reputed statue, *ib.*

BELLS, use of, when introduced, vi. 304 and *note S.*

BELLONA, temple of, at Comana in Pontus, vii. 51.

BERTEZENA.

BELUS, tower of, at Babylon, vi. 295, *notes.*

BENDER, i. 142.

BENEDICT XI., pope, his curse of Anagni, viii. 215.

BENEDICT XII., pope, embassy of Andronicus the Younger to, viii. 77; character, 79 and *note.*

BENEDICT XIII., pope, viii. 254; deposed by the council of Constance, 256.

BENEFICE, primitive name of a feudal possession, iv. 373; tenure of, *ib.* and *note M.*

BENEVENTO, battle of, between Mairfroy, king of the two Sicilies, and Charles of Anjou, vii. 376.

BENEVENTUM, dukes of, their dominions, v. 349; escapes the yoke of Charlemagne, vi. 174; siege of, by the Saracens, and heroic devotion of a citizen, vii. 100.

BENJAMIN, patriarch of the Copts, his interview with Amrou, vi. 333.

BENJAMIN of Tudela, his description of the riches of Constantinople, vii. 13.

BENTIVOGLIO, character as an historian, iii. 10, *note.*

BERAN-BIRTG (Marlborough), battle of, between the Britons and Saxons, iv. 391 and *note.*

BERBERS, Barbarians, or Barbarians, account of that appellation, vi. 351 and *note.*; properly applicable to the Moors, *ib.*

BERENICE, her age when dismissed by Titus, vii. 23, *note.*

BERENICE, or Myos Hormos, i. 413, *note M.*

BERNARD, St., does not mention his own miracles, ii. 180, *note.*; dissuades the persecution of the Jews, vii. 192 *note.* and *note M.*; character and mission, 247; convents founded by, *ib.*; proclaims the second crusade, 248; declines the command, *ib.*; object of his journey to Germany, *ib.* *note M.*; his character of the Romans, viii. 194; exhortations against Arnold of Brescia, 196.

BERNIER, description of Aurengzebe's camp, i. 341, *note.*

BERGIA, or Aleppo, Julian's reception at, iii. 183; anecdote of a Christian father and his apostate son, *ib.*

BERTEZENA (Bertè-Scheno), first leader of the Turks, v. 173; was proper y

BERTHA.

- the founder of the Mongol race, *ib.* *note* M.
- BERTHA, mother of Hugo king of Italy, her gallantries, vii. 25.
- BERTHA, daughter of Hugo king of Italy, married to Romanus, son of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, vii. 24; her equivocal descent, 25; changes her name to Eudoxia, *ib.*
- BERYTUS, famous school of law at, ii. 317 and *note*; overthrown by an earthquake in the reign of Justinian, v. 252 and *note*.
- BESSARION, bishop of Nice, viii. 96; manager for the Greeks at the Council of Florence, 100; made a cardinal, 101; poverty, 102, *note*; his residence in Italy, character and learning, 113; story of his losing the tiara, *ib.* and *note* M.; refuses the patriarchate of Constantinople, 123.
- BESSAS, general of Justinian, killed in leading the assault of Petra, v. 202; his unfeeling avarice when governor of Rome during the siege by Totila, 220; flies at his entrance, 222.
- BESSI, or minor Goths, v. 37, *note*.
- BETHLEM, residence of St. Jerom, resort of Roman fugitives to, after the sack of Rome, iv. 108; occupied by Tancred, vii. 224, *note* S.
- BEZABDE, taken by Sapor, ii. 410; site of, *ib.* *note* S.; besieged by Constantius, 411.
- BIBLE, early translated into Arabic, vi. 215 and *note*.
- BINDOES, a Sassanian prince, deposes and imprisons Hormouz, v. 370; puts him to death, 372 and *note* M.
- BINESES, the Persian ambassador, takes possession of Nisibis for Sapor, iii. 224.
- BIRTH, prerogative of, the least invidious of all distinctions, i. 305.
- BISHOPS, question of their divine origin, ii. 190, *note*; at first the same as *presbyters*, 191; subsequently superior, *ib.*; original jurisdiction of, 192; called angels in Asia, *ib.* *note*; progress of their authority, 194; claimed to be the viceregents of Christ and successors of the apostles, *ib.*; metropolitans and primates, 195; ambition of the Roman pontiff, *ib.*; bishops first seen at court in the reign of Alexander Severus, 259; condition and number under the Christian em-

BOETHIUS.

- perors, iii. 27; rural, *ib.* *note*; equal powers of, 28; election of, *ib.*; violent and corrupt mode of, 29; at first vested in the people, *ib.*; afterwards usurped by the emperors, *ib.* *note* M.; bishops alone had the power of ordination, 30; claimed perpetual obedience from the ordained, 31; income of, 33; exclusive privilege of being tried by their peers, 35; judged the clergy in civil cases, *ib.*; power of arbitration, *ib.*; spiritual censorship, 36; exercised on the highest officers except the emperors, *ib.*; orthodox of the West, banished by Constantine II., 80; conduct in exile, 81; contributed much to the establishment of the French monarchy, iv. 352.
- BISSENI, Turkish tribe, vii. 79 and *note* S.
- BISSEXTILE, superstitious regard of the Romans for, iii. 235; Gibbon's explanation of the, corrected, *ib.* *note* S.
- BITHYNIA, i. 162; plundered by the Goths, 398.
- BLACHERNÆ, suburb of Constantinople, ii. 295, *note*.
- BLEDA, brother and colleague of Attila, king of the Huns, iv. 193; slain by Attila, 195.
- BLEMYES, invade Egypt, ii. 76; described, 77.
- BLINDING, various modes of, vii. 369.
- BLÖDEL, legendary name of Bleda, brother of Attila, iv. 193, *note* S.
- BLUES, or orthodox faction of the Hippodrome, patronized by Justinian, v. 50; their dress, manners, and lawless violence, *ib.*
- BOADICEA, i. 140.
- BOCCACCIO, one of the restorers of Greek learning in Italy, viii. 110; his (reputed) version of Homer, *ib.* and *note* M.
- BOCHARA conquered by the Saracens, vi. 300.
- BOETHIUS, prætorian præfect, murdered with Aëtius, iv. 250.
- BOETHIUS, his explanation of the Trinity, iii. 55, *note*; character and studies of, v. 27; his alleged visit to Athens, 28 and *note* S.; patriotism, 29; accused of treason, 30; confined in the tower of Pavia, *ib.*; composes his 'Consolation of Philosophy,' 31; inhuman execution of, *ib.*; works translated by Alfred the

BOHEMIA.

- Great, 32; canonized, *ib.*; question as to his Christianity, *ib. note S.*
- BOHEMIA, united to the Germanic body by Charlemagne, vi. 175.
- BOHEMOND, son of Robert Guiscard, vii. 119; commands his father's fleet at Durazzo, 121; exploits against the Greeks, 126; a leader in the first crusade, 198; march to Constantinople, 203; motives, 205 and *note M.*; flattering reception by Alexius Comnenus, 206; takes Antioch, and acquires the sovereignty of it, vii. 217; his design to arm the West against the Byzantine empire, 238; clandestine departure, *ib.* and *note*; death, *ib.*
- BOLINGBROKE, LORD, observations on the encouragement of learning by the popes, viii. 116, *note.*
- BOLSENA, lake, Amalasontha strangled in an island of, v. 128; described, *ib. note.*
- BONDUCAR, or BIBEARS, sultan of Egypt, destroys Antioch, vii. 275; concerned in the attempt to assassinate Edward I., *ib. note M.*
- BONIFACE, count, general of Placidia, character, iv. 175; betrayed into a revolt by his rival Aëtius, 176; invites the Vandals into Africa, *ib.*; repentance, 181; defeated by Genseric, *ib.*; besieged in Hippo Regius, 182; joined by Aspar and his forces, 183; again defeated by Genseric, *ib.*; escapes to Ravenna, 184; battle with Aëtius and death, *ib.*; medals of, *ib.*, and *note S.*
- BONIFACE, marquis of Montferrat, elected leader of the fourth crusade, vii. 294; adopts the cause of Alexius, son of Isaac Angelus, 296; clemency after the capture of Constantinople, 313; sells Candia to the Venetians, 323; exchanges the provinces beyond the Hellespont for the kingdom of Thessalonica, or Macedonia, 324; killed by the Bulgarians, 333.
- BONIFACE VIII., pope, his furious contest with Philip le Bel of France, viii. 214; seized and insulted at Anagni by Nogaret and Colonna, 215; death and character, *ib.*; instituted the jubilee, 217.
- BONIFACE, St., procures relics for Aglaë, ii. 277.
- BONNET, Greek imperial, vii. 367, *note.*

BREQUIGNY.

- BONOSUS, general of Aurelian, marries a Goth, ii. 11, *note*; and Proculus, their revolt in Gaul suppressed by Probus, ii. 50.
- BOOK, people of the, Jews and Christians so called by the Arabians, vi. 215, 368 and *note.*
- BORAK, or mysterious horse of Mahomet, vi. 230.
- BORDEAUX described, iv. 128 and *note.*
- BORDERERS, what troops so called, ii. 321; discontent and desertions of, *ib.*
- BORGHES, Mamaluke dynasty of the, vii. 274 and *note.*
- BORYSTHENES, navigation of the by the Russian traders, vii. 85.
- BOSPHORUS, kingdom of, reduced by Trajan, i. 143, 395; acquired by the Goths, 396; reduced by Agrippa, *ib. note.*
- BOSPHORUS, Strait of, described, ii. 288; actual width, *ib. note S.*
- BOSPHORUS, city of, besieged by the Turks, v. 175.
- BOSTRA, or Bostra, i. 143, *note S.*; vi. 202, *note*; siege of by the Saracens, 303; Syriac etymology of the name, *ib.* and *note*; betrayed by the governor Romanus, 304.
- BOSSUET'S Universal History, i. 165, *note.*
- BOTANY, state of that science among the ancients, vi. 402.
- BOTHERIC, commandant of Thessalonica, murdered by the populace, iii. 391.
- BOUCICAULT, marshal, assists the emperor Manuel Palæologus against the Turks, viii. 37.
- BOULOGNE, v. Gessoriacum.
- BOURSA, taken and plundered by Timour, viii. 56.
- BOWIDES, Persian dynasty of, vi. 422.
- BRAGA, capital of the Suevi in Spain, taken by Theodoric II., iv. 263.
- BRANGALEONE, podestà of Rome, his vigorous administration, viii. 203.
- BRANDENBURG, Vandals of, v. 121, *note.*
- BREAD, distribution of at Rome, iv. 84.
- BRECKMAN, his 'Historia Pandectarum,' v. 287, *note.*
- BREMEN, burnt by the Hungarians, vii. 75.
- BREONES, tribe of Rhetians, iv. 234 and *note.*
- BREQUIGNY, M. de, his Life of Posthumus, i. 301, *note.*

BRETAGNE.

- BRETAGNE, part of Armorica so called, iv. 392 and *notes*.
- BRIDGET, St., of Sweden, prophesies the death of pope Urban V., viii. 250.
- BRIENNE, Walter de, duke of Athens, defeated and killed by the Catalans, vii. 385.
- BRIGANTES, war of Antoninus Pius with, i. 145, *note*; situation of, 157.
- BRITAIN, conquered by the Romans, i. 139; province described, 156; importance of, ii. 71; how peopled, iii. 265; invaded by the Scots and Picts, 268; rescued by Theodosius, 271; revolt of Maximus in, 359; emigration from under him, 360; St. Ursula and destined brides of the emigrants, *ib.* *note*; legions recalled from by Stilicho, iv. 34; invaded by the Scots of Ireland, 53; revolt of the army in, and election of various emperors, 54; revolt of, 130; its independence confirmed by Honorius, 131; government of till the descent of the Saxons, 132 and *note*; cities, *ib.* and *note*; tyrants, 133; church, its poverty, 134; Pendragon of, *ib.*; descent of the Saxons in, 386; Heptarchy, 389; Gildas' description of, *ib.*; long resistance of against the barbarians, 390; wars in, *ib.* *sq.*; the Britons fly to Wales and Cornwall, 391; and Gaul, *ib.*; desolation of Britain, 394; language of, how modified by the Saxon invasion, 395 and *note* S.; inhabitants of, whether exterminated by the Saxons, 396; servitude of, *ib.*; sold their children, 397; relapse into barbarism, *ib.*; Britons in Armorica and Wales, their manners, 398; obscure state of Britain, 399; Christianity introduced into by pope Gregory the Great, v. 360.
- BRITONS, character of the, i. 140.
- BRITONS of France, reduced and chastised by Charlemagne, vi. 173.
- BRITIA, island, whether distinct from Britain, iv. 399, *note* S.
- BROSSES, president de, his description of the Euxine, v. 194, *note*.
- BRUCE, James, on the Roman wall in Scotland, i. 141, *note* S.
- BRUCHIUM, quarter of Alexandria, library in, iii. 417, *note* S.
- BRUNSWICK, house of, genealogy, vii. 119, *note*.

BURNING GLASSES.

- BRUTUS, revered by the Romans, i. 209; his virtue questioned, *ib.* *note* M.
- BRUTUS, the Trojan, his colonization of Britain a fable, iii. 265.
- BUCCLIN, duke of the Alemanni, invades Italy, v. 237; his fabulous exploits, *ib.* *note*; ravages southern Italy, 238; defeated at Casilinum by Narses, and slain, 239.
- BUFFALOES, introduced into Italy by the Lombards, v. 351.
- BUFFON, burning glasses of, v. 72.
- BUGIA, African town, captured by the Saracens, vi. 347.
- BULGARIA, revolts from Isaac Angelus, vii. 286; second kingdom of established, *ib.*
- BULGARIANS, their ethnology, v. 167, *note* S.; history, 168; inroads on the eastern empire, 171; under Zabergan, threaten Constantinople, 243; repulsed by Belisarius, 244; kingdom of overthrown by Basil II., vi. 108; their name, how applied by the French, vii. 57 and *note*; emigration of the, 64; their descent, *ib.* and 65, *note* S.; account of the, *ib.*; situation of the kingdom, *ib.*; first kingdom of the, 67; overthrown by Basil II., 69; tactics, 73; war of against the Latin sovereigns of Greece, 329.
- BUNSEN, Chev., explanation of Pliny on the Roman walls, ii. 16, *note* S.
- BUNGESSES, court of at Jerusalem, vii. 235.
- BURGUNDIANS vanquished by Probus, ii. 44; a German race, *ib.* *note* S.; on the Elbe, account of the, iii. 261; fabulous descent from the soldiers of Drusus, *ib.* and 262 *note*; deceived by Valentinian, 262; join Radagaisus in invading Italy, iv. 45; overrun Gaul, 51; settle permanently in Gaul, 128; their limits, 129; invade Belgium, 224; defeated and driven to the mountains of Savoy, *ib.*; settlements on lake Lemane, 349; boundaries of their kingdom, 353; finally conquered by the Franks, 356; join the troops of Vitiges, v. 150.
- BURGUNDY, vineyards of, i. 190 and *note* W.
- BURNET, character of his 'Sacred Theory of the Earth,' ii. 176, *note*.
- BURNING GLASSES of Archimedes and Proclus, v. 71; of Buffon, 72 *note*.

BIRTON.

BIRTON, Dr., work on the Ante-Nicene Fathers, iii. 52, *note* M.

BIRIBIS, in Egypt, destroyed by Diocletian, ii. 76; four several places of that name, vi. 392 *note*.

BUTLER, character of his 'Lives of the Saints,' v. 338 *note*.

BYZANTINUS (Bazentinus), river, sepulchre of Alaric constructed in, iv. 112 and *note* S.

BYZING MIBIR, the Persian philosopher, preceptor of Hormouz, v. 367; introduced chess and the fables of Pilgray into Persia, *ib.* *note*.

BYNOS, Lord, swam from Sestus to Abydos, ii. 290, *note* M.

BYRACUS, i. 223.

BYZANTINE history, defects of, vi. 68; dynasties, review of and reflections on, 132; empire, view of its government, literature, &c. from the time of Heraclius to the invasion of the Franks, vii. 5, *seq.*; revenue, 13; coinage, *ib.* *note* S.; emperors, their pomp and luxury, 14; palace, 15; furniture and attendance, 16; titles, 17; officers of the palace, state and army, 19; adoration of the emperors, 20; reception of ambassadors, 21; processions, 22; acquire the province of Lombardy, 96; historians, editions of, viii. 185, *note*; character of the Bonn edition, *ib.* *note* M.

BYZANTINES, wars of the, by whom best described, ii. 287, *note*; used the columns of Darius as altars, 209, *note*.

BYZANTIUM, siege of by Severus' generals, i. 256; fortifications destroyed, 257; how far ruined, *ib.* *note* M.; taken by Maximin, ii. 135; besieged by Constantine, 147; advantageous situation, 287; when founded, *ib.* *note*; rebuilt by Pausanias, *ib.*; revenues derived from the fishery, 293, *note* (*n. Constantinople*).

BYZAS, founds Byzantium, ii. 287, *note*.

C.

CAABA, or temple of Mecca, seven poems of, vi. 209 and *note*; its antiquity, 211; site of, *ib.* and *note* M.; description of, 212; rites of, *ib.*; black stone, *ib.* and *notes*; idols of

CESARIUS.

destroyed by Mahomet, 254; desecrated by Abu Taber, the Carmathian, 419.

CARADER, or Kobad, king of Persia, his war with the Romans, v. 85; takes Amida, 86; occupies the straits of Caucasus, 88; troubled reign of, 181; desires his son, Nushirvan, to be adopted by Justin the emperor, 182 and *note* M.

CADRESIA, battle of between the Arabians and Persians, date, vi. 291, *note* S.; description of, 292; site of, *ib.* *note*; ruins, *ib.* *note* S.

CADMIAN, marries Mahomet, vi. 213; his affection and respect for her, 263.

CADIZ, founded, i. 296, *note*.

CÆCILLIAX, bishop of Africa, Constantine's liberality to, iii. 32; contest with Majorinus and Donatus, 43; acknowledged lawful primate, *ib.*; banishes the Donatist leaders, 44.

CÆCILIUS (or Lactantius), date of his treatise 'De Mortibus Persecutorum,' iii. 14 and *note*; probably not composed by Lactantius, *ib.*; account of the vision of Constantine and Licinius, *ib.*

CÆLESTIAX, senator of Carthage, misfortunes of, iv. 187.

CÆSAR, JULIUS, his motive for invading Britain, i. 140, *note*; degraded the senate, 197, *note*; deified, 207; provoked his fate, 209; sword of, captured by the Gergovians, iv. 376.

CÆSAR and Augustus, those titles explained, i. 208; use of as a family distinction, 209, *note* W.

CÆSARS, first, their policy, i. 157, 159; adverse to military merit in a subject, *ib.*; family of the, 212; their marriage with foreigners forbidden, vii. 23; exceptions, 24; empire of the, checked the progress of the human mind, 44.

'CÆSARS' of Julian, account of that work, iii. 179.

CÆSAREA, capital of Cappadocia, taken by Sapor, i. 405; taken and sacked by Chosroes II., v. 392.

CÆSAREA, in Syria, plundered and burnt by the adherents of Firmus, iii. 273; abandoned by Constantine, son of Heraclius, surrenders to the Saracens, vi. 325.

CÆSARITS, son of the duke of Naples,

CAF.

- assists Pope Leo IV. against the Saracens, vi. 411.
- CAF, mountain of Central Asia, v. 173 ; creed of the Mahometans respecting, *ib.* *note* S.
- CAFFA, Genoese colony of, vii. 408 and *note*.
- CAGAN, *v.* Khan.
- CAHINA, queen of the Berbers or Moors, her alleged method of defence against the Saracens, vi. 352 ; death, *ib.*
- CAIRO, meaning of the name, vi. 331 ; when founded, *ib.* ; besieged by Amaury, king of Jerusalem, vii. 253.
- CAIROAN, in the kingdom of Tunis, foundation of, vi. 349 and *note* S.
- CAIUS, *v.* Gaius.
- CALABRIA, that name given to Brutium, v. 349 *note* ; preservation of the Greek language in, viii. 108.
- CALED, his conduct at the battle of Ohud, vi. 249 ; conversion to Islam, 250 ; his massacres, 254 and *note* S. ; gallantry at Muta and election as general, 258 ; surnamed "Sword of God," *ib.* ; victories of, 291 ; virtual leader in the Syrian war, 302 ; succours Abu Obeidah at the siege of Bosra, 303 and *note* S. ; personal prowess at Damascus, 305 ; letter to Amrou, *ib.* ; takes Damascus by storm, 310 ; his inflexibility, 311 ; pursues and slays the exiled Damascenes, 312 ; value of that story, 313, *note* S. ; defeats the Gassanites, 318 ; gains the victory at Jermuk, *ib.* ; his death and tomb, 326 ; unjustly treated by Omar, *ib.* *note* S.
- CALEDONIA, when Christianized, ii. 213 and *note* ; the country and its inhabitants described, iii. 266.
- CALEDONIAN war under the emperor Severus, i. 265.
- CALEDONIANS, defeated by Agricola, i. 140 ; retire northwards, 141.
- CALIGULA assassinated, i. 211 ; Gibbon corrected, *ib.* *note* W. ; character, 217 ; attempts to place his statue in the temple of Jerusalem, ii. 154.
- CALIL BASHA, vizier of Mahomet II., his interview with that Sultan, viii. 151.
- CALIPH, meaning of that title, vi. 269 and 271, *note* S. ; first four caliphs compared, 273 ; characters of, 287 ; conquests of the caliphs, 289 ; subdue Persia, 290 ; empire of the, 372 ;

CAMARÆ.

- triple division of the caliphate, 394 ; magnificence of the, 395, *sq.* ; their patronage of learning, 399 ; horrible treatment of by their Turkish guards, 417 and *note* ; other causes of their decline and fall, 419 ; their abasement, 422 ; invite the Bowides, 423 ; Fatimite of Egypt, their gloomy magnificence and political weakness, vii. 251 ; deposed by Noureddin, 253 ; Abbasside, extinction of by the Mongols, viii. 13.
- CALISTUS II., pope, prohibits the use of private arms at Rome, viii. 193.
- CALLIGRAPHERS, epithet of Theodosius the Younger, iv. 163.
- CALLINICUM, monks and populace of, burn a conventicle and synagogue, iii. 393 ; St. Ambrose dictates their pardon to Theodosius, *ib.* ; battle near, between Belisarius and the Persians, v. 101.
- CALLINICUS of Heliopolis, inventor of the Greek fire, vi. 382 and *note* M.
- CALLIXENE, priestess of Ceres, rewarded by Julian, iii. 151, *note*.
- CALMUCKS, black, migrations of the, iii. 314 and *notes*.
- CALOCERUS, rebellion of, in Cyprus, ii. 357 and *notes*.
- CALO-JOHANNES, Comnenus, emperor of Trebizond, attempts to organize a confederacy against Mahomet II., viii. 181, *note* M.
- CALO-JOHN (John or Joannices), receives from pope Innocent III. the title of king of Bulgaria, vii. 286 ; assists the revolt of the Greeks against the Latins, 329 ; defeats and takes Baldwin I., 330 ; besieges Thessalonica, 334 ; assassinated, *ib.*
- CALPURNIUS, date of, ii. 28, *note* S. ; eclogue on the accession of Carus, 53 and *note* ; description of the Amphitheatre, 60, *note*.
- CALVARY, improperly called a *Hill*, iii. 157, *note* M. ; annual fair on, vii. 172.
- CALVIN, his system compared with St. Augustine's, iv. 183, *note* ; his doctrine of the eucharist, vii. 69 ; his conduct towards Servetus examined, 60 and *note*.
- CALYDONIAN boar, tusks of, at Beneventum, v. 134.
- CALYCADNUS, river, Frederick Barbarossa drowned in, vii. 246 and *note* S.
- CAMARÆ, ships on the Euxine, i. 396.

CAMEL.

- CAMEL, Arabian, described, vi. 199; day of the, victory of Ali over the rebels Telka and Zobeir so called, 275.
- CAMELOPARDALIS, or giraffe, i. 231, *note*; Gibbon corrected, 232, *note* M.
- CAMISARDS of Languedoc, compared with the African Circumcellions, iii. 95.
- CAMP, Roman, i. 152.
- CAMPAGNA of Rome, reduced to a wilderness, v. 356.
- CAMPANIA, i. 157; desolation of, from the imperial policy, ii. 336.
- CAMPANIA, or Champagne, iv. 235, *note*.
- CAMPHIRE, its use and cultivation in the East, vi. 295 and *note*.
- CAMUS, a liquor in use among the Huns, distilled from barley, iv. 211.
- CANADA, compared with ancient Germany, i. 351.
- CANDIA, modern name of Crete, whence derived, vi. 408 (*v. Crete*).
- CANDIDIANUS put to death by Licinius, ii. 136.
- CANINIAN law on manumissions, ii. 37, *note*.
- CANNIBALISM of the Crusaders, vii. 211.
- CANNON, enormous one procured by Mahomet II. for the siege of Constantinople, viii. 152; bursts, 160.
- CANOE, Russian, described, vii. 86.
- CANTABRIANS, i. 156.
- CANTACUZENE, JOHN, character of his History, vii. 390; assists the younger Andronicus in his rebellion against his grandfather, 391 and 392, *note* M.; his character, 396; opulence, *ib.*; regent in the minority of John Palæologus, 397; attacks upon his regency, *ib.*; declared a public enemy, 398; assumes the purple at Demotica, *ib.*; flight and reception by the Cral or despot of the Servians, 399; civil war, *ib.*; alliance with the Turks, 400; admitted into Constantinople by Facciolati, great duke, 401; coronation, 402; reign, *ib.*; associates his son Matthew, 403; abdication and retirement to a convent, 404; war with the Genoese and destruction of his fleet, 409; alliance with the Venetians, 410; naval defeat, 411; humiliating treaty with the Genoese, *ib.*; his friendship and alliance with Amir, Turkish prince of Ionia, viii. 25; marries his

CARACALLA.

- daughter to Orchan, Turkish prince of Bithynia, 26; negotiations with pope Clement VI., at Avignon, viii. 79.
- CANTACUZENE, MATTHEW, associated in the empire by his father, John, vii. 403.
- CANTELORIUS, his treatise 'De Præfecto Urbis,' ii. 313, *note*.
- CANTEMUR, character of his history of the Ottoman empire, viii. 22, *note*.
- CAPELLIANUS, defeats the Gordians, i. 315.
- CAPICULI, or troops of the Porte, viii. 155 and *note*.
- CAPITA, assessment by, erroneously referred by Gibbon to *persons*, ii. 338, *note* S.; meant *pieces of land*, *ib.* and 341, *note* S.
- CAPITATION-TAX under Constantine, ii. 337; Gibbon's error respecting, corrected, *ib. note* S.; two meanings of, explained, *ib.*; how levied in Gaul, 338.
- CAPITO, ATEIUS, his voluminous legal works, v. 275; nature of his legal tenets, 278; founder of a legal sect, 279.
- CAPITOL of Rome, destruction of, ii. 237, *note*; new, dedicated by Domitian, *ib.*; roof of described, iv. 256, *note*; first gilded by Catulus, *ib.*; becomes the residence of the civil magistrate, 289, *note*; described, viii. 200 and *note* S.; absurd description of, by a writer of the middle ages, viii. 285.
- CAPITOLINE games, when instituted, viii. 226, *note*.
- CAPIZUCCHI, Italian family, viii. 220.
- CAPPADOCLA, kingdom of, i. 160; large estates of Constantine and his successors in, ii. 329; excellent breed of horses in, 330 and *note*.
- CAPRARIA, isle of, monks or solitaries at, iv. 18.
- CAPUA, i. 157.
- CAPUT VADA, near Carthage, landing of Belisarius at, v. 105 and *note*.
- CARACALLA, discord with Geta, i. 264; date of his elevation, 265, *note*; ambition and impiety, 266; accession jointly with Geta, 267; their jealousy, *ib.*; scheme to divide the empire, 268; murders Geta, *ib.*; remorse, 269; cruelty, 270; directs the massacre at Alexandria, 272;

CARACALLUS.

- murdered, 274; emulated Alexander, *ib.*; edict making all freemen of the empire Roman citizens, 293; whether genuine, 302, *note S.*; his nurse a Christian, *ii.* 257.
- CARACALLUS, for CARACALLA, *i.* 264, *note S.*
- CARACORUM, or HOLIN, residence of the Mongol Khans, *viii.* 17 and *note.*
- CARACTACUS, *i.* 140.
- CARBAUSIUS, revolt of, in Britain, *ii.* 70; extraction, *ib.* *notes*; assumes the purple, 71; duration of his reign, *ib.* and *note S.*; naval power, *ib.*; acknowledged emperor by Diocletian, 72; murdered by Allectus, *ib.*
- CARAVANS, Sogdian, route of, to and from China, *v.* 59.
- CARBEAS, the Paucician, and commander of the guards, revolt of, *vii.* 53; alliance with the Saracens, *ib.*; fortifies Tephrike, *ib.*; defeats the emperor Michael, *ib.*
- CARDINAL, origin and progress of that title, *vi.* 181; college of, obtains the right of electing to the papal chair, *viii.* 211; how composed, *ib.* and *note*; conclave instituted, 212.
- CARDUCHIANS implore Trajan's protection, *i.* 143.
- CARDUENE ceded to the Romans, *ii.* 87.
- CARINUS, son of Carus, intrusted with the government of the West, *ii.* 53; emperor, 56; vices, *ib.*; defeated by Diocletian, 63; assassinated, *ib.*
- CARIZME conquered by the Saracens, *vi.* 300.
- CARIZMIANS, invade Syria, and take and sack Jerusalem, *vii.* 271.
- CARLOMAN, king of Hungary, his treaty with Godfrey of Bouillon, *vii.* 202.
- CARLOVINGIAN dynasty, establishment of in France, *vi.* 156.
- CARMATH, an Arabian preacher, founds the sect of the Carmathians, *vi.* 417 and *note S.*; their military exploits, 418.
- CARMELOTES, derived from the prophet Elijah, *iv.* 306, *note.*
- CARNUNTUM, ruins of, *i.* 249, *note S.*
- CAROCIUM, or standard of the Lombards, *vi.* 188.
- CARPLIO, son of Aëtius, educated in the camp of Attila, *iv.* 223.
- CARRAGO, or fortification of a Gothic camp, *iii.* 328 and *note.*
- CARRÆ, Temple of the Moon at, *i.* 274;

CATALAUNIAN PLAINS.

- (Haran) ancient residence of Alraham, *iii.* 188, *note.*
- CARTHAGE, *i.* 161, 186; bishopric of, purchased by Lucilla for Majorinus, *ii.* 262, *note*; cathedral of, number of its ministers, *iii.* 31; conference at respecting the Donatists, *iv.* 179 and *note*; surprised by Genseric, 186; described, *ib.*; receives Belisarius, *v.* 100; despair of the Arians and triumph of the Catholics, *ib.*; natural alteration in the neighbourhood of, 110, *note*; fortifications of, restored by Belisarius, 111; synod of, restores catholicism, 115; taken by Hassan, lieutenant of Abdalmalek, *vi.* 350; relieved by the præfect John, *ib.*; recaptured and burnt, 351; its subsequent fate, *ib.*
- CARTHAGENA, rich silver mine at, *i.* 296.
- CARTHAGINIANS, manners of described, *iv.* 186; oppressed by Genseric, 187.
- CARUS, general of Probus, *ii.* 44; election as emperor and character, 52; defeats the Sarmatians, 54; interview with the Persian ambassadors, *ib.*; victories and mysterious death, 55.
- CASILINUM, battle of between Narses and Bucelin, *v.* 240.
- CASPIAN and Iberian gates of Mount Caucasus, *v.* 87.
- CASPIAN Sea, navies on, *v.* 366, *note.*
- CASSIAN, duke of Mesopotamia, negotiates with the Persians, *ii.* 404.
- CASSIANS, legal sect, *v.* 279.
- CASSIODORUS, Gothic History of, *i.* 375; description of the Venetians, *iv.* 242; epistles of characterized, *v.* 11; account of, 19 and *note S.*; minister of queen Amalasontha, 126.
- CASSIUS, AVIDIUS, revolts, *i.* 211, *note* 216, and *note M.*
- CASTLE, origin and meaning of the name, *vi.* 365, *note.*
- CASTINUS, Master-General, defeated by the Vandals in Spain, *iv.* 175.
- CASTRIOT, JOHN, father of Scanderbeg, account of, *viii.* 135; family of the Castriots in Naples, 139.
- CATALANS, their service and war in the Greek empire, *vii.* 385; their origin, *ib.* *note* and *note S.*; their conduct in a sea-fight with the Genoese, 411 and *note M.*
- CATALAUNIAN PLAINS, near Châlons,

CATAPAN.

- camp of the Alemanni at, *iii.* 258 ; (Champagne) extent of, *iv.* 235.
- CATAPAN, or governor of the Greek province of Lombardy, *vii.* 98.
- CATASTRUM, derivation and meaning of that word, *ii.* 337, *note* S.
- CATECHUMEN, when Constantine became, *iii.* 2 ; rite used in making, *ib.* *note.*
- CATHAY, name of the northern empire of China, *viii.* 10, *note.*
- CATHERINE, granddaughter of the emperor Baldwin II., of Courtenay, marries Charles of Valois, brother of Philip the Fair of France, *vii.* 346.
- CATHEBINE, St., of Sienna, legend of, *viii.* 250 and *note.*
- CATHOLIC church, doctrines how discriminated from Platonism, *iii.* 50 ; edict of Theodosius establishing the catholic faith, 363 ; progress of idolatry in, 426 ; persecution of the catholics in Africa, *iv.* 328 ; catholic frauds, 334 ; (*v.* Church, Greek church, and Rome, church of.)
- CATHOLICS, Roman, proofs they require of martyrdom, *ii.* 246, *note.*
- CATIBAR, lieutenant of the caliph Walid, his conquests, *vi.* 300.
- CATTI, *i.* 390.
- CAUCALAND, position of that country, *iii.* 318 and *note* M.
- CAUCHA, or Coca, estate of Theodosius at, *iii.* 345 and *note.*
- CAVA, daughter of count Julian, story of, *vi.* 354 and *notes.*
- CAVALRY, Roman, under the emperors, *i.* 150 ; horses whence procured, 151 ; arms, *ib.*
- CAVIAR, made from the sturgeons of the Don, *vii.* 407.
- CAZAN, Mongol khan of Persia, character, *viii.* 20 and *note.*
- CEAULIN, conquests in western Britain, *iv.* 391.
- CECROPS conspires against Gallienus, *ii.* 2.
- CEDARS, holy of mount Libanus, *vi.* 57 and *note* M.
- CELESTINE, pope, condemns the heresy of Nestorius and deposes him, *vi.* 17.
- CELTIBERIANS, *i.* 156.
- CELTIC GAUL, province, *i.* 156.
- CELTIC language, *i.* 174, *note* ; preserved in Wales and Armorica, *iv.* 397.
- CENSONA, last, *i.* 383, *note.*

VOL. VIII.

CHAPTERS.

- CENSORSHIP revived by Decius, *i.* 383 ; impracticability of the, 384.
- CERAMIO, battle of between the Normans and Saracens, *vii.* 117.
- CERCA, or Creca, wife of Attila, visit of Maximin the Roman ambassador to, *iv.* 213.
- CERDIO, the Saxon, conquers Hampshire, *iv.* 390.
- CEREMONIES, pagan, introduction of into the church, *iii.* 432 ; encouraged by the clergy, in order to engage the rustics, 433.
- CEREMONY, progress of among the Romans, *ii.* 304.
- CERIALIS, his advice to the Gauls, *iv.* 344.
- CERINTHUS, his doctrine of the double nature of the Messiah, *vi.* 7.
- CERRONI, tribune of Rome, *viii.* 245.
- CEUTA, *v.* Septem.
- CEYLON, *v.* Taprobana.
- CHABORAS, river, Julian's passage of into Persia, *iii.* 191.
- CHAIBAR, capital of the Jews of Arabia, *vi.* 251 ; Jews of transplanted to Syria, 252 and *note.*
- CHAIS, M., character of his 'Lettres historiques sur les Jubilés,' *viii.* 218, *note.*
- CHALCEDON, taken by the Goths, *i.* 398 ; site of, *ii.* 289 ; proverb respecting its founders, *ib.* ; taken by Chosroes II., *v.* 393 ; council of, *vi.* 26 ; condemns Dioscorus, 28 ; faith and acts of, *ib.* and *note.*
- CHALCOCONDYLES, Laonicus, Greek historian, his description of Germany, *viii.* 86 ; of France, 87 ; of England, 88 ; strange account of the Englishwomen, *ib.* and *notes* M. and S.
- CHALONS, battle of between Aurelian and Tetricus, *ii.* 19 ; between Jovinus and the Alemanni, *iii.* 258 ; between the Romans and Attila, *iv.* 235 ; order of the troops, 236.
- CHAMAVIANS, Frankish tribe, driven by Julian beyond the Rhine, *ii.* 419.
- CHAMELEON, the, surname of Leo V. Byzantine emperor, *vi.* 89.
- CHANCELLOR, etymology of, *ii.* 57, *note.*
- CHANT, Gregorian, described, *v.* 360 and *note.*
- CHAPELS, Pagan, number of at Rome under Gratian, *iii.* 408.
- CHAPTERS, the Three, famous dispute of *vi.* 32.

V

CHARDIN.

- CHARDIN, Sir John, his character as a traveller, vi. 369, *note*.
- CHAREGITES, or CHAZRAJITES, Arabian tribe of, vi. 243, and *note* S.; rebel against Othman, 273; complaints against, *ib.* *note* S.
- CHARIOT RACES, account of, iii. 123 *note*; Roman chariots described, iv. 78, *note*.
- CHARLEMAGNE, collected German songs, i. 367; rustic code of, iv. 372, *note*; alliance with pope Adrian I., vi. 155; indulged in polygamy, *ib.* *note*; conquers the Lombards, 156; first visit to Rome and reception by pope Adrian, 158; donation to the popes, 160; eludes his promises, *ib.*; forged decretals of, 161; opposes image-worship, 165; emperor of the West, 166; assemblies of, *ib.* *note*; protects pope Leo III., 168; last visit to Rome, *ib.*; crowned in St. Peter's by Leo, 169; canonized, *ib.*; simplicity of his dress, *ib.* *note*; character, 170; question of his incest, *ib.* and *note* M.; military renown, 171; campaigns, *ib.* *note* M.; laws, 171; first legal author of tithes, 172, and *note*; literary merits, *ib.*; inability to write, *ib.* and *note* M.; stature, *ib.* and *note*; extent of his empire, 173; subdues the Bretons, *ib.*; punishes the revolt of Aquitain, *ib.*; restores the emir of Saragossa, 174; establishes the Spanish march, *ib.*; Italian dominion, *ib.*; reduces the Saxons and unites Germany, *ib.*; unites Bohemia with the Germanic body, 175; reduces Pannonia, *ib.*; correspondence with Harun al Rashid, 176; his war against the Saxons defensive, *ib.* *note* M. and 177; his policy in associating his son Lewis in the empire, *ib.*; transactions with the Greek emperors, 179; story of his treaty of marriage with Irene, 180; reception of the ambassadors of Nicephorus, *ib.*; protects the pilgrims at Jerusalem, vii. 172; presented with the keys of the Holy Sepulchre by Harun al Rashid, *ib.*; decorates his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle with the marbles of Ravenna and Rome, viii. 275.
- CHARLES MARTEL, his character, vi. 387; defeats the Saracens under Abderame, 389; expels them from

CHERSONITES.

- France, *ib.* and *note* S.; consigned to perdition by the French clergy, 390.
- CHARLES THE FAT, re-unites the empire of Charlemagne, vi. 178; deposed, *ib.*
- CHARLES VIII. of France, buys the title of Andrew Palaeologus to the empires of Constantinople and Trebizond, viii. 182, and *note*; assumes the purple and appellation of Augustus, 183.
- CHARLES IV. of Germany, his weakness and poverty, vi. 192; expedition into Italy, *ib.*; learning, *ib.* *note*; ostentation, 193; contrasted with Augustus, 194.
- CHARLES V., parallel with Diocletian, ii. 98; his sack of Rome contrasted with that of Alaric, iv. 108.
- CHARLES OF ANJOU, subdues Naples and Sicily, vii. 376; executes Conradin of Suabia, *ib.*; treaty with the Courtenays of Constantinople, 377; allies himself against the Greeks with Phillip, the Latin emperor of Constantinople and the Venetians, *ib.*; Sicilian vespers, 379; defeat, misfortunes, and death, 380; senator of Rome, viii. 204.
- CHARLES XII. of Sweden, i. 274.
- CHARONDAS, laws of, v. 262.
- CHASTITY, refinement unfavourable to, i. 362.
- CHATEAUBRIAND, esteemed Constantine the founder of royalty, ii. 304, *note* M.
- CHAUCI, i. 390.
- CHAWARJ or CHARJITES, how confounded by Gibbon, vi. 276, *note* S.; tenets, *ib.*
- CHAZARS, join the Hungarians, vii. 71; Turkish tribe of, 79 and *note* S.
- CHAZRAJITES, v. Charegites.
- CHEMISTRY, science of, whether originated by the Arabians, vi. 402, and *note* M.
- CHERSON, city of, vii. 93 and *note*.
- CHERSONESUS, city of, confounded by Gibbon with the Chersonesus Taurica, ii. 360, *note* M.
- CHERSONESUS TAURICA, i. 395.
- CHERSONESUS, Thracian, Romans defeated in by Attila, iv. 200; fortified by Justinian, v. 80.
- CHERSONITES, Constantine's negotiations with the, ii. 360; Gibbon's mis-

CHERUSCI.

take respecting their magistrates corrected, *ib. note M.*; assist the Romans against the Goths, 361; how rewarded by Constantine, *ib.*; persecuted by Justinian II., vi. 78.

CHERUSCI, i. 390.

CHESS, with what design invented by the Indians, v. 187; introduced into Persia under the reign of Nushirvan, *ib.*; how altered by Timour, viii. 64, and *note.*

CHIAUSS, officer of the Byzantine court, vii. 19.

CHILDEBERT, great-grandson of Clovis, invades Italy, v. 347.

CHILDERIC banished and restored by the Franks, iv. 276 and *note*; amour with Bafina, queen of the Thuringians, 346; deposed by pope Zachary in favour of Pepin, vi. 156.

CHILDREN, the exposing of by their parents, v. 293; made capital, 294; natural, how defined by the Roman law, 300.

CHINA, high antiquity and history of, iii. 304, 305, *note S.*; wall of, 308 and *note S.*; invaded by the Topa, iv. 43; manufacture of silk in, v. 57 and 61, *note*; trade in, 58 *sq.*; voyages of the Chinese, 60; art of printing in, 62; invaded by the Turks, 175; ancient establishment of Christianity in, vi. 50 and *notes*; emperors of solicit the friendship of the Arabs, 300; manufacture of paper in, *ib. note*; invaded and partly conquered by Zingis Khan, viii. 7; northern and southern empires of, 10; conquered by the Mongols, 11.

CHINESE EMPIRE, extent of in the third century, ii. 80.

CHIONITES, probably Huns, ii. 408, *note M.*

CHIVALRY, origin and nature of, vii. 199.

CHLENEZ, Armenian prince, family of, vi. 96.

CHLORUS, surname of Constantius, ii. 67.

CHNODOMAR, leads the Germans against Julian, ii. 416; made prisoner, 418.

CHOREPISCOPI, or rural bishops, iii. 27, *note.*

CHOSROES king of Armenia, aids the Romans, i. 345; assassinated, 403.

CHOSROES, son of Tiridates, king of Armenia, character, ii. 369; submits to the conditions dictated by Sapor, *ib.*

CHOSROES NUSHIRVAN, king of Persia,

CHRIST.

exacts from Justinian an immunity for the seven philosophers who had visited his court, v. 94; accession of, 182; date, *ib. note*; justice of, 183; government of, 184; love of learning, 185; sells a peace to Justinian, 187; embassies of Vitiges and the Arsacides to, 188; invades Syria, 189; takes and burns Antioch, 190; further expeditions, 191; retreats before Belisarius, 198; Lazic war, 202; relinquished, 203; negotiations and treaties with Justinian, 204; resigns his claim to Colchis, or Lazica, 205; his territories and conquests, 206; conquers Yemen, 364; takes the field against the Romans and Turks, 365; besieges Dara, *ib.*; defeated by the Romans at Melitene (Malathiah), 366; death, *ib.*; white palace of sacked by the Arabians, vi. 294; magnificence of, 295.

CHOSROES II. son of Hormouz, raised to the throne of Persia on the deposition of his father, v. 371; defeated and deposed by Bahram, 372; flies to the Romans, 373; protected by the emperor Maurice, *ib.*; restored by Narses, 374; reign, 375; declares war against Phocas, 390; conquers Syria, 391; Palestine, 392; Egypt and Asia Minor, 393; his tyranny and ostentation, 394; summoned by Mahomet to acknowledge his mission, 395; rejects the embassies of Heraclius, 396; exacts a tribute from him, 397; forms an alliance with the Avars, 405; threatens Constantinople, *ib.*; flies from Dastagerd on the approach of Heraclius, 410; deposed and murdered by his son Siroes, 412.

CHOSROES, vassal of Persia, rules over Eastern Armenia, iv. 168; obtains the western portion also, 169.

CHOSROUDUCHTA, sister of Otas, ii. 80, *note.*

CHOZARS, or KHAZARS, Turkish tribe of, alliance with Heraclius V. 406; account of, *ib. note S.*

CHRIST, date of his crucifixion, ii. 208, *note*; 233, *note*; miraculous image of displayed in battle by the Romans, v. 368; borne by Heraclius, 389, *note*; 400; sepulchre of burnt by the Persians under Chosroes II., 392; reputed statue of at Panceas in Palestine, vi. 136; correspondence with

CHRISTIANITY.

Abgarus, 137; picture of at Edessa, its miraculous powers, *ib.*; the similitude adopted and multiplied by the Greeks, 138; the veronica, *ib.*; how regarded by Mahomet, vi. 226.

CHRISTIANITY, inquiry into its progress and establishment, ii. 151, *seq.*; five causes of, 152; Gibbon's art in this inquiry, *ib.* note M.; character of the Christian revelation, 156; adapted to all mankind, 157; Jewish converts to, *ib.*; fear a motive of conversion, 177; causes of its growth recapitulated, 204; assisted by the scepticism of the Pagans, 205; and by the peace and union of the Roman empire, 206; historical view of its progress, 207; in the East, *ib.*; in Egypt, 209; at Rome, 210; in Africa and Gaul, 211; in Spain and Britain, 212; beyond the Roman empire, 213; favourably received by the poor and simple, 217; rejected by some eminent characters, *ib.*; unfounded charge of made penal by Hadrian, 241; fluctuating state under Constantine, 23; all his subjects invited to embrace it, 9; mysteries of, 20; propagated by Constantine's conversion, 23; assisted by the inquisition into magic under Valentinian I., 42, note M.; finally established under Jovian, 230; adopted by a majority of the Roman senate, 411; by the Roman nobility and people, 412; corrupted by the introduction of Pagan ceremonies, 432; yet still differed from Paganism, 433, note M.; influence of on the fall of the Roman empire, iv. 404; progress of among the barbarians, 324; causes, *ib.*; diffusion of in Arabia, vi. 215; extinction of in Africa, 369; propagation of in the north of Europe, vii. 94.

CHRISTIANS, primitive, ascribed idolatry to the demons, ii. 165; their horror of Pagan rites and ceremonies, 166, *seq.*; believed that the end of the world was at hand, 172; explanations of that belief, 173, notes G. and M.; expected the millennium, 173; and destruction of the world by fire, 175; held all Pagans the subjects of eternal punishment, 176; a doctrine still held by the Christian churches, *ib.* note; miraculous powers of the

CHRISTIANS.

primitive church, 178; virtues of the primitive Christians, 182; their small numbers made them careful of reputation, 183; those of Bithynia examined by the younger Pliny, *ib.*; condemned pleasure, 185; their virtue often guarded by poverty and ignorance, 186; their sentiments respecting marriage and chastity, *ib.*; their aversion to civil and military employments, 188; inculcated passive obedience, *ib.*; these principles revived by the Socinians, Anabaptists, and Quakers, *ib.* note; active in the government of the church, 189; the army full of them, *ib.* note G.; community of goods among, 197; questionable, *ib.* note M.; offerings and tithes, 198; numbers of at Rome under Nero, 210; their proportion to the Pagans in general, 214; represented as mostly poor and illiterate, 215; exceptions with regard to learning, *ib.*; with regard to rank and fortune, 216; Gibbon's omissions supplied, *ib.* note G.; persecuted by the Roman emperors, 220; motives of the latter, 221; causes of this persecution, 224 and note M.; represented as atheists, 225; their union and assemblies regarded as dangerous, 226; as well as their austerity and obstinacy, 227; and secret worship, *ib.*; alleged crimes and imprudent defence, 228; mutual recriminations of the orthodox and heretics, 229; at first confounded with the Jews by the Romans, and hence unnoticed, 231; charged with hatred of mankind, 233, note; subject to a capitation tax as Jews, 238; no general laws against them before the time of Trajan, 240; who established a mode of proceeding against them, 241; public clamour against them during the festivals, 242; suppressed by Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, 243; trials of, *ib.*; humane efforts of the magistrates to make them recant, *ib.*; punishments of, 245; ardour for martyrdom, 252; gradually relaxed, 253; methods of escaping, *ib.*; delay allowed to the accused, *ib.*; persecuted by M. Antoninus, 257; protected by Commodus and Severus, *ib.*; the latter publishes an edict against them,

CHRISTIANS.

258; they first erect places of worship, *ib.*; published the names of candidates for ordination, *ib. note*; favoured by the emperor Alexander, 259; persecuted by Maximin, *ib.*; protected by Philip, 260; persecuted by Decius, *ib.*; by Valerian, 261; favoured by Gallienus, *ib.*; prosperity under Diocletian, 264; corruption of manners, 265; persecuted by Maximian and Galerius, 267; by Diocletian, 269; his rigorous edict, *ib.*; punishment of one, 270; suspected of firing Diocletian's palace, 271; execution of Diocletian's first edict, 272; punished with death for not delivering up the Scriptures, 273; further edicts of Diocletian against, 274; protected by Constantius, 275; persecuted by Datianus in Spain, *ib.*; by Maximian and Severus in Italy and Africa, 276; favoured by Maxentius, *ib.*; Galerius' edict of toleration, 278; persecution renewed by Maximin, 280; ended by his death, 281; treatment of not so intolerable as imagined, 282; inflicted greater injuries on each other than they suffered from the infidels, 284; numbers executed in the Netherlands in the reign of Charles V., 285; passive obedience of favourably regarded by Constantine, iii. 7; their political views explained by Grotius, *ib. note*; differed from those of the modern Protestants, 8; their zeal and loyalty, 9; change in their views of military service, 10; censured by the Council of Nice, 11, *note*; belief in a miracle to be worked by Constantine, 11; yearly synods, 39; respect for Plato, 49, *note*; opinion respecting the *Son*, 51; how distinguished from the Platonists, 52; bound by the authority of the church, *ib.*; factions, *ib.*; divisions occasioned by the Arian controversy, 87, *sq.*; general character of their sects, 96; exiled clergy recalled by Julian, 147; secret motives of his toleration, *ib.*; he emulates their charity and beneficence, 150; brands them with the name of Galilæans, 162; prohibits them from teaching grammar and rhetoric, 163; excludes them from offices of trust and profit, 164; condemns them to restore the Pagan

CHRYSOSTOM.

temples, 165; further persecutions, 170; zeal and imprudence of the, 176; destroy the Pagan temples, 177; attributed the death of Julian to a Christian assassin, 226; dissensions among at Jovian's accession, 228; violent disputes under Valens, 250; in Persia, mostly Nestorians, vi. 47; their repugnance to the use of images, 134; tolerated by the Mahometans, 371; hardships under, 372.

CHRISTMAS DAY, why selected by the Romans as the birthday of Christ, iii. 113, *note*.

CHRISTOPHER, son of Romanus I., Byzantine emperor, vi. 102.

CHRYSANTHIUS, the philosopher, declines Julian's invitation to Constantinople, iii. 151, 152, *note*.

CHRYSAPHIUS, the eunuch and favourite of Theodosius the Younger, proposes to Eglecon the assassination of Attila, iv. 216; the latter demands his head, 218; pardons him for a large sum, *ib.*; put to death by the empress Pulcheria, 219; supported the cause of Eutychés in the second council of Ephesus, vi. 25.

CHRYSOCHEIN, the Paulician, ravages Asia Minor, vii. 53; reduces the emperor Basil to sue for peace, 54; slain, *ib.*

CHRYSOLORAS, MANUEL, second professor of Greek at Florence, viii. 111; success as a teacher, 112; scholars of, *ib. note*; death, 113; epistle to John II. Palæologus, 120 and *note*.

CHRYSOPOLIS, battle of between Constantine and Licinius, ii. 148; the modern Scutari, 289.

CHRYSOSTOM, St., on the population of Antioch, ii. 209, *note M.*; arguments against death-bed baptism, iii. 21, *notes*; eloquence of, 38; description of the pomp and luxury of Arcadius, iv. 136; protects Eutropius, 147; origin and promotion of, 151; moral and literary character, 152; ministry, *ib.*; bold preaching, *ib.*; persecuted by the empress Eudoxia and other females, 153; abstinence and moroseness, *ib.*; condemned and deposed by the Synod of the Oak, 155; restored, *ib.*; inveighs against Eudoxia, *ib.*; exiled to Cucusus, 156; his active correspondence there,

CHURCH.

- 157; death at Comana, *ib.*; relics transported to Constantinople, *ib.*; advocacy of monasticism, 310, *notes*.
- CHURCH, primitive, free and equal government of, ii. 190; wealth of, 199; landed property, *ib.*; revenues, how distributed, 200; alms, *ib.*; ex-communication, how exercised by, 201; corporate property of, recognized by the edict of Milan, iii. 32 and *note*; right of bequeathing to, granted by Constantine, *ib.*; his liberality to, 33; revenue of dioceses how divided, 34; patrimony of the, subject to taxes, *ib.*; its revenues transferred by Julian to the pontiffs, 165; British, its poverty, iv. 134; Latin and Greek, union of, vi. 44; eastern, entertains the monophysite and Nestorian tenets, 45; separates from the Greek and Latin communion, *ib.*
- CHURCHES, Christian, when first erected, ii. 258 and *note*; demolition of, 273; architecture of under Constantine, iii. 33; splendour, *ib.*; made sanctuaries, 35; Suburbicarian, 39, *note*.
- CIBALIS, battle near, between Constantine and Licinius, ii. 140.
- CICERO, his 'de Naturâ Deorum,' i. 167, *note*; legacies to, 300; his views concerning the immortality of the soul, ii. 168; his mistake concerning the use of torture at Athens, 332, *note* S.; could not understand Plato's Timæus, iii. 50, *note*; his high opinion of the Twelve Tables, v. 263; account of his work 'de Legibus,' 276.
- CILICIA, province, i. 160; conquered by the Saracens, vi. 327; conquered by Nicephorus Phocas and Zimisces, 426.
- CIMITAR, a, worshipped by the Moguls as the god of war, iv. 195.
- CIMMERIAN darkness, origin of t at expression, iv. 79, *note*.
- CIRCASSIANS, dynasty of in Syria and Egypt, viii. 51.
- CIRCESIUM, site of, i. 326, *note*; town of, iii. 90; last Roman station on the Euphrates, v. 83.
- CIRCUMCELLIONS, Donatist sect in Africa, revolt and fury of, iii. 93; arms and war-cry, 94; religious suicides of, 95; fury of, iv. 180.
- CIRCUMCISION repelled proselytes from

CLAUDIUS.

- Judaism, ii. 156; practised by the most ancient Abyssinians, 161, *note*; practised by the Christians of Abyssinia, v. 66; a religious rite among the Arabians, vi. 213 and *note*.
- CIRCUS, Roman, described, iv. 86 and *note*; factions of the, v. 48; their colours, *ib.* and *note*; adopted in the Hippodrome of Constantinople, 49; massacre of the blues by the greens, *ib.*
- CIRCUS AGONALIS at Rome, viii. 282.
- CITEAUX, monastery of, vii. 247.
- CITIES in ancient Italy, i. 185; in Britain, Gaul, and Spain, 186; in Africa, *ib.*; in Asia, 187; Lombard and Italian, progress of, vi. 187; government of, 188.
- CITIZENSHIP, made universal by Caracalla, i. 293; his motive, 300; consequences, 303.
- CITRON-WOOD, extravagant fondness of the Romans for, vi. 347, *note*.
- CIVILIANS, Roman, their origin and succession, v. 273.
- CIVILIS, the Batavian, his revolt, i. 368.
- CLAIRVAUX, monastery of founded by St. Bernard, vii. 247 and *note*.
- CLABISSIMI, Roman senators anciently so called, ii. 301, *note*; or *honourable*, a title under Constantine, 305; class of defined, 314.
- CLASSICS, Greek and Latin, their merits, vi. 403.
- CLAUDIA, miracle of, iii. 139, *note*.
- CLAUDIAN, his 'Old Man of Verona,' iv. 32; patronized by Stilicho and Serena, 63; danger after the disgrace of the former, 64; his religious indifference, *ib.* *note* M.; character as a poet, 65; a native of Alexandria, 66, *note*; character of his two books against Eutropius, 132, *note*; his description of that eunuch, 140.
- CLAUDIUS elected emperor by the Prætorians without the senate, i. 210; purchased the consent of the former, 211, *note* W.; character, 217.
- CLAUDIUS at Thermopylæ, i. 383, *note*; named emperor by Gallienus, ii. 3; character, *ib.*; accession, 4; act of justice, 5; proposes to reform the army, *ib.*; compels the Goths to retire from Thessalonica, 6; letter to the senate, *ib.*; obtains the name of "Gothicus" from his victories over the Goths, 7; death, 8.

CLEANDER.

- CLEANDER, minister of Commodus, i. 227; his tyranny, 228; death, *ib.*
- CLEVELAND, Ezra, his history of the family of Courtenay, vii. 350, *note.*
- CLEMATIUS of Alexandria, murder of, ii. 389, *note.*
- CLEMENS of Alexandria, his 'Pædagogogue' contains the rudiments of Christian ethics, ii. 186, *note.*
- CLEMENS, FLAVIUS, cousin of Domitian, married to Domitilla, ii. 239; executed on the charge of atheism and Jewish manners, *ib.*; considered one of the first martyrs, *ib.*
- CLEMENT III., pope, crowns Henry III. emperor, vii. 128.
- CLEMENT V., pope, election of, viii. 215; transfers his residence to Avignon, *ib.*
- CLEMENT VI., pope, receives ambassadors from John Cantacuzene at Avignon, viii. 79; character of, 80; institutes the Mosaic jubilee, 218 and *note.*
- CLEMENT VII., pope, election of, viii. 251.
- CLEMENTINES, the, attributed to an Ebionite, iii. 48, *note.*
- CLEODAMAS fortifies Piræus, i. 400.
- CLEOPATRA founds a new library at Alexandria, iii. 417, *notes.*
- CLEPHO elected king of the Lombards, v. 341; assassinated, *ib.*
- CLERGY, their influence examined, i. 196 and *notes* W. and M.; distinguished from the laity in many ancient nations, iii. 27; condition of under the emperors, 28; celibacy of, 30 and *note* M.; selected and ordained by the bishops, *ib.*; exempted from civil offices and taxes, 31; limitation of this privilege, *ib.* *note* G.; increase of their number and orders, 31; civil jurisdiction of, 34; their legal causes, except great crimes, tried by the bishops, 35; Christian bequests to made illegal by Valentinian I., 253 and 254, *note* S.
- CLERMONT, defence of by Ecdicius against the Visigoths, iv. 287; council of, vii. 181.
- CLODION, first of the Merovingian kings, iv. 227; overruns the second Belgic, 228; routed near Artois by Aëtius, *ib.*; establishes his kingdom from the Rhine to the Somme, *ib.*

COLISEUM

- CLOTILDA, a princess of Burgundy, marries and converts Clovis, iv. 350.
- CLOVIS, king of the Franks, birth, iv. 346; his Salian dominions, *ib.*; name equivalent to Ludwin or Lewis, *ib.* *note*; character, 347; defeats Syagrius, 348; acquires the Belgic cities and diocese of Tongres, *ib.*; subdues the Alemanni, 349; converted to Christianity by his wife Clotilda, 350; his Christian fervour, 351; assassinates all the Merovingian princes, 352; remark about St. Martin, *ib.*; orthodoxy, *ib.*; conciliates the submission of the Armoricans and of the Roman troops, *ib.*; compared with Henry IV., 353; reduces Gundebald, king of the Burgundians, to vassalage, 355; at the instance of Clotilda, declares war on the Arians of Gaul, 357; defeats and slays Alaric, king of the Visigoths, 359; conquers Aquitain, 360; compelled to raise the siege of Arles, 361; concludes a treaty with the Visigoths, *ib.*; made consul by the emperor Anastasius, *ib.* and 362, *note* S.
- CLUVERIUS, his notion of the ancient German worship, i. 364, *note.*
- COACHES, Roman, splendour and inconvenience of, iv. 78, *note.*
- COCHR, near the ancient Seleucia, described, iii. 201.
- CODEx ARGENTEU, or Gothic gospels of Ulphilas, discovery of, iv. 323, *notes* M. and S.
- CODICILS, Roman law as to, v. 277, 310.
- CODINUS, mistakes of that author, ii. 299, *note.*
- CORNIBITES, how distinguished from Anachorets, iv. 319.
- COGNATS, what, v. 307; had no right of inheritance, *ib.*
- COGNI, v. Iconium.
- COHORTS, city, i. 154, 229 and *notes.*
- COIL, British king, imaginary father of Helena, ii. 109.
- COINAGE, Constantinopolitan, debasement of, vii. 382, *note*; how regulated by the Roman emperors, viii. 200 and *note* M.
- COLCHIS, reduced by Trajan, i. 143; or Mingrelia, described, v. 194; manners of the natives, 195; revolutions of Colchis, 197.
- COLISEUM at Rome, meaning of the

COLLYRIDIAN HERESY.

- name, viii. 280 and *note*; causes of its decay, 281 and *note M.*; used as a fortress, 281, 282, *note M.*; hull feast in, 282; injuries to, 284; consecrated by Benedict XIV., *ib.*
- COLLYRIDIAN heresy, vi. 223 and *note.*
- COLONIES, Roman, i. 172; superior privileges of, 173 and *note.*
- COLONNA, Roman family, history of, viii. 221; Ghibelines, 223.
- COLONNA, SOLABBA, seizes and insults pope Boniface VIII. at Anagni, viii. 215.
- COLONNA, STEPHEN, flies from Rome on the conspiracy of Rienzi, viii. 232; defeat and death, 242; family of defeated and killed by Rienzi, *ib.*
- COLUMBA, St., monastery of, iv. 310, *note.*
- COLUMBAN, St., rule of, iv. 314; where educated, *ib.* *note S.*
- COMANA, temple of, suppressed and appropriated by the successors of Constantine, ii. 329.
- COMANS, Turkish tribe of, allied with the Bulgarians, vii. 329, *note.*
- COMBATS, judicial, introduced into Gaul by the Burgundians, iv. 370; progress of, *ib.*; law of in the assize of Jerusalem, vii. 234.
- COMES CASTRENSIS, steward of the imperial household so called, ii. 326.
- COMET observed during the reign of Justinian, v. 249; its periodical returns enumerated, 250, *sq.*
- COMITIA, restored by Caligula, i. 205, *note.*
- COMITO, sister of the empress Theodora, v. 42 and *note.*
- COMMENTIOLUS, general of the emperor Maurice, his cowardice, v. 381.
- COMMERCE, despised by the Romans, iv. 75.
- COMMONUS, admitted to imperial power, i. 222; accession, 223; character, *ib.* *note*; the first *porphyrogenitus*, *ib.* *note*; reign, 24, *sq.*; attempted assassination by a senator, 224; his hatred of the senate, *ib.*; profligacy, 229; ignorance, 230; the "Roman Hercules," 231; appears in the amphitheatre, *ib.*; a gladiator, 232; called "Paulus," 233; conspiracy against, *ib.*; murdered, 234; declared infamous, 235; protected the Christians, ii. 257.

CONRAD.

- COMNENI, history of the family of, vi. 111; genealogical table of, 112, *note S.*; raise a civil war against Nicephorus Botaniates, 117; extent of their empire, vii. 6; its wealth and populousness, 7; extinction of the family of, viii. 182.
- COMNENUS, ALEXIUS, duke and emperor of Trebizond, vii. 327 and *note S.*
- COMNENUS, DAVID, last emperor of Trebizond, short question of Mahomet II. to, viii. 182; capitulation and death, *ib.* and *note M.*
- COMNENUS, JOHN, brother of the emperor Isaac, question as to his refusing the crown, vi. 113 and *note S.*; asserts the rights of his nephews, 115; his children, 116.
- COMPLUTENSIS POLYGLOT, cost of, iv. 355 *note.*
- CONCEPTION, immaculate of the Virgin Mary, doctrine of borrowed from the Koran, vi. 226 and *note.*
- CONCLAVE, institution of the, viii. 212; described, *ib.*; ballot introduced at, 213; accounts of, *ib.* *notes.*
- CONCORD, altar of, in the isle of Elephantine, demolished by Justinian, v. 82, *note.*
- CONCUBINES, Roman law respecting, v. 300.
- CONFARRATION, marriage rite, of what an emblem, v. 294.
- CONFEDERATES, barbarian army of, under Orestes, how composed, iv. 295; their demand of a third part of the lands of Italy, 296; rejected by Orestes, 297; capture Pavia and execute Orestes, *ib.*
- CONFESSORS confounded with Martyrs, ii. 251, *note.*
- CONOB, that inscription on Byzantine coins explained, vi. 152 and *note S.*
- CONON, original name of Leo III. the Isaurian, vi. 82.
- CONRAD III., emperor of Germany, undertakes the second Crusade, vii. 239; interview with the emperor Manuel, 243; march through Anatolia and defeat, 244 and *note S.*; embassy of the Romans to, viii. 206.
- CONRAD, duke of Franconia, killed in a campaign against the Hungarians, vii. 78.
- CONRAD of Montferrat relieves Tyre, vii. 261; question respecting his assassination, 264 and *note M.*

CONRADIN.

CONRADIN of Swabia executed by Charles of Anjou, vii. 376.

CONSCIENCE, liberty of established, vi. 61, *notes*.

CONSILIUM, or privy council, instituted by Augustus, i. 206, *note S.*; revived under Al. Severus, 287, *note S.*

CONSTANCE, treaty of between Frederick I. and the Lombard league, vi. 189; council of, establishes the authority of a general council above that of the pope, viii. 92; its weight and importance, 255; deposes the three pretenders to the papal see, 256; elects Otho Colonna with the title of Martin V., *ib.*

CONSTANS, third son of Constantine, governs Italy and Africa, ii. 357; share of the empire after the death of his father, 366; war with his brother Constantine II., 374; acquires the provinces of the latter, *ib.*; slain at Helena by the adherents of Magnentius, 376; protected Athanasius, iii. 75; demanded the restoration of Athanasius from Constantine II., 76; his menaces, *ib.* and *note*; his visit to Britain, 269.

CONSTANS II., son of Constantine III., accession of, vi. 74; murders his brother Theodosius, 75; voluntary exile, *ib.*; pillages the churches at Rome, *ib.* *note M.*; death, *ib.*; his project to restore the seat of empire to Rome, vii. 37; pillages and deserts that capital, *ib.*

CONSTANS, son of the usurper Constantine, put to death by Gerontius, iv. 119.

CONSTANT, M., his work 'Sur la Religion,' i. 166, *note M.*

CONSTANTIA, sister of Constantine, pleads for her husband Licinius, ii. 149; her greatness and misery, 350; pleads for the life of her son Licinius, 353.

CONSTANTIA, daughter of Constantius, saved from the Quadi by Messalla, iii. 288; marries Gratian, 291.

CONSTANTIA, daughter of Roger, king of Sicily, marries the emperor Henry VI., vii. 143.

CONSTANTINA, daughter of Constantine the Great, persuades Vetrico to accept the purple, ii. 376; marries Gallus, 388; cruel character, 389; death, 392.

CONSTANTINE.

CONSTANTINA, widow of the emperor Maurice, attempts an insurrection against Phocas, v. 387; tortured and beheaded with her three daughters, *ib.*

CONSTANTINE the Great, his family connection with Claudius, ii. 8; birth and education, 109; birthplace investigated, *ib.* *notes*; person and character, 110; journey to Britain, *ib.*; elevation, 111; affected repugnance, 112; acknowledged by Galerius as Cæsar, *ib.*; his brothers and sisters, 113, *note*; marries Fausta, 116; named Augustus by Maximian, 117; besieges Maximian in Arles, 121; puts him to death, *ib.*; administration of Gaul, 123; exposes several German princes to wild beasts, *ib.*; preparations against Maxentius, 126; passes the Alps, 128; enters Milan, 129; besieges Verona, *ib.*; defeats Maxentius at Saxa Rubra, 132; his proceedings at Rome, 133; triumphal arch, 134; suppresses the Prætorians, *ib.*; places of residence, 135; alliance with Licinius, *ib.*; war with Licinius, 140; defeats him at Cibalis, *ib.*; at Mardia, 141; treaty with, *ib.*; laws, 142; chastises the Goths, 144; attacks Licinius, 145; defeats him at Hadrianople, 147; besieges Byzantium, *ib.*; defeats Licinius at Chrysopolis, 149; puts him to death, *ib.*; Constantine's activity, 286; design in founding Constantinople, 287; contemplated building his new city on the plain of Troy, 292; ascribed the founding of Constantinople to inspiration, 293; his statue, with the attributes of Apollo and Christ, 297 and *note*; invited eminent Romans to Constantinople, 299; confers many privileges on the Constantinopolitans, 300; annual procession of his statue, 302; introduces a new form of government, 303; separates the civil and military administration, 319; corrupted military discipline, 320; first bestowed consular honours on barbarians, 325; seven ministers of his palace, *ib.* *sq.*; financial government, 333 *sqq.*; some advantages of his reign, 344; his character, 345, *sqq.*; family, 348; genealogical table of, 349, *note S.*; jealous of his son Crispus, 351; celebrates the twen-

CONSTANTINE.

tieth year of his reign at Rome, 352; puts Crispus and Licinius to death, *ib.*; story of his repentance unfounded, 353; satirized as a Nero, 355; elevation of his sons and nephews, *ib.*; their education, 356; Constantine assists the Sarmatians against the Goths, 360; victory, *ib.*; Gibbon's erroneous account of his defeat, *ib. note M.*; alliance with the Chersonites, 361; rewards them, *ib.*; reduces the Goths, *ib.*; his death and funeral, 363; tomb, *ib. note*; factions respecting the succession, 363; limited to his sons, 364; date of his conversion, iii. 1; when a catechumen, 2; legend of his baptism at Rome, *ib. note*; two inconsistent edicts of, 3; his pagan superstition, *ib.*; made his father a divinity, 4; devotion to Apollo, *ib.*; protects the Christians in Gaul, *ib.*; publishes the Edict of Milan, 5; his motives for favouring the Christians, 6, *sq.*; after the defeat of Licinius, invites all his subjects to embrace Christianity, 9; his conversion miraculous, 11; his vision described and examined, *ib.*; adopts the symbol of the cross and standard of the Labarum, 12; his dream, 13; should be connected with the apparition in the sky, *ib. note M.*; natural solution of, 14; his triumphal arch and inscription, 15; vision in the sky, *ib.*; testimony of suspicious, 17 and *notes*; motives of Constantine's conversion examined, 17; his theological discourses, 19; pagan nature of, *ib.*; proves Christianity from the Sibylline verses and Virgil, *ib.*; his Christian privileges, 20; a priest and hierophant, *ib.*; his baptism, why delayed, 21; his character worse after his conversion, 22; which was maliciously attributed to remorse by the pagans, *ib. and note M.*; canonized by the Greeks, 23; influence of his conversion, *ib.*; protects the Persian Christians, 25; bounty to Cæcilian bishop of Carthage, 32; favoured monachism, 33; liberality towards the church, *ib.*; tenderness for episcopal reputation, 35; attends the council of Nice, 39; edict against heretics, 41; rallies Aecius, 42; addresses a moderating letter to Alexander and Arius, 63;

CONSTANTINE.

growing zeal against the Arians, *ib.*; ratifies the Nicene creed, 64; banishes Eusebius of Nicomedia and Arius, *ib.*; relents, 65; recalls the exiles, *ib.*; deposes the three principal Catholic leaders, *ib.*; baptised by the Arian bishop Eusebius, *ib.*; inconsistency of his religious opinions, *ib.*; did not suppress paganism, 97; abolished several pagan abuses, 98; deified by the pagan senate of Rome, 99; legend of his cure by St. Silvester, and donation of the Western Empire to the popes, vi. 161.

CONSTANTINE II., education, ii. 356; presides over Gaul, *ib.*; share of the empire after the death of his father, 366; exacts the African provinces from Constans, 374; invades the latter's dominions, *ib.*; slain, *ib.*

CONSTANTINE III., son of Heraclius, reign of, vi. 73; also called Heraclius II., *ib. note S.*

CONSTANTINE IV., Pogonatus, accession, vi. 75; Sicilian expedition and punishment of a usurper, 76; mutilates his brothers, *ib. and note M.*

CONSTANTINE V., Copronymus, emperor of Constantinople, vi. 83; his iconoclasm, tyranny, and brutality, *ib.*; virtues, 84; accused of burning the library of Constantinople, *ib. note S.*; tragic history of his five sons, 85; persecutes and abolishes the monks, 144; proscribes the worship of images, *ib.*; marriage with the daughter of the king of the Chazars denounced, vii. 24; introduces the Paulicians into Thrace, 55.

CONSTANTINE VI. and Irene, reign of at Constantinople, vi. 85, *v. Irene.*

CONSTANTINE VII., Porphyrogenitus, vi. 101; deposed by Romanus I., 102; his literary and artistic talent, *ib.*; restored, 103; death and funeral, *ib.*; works of, vii. 1; marriage of his son with Bertha, daughter of Hugo, king of Italy, how excused, 24; encouraged learning, 40.

CONSTANTINE VIII., emperor of Constantinople, vi. 102; conspires with his brother Stephen, and deposes his father Romanus I., 103; deposed and banished in turn, *ib.*

CONSTANTINE IX., emperor of Constantinople, vi. 107; death, 108.

CONSTANTINE X., Monomachus, em-

CONSTANTINE.

- peror of Constantinople, vi. 110; profligacy and death, *ib.*; name of Monomachus hereditary, *ib.* *note* S.
- CONSTANTINE XI., Ducas, emperor of Constantinople, character and death, vi. 114.
- CONSTANTINE XII., emperor of Constantinople, vi. 115.
- CONSTANTINE XIII., Palæologus, last of the Greek emperors, viii. 139; crowned at Sparta, 140; message to Mahomet II. before the siege of Constantinople, 149; signs the act of union between the Greek and Latin churches, 156; insincerity, 157; valiant defence of Constantinople, 159; last address, 168 and *note*; slain, 171 and *note*.
- CONSTANTINE, son of Michael VII., betrothed to a daughter of Robert Guiscard, vii. 119; and to Anna Comnena, *ib.* *note*.
- CONSTANTINE, a private soldier, elected emperor by the British legions, iv. 54; attempts to deliver Gaul from the barbarians, *ib.* *sq.*; besieged in Vienna by the forces of Honorius, 55; reduces Spain, *ib.*; opposed by the family of Theodosius, *ib.*; his claims ratified by Honorius, 119; revolt of his general Gerontius, *ib.*; besieged in Arles by Constantius, 121; engages the aid of the Franks and Alemanni, *ib.*; capture and death, *ib.*
- CONSTANTINE, son of Heraclius, abandons the defence of Syria, vi. 324.
- CONSTANTINE SYLVANUS, founder of the Paulicians, vii. 47; cruelly put to death by Simeon, 51.
- CONSTANTINE, governor of Spoleto, despoils Presidius, v. 149; put to death by Belisarius, *ib.*
- CONSTANTINOPLE, founded, ii. 286, 293; described, 287; port, 289; advantages of its position, 292; its boundaries traced by Constantine, 294; extent, *ib.*; surrounded with walls by Theodosius the Younger, 295; progress and expense of constructing the city, *ib.*; adorned by despoiling other cities of their sculptures, 296; edifices described, 297; population, 299; rapid increase of, 300; regions of, 301 and *note*; considered as a colony of Rome, 302 and *note*; dedication of the city, 302; how annually celebrated, *ib.*;

CONSTANTINOPLE.

date of, *ib.* *note* S.; called Second or New Rome, 303; the name Constantinople found on the medals of Constantine, *ib.* *note*; new form of government at, *ib.* *sqq.*; prefects of, 312; never profaned by idolatry, iii. 23 and 90; church of, 90; dissensions of, *ib.* *sqq.*; cathedral, number and description of its ministers, 31 and *note*; imperial court of described, 124; reformed by Julian, *ib.*; senate of made equal to that of Rome by Julian, 130; discontent of the citizens under Valens, 239; Procopius obtains possession of the city, *ib.*; school of founded by Valentinian I.; account of, 247, *sq.*; threatened by the Goths, 339; admiration of Athanaric at, 350; principal seat of Arianism, 364; disputatious zeal of the citizens, 365; Gregory's orthodox mission to and persecutions at, 367; success, 368; tumult at on the installation of Gregory, 369; council of, 370; threatened by the Goths under Alaric, iv. 23; tumult and massacre of the Gothic troops at, 149; riots on the deposition of Chrysostom, 155; walls rebuilt, 160; great earthquake at under Theodosius the younger, 201; threatened by the Huns, *ib.*; fury of the factions of the Circus at, v. 49; *Nika* sedition at, 51; conflagration, 53; threatened by the Bulgarians, 243; riots at on the reported death of Justinian, 245; riots and revolt against the emperor Maurice, 384; threatened by the Persians under Chosroes II., 393; besieged by the Avars and Persians, 405; religious war concerning the Trisagion at, vi. 33; second council of, 40, 43; iconoclast council of under Constantine V., 141; besieged by the Arabs, 374; second siege of by Moslemeh, 378; threatened by Harun al Rashid, 404; royal college of, vii. 39; threatened by the Hungarians, 76; thrice attempted by the Russians, 87; prophecy of its capture by that nation, 88 and *note* S.; threatened by Godfrey of Bouillon, 205; patriarch of, excommunicated by the pope, 282; siege and conquest of, by the Latins, 302; fire at, occasioned by the Flemings, 308 and *note* S.; sedition at, 309; second

CONSTANTIUS.

siege of, by the Latins, 310; third conflagration, 312; capture, *ib.*; pillage, 313; destruction of the statues, 317; recovered by Michael Palæologus, 346 and 367; titular Latin emperors of, 346 and *note*; walls restored by Michael, 376; besieged by the sultan Amurath II., viii. 71; use of cannon at, 76; women of, their secluded lives, 106; state of learning at, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, *ib.*; compared with Rome, 120; authorities for the siege of, 146, *note* and *note* M.; invested by Mahomet II., 154; number of the defenders, 156; fanaticism of the Constantinopolitans, 157; attack and defence, 160; succoured by a fleet, 161; diatress, 165; general assault, 168; capture of, 171; sacked, 172; captivity of the inhabitants, 173; amount of the spoil, 175; re-peopled and adorned by Mahomet II., 179; churches of, divided between the Turks and Greeks, 180.

CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS, associated with Diocletian, ii. 67; character, *ib.*; adopted son, and son-in-law of Maximian, 68; recovers Britain, 73; victories over the Alemanni in Gaul, 75; emperor, 106; character, *ib.*; economy, 107, *note*; British expedition, 111; death, *ib.*; family, 112; makes Constantine his successor, *ib.* and *note*; averse to persecution, 275.

CONSTANTIUS II., son of Constantine the Great, made Cæsar and ruler of Gaul, ii. 351; education, 356 and *notes*; governor of the Eastern provinces, 357; seizes Constantinople on the death of his father, 364; his fraud and forgery, *ib.*; massacres his uncles and cousins, 365; his share of the empire, 366; conducts the Persian war, *ib.*; nine battles of, 370; Constantius defeated at Singara, 371; hastens to Europe to oppose Magnentius and Vetranio, 377; refuses to treat with them, *ib.*; deposes Vetranio by seducing his officers, 378; war with Magnentius, 380; solicits peace, *ib.*; defeats Magnentius at Mursa, 382; recovers Italy, 383; Africa and Spain, 384; final victory over Magnentius, *ib.*; cruelty, 385; sole emperor, 386; governed by eunuchs, 387; sarcasm of Ammianus

CONSTANTIUS.

respecting, *ib.*; reforms the administration of Gallus in the East, 390, invites him to Milan, 392; puts him to death at Pola, 393; political difficulties, 395; declares Julian Cæsar, 397; visits Rome, 399; admiration of that city, 400; embellishes it with an Egyptian obelisk, *ib.*; war with the Quadi and Sarmatians, 401; reduces the former, 402; forms the Sarmatians into a kingdom, *ib.*; subdues the Limigantes, *ib.*; gives audience to them, 403; punishes their treachery by their extinction, 404; receives the name of Sarmaticus, *ib.*; answer to the proposals of Sapor, 405; sends ambassadors to Persia, *ib.*; proceeds to the East, 411; unsuccessful siege of Bezabde, *ib.*; adopts the Arian heresy, iii. 66; Ammianus' account of his religion (or superstition), 67; his addiction to theological controversy, *ib.*; his vacillating opinions, 68; styled "Bishop of Bishops," *ib.*; banishes the orthodox clergy, 69; persecutes Athanasius, *ib.*; restores him at the instance of Constans, 76; resentment of Constantius, 77; procures the condemnation of Athanasius, 80; banishes the bishops who opposed it, *ib. sq.*; edicts against the Catholics, 92; visits the temples of Rome, 99; his jealousy and fear of Julian, 102; deprives Julian of the Gallic legions, 103; dismisses Julian's ambassadors, 111; continues his march towards Persia, 112; offers conditions of pardon for Julian's revolt, *ib.*; marches against him, 118; dies at Mopsucrene, 120; character, *ib.*; funeral, 121.

CONSTANTIUS, general of Honorius, character, iv. 120; besieges the usurper Constantine in Arles, 121; defeats his general Eudobius, *ib.*; magnanimity, *ib.*; sends Constantine prisoner into Italy, *ib.*; abandons Gaul to Jovinus, 122; expels the Goths from Narbonne, 125, *note* S.; marries Placidia, 171; associated in the empire by Honorius, *ib.*; death, *ib.*; date of, *ib. note* S.

CONSTANTIUS, general of Probus, ii. 44. CONSTANTIUS, JULIUS, the patrician, brother of Constantine, ii. 348; murdered by his nephew Constantius, 365.

CONSTANTIUS.

- CONSTANTIUS, secretary of Attila, negotiations for a wife at the court of Constantinople, iv. 208.
- CONSULS, jurisdiction of the, i. 203; elected by the emperors, ii. 306; none at Rome for 120 years, *ib.*; inauguration and ensigns, *ib.*; nominally appointed by the senate, *ib.* note S.; cost of the games exhibited by, 307; Gibbon corrected, *ib.* note S.; had no duties, 308.
- CONSULSHIP under the empire, i. 204 and note; when first conferred on a barbarian, 401; assumed by the emperors, ii. 308; exalted idea of, *ib.* notes; conferred on barbarians by Constantine, 325; Julian's respect for the, iii. 130; revived by Odoacer, iv. 302; vast expense of, under the later emperors, v. 94; suppressed by Justinian, 95; legally extinguished by Leo the Philosopher, *ib.* and note.
- CONTI, Italian family, viii. 220.
- CONTRACTS by consent, v. 312 and note W.
- CONVERTISSEUR, zeal for obtaining that title under Louis XIV., iii. 162, note.
- COPIATE, or gravediggers, number of, at Constantinople, iii. 32.
- COPPIC dialect confined to the peasants, vi. 45.
- COPTOS destroyed by Diocletian, ii. 76.
- COPTS and Abyssinians, era of martyrs in use among, ii. 264, note; religious tenets of the, vi. 59; present state of the Egyptian Jacobites, 62.
- CORBULO, i. 139, note.
- CORDOVA, magnificence of, under the Arabs, vi. 366; martyrs of, 372 and note.
- CORINTE, Isthmian games celebrated at, under the emperor Julian, iii. 131; isthmus of, fortified by Justinian, v. 80.
- CORN, daily allowance of, at Constantinople, ii. 300 and note S.; ill policy of, 301.
- CORNIFICIA, name of Fadilla, i. 270, note M.
- CORNWALL subdued by Athelstan, iv. 391, note.
- CORONARY gold, what, ii. 343; converted into a tax, *ib.*; amount paid by the Roman senate, *ib.*
- COROULTAI, or diet of the Tatars, iii. 302.
- CORPORATIONS, regarded with suspicion

COUSINS-GERMAN.

- by the Romans, ii. 226 and 227, note; municipal, reformed by Majorian, iv. 269.
- CORRUPTIBLES and INCORRUPTIBLES, Christian factions at Alexandria, vi. 59.
- CORSI, Italian family, viii. 220.
- COS, isle of, manufacture of silk in, v. 57 and note S.; transparent garments of, *ib.*
- COSA (Kussai), fifth ancestor of Mahomet, usurps the Caaba, vi. 212; his office described, 216, note S.
- COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES, his voyages and geographical notions, v. 62, note; design of his 'Topographia Christiana,' vi. 43, note.
- COSMO of Medicis, character, viii. 117.
- COSSOVA, battle of, gained by Amurath I. over the Slavonian tribes, viii. 30.
- COUCY, SIRE DE, leader of the French at Nicopolis, dies a prisoner at Boursa, viii. 34.
- COUNCILS, of Ancyra, ii. 202; Illiberis, *ib.*; Arles, iii. 39; Nice, *ib.* and 56; Rimini, 62; another, 68; Seleucia, *ib.*; Tyre, 72; Antioch, 74; Sardica, 75; Arles, 76; Milan, *ib.*; Constantinople, 370; Toledo, iv. 340 and note; first of Ephesus, vi. 18; second of Ephesus, 25; of Chalcedon, 26; second of Constantinople, 40, 43; iconoclast of Constantinople, 140; second of Nice, 164; of Frankfort, 166; Placentia, vii. 180; Clermont, 182; Lyons, 373; Pisa, viii. 92; Constance, *ib.*; Basil, 93; Ferrara and Florence, 98; Pisa, 255; Constance, *ib.*
- COUNCIL, general, its authority superior to that of the pope, viii. 93.
- COUNT of the East, ii. 313; origin, definition, and functions of counts, 320; or treasurer, of the private estate, under Constantine, 328; of the sacred largesses, treasurer-general so called under Constantine, *ib.*; functions of, 329; of the domestics under Constantine, 330.
- COUPELE, rock of, on the Ganges, viii. 48.
- COURT, imperial, progress of, ii. 94, note G.
- COURTENAY, account of the family of, vii. 350.
- COUSINS-GERMAN, marriage between,

COUSIN.

- how regarded by the Romans, ii. 365.
- COUSIN, president, his version of Procopius, v. 97.
- COW'S MOUTH, débouche of the Ganges from, viii. 48 and *note* M.
- CRACOW, city of destroyed by the Mongols, viii. 14.
- CRAL, or despot of Servia, vii. 399 and *note*.
- CREEDS, the most ancient had the greatest latitude, iii. 52, *note*; Athanasian creed, true history of, iv. 334 and *note*.
- CRESCENTIVS, consul of Rome, revolts against Otho III., vi. 186; betrayed and hanged, *ib.*; medal of, *ib.* *note* M.
- CRESTON, city mentioned by Herodotus, site of, v. 260 and *note* S.
- CRETE, subdued by the Arabs, vi. 407; called Candia from their fortress Candax, or Chandak, 408 and *note* S.; reduced by Nicephorus Phocas, 424 and *note* S.; fleet for its reduction, vii. 29; sold to the Venetians by Boniface marquis of Montferrat, vii. 323.
- CRIMES, chief source of, i. 222; how discriminated by Roman law, v. 321.
- CRIM TARTARY, i. 395.
- CRINITUS, Ulpian, adopts Aurelian, ii. 10.
- CRISPUS, son of Constantine, made Cæsar, ii. 142; victories over the Franks and Alemanni, 144; defeats the fleet of Licinius, 148; virtues, 350; Constantine's jealousy of, 351; disgrace and death, 352 and *note*; whether married to Helena, *ib.* *notes*; ruined by the arts of Fausta, 353.
- CRISPUS, the patrician, marries the daughter of Phocas, v. 388; incites the insurrection of Heraclius and Nicetas in Africa, *ib.*; condemned to a monastery by Heraclius, 390.
- CROATIA, account of the kingdom of, vii. 66.
- CRACONILES exhibited by Augustus, ii. 59, *note*.
- CROCUS, or EROCUS, chief of the Alemanni, ii. 111; etymology of his name, *ib.* *note* S.
- CROSS, symbol of adopted by Constantine and his soldiers, iii. 12; use of the sign of, 13; in the sky, Constantine's vision of, 15; physical explanations of, *ib.* and *notes*; testimony

CRUSADES.

- of suspicious, 17 and *notes*; discovery (or *invention*) of, 156; not diminished by gifts of pieces, 157; Lord Mahon's history of, *ib.* *note* M.; exaltation of the, origin of that festival, v. 414; sign of adopted by the crusaders, vii. 183 and *note*.
- CROWNS, mural and obsidional, distinguished, iii. 200, *note*; musical, first extorted by Nero, viii. 227, *note*.
- CROWN of thorns, pledged to the Venetians by the barons of Romania, vii. 341; transferred to Paris, 342; miracles performed by, *ib.*
- CRUCIFIXION, how regarded by the Romans, iii. 11; that punishment abolished by Constantine, *ib.*
- CRUSADES, first, determined on at the council of Clermont, vii. 183; inquiry into the justice of, 184; original historians and documents of, *ib.* *note* and *note* M.; Gibbon's remarks on examined, 185, *note* M.; spiritual motives and indulgences, 186; serving in equivalent to a plenary indulgence, 188; temporal and carnal motives, 189; departure of the first crusaders, 191; led by a goose and goat, 192; Gibbon's account corrected, 189, *note* M.; destruction of the first crusaders in Hungary and Asia, 193; table of events of the first, 195; account of the leaders of, 196; march of the princes, 202; review and number of the crusaders, 209; their cannibalism, 210 and 211, *note*; besiege Nice, 211; gain the battle of Dorylæum, 213; march through Anatolia, 214; take Antioch, 217; defeat the Turks under Kerboga at, 218; famine and distress, 219; march to Jerusalem, 224; capture and sack the city, 227; defeat the caliph of Egypt at Ascalon, 229; second and third crusades, 239; numbers, leaders, and march of the second, 240 and *note* M.; of the third, 241; ill treatment by the Greek emperors, 242; march of the second crusade through Anatolia, 244 and *note*; result of the second crusade, 245; obstinate enthusiasm of the crusaders, 246; third crusade, 260; fourth and fifth, 268; multiplication of, *ib.*; sixth, 271; seventh, 274; account of the fourth crusade, 288; its leaders form an alliance with the Venetians, 292;

CRUITNICH.

- besiege Zara, 295; dissensions among respecting an attack on Constantinople, 297; voyage from Zara to Constantinople, 298; passage of the Bosphorus, 301; siege and conquest of Constantinople, 303; stay at that city, 306; second siege and capture of, 310; division of the spoil, 314 and *note S.*; sacrilege and mockery, 316; destroy the Greek statues, 317; divide the Eastern empire, 320 and 322; elect Baldwin emperor, 321; reflections on the general consequences of the crusades, 346; checked the progress of Europe, 349.
- CRUITNICH, etymology and meaning of that epithet, iii. 266.
- CTESIPHON, i. 341; taken by Severus, 340; royal residence, *ib.*; described, iii. 201; siege of abandoned by Julian, 205 (*v. Madayn*).
- CUBLAI, Khan of the Mongols, conquers China, viii. 10, 11; character and reign, 18.
- CUDWORTH, hypercosmian soul of exploded, iii. 47, *note*.
- CUFA, tomb of Ali at, vi. 277 and *notes*; pilgrimage of the Persians to, *ib.*; foundation of, 295; etymology of its name, 296 and *note S.*
- CUMANS, Turkish tribe, vii. 79 *note*, and *note S.*
- CUNIMUND, king of the Gepidæ, refuses Alboin his daughter Rosamond, v. 333; defeated and slain by the Lombards and Avars, 334; his skull made into a cup, *ib.* and *note*.
- CURATOR, office of under the Roman law, v. 302 and *note S.*
- CURDS, descendants of the Carduchians, ii. 87; tribes of the described, vii. 253; probably identical with the Carduchians, 254 and *note*.
- CURLAND, holy groves of, vii. 84 and *note*.
- CUROPALATA, office of, vii. 19.
- CURUBIS, town of, ii. 248, *note*.
- CUTULMISH, grandson of Seljuk, slain by Alp Arslan, vii. 168.
- CYANEAN rocks, ii. 288.
- CYBELE, Julian's oration in honour of, iii. 139.
- CYNEGIUS, prætorian præfect of the East, commissioned by Theodosius to close the pagan temples, iii. 414.
- CYPRIAN, bishop of Carthage, character

CZAR.

- of, ii. 195; opposes the ambition of the Roman pontiff, 196; imperious declamations of, 203; account of, 246, *sqq.*; his letters, *ib. note*; danger and flight, 247; banished to Curubis, 248; condemned, 249; his motive for concealing himself, *ib. note G.*; martyrdom, 250; whether the first martyr in Africa, *ib. note G.*
- CYPRUS, massacre committed at by the Jews, ii. 222 and *note*; conquered by Harun al Rashid, vi. 406; recovered by Nicephorus Phocas, 428; bestowed by Richard I. on Guy de Lusignan, vii. 286.
- CYRENE, i. 161; massacre at by the Jews, ii. 222 and *note*; a Lacedæmonian colony, iii. 36, *notes*; ruins of, *ib.*; Greek colonies of, extirpated by Chosroes II., v. 393.
- CYBLADES, elected emperor at the command of Sapor, i. 404.
- CYRILIAUS of Ancona, forgery of, ii. 237, *note*.
- CYRIL of Alexandria, answers Julian's work against Christianity, iii. 145 and *note*; account of, vi. 11; his tyranny, 12; opposition to Orestes, the præfect, 13; murders Hypatia, 14; condemns the heresy of Nestorius, 17; attends the council of Ephesus, 18; procures the condemnation of Nestorius, 19; condemned and degraded by the oriental bishops, 20; intrigues at Constantinople and victory over Nestorius, 21; death, 24.
- CYRIL of Jerusalem, his surprising ignorance of the story of the Labarum, iii. 66, *note*; his description of a celestial cross, 67; convenient easiness of his principles, 157 and *note*.
- CYRUS, prætorian præfect of the East, disgraced, iv. 165.
- CYRUS the patriarch, præfect of Egypt under Heraclius, his plan for converting the caliph Omar, vi. 333, *note*.
- CYRUS, river, course of, v. 194.
- CYZICUS, threatened by the Goths, i. 399; taken, *ib.*; seized by the usurper Procopius, iii. 240.
- CZAR, Russian, singular way of marrying, vi. 93.

DACIA.

D.

DACIA, conquered by Trajan, i. 142; boundaries, *ib.*; described, 152; invaded by the Goths, 381; relinquished to the Goths by Aurelian, ii. 12; Dacia Aureliani, *ib.* note S.; and Macedonia added to the Eastern empire by Gratian, iii. 343.

DACIANS, character, i. 142.

DADASTANA, death of Jovian at, iii. 231.

DEMONS identified by the primitive Christians with the pagan gods, ii. 165.

DAGALAPHUS, his bold and candid advice to Valentinian, iii. 236; refuses the command against the Alemanni, 258.

DAGISTEUS, general of Justinian, besieges Petra, v. 201; commands the Huns in Italy under Narses, 231.

DAGOBERT, king of the Franks, publishes the Salic laws, iv. 365.

DAHES and **GABRAH**, war of, vi. 207, *note*.

DAIMBERT, or **DAGOBERT**, archbishop of Pisa, installed patriarch of Jerusalem, vii. 229 and *note* M.; his arrogance and pretensions, *ib.*

DALMATIA described, i. 158; conquest of, 248.

DALMATIAN legionaries sacrificed by the folly of Olympius, iv. 95.

DALMATIUS the censor, brother of Constantine, ii. 348.

DALMATIUS, nephew of Constantine, education, ii. 356; appointed to the Gothic frontier, 357; excluded from the empire by the troops, 364; character, *ib.* note; massacred by Constantius, 365.

DALMATIUS the abbot, assists the cause of Cyril of Alexandria, vi. 21.

DAMASCUS, throne of the caliphs transferred to, vi. 284; besieged by the Saracens, 304; antiquity of, *ib.* note; figs of, *ib.*; surrendered to Abu Obeidah, 310; and also stormed by Caled, *ib.*; flight of the exiles of, and pursuit by Caled, 312; historical value of that story, 313 note S.; recaptured by the sultan Noureddin, vii. 250 and *note* M.; perfidiously seized and burnt by Timour, viii. 53.

DAMASCUS, when made bishop of Rome,

DARDANUS.

ii. 277, *note*; edict of Valentinian I. addressed to, iii. 253; his ambition and luxury, 255; contest with Ursinus, *ib.*

DAMES, a Saracen, gallant exploit in taking the castle of Aleppo, vi. 323.

DAMIETTA, taken by the crusaders under Louis IX., vii. 272.

DAMOPHILUS, archbishop of Constantinople, resigns his see rather than subscribe the Nicene creed, iii. 368.

DANCERS, female, numbers of at Rome, iv. 87 and *note*.

DANDOLO, Henry, doge of Venice, character, vii. 292; longevity, *ib.* note; blindness, *ib.* and *note* M.; treaty with the French crusaders, 293; persuades them to attack the revolted cities of Dalmatia, 295; adopts the cause of Alexius son of Isaac Angelus, 296; suspected of a bribe from Malek Adel, 297 note S.; magnanimity at the siege of Constantinople, 304; declines to compete for the imperial crown, 321; proclaimed despot of Romania, 323; death, 332.

DANES, invade Britain, iv. 389.

DANIEL, prophecy of, applied to Rome by St. Jerom, iv. 403, *note*.

DANIEL, first bishop of Winchester, epistle to St. Boniface respecting the conversion of infidels, iv. 325.

DANIELIS, her gifts to the emperor Basil, vii. 11; her journey to Constantinople, 17; testament, *ib.*

DANUBE, course, i. 158; provinces on, *ib.*; freezing of, 351 and *note* M.; and Rhine, junction of by Charlemagne, vi. 175 and *note*.

DAPHNE, sacred grove and temple near Antioch described, iii. 167; prophetic powers of its Castalian stream, *ib.* and *note*; its sensuality proverbial, 168 and *note*; Julian's visit to, 168; its conversion into a Christian cemetery, 169; bodies removed by order of Julian, *ib.*; temple at, burnt, *ib.*

DARA, founded by the emperor Anastasius, as a bulwark against the Persians, v. 86; improved by Justinian, *ib.*; its defences described, 87; ruins of, *ib.* note M.; taken by Nushirvan, 365.

DARDANIANS, site of the, ii. 68, *note*.

DARDANUS, praetorian prefect in Gaul, alone opposes Jovinus, iv. 122; character, *ib.* note.

DARGHAM.

DARGHAM, Egyptian faction of, under the Fatimite caliphs, vii. 251; slain, *ib.*
DARIUS, columns of, on the Bosphorus, ii. 289, *note.*
DARIUS, officer of Valentinian III., embassy of, to the revolted count Boniface in Africa, iv. 180.
DARKNESS during the crucifixion, not mentioned by heathen philosophers and historians, ii. 219.
DASTAGERD, or **ARTEMITA**, residence of Chosroes II., v. 394 and *note M.*; taken and plundered by Heraclius, 409; site of, *ib.* *note S.*
DARTS, poisoned, of the Sarmatians and others, ii. 358 and *note.*
DATIANUS, governor of Spain, persecutes the Christians, ii. 275.
DATIUS, bishop of Milan, aids the revolt of the Ligurians to Justinian, v. 147; escapes to Constantinople at the capture of Milan by the Burgundians, 151.
DEAD, how disposed of by the Persians, v. 200, *note.*
DEBTORS, state, how treated among the Romans, ii. 342; insolvent, cruel treatment of, v. 317.
DECEBALUS, king of Dacia, i. 142.
DECEMVIRS, laws of the, v. 261 and *notes*, 267, 316.
DECENNOVIUM, canal, v. 134, *note.*
DECENTIUS, brother of Magnentius, expelled from Trèves, ii. 334; suicide, 385.
DECIMUS, battle of, between Belisarius and Gelimer, v. 109.
DECIUS elected by the Mesian legions, i. 374; origin, *ib.* *note*; marches against the Goths, *ib.*; Gothic war, 382; defeated, 383; successes, *ib.*; revives the censorship, *ib.*; defeat and death, 385; persecution of the Christians by, ii. 246, 247, 260; prevents the election of a bishop of Rome, *ib.*
DECRETALS, false, probably forged by Isidore, vi. 161.
DECUMATES, what settlers so called, ii. 46, *note.*
DECURIONS, or **CURIALES**, ii. 335; their position and functions, *ib.* *note S.*
DEFENSORES, or advocates of the people, instituted by Valentinian I., iii. 248; office of, revived by Majorian, iv. 269; account of, *ib.* *note S.*
DEFICATION of the emperors, i. 207; VOL. VIII.

DIAMONDS.

not confined to good princes, *ib.* *note W.*
DELATORS encouraged by Cominodus, i. 225; punished by Pertinax, 237.
DELHI taken by Timour, viii. 47.
DELPHI, ornaments of the temple removed to Constantinople by Constantine, ii. 298, *note.*
DELPHICUM, name for a royal banquetting-room, v. 110, *note.*
DEMETRIAS, the celebrated virgin, escapes from the sack of Rome, iv. 107.
DEMETRIUS, despot of Epirus, vii. 343.
DEMETRIUS, brother of John II., Palæologus, refuses his assent to the union of the Greek and Latin churches, viii. 102.
DEMOCRACY, unfavourable to freedom in large states, i. 171.
DEMOSTHENES, his heroic defence of Cæsarea, i. 405.
DEMOTICA, city of, vii. 324 and *note.*
DENGISICH, son of Attila, slain, iv. 248; Turkish etymology of his name, *ib.* *note S.*
DEOGRATIAs, bishop of Carthage, his charity towards the captive Romans, iv. 258.
DE PAUW, literary character, ii. 47, *note M.*
DERAR, friend of the Saracen general Caled, his adventurous valour, vi. 306.
DERBEND, called the Caspian or Albanian gates, v. 87.
DERVISHES, or Mahometan monks, increase of, viii. 126.
DESIDERIUS, last king of the Lombards, reduced by Charlemagne, vi. 156.
DESPOT, a title under the Greek empire, vii. 18.
DESPOTISM, of the Byzantine emperors, its nature and limits, vii. 26.
DEVONSHIRE, Courtenays, earls of, vii. 354.
DEXIPPUS attacks the Gothic fleet, i. 400.
DEXIPPUS, fragments of his work recovered, iii. 152, *note M.*
D'HERBELOT, character of his 'Bibliothèque Orientale,' vi. 290 and *note.*
DIADEM, assumed by Diocletian, ii. 94; described, *ib.*
DIADUMENIANUS, son of Macrinus, Cæsar, i. 275; death, 279.
DIAMONDS, whence procured, i. 192,

DIARBEKIR.

- note*; art of cutting, unknown to the ancients, 298, *note*.
- DIARBEKIR, the ancient Amida, ii. 407; or Tigranocerta, *ib. note M*.
- D'IBELIN, John, restores the Assize of Jerusalem, vii. 233; account of, *ib. notes*.
- DICANICE, or imperial Greek sceptre, vii. 367, *note*.
- DIET, German, election of the kings of Italy and Rome vested in, vi. 179.
- DIGEST: *v. Pandects*.
- DILEMITES, assist the Persians in the Lazic war, v. 202.
- DINAR, gold Arabian coin, account of, vi. 377, *note*.
- DIOCESES, formation of, ii. 193, *note G*; civil, of the empire, 313.
- DIOCLETIAN, his remark on Aurelian, ii. 32; general of Probus, 44; elected emperor, 62; stabs Arrius Aper, 63; defeats Carinus at Margus, *ib.*; origin, character, and elevation, 64; resembled Augustus in policy, 65; clemency, *ib.*; took M. Antoninus as his model, 66; associates Maximian, *ib.*; takes the title of Jovius, 67; associates Galerius and Constantius as Cæsars, *ib.*; fourfold division of the empire under, 68; laws whence dated, *ib. note M*.; defence of the frontiers, 73; cautious policy, 74; distributes the vanquished barbarians in the provinces, 75; campaign in Egypt, 76; takes Alexandria, *ib.*; destroys Busiris and Coptos, *ib.*; treaty with the Nobatæ, 77; suppresses alchymy, *ib.*; directs the Persian war, 82; triumph, 89; fixes his residence at Nicomedia, 91; assumes the diadem, 94; political system, 95; his edict, 97, *notes M. and S.*; abdication, 98; illness, *ib.*; retirement at Salona, 100; answer to Maximian, *ib.*; death, 101; baths at Rome, 113; his treatment of the Christians, 264; conversion of his wife and daughter, *ib.*; persuaded by Galerius to persecute, 268; rigorous edict against the Christians, 269; his palace burnt, 271; execution of his first edict, 272; further edicts against, 274.
- DIOGENES, leader of the Chersonites, ii. 361.
- DIOGENES defends Rome against Totila, v. 227.
- DION CASSIUS, object of his work, i.

DOCETES.

- 262, *note*; his danger, 291; consul with Al. Severus, *ib.*; Gibbon's error as to his estates, *ib. note W.*; retires to Nice, *ib.*; probable design of the oration he ascribes to Mæcenas, ii. 259, *note*.
- DIONYSIUS, testimony to the paucity of the Alexandrian martyrs, ii. 246.
- DIONYSIUS, poetical geographer, age of, vi. 315, *note* and *note S*.
- DIOPHANTUS of Alexandria, inventor of algebra, vi. 401.
- DIOSCORUS, patriarch of Alexandria, supports the cause of Eutyches, vi. 27; his violence against Flavian, 26; deposed by the council of Chalcedon and banished, 28.
- DIRAN, king of Armenia, account of, ii. 369, *note M*.
- DISABUL, khan of the Turks, Justinian's embassy to, v. 179; purification of the ambassadors, *ib.* and *note M*.
- DISCIPLINE, Roman military, i. 146 *sq.*; restored by Augustus, 211; relaxed by Severus, 259; by Caracalla, 272; decline of under Constantine, ii. 321; under Theodosius, iii. 404; the infantry lay aside their defensive armour, 405.
- DISCIPLINE, ecclesiastical, variety of in the Greek and Latin churches, vii. 279.
- DISPARGUM, residence of Clodion, site of, iv. 227 and *note*.
- DITCHE, battle of the, vi. 250.
- DIVA GENS (or DIVORUM REGIO), eastern coast of India so called by the Romans, iii. 180, *note M*.
- DIVINATION, suppressed by Constantine, iii. 97.
- DIVINE right of princes, iii. 8; exemplified in Jewish history, *ib.*; attributed to Constantine by the Christians, 9.
- DIVINITY, titles of usurped by Diocletian and Maximian, ii. 94.
- DIVORCE, law of among the Romans, v. 296; facilities of, 297; limited, *ib. sq.*
- DJAFAR, the Barmecide, Harun al Rashid's fondness for, vi. 405, *note S.*; cause of his execution, *ib.*
- DNIESTER, boundary of the Roman empire, i. 381.
- DOCETES, Gnostic sect, creed of explained, iii. 48; tinged with Platonism, *ib.*; believed Christ's body was

DOCLES.

- a phantasma, 49; derivation of their name, *ib. note*; phantastic doctrine, vi. 5.
- DOCLES, probable original name of Diocletian, ii. 64, *note*.
- DOCLIA, birthplace of Diocletian, ii. 64, *note*.
- DODONA, site of, v. 228 and *note S*.
- DOGE OF VENICE, institution of, vii. 290.
- DOMESTICS, military of Constantine described, ii. 330.
- DOMESTIC, GREAT, his office under the Byzantine emperors, vii. 20.
- DOMINIC, ST., of the Iron Cuirass, account of, vii. 187 and *note*.
- DOMINUS, title of the emperor, assumption of, ii. 93; its origin and progress among the Romans, iii. 130 and *note*.
- DOMITIAN, emperor, i. 140; assassinated, 211; characterized, 218; persecutes the Christians under the name of Jews, ii. 239; executes his own kinsmen, *ib.*; his acts rescinded, 240.
- DOMITIAN, Oriental præfect, commissioned to reform the administration of Gallus, ii. 390 and *notes*; his insolence, 391; arrested and put to death, *ib.*
- DOMITILLA, niece of Domitian, and wife of Flavius Clemens, banished, ii. 239; considered by the church as one of the first martyrs, *ib.*
- DONATISTS, schism of the, iii. 44; their extravagant and uncharitable pretensions, *ib.*; their divisions, 45; of Africa, persecution of by Honorius, iv. 179; join the invader Genseric, 180.
- DONATIVES to the Prætorians, origin, i. 242; amount, 243, *note*.
- DONATUS, contest with Cæcilian for the see of Carthage, iii. 43.
- DORIA, Genoese admiral, defeats the Greek and Venetian fleets, vii. 411.
- DORYLÆUM, battle of, between the Crusaders and Turks, vii. 213.
- DOXOLOGY, differently chanted by Arians and Catholics, iii. 88; three heterodox forms, *ib. note*.
- DRAGOMAN, officer of the Byzantine court, vii. 19.
- DRAGON, visitor-general of the monks under Constantine V. so named, vi. 144.

EASTER.

- DROGO, brother of duke William of Apulia, assassinated, vii. 108.
- DROMEDARY, fleetness, ii. 25, *note*.
- DROMONES, or Byzantine galleys, described, vii. 28.
- DRUIDS of Gaul, i. 140; their power suppressed, 169.
- DRUNGAIRE, GREAT, officer of the Byzantine fleet, vii. 20.
- DRUSES, or followers of Hakem, religion of, vii. 174 and *note M*.
- DUBOS, ABBÉ, remark respecting Otho, ii. 319, *note*; his account of the degeneracy of the Romans, viii. 186, *note*.
- DUCAS, *ø*. Constantine XI.
- DUCAT, origin of the name, viii. 94, *note*.
- DUCENARIUS, what, ii. 262, *note*.
- DUELS condemned by the Lombard king Liutprand, v. 355.
- DUKES, title and functions of, ii. 320; of Italy, instituted by Narses, v. 241 and *note*.
- DUMATIANS, Arabian tribe, human sacrifices of, vi. 213.
- DUNAAN, prince of the Homerites, persecutes the Christians, v. 207; chastised by the Negus of Abyssinia, *ib.*
- DURA ON THE TIGRIS, account of, iii. 218 and *note S*; treaty of between Jovian and Sapor, 219; a memorable æra in the decline of the empire, 225.
- DURAZZO, siege of by Robert Guiscard, vii. 121; battle of between the Normans and Greeks, 124; city taken, 126.
- DYING, art of among the ancients, v. 56 and *note*.

E.

- EAGLE, standard, how regarded by the Roman soldiery, i. 147 and *note*; 269, *note*.
- EARTHQUAKES, violent, under Valentinian and Valens, iii. 293; destructive one at Constantinople, iv. 201; several during the reign of Justinian, v. 251.
- EAST, empire of finally established under Arcadius, iv. 136; limits, 137; form of government, *ib.*
- EASTER, disputes respecting the keeping of, vi. 37 and *note*.

EBERMOR.

- EBERMOR, son-in-law of Theodatus, deserts to the Romans, v. 132.
- EBIONITES, account of the, ii. 160; etymology of the name, *ib. notes*; their imperfect creed, iii. 48; their notion of the Messiah, vi. 2 and *note M*.
- ECBATANA, summer residence of the Persian kings, i. 342.
- ECCLESIASTES of Solomon, objections to its genuineness, v. 119, *note*; Rosenmüller's opinion as to its date, *ib. note M*.
- ECCLESIASTICS, Greek, subject to the civil magistrate, vii. 27.
- EDICIVS, præfect of Egypt, hesitates to expel Athanasius, iii. 176; Julian's letter to, *ib.*
- EDICIVS, son of Avitus, brave defence of Clermont against the Visigoths, iv. 287.
- ECBOLUS, paramour of Theodora, v. 43.
- ECKHEL, M., his 'Doctrina Numorum,' i. 391, *note G*.
- ECLLECTUS conspires against Commodus, i. 233.
- ELOGA, or Legal Manual of Leo the Isaurian, account of, vii. 44, *note S*.
- ECTHESIS, of the emperor Heraclius, imposing the law of religious silence, vi. 42.
- EDDA, doctrine of drunkenness, i. 366 and *note*; account of, 376.
- EDSCO, lieutenant of Roderic the Goth, defeated by the Arabs, vi. 356.
- EDECON, father of Odoacer, ambassador from Attila to Theodosius the Younger, iv. 209; reveals to Attila the plot for his assassination, 217; further history of, 297; death, *ib.*
- EDDESSA described, i. 342; its pure dialect, *ib. note*; battle of, 403; Christianized, ii. 214; church of, oppressed by Julian, iii. 173; Christian school of, vi. 47; famous picture of Christ at, 137; captured by the Arabs with that city, 139; yielded to the Constantinopolitans for a large ransom, *ib.*; principality of founded by Baldwin, count of Flanders, vii. 215 and *note S*; retaken by the sultan Zenghi, 250; counts of, 350.
- ENICET, Diocletian's, account of, ii. 97, *notes M* and *S*; of Milan, Constantine's famous, iii. 5; of the prætors, v. 265, *sqq.*; perpetual of Hadrian, 267.

ELAGABALUS.

- EDOBIO, general of the usurper Constantine, defeated by Constantius, iv. 121.
- EDOM, Roman empire, why so called by the Jews, ii. 223 *note*.
- EDRISITES, Saracen dynasty of, vi. 420, 421, *note*.
- EDWARD I. of England, expedition to the Holy Land, and attempted assassination, vii. 275 and *notes M*.
- EGBERT, Anglo-Saxon king, his correspondence with Charlemagne, vi. 176, *note*.
- EGINEARD, his marriage with Imma, daughter of Charlemagne, vi. 170, *note*.
- EGREGIUS, title of, ii. 305, *note*.
- EGYPT, province described, i. 161; population, 187, *note*; revenue, 296; works of Probus in, ii. 51; Christianity rare in before the conversion of Constantine, 210; Augustal præfect of, 314; kings of also priests, iii. 27 *note*; multitude of monks in, iv. 308; early civilization and extraordinary fertility, v. 55; chronology of, *ib.* and *note M*; conquered by Chosroes II., 393; invaded by the Saracens under Amrou, vi. 329; Amrou's description of, 340; ancient population, 341 and *note S*; revenue, *ib.*; modern population, 342; conquered by Shiracouh, emir of the Turkish sultan Noureddin, vii. 253.
- EGYPTIAN worship prohibited at Rome, i. 169.
- EGYPTIANS, how regarded by the Romans, i. 175; their character, ii. 76; their secrecy proof against torture, iii. 85.
- ELAGABALUS, names and genealogy, i. 278 and *notes S*; high priest of the Sun, *ib.*; assumes the name of Antoninus, *ib.*; unwonted bravery, 279; declared emperor, *ib.*; letter to the senate, 280; picture, *ib.*; etymology of his name, *ib. note*, and 281 *note S*; superstition, 281; introduces the worship of the Sun at Rome, *ib.*; profligacy and effeminacy, 282; attempts to degrade Al. Severus, 284; murdered by the Prætorians, *ib.*; chronology, 284, *note*, and 285, *note G*; caused his mother to sign the acts of the senate, 286; first man who used silk garments, v. 58.

ELEANORA.

- ELEANORA**, wife of Edward I., devotion of, vii. 275, *note* M.
- ELECTORS** of Germany, vi. 191.
- ELEPHANTINE**, annual sacrifice at, ii. 77; abolished by Theodosius, *ib.* *note* M.
- ELPHANT**, era of the, vi. 217.
- ELEPHANTS**, use of by the Romans, i. 250 and *note* M.; numbers of in the wars of eastern princes, 344, *note*; why exhibited in the circus during the Punic war, ii. 59.
- ELEUSINIAN** mysteries, Julian initiated in, iii. 142; tolerated by Valentinian I., 249; extinguished by the invasion of the Goths, *ib.* *note* S.
- ELEUSIS**, destroyed by Alaric, iv. 27.
- ELLAHS** of Mosul, Nestorian sect of the, vi. 51.
- ELIXIR** of health, search of the Arabians after, vi. 403.
- ELOQUENCE**, effects of, iii. 37.
- ELLAC**, son of Attila, slain in the battle of the Netad, iv. 248.
- EMBROIDERY**, use of on the dresses of the later Romans, iv. 78 and *note*.
- EMESA**, worship of the sun at, i. 280; battle of between Aurelian and Zenobia, ii. 23; city described, vi. 315.
- EMIGRATION** of the ancient Germans, its causes and nature, i. 358.
- EMIR** of Saragossa implores the protection of Charlemagne, vi. 173.
- EMIRS**, Arabian, dignity and succession of, vi. 204.
- EMIR AL OMRA**, or Alumara, creation of that office, vi. 423, *note*, and *note* S.
- EMPERORS**, Roman, way of living, i. 206; how elected, 211; successors how appointed, 212; extremes in the characters of, 217; three, 265; their conduct towards the Christians examined, ii. 230; exercised supreme jurisdiction over the church, iii. 26; distinction of their spiritual and temporal powers, *ib.*; superiority exacted by the bishops, *ib.*; first seven Christian assumed the office of Pontifex Maximus, 99 and 408; public harangues of, 132 and *note*; meaning of the words 'legibus solutus' as applied to, v. 269 and *note* S.; legislative power of, 269 and 270, *note* S.; re-scripts of, 270; subscribed in purple ink, 271; of Constantinople, their pomp and luxury, vii. 14; adoration

EPAGATHUS.

- of, 20; of the West, French and German, ceremony of their coronation at Rome, viii. 187; jurisdiction in that city, 188.
- EMPIRE**, Roman, auction of the, i. 244; treaty of Dura, a memorable æra in the decline of the, iii. 225; how distributed between Theodosius, Maximus, and Valentinian II., 362; the decay of military discipline under Theodosius and disuse of armour an immediate cause of its downfall, 405; how divided between Arcadius and Honorius, iv. 1, *sq.*; extinction of the Western Empire, 299; date of that event, 300, *note*; decay of Roman spirit, 301; picture of at the fall of the Western Empire, 401; observations on that event, 402, *sqq.*; regular force of under Justinian, v. 164.
- EMPIRE**, Western, revival of under Charlemagne, vi. 168; extent of, 173; made hereditary by Charlemagne, 177; divided among the sons of Lewis the Pious, 178; anarchy of between the deposition of Lewis the Fat and accession of Otho, *ib.*
- EMPIRE**, Greek, its military force compared with that of the Saracens and Franks, vii. 27; its navy, 28; soldiers of, their arms and tactics, 30; subjects of claimed the name of Romans, 38; literature of, 39; decay of taste and original genius, 42; want of national emulation, 43; account of the sources of the Byzantine law, 44, *note* S.; partition of between the French and Venetians, 320, 322; fall of, viii. 172.
- ENGLAND**, description of by Chalcocondyles the Greek historian, viii. 88; as one of the five great nations votes by its deputies in the council of Constance for the election of a pope, 256 and *note*.
- ENNODIUS**, panegyric of Theodoric, v. 11, *note*; made bishop of Pavia, *ib.*
- ENOCH**, book of, vi. 225, *notes*.
- ENTERTAINMENTS**, Roman described, iv. 81.
- ENTRALS**, inspection of unknown to Homer's heroes, iii. 413, *note*; observed by the Greeks as early as the Persian wars, 414, *note* S.
- EPAGATHUS**, mutiny of and punishment, i. 290.

EPHESUS.

- EPHESUS, temple of described, i. 401; burnt by the Goths, *ib.*; first council of, vi. 18; violent scenes at, 20; second council of, 25; ruined by the Turks, viii. 24.
- EPICUREANS and sceptics, denounced by Julian, iii. 150.
- EPICURUS, Gibbon's mistake concerning his devotion corrected, i. 168, *note* S.; prevalence of his philosophy, 197; bequeathed his gardens to his disciples, v. 91.
- EPIPHANIUS, his description of Arius, iii. 53.
- EPIPHANIUS, bishop of Pavia, embassy from Ricimer to Anthemius, iv. 291.
- EPIRUS, despots of, vii. 327.
- EPISCOPAL government, introduction and advantages of, ii. 192; universally established after the first century, *ib. note*; its dignity and inflexibility, 203.
- EPULONES, their functions, iii. 407.
- EQUESTRIAN order, position under the empire, i. 150; account of, *ib. note* S.
- EQUITIUS, master-general of the Illyrian frontier, defeated by the Sarmatians, iii. 288; procures the election of Valentinian II., 291.
- ERASMUS, his character of Hilary, iii. 58, *note*; the father of rational theology, vii. 61, *note*; learned Greek at Oxford, and taught it at Cambridge, viii. 117, *note*.
- ERDAVIRAFH, his trance, i. 333.
- ERIXO, paternal cruelty of, v. 293.
- EROS and ANTEROS, fable of, iii. 142, *note*.
- ERFENIUS, his merits as an Arabic scholar, vi. 294, *note* S.
- ESSENIANS, community of goods among the, ii. 197; sect of described, 209.
- ESLAW, ambassador of Attila, severely reproves Theodosius the Younger for assenting to the murder of his sovereign, iv. 217.
- ESTATES, Roman, how managed, iv. 75.
- ESTE, house of, genealogy, vii. 119, *note*.
- ESTIUS, his limitation of Omnipotence, iii. 60, *note*.
- ETRUSCANS, i. 157.
- EUCHARIST, differences of the Reformers respecting the, vii. 59.
- EUCHERIUS, son of Stilicho, executed, iv. 62.

EUGUBINE TABLES.

- EUCHROCIA, widow of the orator Delphidius, put to death for Priscillianism, iii. 374.
- Eudes, duke of Aquitain, defeats at Toulouse the Saracens under Zama, vi. 385; defeated by Abderame, 387; recovers his dominions, 389.
- EUDOCIA, consort of Theodosius the Younger, her character, iv. 164; literary works, 165; pilgrimage to Jerusalem, *ib.*; disgraced, *ib.*; exile and death, 166.
- EUDOCIA, widow of Constantine XII., marries Romanus Diogenes, vi. 114; her learning, vii. 41.
- EUDOCIA, niece of Manuel Comnenus, becomes the concubine of Andronicus, vi. 123.
- EUDOCIA, daughter of Valentinian III., married to Hunneric, son of Genseric, iv. 277.
- EUDOCIA, or EPIPHANIA, daughter of Heraclius, betrothed to Ziebel, prince of the Chozars, v. 407.
- EUDOCIA of Damascus, her scorn for her apostate lover Jonas and tragical death, vi. 312.
- EUDOXIA, daughter of the Frankish general Bauto, married to Arcadius, iv. 8; persuades him to condemn Eutropius, 146; persecutes Chrysostom, 154; solicits his restoration, 155; procures his banishment, 156; licentiousness, 158; death, *ib.*
- EUDOXIA, daughter of Theodosius the Younger and Athenais, marries Valentinian III., iv. 174; compulsory marriage with Petronius Maximus, 255; invites Genseric into Italy, *ib.*; he carries her captive to Carthage, 258; restored, 277.
- EUDOXUS, Arian bishop of Constantinople, baptizes Valens, iii. 250.
- EUGENIUS, the rhetorician, created emperor by Arbogastes, iii. 398; defeat and death, 402.
- EUGENIUS IV., pope, his contest with the council of Basil, viii. 93; submission, *ib.*; dexterous negotiations with the Greek emperor, 95; deposed at Basil, 103; forms a league against the Turks, 128; expelled by an insurrection of the Romans, 257.
- EUGENIUS, chamberlain and paramour of the princess Honoria, iv. 229.
- EUGUBINE TABLES, discovery of, v. 260, *note*; dialect of the inscriptions, *ib.*

EULOGIA.

- and *note S.*; best works on the interpretation of, *ib.*
- EULOGIA, sister of Michael Palæologus, conspires against him, vii. 375.
- EULOGIUS, patriarch of Alexandria, his learning, vi. 60.
- EUMENIUS, the orator, account of, ii. 104, *note.*
- EUNAPIUS, character of his history of the Sophists, iii. 139, *note*, 142, *note*; passage of on the introduction of the worship of martyrs, 426.
- EUNOMIANS, disqualified by Theodosius from making or receiving bequests, iii. 373.
- EUNOMIUS, disciple of Aëtius, iii. 60.
- EUNUCHS, use and value of, i. 299; expelled from Gordian's palace, 325; increased use of, ii. 95; power of the, under the sons of Constantine, 386; origin and progress of that race, *ib.*; high antiquity, *ib. note*; character of, 387 and *notes*; natural enemies of the *Son*, according to Athanasius, iii. 66, *note*; conspiracy of, against Rufinus, iv. 7; govern Arcadius, 138.
- EUPHEMIA, daughter of Marcian, marries Anthemius, iv. 280.
- EUPHEMIA, ST., church of, at Chalcedon, vi. 27.
- EUPHEMIUS incites the Saracens to invade Sicily, vi. 408; slain, *ib.*
- EUPHRATES, three passages of, iii. 188, *note*; extent of its navigation, 207; ancient course of, 194, *note.*
- EUPHROSYNE, daughter of Constantine VI., marries the emperor Michael II., vi. 91.
- EUPHROSYNE, wife of Alexius Angelus, vii. 287.
- EURIC, assassinates his brother Theodoric II., and becomes king of the Visigoths, iv. 287; conquers in Spain and Gaul, *ib.*; religious persecution, 328; receives from Odoacer all the Roman conquests beyond the Alps, 345; his power, *ib.*; first Gothic prince who compiled written laws, 365.
- EURIPIDES, his 'Iphigenia in Tauris,' i. 395.
- EUROPE, population, i. 180, *note*; alteration of its climate, 350; ravaged by the Huns, iv. 200; reflections on the present state of, 405.
- EUSEBIA, wife of Constantius II., her beauty and merit, ii. 394; patron-

EUTROPIUS.

- izes Julian, *ib.*; procures him the government of Gaul, 396; charged with procuring the abortion of Helena, 398.
- EUSEBIUS of Cæsarea, his character as a man and as an historian, ii. 281 and *note*, and 285, *note M.*; artful narrative respecting the martyrs, 284, *note*; passes over the deaths of Crispus and Licinius, 353; account of Constantine's conversion, iii. 2; of the cross in the sky, and Constantine's subsequent vision, 16; this not mentioned in his Ecclesiastical History, *ib. note*; admits the Homousion, 64; his ambiguous orthodoxy, *ib. note*; his conduct of the council of Tyre, 72.
- EUSEBIUS of Nicomedia, Arian letter of respecting the Homousion, iii. 56; exiled, 64; recalled, 65; baptizes Constantine, *ib.*; tutor to Julian, 136.
- EUSEBIUS, the eunuch, his power over Constantius II., ii. 387; appointed to interrogate Gallus, 393; attempts to elect another emperor instead of Julian, iii. 120; executed, 127.
- EUSEBIUS, eunuch and chamberlain of Honorius, assassinated in his presence, iv. 96.
- EUSTATHIUS of Cappadocia, embassy to Sapor, ii. 405, *note*; eloquence, *ib.*
- EUSTATHIUS, bishop of Antioch, banished by Constantine, iii. 65.
- EUSTATHIUS, archbishop of Thessalonica, and commentator of Homer, refuses to desert his flock at the siege of that city, vii. 141, *note.*
- EUTHALITES or Nephthalites, tribe of Huns (properly Ephthalites), iii. 312 and *note S.*
- EUTHARIC, marriage to Amalasontha, and death, v. 126.
- EUTROPIA, sister of Constantine, ii. 350.
- EUTROPIUS, father of Constantius, ii. 67.
- EUTROPIUS, the eunuch, undermines the power of Rufinus, iv. 7; acquires an ascendancy over Arcadius, 14; his power, 138; becomes a magistrate and general, *ib.*; history of, 139 and *note*; statues to, *ib.*; made patrician and consul, *ib.*; his avarice and venality, 140; cruelty and ingratitude, 141; consults his own safety by a law against treason, 142;

EUTYCHES.

- his measures against Tribigild, 145 ; is condemned by Arcadius, 146 ; takes refuge with Chrysostom, 147 ; disgraced and banished to Cyprus, *ib.* ; recalled and executed, 148 ; charge on which he was condemned, *ib.* and *note S.*
- EUTYCHES**, the abbot, assists the cause of Cyril of Alexandria, vi. 21 ; heresy of, 24 ; acquitted by the second council of Ephesus, 25.
- EUTYCHIAN** controversy, iv. 342.
- EUXINE**, naval force in, i. 155 ; northern shores subject to the Roman emperors, 160 ; navigation of, opinion of the Turks on, 399 ; periplus of by Sallust and Arrian, v. 193, *note.*
- EVAGRIVS**, his history when composed, v. 345, *note.*
- EVARCHS** of Ravenna, establishment of, v. 241 ; extent of their jurisdiction, 348 ; finally extinguished by Astolphus king of the Lombards, vi. 153.
- EXCISE**, introduced by Augustus, i. 299 ; abolished by Caligula, *ib.* *note S.*
- EXCOMMUNICATION**, origin, nature, and consequences of, ii. 201 ; removed by public penance, 202 ; instances of, iii. 36 ; involved whole families, 37 ; hence extended to national interdicts, *ib.* *note.*
- EXERCITUS**, etymology of, i. 147 and *note.*
- EXILE**, voluntary among the Romans, might avert a capital sentence, v. 326.
- EXORCISM**, account of, ii. 178 ; the only miraculous power assumed by protestants, 179.

F.

- FACCIOLATI**, great duke of Constanti-
nople, treacherously admits Cantacuzene, vii. 401.
- FADILLA**, daughter of the emperor Marcus, executed, i. 270 and *note M.*
- FAITH**, merits of, ii. 182.
- FALCANDUS**, HUGH, character of his 'Historia Sicula,' vii. 141, *notes* ; his lamentation for his country, 142.
- FALCO**, Sotius, conspires against the emperor Pertinax, i. 239.
- FALCONRY**, introduced into Italy by the Lombards, v. 352 and *notes* ; un-

FELIX.

- known to the Greeks and Romans, *ib.*
- FAMINE**, hardly known under the empire, i. 191 ; at Rome during the siege of Alaric, iv. 90 ; horrors of 91.
- FANO**, battle of, ii. 15.
- FARMERS** of the revenue, i. 301.
- FARNESE** palace built of the materials of the Coliseum, viii. 284.
- FASTI**, consular, probable account of the chasms in, v. 94.
- FATHERS** of the church, *visions* and inspirations of the, ii. 178, *note* ; disclaimed by Chrysostom, *ib.* *note M.* ; high tone of their morality, 184 ; acknowledged the supernatural part of paganism, 266, *note* ; method of gaining some idea of their spirit, iii. 428, *note.*
- FATIMA**, daughter of Mahomet, marries Ali, vi. 268.
- FATIMITES**, or descendants of Ali, usurpations of their name, vi. 281 ; privileges in the Ottoman empire, *ib.*
- FAUN**, sleeping, discovery of the, v. 139, *note.*
- FAUSTA**, daughter of Maximian, marries Constantine the Great, ii. 116 ; her conduct towards her father, 121 ; her children, 348 ; procures the death of Crispus, 353 ; story of her execution for adultery examined, 354 and *notes*, and 355 *note M.*
- FAUSTINA**, daughter of Antoninus Pius, marries M. Antoninus, i. 215 ; her character, 221.
- FAUSTINA**, widow of Constantius II., with her daughter Constantia, joins the revolted Procopius, iii. 240.
- FAUSTUS**, price of his first printed Bibles, v. 285, *note.*
- FAVA**, or **FELTHEUS**, king of the Rugians, vanquished by Odoacer, iv. 203.
- FELICISSIMUS**, Cyprian's condemnation of, ii. 203, *note M.*
- FELIX**, an African bishop, martyrdom of, ii. 272.
- FELIX**, an Arian, supersedes Liberius as bishop of Rome, iii. 89 ; his adherents massacred, 90.
- FELIX V.**, pope, account of, viii. 100 ; retires to the hermitage of Ripaille, 104.
- FELIX**, St., miraculous tomb of at Nola, iv. 110.

FEMALES.

FEMALES, superiority of established in Egypt, iii. 417 *note*.
 FERDUSI, the Persian poet, works of, iii. 304, *notes*.
 FERISHTA, translations of by Colonels Dow and Briggs, vii. 146, *note M*.
 FERRAMENTA SAMIATA, what, ii. 10, *note*.
 FERRARA, council of, viii. 98.
 FESTIVALS, pagan, horror of the Christians at, ii. 166; rustic, paganism maintained by, iii. 421 and 422, *notes*.
 FEUDAL GOVERNMENT, rudiments of may be discovered among the Scythians, iii. 302.
 FEZ, Edrisite kingdom of, vi. 420.
 FIHR, reputed founder of the Arabian tribe Koreish, vi. 216, *note S*.
 FINANCES, Roman, history of, i. 293, *sqq.*; review of under Constantine the Great, ii. 333.
 FINES, regulations for the imposition of, ii. 316 and *note*.
 FINGAL, whether he fought against Severus, i. 266; objection, *ib. note*.
 FINLAY, Mr., his theory as to the origin of the story of Belisarius' beggary examined, v. 247, *note S*.
 FINNS, their wide dissemination, vii. 72 and *note S*.
 FIRE, use of unknown to many nations, iv. 410, *note*.
 FIRE TEMPLES, introduction of, i. 335.
 FIRE-SIGNALS, Byzantine, vii. 29.
 FIRE, Greek, Arabian fleet destroyed by, vi. 380; account of, 382 and *notes*; how used, 383; secret of, discovered by the Saracens, 384; superseded by gunpowder, *ib.*; works on, *ib. note S*.
 FIRMUS, revolt of, in Egypt, ii. 26; put to death by Aurelian, 27.
 FIRMUS the Moor, cause of his revolt against Valentinian, iii. 273; gains possession of Mauritania and Numidia, *ib.*; attempts to deceive Theodosius, 274; pursuit of, and suicide, 275.
 FIRUZ, son of the Persian king Jezdegard, becomes captain of the Chinese guards, vi. 299 and *note M*.
 FLACCILLA, consort of Theodosius the Great, prevents his conference with the Arian Eunomius, iii. 364.
 FLAGELLATION, substituted for money payments in penance, vii. 187.

GENUS UNCLARIUM.

FLAMENS, Roman, functions of the, iii. 407.
 FLAMINIAN WAY, distances on the, v. 232, *note*.
 FLAMININUS, remark on the army of Antiochus, ii. 323, *note*.
 FLAVIAN family, i. 212.
 FLAVIAN, patriarch of Constantinople, arraigns the heresy of Eutyches, vi. 25; killed at the second council of Ephesus, 26.
 FLAVIANUS and Diodorus, introduce responses and psalmody, iii. 88.
 FLAX, cultivation of, i. 190.
 FLÉCHIER, his Life of Theodosius the Great, iii. 342, *note*.
 FLEECE, golden, probable origin of that fable, v. 195.
 FLEURY, abbé de, character of his 'Institutes of Canon Law,' iii. 34, *note*.
 FLOB, Roger de, chief of the Catalan mercenaries, history of, vii. 381 and *note G*.; assassinated, 383.
 FLORENCE besieged by Radagaisus, iv. 47; its origin, *ib. note*; relieved by Stilicho, 48; council of, viii. 99; reunion of the Greek and Latin churches at the, 103.
 FLORENTIUS, a patrician, gives his estate in lieu of the tax on prostitutes, ii. 342, *note G*.
 FLORENTIUS, prætorian præfect in Gaul, oppression of, restrained by Julian, ii. 423; declines attending the council of Julian, iii. 105; flight of, 110; consul and præfect of Illyricum, flies on the approach of Julian, 117; condemned by the tribunal of Chalcedon and pardoned by Julian, 127.
 FLORIANUS, brother of the emperor Tacitus, usurps the purple, ii. 40; opposed by Probus, *ib.*; put to death by the army, 41.
 FLORIN, origin of the name, viii. 94, *note*.
 FLORUS, prince, founder of the Courtneys of Devonshire, fable of, vii. 354 and 355, *note*.
 FLORUS, his description of the wars of infant Rome, viii. 209.
 FO, Indian god, worship of, viii. 18 and *note*.
 FEDERATI, Gothic troops in the service of the Romans, iii. 353.
 FENUS UNCLARIUM, amount of, v. 314, *note W*.

FOLARD.

- FOLARD**, Chev., on ancient warlike machines, i. 152, *note*.
- FOLLIS**, or purse, value of, iv. 74, *note* and *note* S.
- FONTENELLE**, his remarks on the ambition of Constantine examined, ii. 303, *note*.
- FOOT**, Roman, i. 321, *note*; Greek, proportion of the, ii. 295.
- FORGERIES**, pious, of the early Christian apologists, ii. 218.
- FORUM TREBONII**, battle of between Decius and the Goths, i. 365.
- FRAMÆ** (German spears), described, i. 367.
- FRANCE**, population, ii. 339, *notes*; taxation in, 339 and 341, *note* S.; that name given to Gaul by the Franks, iv. 376; limits of, under Charlemagne, vi. 173; invaded by the Arabs, 384; their conquests in, 386, *note* S.; their expulsion, 389 and *note* S.; southern provinces of, ravaged by the Hungarians, vii. 75; power of the kings of, in the eleventh century, 181; genealogy of the royal house of, 352 and *note*; description of, by Chalcocondyles the Greek historian, viii. 87.
- FRANCISCA**, or Frankish battle-axe, iv. 357 and *note*.
- FRANGIPANI**, Odo, marries the niece of the emperor Manuel, vii. 139.
- FRANGIPANI**, Cencio, Roman baron, his violent and brutal conduct towards pope Gelasius II. and the cardinals, viii. 192.
- FRANGIPANI**, origin of the name of, viii. 220.
- FRANKFORT**, synod of, rejects the decrees of the second Nicene Council respecting images, vi. 166.
- FRANKS**, their origin and confederacy, i. 390; name, *ib.*; applied to several confederacies, *ib.* *note* S.; invade Gaul, 391; Spain, *ib.*; Mauritania, 392; driven from Gaul by Probus, ii. 44; daring enterprise of, 48; their power under the sons of Constantine, 325; occupy the island of Batavia and Toxandria, 412; subdued by Julian, 419; settle permanently in Gaul, iv. 128; occupy the lower Germany, 129; customs described, 227; bloody battle with the Gepidæ, 234; converted to Christianity, 324; subdue and civilize Ger-

FRITIGERN.

- many, 350; conquer Burgundy, 356; Aquitain, 360; countries beyond the Alps yielded to them by Justinian, and final establishment of the French monarchy, 362 and *note* S.; extent of their dominion, 363; laws respecting homicide, 367; anarchy of, 382; invade Italy, v. 151; their ravages and distress, 152; again invade Italy, 237; defeated by Narses, 240; proverb respecting the, vi. 180; their name applied by the Greeks and Arabians to all the Western nations, vii. 33; state of, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, 34; military character and tactics, 35.
- FRASCATI**, town of, viii. 210.
- FRAVITTA**, Gothic leader, his character, iii. 355; kills his rival Priulf, *ib.*; conducts the war against Gainas, iv. 149; defeats him on the Hellespont, 150.
- FREDERICK I.**, Barbarossa, emperor of Germany, invades Italy, vi. 188; destroys Milan, *ib.*; treaty with the league of Lombardy, 189; undertakes the third crusade, vii. 239; marches through Anatolia, 245; captures Iconium, 246; drowned, *ib.* and *note*; embassy of the Romans to, viii. 206; his haughty answer, 207; collisions with the Romans, 208.
- FREDERICK II.**, emperor of Germany, worsted by the Lombards and pope, vi. 189; record of his family, *ib.*; crusade of, vii. 269; excommunicated by pope Gregory IX., 270; enters Jerusalem, *ib.*; further acquisitions, *ib.*; toleration, *ib.*; exhorts the European princes to arm against the Mongols, viii. 15.
- FREDERICK III.**, of Austria, last emperor crowned at Rome, viii. 258.
- FREEDMEN**, condition of, i. 178.
- FREE-GIFTS** first exacted by Maxentius, ii. 124.
- FREJUS**, a naval station, i. 154.
- FRIGIDUS** river described, iii. 400 and *note*.
- FRISIANS** invade Britain, iv. 389.
- FRITIGERN**, colleague of Alavivus, as judge of the Visigoths, assumes the chief command, iii. 324; cultivates the friendship of the Ostrogoths, *ib.*; escapes from Lupicinus at Marcianopolis, 325; engages the Romans at Salices, 329; forms an alliance with

FROISSARD.

- the Ostrogoths and Taifalaë, 330; artful negotiations with Valens, 334; battle of Hadrianople, 335; his death, 348; breaks the union of the Gothic tribes, *ib.*
- FROISSARD, his character as a writer, viii. 32, *note*.
- FRONTIER garrisons, when first established, ii. 46.
- FRONTO, count, ambassador from Avitus to the Suevi of Spain, iv. 262.
- FRUITS, flowers, &c., introduction of, into Europe, i. 189.
- FRUMENTIUS, converts the Abyssinians, iii. 25.
- FULCARIS, the Herulian, general of Narsis, defeated and slain by the Franks, v. 238.
- FULK, count of Anjou, husband of Melisenda, queen of Jerusalem, vii. 256.
- FULK of Neuilly, preaches the fourth crusade, vii. 268; interview with Richard I., 289.
- FUNERALS, Roman, comic satires on the deceased at, iii. 226; at Julian's, *ib.*; his funeral contrasted with that of Constantius, 227, *note*.
- FURTUM lance liciouque conceptum," ceremony of pursuing stolen goods, v. 272 and *notes*.

G.

- GABINIUS, king of the Quadi, inveigled and murdered by Marcellianus, governor of Valeria, iii. 287.
- GAIAN, patriarch of Alexandria, banished, v. 59.
- GAILLARD, M., character of his 'Histoire de Charlemagne,' vi. 170, *note*.
- GAIMAR, Lombard prince of Salerno, invites the Normans into Italy, vii. 102, *note* M.
- GAINAS, the Goth, deputed by Stilicho to take vengeance on Rufinus, iv. 12; puts him to death before the palace of Hebdomon, 13; deserts the service of Stilicho, 14; appointed general against Tribigild by Eutropius, 145; secretly favours that rebel, 146; openly unites with him, 148; interview with Arcadius, who grants his demands, *ib.*; tumult and massacre of his troops at Constantinople, 149; defeated on the Hellespont by Fra-

GALLIENUS.

- vitta, 150; marches towards the Danube, *ib.*; slain, *ib.*
- GAITA, wife of Robert Guiscard, her valour at the battle of Durazzo, vii. 124.
- GAIUS (or Caius) belonged to the legal sect of Sabinians, v. 279, *note* W.; but often followed the Proculians, *ib.* *note* S.; juridical authority conferred on, by Theodosius II., 279; his Institutes, 288 and *note*; discovered by Niebuhr, 289, *note* S.
- GALA, derivation of that term, vii. 21, *note* and *note* S.
- GALATA, suburb of Constantinople, assigned to the Genoese, vii. 406.
- GALEAZZO, John, first duke of Milan, his connection with Bajazet, viii. 84 and *note*.
- GALEBIUS, general of Probus, ii. 44; associated in the empire by Diocletian, 67; character, *ib.*; adopted son and son-in-law of Diocletian, 68; valour, 74; defeated by the Persians, 82; disgrace, 83; victory over the Persians, 84; generous conduct towards the captives, *ib.*; reply to the ambassador of Narses, 85; emperor, 106; character, 107; schemes, 108; rage on the elevation of Constantine, 112; acknowledges him as Cæsar, *ib.*; unpopular taxes, 113; invades Italy, 117; retreats, 118; death, 122; public works, *ib.*; persuaded Diocletian to a general persecution of the Christians, 268; published an edict of toleration, 278.
- GALLIÆANS, that appellation explained, ii. 236; doubtful whether applied to the followers of Judas, 237, *note* M.; Gibbon's error in supposing that Tacitus confounded the two distinctions, *ib.* *note* G.; Christians so called by Julian, iii. 162.
- GALL, St., his hermitage in Switzerland becomes a principality, v. 238, *note*.
- GALL, St., monastery burnt by the Hungarians, vii. 75.
- GALLA, sister of Valentinian II., marries Theodosius the Great, iii. 383.
- GALLEYS, Roman, i. 154; Byzantine, vii. 28.
- GALLICANUS and Mæcenas, senators, kill two prætorians, i. 322.
- GALLIENUS associated in the empire by his father Valerian, i. 389; oppos-

GALLIPOLI.

- the Franks in Gaul, 391; degrades the senate, 394; marries Pipa, *ib.*; marches against the Goths, 400; character and administration, 407; medal of, 408, *notes*; considered sole emperor by Italy and the senate during the rebellion of the thirty tyrants, 411; inhuman mandate of, 412; family of, *ib. note*; famine and pestilence, 415; conspiracy against, ii. 2; death, *ib.*; names Claudius as his successor, 3; imprecations on, by the senate and people, 5, *notes*; favoured the Christians, 261; restored the cemeteries to them, *ib. note*.
- GALLIPOLI, occupied by the Catalans, vii. 383; rebuilt and repopled by Soliman, son of Orchan, viii. 28.
- GALLUS elected emperor, i. 386; disgraceful treaty with the Goths, *ib.*; popular discontent, 387; murdered, 388.
- GALLUS, nephew of Constantine, escapes assassination, ii. 365; made governor of the East by Constantius II., 377, 388; education and imprisonment, 388; declared Cæsar, *ib.*; marries Constantina, *ib.*; of a different mother from Julian's, *ib. note G*; cruel and imprudent character, 389; Magnentius attempts to assassinate him, 390; Domitian appointed to reform his government, *ib.*; he and Montius put to death by Gallus, 391; vacillating conduct of the latter, *ib.*; recalled by Constantius, 392; disgrace and death, *ib.*; transferred the body of St. Babylas to the grove of Daphne, iii. 169.
- GAMES, secular, i. 328; Actiac restored by Julian, iii. 131, *note*; public, of the Romans described, iv. 86.
- GANNYS, eunuch, i. 279.
- GARGANUS, mount, Hannibal's camp on, occupied by Totila, v. 223.
- GARIBALD, king of Bavaria, takes refuge with Autharis, king of Lombardy, v. 353.
- GABRIM, mountain of cursing, cross planted on, vi. 37.
- GARRISONS, frontier, number of, under Constantine, ii. 323.
- GASSAN, Arabian tribe, account of, iii. 194, *notes*, vi. 204; serve under Heraclius against their countrymen, 317; defeated by Calad, 318.
- GAUDENTIUS the notary, occupies the

GELASIUS.

- provinces of Africa for Constantius, iii. 119; executed at Antioch by Julian, 127.
- GAUDENTIUS, son of Aëtius, contracted to the princess Eudoxia, iv. 249.
- GAUL, province of, described, i. 156; divided by Augustus, *ib.*; number of tribes in, *ib.* and *note*; tribute, 296, and *note S.*; usurpers in, ii. 17; invaded by the Lygians, 44; not Christianized before the time of the Antonines, 211; slow progress of Christianity in, 212; capitation-tax, how levied in, 338; amount compared with modern rate, 339; Gibbon's account corrected, 341, *note S.*; invaded by the Germans at the instigation of Constantius, 412; forty-five cities destroyed, *ib.*; government assigned to Julian, 413; invaded by the Alemanni, iii. 257; maritime provinces invaded by the Saxons, 264; invaded, after the defeat of Radagaisus, by the Suevi, Vandals, Alani, and Burgundians, iv. 51; desolation of, 52; occupied permanently by the Goths, Burgundians, and Franks, 128; they recognise the title and laws of Honorius and his successors, 130; seven provinces of, annual assembly at Arles, 134; conquests of the Visigoths in, 287.
- GAULS in Lombardy, i. 157; in Germany, 352, *notes*; their belief in a future state, ii. 170 and *note*; intrusted their money to their priests, *ib.*; their contempt for the Germans, iv. 345; trade of, 362, *note*; controversies respecting their relation to the Franks, 364.
- GAZA, Theodore, translates Aristotle and Theophrastus, viii. 115.
- GERBER, Arabian physician, vi. 402.
- GERERIC, king of the Goths, defeats the Sarmatians, ii. 361.
- GEDROSIA, district of, described, i. 340, *note*.
- GRISA, Hungarian prince, his influence in Germany, vii. 79.
- GRELALEDDIN, son of Mohammed sultan of Carixme, valiant defence against the Mongols, viii. 9; death, 21.
- GRELALEAN ERA of the Turks, when established, vii. 166.
- GELASIUS, pope, abolishes the Lupercalia, iv. 283.
- GELASIUS II., pope, his scandalous

GELL.

treatment by Frangipani and the Romans, viii. 192; second attack on, and flight, 193.

GELLI, site of the, ii. 81, *note*.

GELMER, king of the Vandals in Africa, iv. 330; deposes Hilderic, v. 97; defeated by Belisarius, 109; puts Hilderic to death, *ib.*; encamps at Bulla, 111; letter to his brother Zano, *ib.*; second defeat and flight, 113; distress, 116; three extraordinary requests to Pharas, 117; surrender, 118; behaviour at the triumph of Belisarius, 119; retires into Galatia, 120.

GELONI, vassal-tribe of the Alani, iii. 315.

GENERALS, Roman, power of, i. 199.

GENEPOSITY, Arabian, examples of, vi. 209.

GENEVÈVE, St., diverts the march of Attila from Paris, iv. 232.

GENNADIUS, patriarch of Constantinople, his opinion of the Athanasian creed, iv. 335, *note*.

GENNADIUS, monk of Constantinople, denounces a union with the Latin church, viii. 157; duplicity of, *ib.* *note*; installed patriarch by Mahomet II., 179.

GENNERID, a barbarian and pagan, made master-general of Dalmatia, &c., under Honorius, iv. 95; extorts a toleration for the pagans, 96.

GENOESK, settlements of the, at Heraclea and Constantinople, vii. 363; increase of their colony, and fortification of Galata, 407; their trade and insolence, *ib.*; usurp the toll of the Bosphorus, 408; war with the emperor Cantacuzene, 409; naval victory over the Greeks and Venetians, 410 and *note* M.; extort a monopoly from the Greeks, 411.

GENS, Roman, defined, v. 307.

GENSERIC, king of the Vandals in Spain, character, iv. 177; defeats Hermanric, king of the Suevi, *ib.*; invades Africa at the invitation of count Boniface, 178; joined by the Moors, 179; assisted by the Donatists, 180; defeats the repentant Boniface, 181; treaty with Valentinian III., 185; domestic and political difficulties, *ib.*; surprises Carthage, 186; allies himself with Attila, 199; mutilates his son's wife, daughter of Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, 226; incites

GERMANS.

Attila to invade Gaul, *ib.*; builds a fleet, 253; conquers Sicily, *ib.*; anchors at the mouth of the Tiber, 254; sacks Rome, 257; carries the empress Eudoxia as a prisoner to Carthage, *ib.*; destroys the navy of Majorian at Carthage, 273; concludes a treaty with him, *ib.*; piratical expeditions, 276; massacre at Zante, 277; treaty with the Eastern empire, *ib.*; destroys the fleet of Basiliscus, 285; revival of his naval power, 286; persecuted his catholic subjects, 329.

GENTLEMAN, etymology of that name, vii. 199, *note*.

GEOGRAPHY and Cosmology, ancient orthodox system of, v. 62.

GEOPONICS of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, vii. 2.

GEORGE of Cappadocia, succeeds Athanasius at Alexandria, iii. 83; his tyranny, *ib.*; his infamous character, 171; promoted by the Arians to the see of Alexandria, *ib.*; his oppressions, *ib.*; massacred, 172; worshipped as a saint and martyr, 173; tutelary saint of England, *ib.*; his identity in the latter character questioned by Dr. Milner, *ib.* *note* M.

GEORGE of Pisidia, his Acroasis, v. 401, *note*.

GEORGE, Sicilian admiral, takes Mahadia, vii. 135; delivers Louis VII. from the Greeks, 136; insults Constantinople, 137.

GEORGIANS, religion of the, vii. 158; name whence derived, *ib.* *note*.

GEUGEN, Scythian tribe, iv. 43; vanquished by Attila, 196; attributed supernatural powers to the Huns, *ib.*

GEPIDÆ, origin of that name, i. 379; uncertain whether Goths, *ib.* *note* S.; subdued by Attila, iv. 196; seize Sirmium and Belgrade, v. 165; their ironical apology to Justinian, *ib.*; conquered by the Lombards, 167; subdued by the Avars and Lombards, 334; their country occupied, by the former, *ib.*

GERGOVIA, siege of, by Julius Cæsar, iv. 376.

GERMANIA, town of, birth-place of Belisarius, v. 99, and *note* S.

GERMANICUS, i. 139, *note*.

GERMANS, ancient, occupy part of Belgium, i. 156; were illiterate, 354;

GERMANUS.

houses and raiment, 355; agriculture, 356; unacquainted with money, *ib.*; manners, 357; beer, 358; freedom, 359; government, 360; popular assemblies, *ib.*; princes and magistrates, jurisdiction of, 361; gifts, 362; chastity, *ib.*; its causes, 363; respect for women, *ib.*; marriage present, *ib. note*; fortitude of their women, 364; religion, *ib.*; effects of their superstition, 365; bards, 366; songs, *ib. note G.*; causes of their want of progress, 367; arms, *ib.*; cavalry, *ib.*; want of discipline, *ib.*; civil dissensions, 368; fomented by the Romans, 369; confederation against M. Antoninus, 370; tribes, 371; invited by Constantius II. to invade Gaul, ii. 412; destroy forty-five cities, *ib.*; extent of their conquests on the left bank of the Rhine, *ib.*; defeated by Julian at Strasburg, 417; driven from the Upper Rhine, 418; religious indifference of the, iii. 10; northern emigration of into Italy, how caused, iv. 44 and *note M.*; the remnant, after their defeat by Stilicho, invade and settle in Gaul, 50; the Alemanni on the Rhine remain neutral, 51; character of, in 16th century, 109; join the fourth crusade, vii. 295.

GERMANUS, nephew of Justinian, declines to conduct the defence of Antioch, v. 190; appointed to command an Italian expedition, 229; character, *ib.*; death, 230.

GERMANUS, father-in-law of Theodosius, son of the emperor Maurice, resigns the purple to Phocas, v. 385.

GERMANY, Upper and Lower, Roman provinces, i. 156; importance of its history, 349; limits of ancient, *ib.*; Gibbon's account corrected, 350, *note S.*; climate, 350; Gibbon's account corrected, 351, *note M.*; its effects, 352; how peopled, *ib.*; Olaus Rudbeck's account, 353; cities, 355; game and cattle, 356; metals, *ib.*; population, 358; Malthus' remark on, 359, *note M.*; causes of its population, iii. 260; united by Charlemagne, vi. 174; emperors of, their title of emperor dependent on their coronation by the pope, 179; imperial crown fixed in the nation of, by Otho I., *ib.*; authority of the emperors in the election

GLADIATORS

of popes, 181; jurisdiction in Rome, 184; abandoned by them, 185; princes of, their independence, 189; Germanic confederation, 191; silver mines of, vii. 395, *note*; description of, by Chalcocondyles the Greek historian, viii. 86; military power of, 127, *note*.

GERONTIUS, commander in Greece, under Arcadius, iv. 24.

GERONTIUS, general of the usurper Constantine, sets up Maximus as emperor in Spain, iv. 119; his heroic defence and death, *ib. sq.*

GERSON, John, doctor of the Sorbonne, his measure for healing the papal schism, viii. 254 and *note*.

GESSORIACUM (Boulogne), Roman fleet at, ii. 70; taken by Constantius, 72.

GETA and Caracalla, sons of the emperor Severus, discord of, i. 264; accession of, 267; jealousy, *ib.*; Geta murdered, 268; deified, 269, *note*; character, *ib. note W.*

GETÆ, whether Goths, i. 375, *note S.*

GETES, Jits, or Calmucks, viii. 41 and *note M.*

GHEBERS: *v. Magians.*

GHIBELINES, vi. 189; viii. 191.

GIANNONE, his 'Civil History of Naples,' iii. 34, *note*.

GIAOUR, or Gabour, etymology of that name, viii. 148, *note*.

GIBAMUND, nephew of Gelimer, defeated, v. 108.

GIBRALTAR, name whence derived, vi. 356.

GILDAS, his description of Britain, iv. 389.

GILDO, the Moor, brother of Firmus, his revolt in Africa, iv. 15; brutal character, 16; transfers his allegiance from Honorius to Arcadius, *ib.*; declared a public enemy by the Roman senate, 17; his quarrel with his brother Mascezel, *ib.*; defeat by Mascezel and death, 20.

GILIMER, Gothic leader, killed in the assault of Rome by Ricimer, iv. 293.

GIRAFFE, the, i. 231, *note*.

GISULF, nephew of Alboin, first duke of Friuli, v. 350.

GIUBIN, or Choubein, surname of Bahram, v. 369 and *note M.*

GLADIATORS, revolt of, under Probus, ii. 50; when abolished, iv. 40 and 41, *note S.*

GLADSTONE.

- GLADSTONE, Mr., tax on successions, i. 299, *note S*.
- GLASS, windows, a luxury, ii. 27, *note*; not unknown to the Romans, iv. 76, *notes M. and S*.
- GLYCERIUS made emperor of the West by Gundobald, iv. 294; resigns the sceptre for the bishopric of Salona, *ib.*; assassinated Nepos, 295; made archbishop of Milan, *ib.*
- GNOSTICS, tenets of the, ii. 161; held the Mosaic dispensation to have been superseded by Christianity, 162; their sophistry adopted by the most learned of the Fathers, *ib.*; mostly Gentiles, 163; derived many of their tenets from Oriental philosophy, *ib.*; various sects of, 164; success, *ib.*; rejected the received gospels, *ib.*
- GODS, pagan, and their worshippers, quarrels between, iii. 211.
- GODAS, governor of Sardinia, revolts from Gelimer, Vandal king of Africa, v. 99.
- GODEGESIL, brother of Gundobald, king of the Burgundians, deserts to Clovis, iv. 355; massacred by Gundobald, *ib.*
- GODESCAL, one of the leaders of the first crusade, vii. 192.
- GODFREY of Bouillon, leader of the first crusade, history and character of, vii. 196; treaty with Carloman, king of Hungary, 202; menaces Constantinople, 205; adopted by Alexius Comnenus, 206; torn by a bear, 214; wonderful sword stroke, 216 and *note*; elected defender and baron of the holy sepulchre, 228; reign, *ib.*; composes the Assize of Jerusalem, 232.
- GOG and Magog, famous rampart of, described, v. 88 and *note*; Hungarians mistaken for, vii. 69 and *note S*.
- GOGUET, character of his 'Origine des Loix et des Arts,' v. 56, *note*.
- GOISVINTHA, wife of Leovegild, king of Spain, persecutes her grand-daughter Ingundis, iv. 338.
- GOLD of affliction, tribute so called, abolished by Anastasius, v. 63.
- GOLD and silver, proportion between, i. 193 and *note*.
- GOLDEN-FOOTED DAME, leader of the female troop in the third crusade, vii. 241.

GOTHS.

- GOLDEN HORN, harbour of Constantinople, why so called, ii. 289.
- GOLDEN MOUNTAINS, v. 173 and *note M*.
- GOLDEN SPEARS, army of Chosroes II., so called, v. 405.
- GOM, a small grain, food of the Mingrelians, v. 194.
- GONFANON, or Greek imperial standard, vii. 310 and *note*.
- GONTHARIS seizes the throne of Carthage, v. 212; assassinated by Artaban, *ib.* 213, *note*.
- GORDIAN, proconsul of Africa, i. 310; family and character, 311; magnificence, *ib.*; declared emperor with his son, 312; character of the latter, *ib.*; their election ratified by the senate, 314; their deaths, 315.
- GORDIAN III., declared Caesar, i. 317; date, 318, *note S*; sole emperor, 324; virtues, *ib.*; Persian war, 325; murdered, 326; sepulchre, *ib. note*.
- GORGO, or Carizme, residence of the king of the White Huns, 313.
- GOTHINI probably spoke Galician, not Gallican, i. 352, *note S*.
- GOTHS, first appearance of, i. 374; Scandinavian origin, 375; that theory examined, *ib. note S*; whether Getae, *ib.*; distinct from the Swedes, 376; religion, *ib.*; Asiatic origin, 377, *note S*; emigration into Prussia, 378; subdivisions of, *ib.*; whence denominated *Ostro* and *Visti*, *ib. notes*; second migration, 379; invade the Roman provinces, 382; defeat Decius, 383; obtain a tribute from Gallus, 387; defeated by Emilianus, *ib.*; their incursions over the Danube, 395; settle in the Ukraine, *ib.*; and Bosphorus, 396; naval expeditions in the Euxine, *ib.*; take Trebizond, 397; ravage Pontus, *ib.*; take Chalcedon and plunder Bithynia, 398; pass the Hellespont, 399; ravage Greece and threaten Italy, 400; divisions and retreat, 401; confounded with the Scythians, *ib.*; attempt Thessalonica, ii. 6; defeated by Claudius, 7; conflict and treaty with Aurelian, 11; believed themselves descended from the Getae, 12; invade Illyricum, 144; repulsed and chastised by Constantine, *ib.*; invade Mæsia, 360; repulsed by Constantine, *ib.*; Gibbon's erroneous

GOTES.

account of his defeat; *ib.* note M.; further defeat of the, 361; implore peace, *ib.*; assist the revolt of Procopius, 284; subdued by Valens, *ib.*; supported by Hermanric, 285; war with Valens, *ib.*; defeat and submission, 286; precipitated on the western provinces of Rome by the Huns, 294; Visigoths defeated on the Dniester by the Huns, 318; implore the protection of Valens, 319; who assigns them settlements in Thrace, 320; they cross the Danube, 321; their numbers, *ib.*; elude the condition imposed by Valens of surrendering their arms, 322; the Ostrogoths are refused a passage by Valens, *ib.*; rapacity of Lupicinus and Maximus, 323; discontent of the Visigoths, *ib.*; the Ostrogoths force the passage of the Danube, 324; rupture between the Visigoths and Romans, 325; they defeat Lupicinus near Marcianopolis, 326; ravage Thrace, *ib.*; are joined by a band of their countrymen from Hadrianople, 327; fruitless siege of that city, *ib.*; battle of Salices, 329; ravage the country between the Danube and Hellespont, 330; alliance between the Visigoths and Ostrogoths, *ib.*; joined by the Huns, Alani, &c., 331; overthrow Valens at Hadrianople, 335; besiege that city, 338; appear before Constantinople, 339; repulsed by a body of Arabs, *ib.*; spread themselves to the Adriatic, *ib.*; Gothic youth massacred in Asia, 341; their disorder and discord after the death of Fritigern, 349; Athanaric's army enlists under Theodosius, 350; final capitulation of the Visigoths, *ib.*; the Ostrogoths, after various migrations, return in greater force, 351; fatal attempt to cross the Danube, *ib.*; accept settlements in Thrace and Phrygia, 352; serve under the Romans, with the name of *Foderati*, 353; their hostile and treacherous feeling, 354; two parties under Fravitta and Priulf, their deadly feud, 355; revolt after the death of Theodosius, iv. 23; they cross the Danube and threaten Constantinople, *ib.*; ravage Greece under the conduct of Alaric, 25, *sq.*; invade Italy, 31; join the standard of Radagaisus, 45; Gib-

GRATIAN.

bon's statement limited, *ib.* note S.; besiege Rome, 90; second siege, 97; third siege and sack, 101; their moderation and religious feeling, 102; singular example of, 104; their occupation of Italy, 111; march into Gaul, 113; marriage gifts of the Visigoths, 115 and *note*; Gothic treasures, *ib.* and *note* S.; subdue the barbarians in Spain, 128; their settlements in Aquitain, *ib.*; styled from their moderation *guests of the Romans*, 130; Ostrogoths subdued by Attila, 196; settle in Pannonia, 248; Visigoths acquire Narbonne, 287; checked by Ægidius, *ib.*; conversion of the Goths to Christianity, 322; converted from Arianism, 337; Visigoths converted, 340; Visigoths of Spain protected by Theodoric the Great, 361; lose Aquitain, *ib.*; Ostrogoths of Italy resign Arles and Marseilles to the Franks, 362; Visigoths of Spain, code of, 385 and *note*; Ostrogoths threaten Constantinople, v. 3; sell their reconciliation and fidelity, *ib.*; cruelties in Thrace, 5; invade Italy, 8; their condition and manners in that country, 12; colony of Goths in the Crimea, 82 and *note*; evacuate Pannonia and Noricum, 165; of Italy, revolt of after the recall of Belisarius, v. 214; their kingdom in Italy overthrown by Narses, 236; sentiments of the Goths towards Rome, viii. 273.

GOSPELS, orthodox, rejected by the Gnostic sects, ii. 164; how and when composed, 206 and 207, *note* M.; whether altered by the Christians, 216, *notes*.

GOVERNMENT, civil, its origin, i. 360; absolute, contrary to nature, iii. 129, *note*.

GRANARIUS, public, under Severus, i. 259, *note*.

GRASSES, artificial, i. 190.

GRATIAN, count, father of Valentinian, his merit and services, iii. 233.

GRATIAN, son of Valentinian I. and Severa, associated in the purple by his father, iii. 291; married to Constantia, grand-daughter of Constantine, *ib.*; accepts Valentinian II., son of Justina, as associate in the empire, 292; chastises the Alemanni, 332;

GRATIAN.

valour, 333; learns the death of Valens, 342; appoints Theodosius emperor of the East, *ib.*; virtues and defects of Gratian, 356; passion for hunting, 357; fondness for the Alani, 358; deserted by his soldiers on the approach of Maximus, 360; flight and death, *ib.*; bewailed by the orthodox clergy, 363; rejected the pontificate, 408; Gibbon's date corrected, *ib. note S.*; removed the statue of Victory from the senate, *ib.*

GRATIAN, elected emperor by the British legions, iv. 54; put to death, *ib.*

GREECE overrun by the Goths, i. 400; furnishes a fleet to Licinius, ii. 146; cities of, relieved and restored by Julian, iii. 131; ravaged by Alaric, iv. 25; reduced by the Turks, viii. 180.

GREEK CHURCH, first symptoms of discord with the Latin, iii. 75; its supine superstition, vii. 46; schism of, 278; discipline of how different from the Latin, 279; schism of confirmed by the reign of the Latins at Constantinople, 347; its union with and obedience to the Latin church effected by Michael Palæologus, 373; union dissolved, 375; articles of debate with the Latins at the council of Florence, viii. 100; reunion with the Latin church, 103; acts of union, *ib. note*; fresh schism, 122.

GREEK CITIES in Asia, i. 339 and *note*.

GREEK COLONIES in Italy, i. 157.

GREEK LITERATURE studied by the Romans, i. 175; revival of, vii. 39.

GREEK LANGUAGE and characters, use of by the Arabians in the public accounts abolished, vi. 378; language, established as the legal tongue in the Byzantine empire, vii. 38; state of at Constantinople in the fourteenth century, viii. 105; glossaries of barbarisms, *ib.* and *note*; Leo Pilatus, first professor of, at Florence, 110; Manuel Chrysoloras, second professor, 111; vicious pronunciation of, 114 and *note*; study of, when introduced at Oxford, 117, *note*; first Greek book, when printed, 118, *note*.

GREEKS, their influence in the East, i. 175; their jealousy of Oriental science, vi. 404; their aversion for the Latins, vii. 278, 282; dissatisfied

GREGORY.

with their presence at Constantinople, 307; massacre the Latins, 329.

GREENS, faction of the Hippodrome, persecuted by the Blues, v. 50; massacre of, 55.

GREGORIAN CODE, v. 271 and *note S.*

GREGORY NAZIANZEN, studies at Athens with Julian, ii. 395, *note*; his character of the latter, and prediction, *ib.*; eloquence of, iii. 38; laments the discords of the Christians, 96; his invectives against Julian, 136, *notes*; account of, 365; presented to the wretched see of Sasima by his friend Basil, 366; becomes bishop of Nazianzus, *ib.*; accepts the mission of Constantinople, *ib.*; dangers and adventures at, 367; success of his preaching, *ib.*; placed on the archiepiscopal throne by Theodosius in person, 368; his resignation, retirement, and death, 372.

GREGORY of Nyssa, his account of the Christians of Pontus, ii. 208, *notes*.

GREGORY the Great, pope, receives the ambassadors and presents of Recared, king of Spain, iv. 340; exhorts queen Theodelinda to propagate the Nicene faith among her subjects, *ib.*; his enmity to classic genius, v. 357; believed to have mutilated statues and burned the Palatine library, *ib.*; birth and history, 358; pontificate, 359; extent of his spiritual jurisdiction, *ib.*; his church music and pompous ceremonies, 360; converts the Anglo-Saxons, *ib.*; the last pope made a saint, 361; temporal government, estates, and alms, *ib.*; political conduct, 362; saves Rome from the Lombards, *ib.*; base flattery of Phocas, 386.

GREGORY II., pope, his insolent letters to the emperor Leo in defence of image worship, vi. 146; excites the revolt of Italy, 148.

GREGORY III., pope, implores the protection of Charles Martel against the Lombards, vi. 154 and *note M.*

GREGORY VII., pope, reforms the corruptions of the papacy, vi. 184; his ambitious projects, *ib.*; besieged by the emperor Henry III., vii. 128; Lives of, *ib. notes*; delivered by Robert Guiscard, 129; retires to

GREGORY.

- Salerno, *ib.*; his design of a crusade, 179; founder of the papal monarchy, viii. 192; exile, *ib.*; successors, *ib.*
- GREGORY IX., pope, excommunicates the emperor Frederick II., vii. 270.
- GREGORY X., pope, receives the submission of the Greek church at the council of Lyons, vii. 373; institutes the conclave, viii. 212.
- GREGORY XI., pope, final return of, from Avignon to Rome, viii. 250; death, 251.
- GREGORY XII., pope, viii. 254; renounces the tiara, 256.
- GREGORY XIII., pope, publishes a code of laws for Rome, viii. 259.
- GREGORY, bishop of Adrianople, patriarch of Constantinople, vii. 371 and *note M.*
- GREGORY of Tours, account of, iv. 379 and *note*; literary character, 380 and *note*.
- GREGORY BAR-HEBRÆUS, *v.* Abulpharagius.
- GREGORY, præfect of Africa, comes to the relief of Tripoli, besieged by the Arabs, vi. 343; heroism of his daughter, 344; death of Gregory, and capture of his daughter, 345; their genuine history, 346, *note S.*
- GRIMES DYKE, i. 141, *note S.*
- GRIMM, his hypothesis respecting the Goths, i. 375, *note S.*
- GRIMALD, duke of Beneventum, artful flattery of Charlemagne, vi. 174.
- GROTIUS, political principles of, iii. 7, *note*; his unfounded tale of Mahomet's pigeon, vi. 263 *note*.
- GRUMBATES, king of the Chionites, allied with the Persians, ii. 406; summons Amida to surrender to Sapor, 407; his son killed there, *ib.*; Sapor promises to avenge him, *ib.*
- GRUTHUNG, *v.* Ostrogoths.
- GUARDIANS and wards, Roman law of, v. 301; Gibbon's view corrected, *ib.*, *note S.*
- GUBAZES, king of Lazica, invites Chosroes Nushirvan to expel the Romans, v. 200; repentance, *ib.*; history of, 203; treacherously killed by order of Justinian, 204; judicial inquiry into his death, *ib.*
- GUELFs and Ghibelins, vi. 189; factions of, vii. 289; negotiations of, with the Romans, viii. 191.

HADJ.

- GUESTS of the Romans, barbarian invaders of Gaul so called, iv. 130.
- GUIBERT, his character as an historian, vii. 191, *note* and *note S.*
- GUILT, how measured by the legislator, v. 321.
- GUISCARD, Robert, defeats pope Leo IX., vii. 109; birth and character, 110; etymology of his surname, 112 and *note*; saluted count of Apulia, *ib.*; made duke by pope Nicholas II., 113; Italian conquests of, 114; his daughter betrothed to Constantine, son of the emperor Michael, 119; sets up a pretended Michael, *ib.*; invades the Eastern empire, 120; besieges Durazzo, 121; burns his ships, 123; defeats Alexius Comnenus, 124; takes Durazzo, 126; return, *ib.*; delivers pope Gregory VII. from the arms of the emperor Henry III., 129; second expedition to Greece, 130; victory over the Greek and Venetian fleets, *ib.*; death, 131; buried at Venusia, *ib.*
- GUNDAMUND, king of the African Vandals, oppresses the Catholics, iv. 329.
- GUNDELINA, wife of Theodatus, king of Italy, her intrigues with Theodora, v. 129, *notes*.
- GUNDOBALD succeeds to the command of his uncle Ricimer's army, iv. 294; makes Glycerius emperor of the West, *ib.*; becomes king of the Burgundians, 354; defeated by Clovis, 355; accepts military tenure under him, *ib.*
- GUNPOWDER, early use of, by the Chinese, iv. 240, *note*; used by the Mongols in the conquest of China, viii. 10, 11, and *note M.*; invention and use of, 75 and *note M.*
- GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, how represented by the Austrians, i. 376, *note*.
- GUY OF LUSIGNAN, king of Jerusalem, character, vii. 297; overthrown by Saladin at Hittin, *ib.*; captivity and ransom, 258.
- GHARUS, isle of, its poverty and misery, i. 297.

H.

- HADJ, species of Mahometan pilgrimage, vi. 232, *note S.*

HADRIAN.

HADRIAN, wall of, i. 141, *note S.*; resigns the eastern conquests of Trajan, 144; contrasted with Trajan and Antoninus Pius, *ib.*; his frequent journeys, *ib.* and *notes M.* and *S.*; encouraged military exercises, 148; adoption of, 213; character, *ib.*; adopts Verus, 214; makes Trebizond a port, 397; his library at Athens, v. 91; mausoleum of, converted into a fortress by Belisarius, 139; description of, *ib.*; corrected, *ib. note M.*; establishes the Perpetual Edict, 267; not the first to assume the legislative power, 268, *note W.*

HADRIAN, prætorian præfect, Claudian's epigram on, iv. 64; Hadrian's revenge, *ib.*

HADRIANOPLÉ, battle of, between Constantine and Licinius, ii. 146; between Valens and the Goths, iii. 335; immense slaughter at, 337; besieged by the Goths, 338.

HÄHN, M., his Marcionite Gospel, ii. 164.

HAKEM, Fatimite caliph of Egypt, his vice, folly, and despotism, vii. 173; assumes the character of God upon earth, *ib.*; his followers the Druses, 174 and *note M.*; sacrilege at Jerusalem, 175; assassinated, *ib.*

HAMADANITES, Saracen dynasty of, in Mesopotamia, vi. 422.

HAMYARITES, Arabian tribe derived from the Amalekites, Amazonian women of, vi. 318 and *note.*

HANBAL, fanaticism of the sect of, vi. 423.

HANNIBAL, route over the Alps, ii. 127, *notes*; and the Roman senate, iv. 70.

HANNIBALIANUS, brother of Constantine, ii. 348; massacred by his nephew Constantius, 365.

HANNIBALIANUS, nephew of Constantine, made Cæsar with the title of *Nobilissimus*, ii. 355; the only Roman prince distinguished by the title of *King*, *ib.* and 356, *note M.*; resided at Cæsarea, 357; his kingdom, *ib.*; excluded from the empire by the troops, 364; massacred by Constantius II., 365.

HANSEATIC LEAGUE, vi. 191 and 192, *note M.*

HAPPINESS, public, precarious under a despotism, i. 217; the caliph Abdalrahman's reflections on, vi. 397

HEINECCIUS.

HARBI, or sects proscribed by the Mahometans, vi. 366, *notes.*

HARDOUIN, FÈRE, his theory respecting the Æneid, ii. 196, *note.*

HARAM, Turkish delicacy respecting the, viii. 50 and *notes.*

HARAN, temple of the Moon at, vi. 214.

HARMOZAN, satrap of Ahwaz and Susa, surrenders to Omar, vi. 297; interview with that caliph, *ib.*

HARPIES, Le Clerc's happy conjecture respecting, ii. 288, *note.*

HARUN AL RASHID, his presents to Charlemagne, vi. 176; wars against the Romans, 404; ascends the throne, 405; his title of Al Rashid or 'the Just,' *ib.*; slaughter of the Barmecides, *ib.* and *note S.*; reception of the ambassadors of Nicephorus, *ib.*; incestuous passion for his sister, *ib. note S.*; marries her to Djafar the Barmecide, *ib.*; answer to Nicephorus, 406; subdues that emperor, *ib.*; motives for withdrawing from Bagdad, *ib. note and note S.*

HARUSPICES, Tuscan, consulted by Julian, iii. 211 and *note.*

HASHEMITES, family of Mahomet, vi. 212, 216.

HASSAN, son of Ali, wounded in the defence of the caliph Othman, vi. 274; waives his claims to the caliphate in favour of Moawiyah, 278.

HASSAN, governor of Egypt, and lieutenant of Abdalmalek, takes Carthage, vi. 350; destruction of that city wrongly ascribed to him instead of Musa, 351 and *note S.*

HASSAN, the Janizary, valour at the assault of Constantinople, viii. 171.

HATRA, or **ATRA**, site of, iii. 222, *note S.*

HAWKING, v. Falconry.

HAWKWOOD, JOHN, English mercenary, his adventures and negotiations with the emperor John I. Palæologus, viii. 83 and *note.*

HEBAL, statue of, in the Caaba, vi. 212.

HEBDOMON, or field of Mars, its distance from Constantinople, iii. 236.

HEEBEN, his history of the crusades characterised, vii. 277, *note M.*

HEGIRA or era of the flight of Mahomet, vi. 242; instituted by Omar, *ib. note.*

HEINECCIUS, his works on civil law, v. 2 A 2

HEINICHEN.

- 258, *note*; mistaken respecting the edicts of the prators, 266, *note W.*; and respecting the perpetual Edict of Hadrian, 268, *note W.*
- HEINICHEN, on the interpolated passage of Josephus, ii. 235, *note M.*
- HEJAZ, province of Arabia, vi. 198; meaning of the name, *ib. note S.*
- HELENA, mother of Constantine the Great, ii. 109; converted to Christianity by her son, iii. 3, *note.*
- HELENA, sister of Constantius II., marries Julian, ii. 396; dies in childbed, iii. 112.
- HELENA, consort of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, saves her husband's life, vi. 103; administration of, *ib.*
- HELENA, mother of the last Comneni, heroism in burying her children, viii. 182, *note M.*
- HELENA, city of, Illiberis whence so called, ii. 376, *note.*
- HELIGOLAND, how peopled, iv. 399, *note S.*
- HELIOPOLIS taken by the Saracens, vi. 316.
- HELL, Mahomet's, vi. 235.
- HELLESPONT, current of the, ii. 148, *note*; described, 290, whether justly called *broad*, *ib.* and *note.*
- HELMICHS, his intrigue with Rosamond, queen of Alboin, v. 339; assists her revenge, *ib.*; murdered by her, 340.
- HELVETII, i. 358, *note.*
- HENDINOS, king of the Burgundians so called, iii. 261.
- HENGIST and Horsa undertake the defence of Britain, iv. 387; are mythical persons, *ib. note S.*; Hengist erects a kingdom of the Jutes in Kent, 388.
- HENOTICON, the, of the emperor Zeno, account of, vi. 31.
- HENRY THE FOWLER, king of Germany, vi. 179; his victory over the Hungarians, vii. 77.
- HENRY III., emperor, alliance with Alexius Comnenus, vii. 127; his three sieges of Rome, 128; gets possession of it by bribery, *ib.*; sets up Pope Clement III., *ib.*; crowned in the Vatican, *ib.*; flies before Robert Guiscard, 129.
- HENRY VI., emperor, conquers Sicily, vii. 144; his cruelty and avarice, 145.

HERACLIUS.

- HENRY IV., of France, resemblance to Clovis, iv. 353; answer of a Spanish ambassador to, vii. 379.
- HENRY, brother of Baldwin I., succeeds to the empire of Constantinople, vii. 332; character, 333; repulses the Bulgarians, 334 and *note M.*; concludes a truce with them, 334; liberal policy, *ib.*; opposed the pride and avarice of the clergy, 335; death, *ib.*
- HENRY THE WONDERFUL, duke of Brunswick, account of, vii. 395, *notes.*
- HEPTARCHY, Saxon in Britain, iv. 389; wrongly so called, *ib. note M.*
- HERA, cave of, near Mecca, frequented by Mahomet, vi. 222.
- HERACLEA PONTICA, razed by Harun-al-Rashid, vi. 406.
- HERACLEONAS, son of Martina, associated in the empire with Constantine, son of Heraclius, vi. 72; deposed and mutilated, 74.
- HERACLIAN, count, perfidiously executes Stilicho, by command of Olympius, iv. 61; assists Honorius against Attalus, 100; oppresses the Italian fugitives from the sack of Rome, 107; revolts, 117; defeat and death, 118.
- HERACLIANUS conspires against Gallienus, ii. 2.
- HERACLIUS, son of the exarch, expedition against Phocas, v. 388; captures and beheads him, 389; elected emperor, *ib.*; genealogical table, *ib. note S.*; condemns Crispus to a monastery, 390; suppliant embassies to Chosroes II., 396; contemplated flight to Carthage, *ib.*; nearly captured by the Avars, 397; submits to a Persian tribute, *ib.*; his inconsistent character, 398; incestuous marriage, *ib.*; first expedition against the Persians, 399; camp and discipline at Issus, 400; defeats the Persians, 401; second Persian expedition, 402; threatens Casbin and Ispahan, 403; defeats the Persians, 404; takes Salban, *ib.*; personal prowess on the banks of the Sarus, *ib.*; defensive war on the Phasis, 406; alliance with the Turks, *ib.*; third Persian expedition, 408; valour, 409; takes and plunders Dastagerd, *ib.*; return, 410; concludes a peace with Siroes, 413; enters Constanti-

HERACLIUS.

- noble in triumph, *ib.*; pilgrimage to Jerusalem, 414; Ecthesis of, vi. 42; a Maronite, 56; apparent glory and real weakness, *ib.*; death, 73; entertains an ambassador of Mahomet, 257; declining energy of, and flight from Syria, 324; date of his death, 335, *note.*
- HERACLIUS, the Cynic, encourages Procopius in his revolt, iii. 239, *note M.*
- HERACLIUS, the præfect, his expedition against Genseric, iv. 283; joins the expedition of Basiliscus, 285.
- HERACLIUS, exarch of Africa, refuses obedience to Phocas, v. 388.
- HERACLIUS, favourite eunuch of Valentinian III., incites him against Aëtius, iv. 249; assassinated, 251.
- HERÆUM, summer palace of Theodora, v. 78.
- HERAT, story of the fire temple and mosque at, vi. 368.
- HERCULES, columns of, i. 163.
- HERCULIANS, guards of Diocletian, ii. 92.
- HERCULIUS, title of Maximian, ii. 67.
- HERCYNIAN FOREST, its state in the time of Cæsar, i. 351.
- HEREDITARY SUCCESSION, its advantages, i. 304.
- HERESY, origin of, ii. 163; Constantine's edict against, iii. 41; severe edicts of Theodosius the Great against, 273.
- HERMANRIC, king of the Ostrogoths, his conquests, iii. 282 *sq.*; etymology of his name, *ib.* *note S.*; Gibbon's account legendary, *ib.*; assists the Goths, 285; his dominions invaded by the Huns, 317; death, *ib.*
- HERMANRIC, king of the Suevi in Spain, defeated by Genseric, iv. 177.
- HERMENEGILD, son of Leovegild, king of Spain, converted to the orthodox faith through his wife Ingundis, iv. 338; heads a catholic rebellion, *ib.*; put to death by his father, 339 and *note S.*; canonized, *ib.*
- HERMINIANUS, Claudius, his severity towards the Christians, ii. 244, *note.*
- HERMITS, origin and history of, iv. 306.
- HERMODORUS, the Ephesian, assisted in framing the laws of the twelve tables, v. 261 and *note S.*
- HERMOGENES, general of the cavalry, murdered by the Constantinopolitans

HILDIBALD.

- whilst attempting to expel bishop Paul, iii. 91.
- HERMOGENIAN code, v. 271 and *note S.*
- HERO and Leander, story of, ii. 290 and *note M.*
- HEROD, son of Odenathus, murdered, ii. 21.
- HERODES ATTICUS, munificence of, i. 182, *sq.*; 194, *note.*
- HERODIAN, his Life of Alexander Severus preferable to that in the Augustan History, i. 293, *note.*
- HERODIAN, officer of Justinian, delivers Spoleto to the Goths, v. 225.
- HERODIANS, sect of, ii. 153, *notes.*
- HERODOTUS, his account of the Persian worship, i. 335.
- HERULI, subdued by Hermanric, iii. 283; emigrations of the, v. 14; ethnology of the, *ib.* *note S.*; under Narses, refuse to serve after his departure, 150 and *note.*
- HERAPOLIS, city and temple of, iii. 187; Julian's halt at, 188; called 'Ninus' velus,' *ib.* *note*; site of, *ib.* *note S.*; called Bambyce, *ib.*
- HIERARCHY, imperial, ii. 304.
- HIEROCLES, Elagabalus' husband, i. 283, *note.*
- HIEROGLYPHICS, explained to Germanicus by the Egyptian priests, ii. 400, *note*; probable origin of, *ib.*
- HILARION, St., preserves Epidaurus from being swallowed up by the sea, iii. 293, *note.*
- HILARION, the Syrian anachoret, iv. 308, 309 and *note.*
- HILARIUS, senator of Antioch, iii. 389; made governor of Palestine by Theodosius, 391.
- HILARY, pope, obliges the emperor Anthemius to renounce his principles of toleration, iv. 281.
- HILARY, bishop of Poitiers, his account of the Oriental clergy, iii. 58; laments the diversity of creeds, 59; opinion on the Homoiousion, 61; long ignorance of the Nicene creed, *ib.*; supports Athanasius against Constantius II., 80.
- HILDERIC, king of the African Vandals, character, iv. 329; v. 97; deposed by Gelimer, *ib.*; Justinian interferes in his favour, 98; executed by Gelimer, 109.
- HILDIBALD elected commander of the Goths of Italy, by the influence of

HINDOOS.

- Uraias, v. 215; puts Uraias to death, *ib.*; assassinated, *ib.*
- HINDOOS, their religion not that of Zoroaster, vi. 368, *note*.
- HINDOSTAN, expeditions of Mahmud the Gaznevide into, vii. 148; conquered by Timour, viii. 46.
- HIONG-NOU, whether identical with the Huns, iii. 307, *note* S.
- HIPPO REGIUS, colony of described, iv. 182; besieged by Genseric, *ib.*; death of St. Augustin at, *ib.*
- HIPPOLYTUS, his refutation of heresies, vi. 5, *note* and *note* S.
- HIRA, Arabian tribe, vi. 204.
- HIRA reduced by Caled, vi. 291; site of, *ib.* *note* S.
- HISMAHELITÆ, Slavonian tribe, vii. 79 and *note* S.
- HISTORY, principal subjects of, i. 371; Eastern, defective before the time of Mahomet, 407.
- HOLAGOU Khan, grandson of Zingis, conquers Persia and the empire of the caliphs, viii. 12 and *note* M.
- HOMERITES conquered by the Abyssinians, v. 207.
- HOMER, Julian's admiration for, iii. 138; Florentine edition of, viii. 118, *note*.
- HOMICIDE, how punished by St. Basil, iii. 394, *note*; fines for among the Franks and Ripuarians, iv. 367; rates of, 368, 381.
- HOMIOCOUSIANS, Arian sect of, iii. 61.
- HOMOOUSSION, term explained, iii. 56; established by the Council of Nice, *ib.*; different interpretations of, 57 and *note*.
- HONAIN, war of, vi. 255.
- HONAIN, Arabian physician, chief translator of the Greek writers, vi. 400, *note*.
- HONGVOU founds the Chinese dynasty of Ming, viii. 61.
- HONORIA, sister of Valentinian III., adventures of, iv. 229; her advances to Attila, 230.
- HONORIAN, troops in the service of the usurper Constantine, so called, iv. 56; how composed, *ib.* *note*.
- HONORIUS, walls of, ii. 17, *note* S.; succeeds to the empire of the West, iv. 1; marries Maria, daughter of Stilicho, 21; character of Honorius, 22; flies from Milan on the approach of Alaric, 34; takes refuge in Ravenna,

HOSEIN.

- 35, *note* S.; celebrates his triumph over the Goths at Rome, 39; abolishes gladiatorial shows, 41 (*v. note* S.); fixes his residence at Ravenna, 41; becomes suspicious of Stilicho, 59; visits the camp at Pavia, 60; permits the death of Stilicho, 61; rejects the service of all but Catholics, 67; exasperates the foreign auxiliaries to join Alaric, 68; imprudent letter respecting the latter, 96; consents to share his empire with Attalus, 99; his offer rejected, *ib.*; deserted by Jovius and Valens, 100; supported by Heraclian, count of Egypt, *ib.*; degrading submission to Alaric, 101; insulting proclamation against, *ib.*; laws for the relief of Italy, after its evacuation by the Goths, 116; Spanish triumph, 128; recognizes the independence of Britain and Armorica, 131; associates Constantius in the empire, 171; fondness for and quarrel with his sister Placidia, 172; death, *ib.*; persecuted the Donatists in Africa, 179.
- HONOUR, three ranks of, introduced by Constantine, ii. 305.
- HORMISDAS, prince of Persia, witty sayings of, ii. 400, *note*; becomes general of Julian, iii. 192; his singular adventures, *ib.*; Sapor's message to, for peace, 206; his son aids the revolt of Procopius, 240; made a proconsul, *ib.*
- HORMOUZ, son of Nushirvan, succeeds to the Persian throne, v. 367; his tyranny and vices, *ib.*; danger of his kingdom, 368; envy and insult to Bahram, 370; deposed and imprisoned, 371; pleads his cause before the nobles, *ib.*; condemned, *ib.*; put to death by Bindoes, 372 and *note* M.
- HORMUZ contends for the throne of Persia, ii. 81.
- HORNS, military, of the Germans, iii. 325, *note*.
- HORSES, Venetian, excellence of, v. 851 and *note*; Arabian, account of, vi. 199; bronze, carried by the Venetians from Constantinople to the place of St. Mark, vii. 319, *note*.
- HOSEIN, son of Ali, rebels against Yezid, vi. 278; his tragical death, 279; Persian festival of his martyrdom, 280 and *note*.

HOSPITALERS.

- HOSPITALERS, knights, vii. 231.
- HOSTILIANUS, son of Decius, elected emperor, i. 386; death, 387.
- HOUBIS, Mahomet's, vi. 236.
- HOUSES, Roman, loftiness of, iv. 88; inconvenience of, *ib.*; rent, *ib.*; number of, 89.
- HOWELL, character of his 'History of the World,' ii. 321.
- HUGH, king of Burgundy, marries Marozia, vi. 185; insults her son Alberic, and is expelled by him, *ib.*
- HUGH, count of Vermandois, a leader in the first crusade, vii. 196; why styled 'the Great,' 197 and *note* S.; receives the golden standard of St. Peter from the pope, 203; brought as a captive to Constantinople, 204; his pompous titles, *ib.* and *note* S.
- HUGHES, Mr., character of his tragedy of the 'Siege of Damascus,' vi. 311, *note*.
- HUGO, king of Italy, pedigree, vii. 24; profligacy, 25.
- HUMAN RACE, happiest period of the, i. 216; diminution of the, under Gallienus, 415; nature, two natural propensities of, ii. 184; Gibbon's opinion examined, 185, *note* M.
- HUME, his 'Natural History of Religion,' i. 165, *note*; corrected, 249, *note*; his difficulty as to the extent of the imperial palace at Rome, 267, *note*; his remark on intolerance, 338, *note*, and *note* S.
- HUNGARIANS, works on the history of the, vii. 70, *note*, and *note* M.; descended from the Turks, *ib.*; emigrations, *ib.*; Finnish origin and language, 71 and *note* S.; original abode, *ib.*; first appearance on the Danube, 72, *note* S.; manners and tactics, 73; first establishments and inroads, 75; defeated by Henry the Fowler, 77; humbled by Otho the Great, 78.
- HUNGARY, Great, iii. 313.
- HUNGARY, how occupied, iv. 192 and *note* S.; state of, under Charlemagne, vi. 175; conquered by the Mongols, viii. 14.
- HUNIADES, John, his campaign against the Turks, viii. 129; defeat at Varna, 132; history of, 133; elected governor of Hungary after the death of Ladislaus, 134; conduct at the battle of Cossova, *ib.*; defence of Belgrade, *ib.*; death, 135.

HYPHASIS.

- HUNNERIC, son of Genserik, king of the Vandals, marries Eudocia, daughter of Valentinian III., iv. 277; persecutes his Catholic subjects, 329.
- HUNS, origin and seat, iii. 306 and *note* S.; conquers in Scythia, 307; war with the Chinese, 309; defeat Kaoti, *ib.*; are vanquished by the arms and policy of Vouti, 310; their emigrations, 312; establish themselves in Sogdiana, *ib.*; this division called Euthalites, *ib.*; or rather Epthalites, *ib.* *note* S.; also *White Huns*, 313; their wars with Persia, *ib.*; Huns of the Volga, *ib.*; subdue the Alani, 315; attack the dominions of Hermanric, 316; their ugliness, *ib.* and *note* S.; fable of their origin, 317; defeat the Goths on the Dniester, 318; vanquished and driven northwards by the Geougen, iv. 44; driven from Thrace, 160; revival of their power under Attila, 191; settlement in Hungary, 192; assist the usurper John, *ib.*; extort a tribute from Theodosius the Younger, *ib.*; human sacrifices, 195; believed by the Geougen to have power over the elements, 196, *note*; ravage the East in the reign of Arcadius, 197; attack the Persians under Attila, 198; invade the eastern empire, 199; ravages on the Illyrian frontier, 200; barbarous mode of warfare, 201; estimation of their Roman captives, 203; invade and ravage Gaul, 231; invade Italy, 239; dissolution of their empire after the death of Attila, 247 *sq.*; invade Britain, 389.
- HUNTING of wild beasts, use and abuse of, i. 230, 311, *note*.
- HYESOS, or Shepherd Kings, conquerors of Egypt, vi. 206, *note* and *note* M. and *note*.
- HYMETTUS, bees and honey of, vii. 386 and *note*.
- HYPATIA, daughter of Theon the mathematician, her beauty and learning, vi. 14; murdered by Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, *ib.*
- HYPATIUS, nephew of the emperor Anastasius, crowned by the people in the Nika sedition, v. 54; executed, 55.
- HYPHASIS, march of Alexander the Great to the, i. 165.

IBAS.

I.

- IBAS of Edessa, condemned of heresy, vi. 39.
- IBERIA reduced by Trajan, i. 143; kings of, nominated by the Romans, ii. 88; how Christianized, iii. 24, *note M.*
- IBERIAN and Caspian gates of mount Caucasus, v. 88 and *note M.*
- IBERIANS subdued by Sapor, iii. 278.
- IBN HISHAM, his biography of Mahomet, vi. 238, *note S.*
- IBN ISCHAC, his biography of Mahomet, vi. 238, *note S.*
- IBRAHIM, chief of the Abbassides, seized and imprisoned by the Omniades, vi. 391.
- IBRAHIM, son of Aglab, lieutenant of Harun, founds the dynasty of the Aglabites, vi. 420.
- IBRAHIM, vizir of Amurath II., his virtues, viii. 68; descendants, *ib. note.*
- ICASIA, loses the hand of the emperor Theophilus, vi. 93.
- ICENI, British tribe, i. 157.
- ICHOGLANS, Turkish class of, viii. 74.
- ICHTHYOPHAGI, or fish-eaters, of Gedrosia, i. 340, *note*; vi. 198 and *note.*
- ICONIUM, or Cogni, capital of the sultans of Roum, vii. 239 and *note S.*; taken by Frederick Barbarossa, 246.
- ICONOCLASTS, account of the, vi. 140; histories of, *ib. note*, and *note M.*
- IDATIUS, his account of the barbarian invasions of Spain, iv. 124.
- IDOLATERS easily converted, iii. 421, 423.
- IDOLATRY, account of that term, iii. 100, *note.*
- IGILIUM, isle of, a refuge for the Romans after the sack of Alaric, iv. 107.
- IGMAZEN, king of the Isafenses, surrenders the body of Firmus the Moor to Theodosius, iii. 275; length of the war between him and Theodosius, *ib. note M.*
- IGNATIUS, St., quoted traditions, ii. 164, *note*; vindicated, *ib. note G.*; his escape from martyrdom, 245, *note*; his ardent desire for that distinction, 252; object of his epistle to the Smyrneans, vi. 5, *note.*

INCOME TAX.

- IGNATIUS, patriarch of Constantinople, superseded by Photius, vii. 280; restored by Basil the Macedonian, 281.
- IGOR, son of Ruric, attacks Constantinople, vii. 87.
- IGOURS, Vigours, or Oigours, Tatar race of, iii. 307 and *note S.*; finally extinguish the empire of the Huns, iv. 243; were a Mongolian tribe, vii. 72, *note S.*
- IKSHIDITES, Saracen dynasty of, vi. 422.
- ILERDA, or Lerida, i. 392, *note.*
- ILIIUM, design of removing the empire to, ii. 90, *note.*
- ILLIBERIS, council of, ii. 202; city of named Helena after Constantine's mother, 376, *note.*
- ILLUSTRIOUS, rank of, ii. 305, 325.
- ILLYRICUM, described, i. 158 and *note*; western, annexed to the eastern empire of Theodosius the Younger, iv. 174.
- IMAGES, worship of, momentous consequences of the dispute concerning, vi. 134; derived from paganism, 135; when established, 136; opposition to, 140; condemned by the council of Constantinople, 141; restored by Irene, 163; finally established by Theodora and the second council of Nice, 165.
- IMAMS, twelve Persian, vi. 280; sanctity of Mahadi, the twelfth and last, *ib.*
- IMAVS, mount, v. 173.
- IMMA, daughter of Charlemagne, her marriage with Eginhard, vi. 170, *note.*
- IMMEX, battle of and defeat of Macrinus, i. 279 and *note*; battle of between Aurelian and Zenobia, ii. 23, *note (v. Antioch).*
- IMMORTALS, royal Persian cavalry so called, iii. 217 and *note.*
- IMPERATOR, nature of that title, and use by the Roman emperors, i. 198, *note*, and *note S.*; altered meaning of that word under Diocletian, ii. 93.
- INA, king of Wessex, laws of, iv. 397 and *notes.*
- INCARNATION, history of the doctrine of the, vi. 3.
- INCEST, Roman law of, v. 299; infringed and altered by the emperor Claudius, *ib. note S.*
- INCOME TAX under Constantine, ii. 341; called *Lustral Contribution*, 342.

INDIA.

- INDIA, commerce of the Romans with, i. 192 and *notes*; ambassadors from to Constantine, ii. 362 and *note*; ignorance of the Romans respecting, iii. 180, *note*; science of, whether borrowed from the Greeks, v. 178 and *note M*.
- INDIAN commodities taxed by Alex. Severus, i. 298; price, *ib. note*.
- INDICTIONS, date of that era, ii. 130, *note*; name and use, whence derived, 333; origin and method of using, *ib. note S*; name transferred to the tribute which it prescribed, 334 and 337, *note S*.
- INDULGENCES, papal, origin and nature of, vii. 187.
- INFANTS, exposed and abandoned, Constantine's law to prevent this crime, ii. 142; often rescued by the Christians, 201.
- INFERNAL regions, ancient notions of, ii. 170 and *note*.
- INGO destroys the temple of Upsal, i. 376.
- INGULPHUS, secretary of William the Conqueror, accompanies the great pilgrimage to Jerusalem, vii. 176.
- INGUNDIS, consort of Hermenegild, her persecution by Goisvintha, and its effects, iv. 338.
- INHERITANCE, Roman law of, v. 306 *sqq*.
- INJURIES, Roman law concerning, v. 314.
- INNOCENT, bishop of Rome, accompanies the embassy to Alaric, iv. 95.
- INNOCENT II., pope, excommunicates Roger king of Sicily, vii. 133; condemns the heresy of Arnold of Brescia, viii. 195.
- INNOCENT III., pope, persecutes the Albigeois, vii. 58; character, 267; promotes the fourth and fifth crusades, 268; proclaims the fourth crusade, 298; excommunicates the crusaders for attacking Zara, 296; reproaches their conduct at Constantinople, 313.
- INQUISITION, establishment of the, vii. 268.
- INQUISITORS, religious, first established by Theodosius the Great, iii. 374.
- INSTITUTES of Justinian, publication of, v. 283; analysis of, 289.
- INSULA, or Roman lodging-house, iv. 88, *note*.
- INTEREST of Money, Roman law of, v.

ISAAC.

- 314 and *notes*; condemned by the fathers and clergy, *ib. and note*.
- INTERREGNUM after the death of Aurelian; both the senate and the army decline to elect an emperor, ii. 34; length of, *ib. note S*.
- INTILINE, province of, ii. 87 and *notes*.
- INVESTITURES, papal, to the Normans, vii. 110.
- IONA, isle of, its monasticism and learning, iv. 309, 310, *note*.
- IRELAND, contemplated reduction of, by Agricola, i. 140; (Erin or Ierne), whence colonized, iii. 267, *sq*.
- IRENÆUS, did not enjoy the gift of tongues, ii. 178 and *note M*.
- IRENE, an Athenian orphan, marries Leo IV., emperor of Constantinople, vi. 85; appointed guardian of their son Constantine, 86; zeal in restoring images, *ib.*; disputes the empire with her son, *ib.*; blinds and deposes him, 87; her reign, *ib.*; deposed and banished by Nicephorus, *ib.*; restores the worship of images, 163; persecutes the iconoclasts, *ib.*; correspondence of Charlemagne with, 179.
- IRENE, or Pansophia, concubine of Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria, epigram concerning, vi. 28 and *note*.
- IRNAC, youngest son of Attila, retires into Lesser Scythia, iv. 243.
- IRON, Siberian, its excellence and plenty, v. 173, *note*.
- ISA, son of Bajazet, his reign, viii. 67.
- ISAAAC I., Comnenus, defeats the troops of Michael IV. and is crowned emperor at Constantinople, vi. 113; abdicates in favour of Constantine Ducas, *ib.*
- ISAAO II., Angelus, heads an insurrection against Andronicus I. Comnenus, and ascends the throne of Constantinople, vi. 130; character and reign, vii. 285; scandalous embassy to Saladin, *ib.*; acknowledges the independence of the Bulgarians, 286; deposed, blinded, and imprisoned by his brother Alexius, 287; restored by the Crusaders, 305; interview with the Latin ambassadors, *ib.*; deposed by Mourzouffe, 310; death, *ib.*
- ISAAC, son of John Comnenus, concedes the crown to his brother Alexius, vi. 117.

ISAAC.

- ISAAC, an Armenian bishop, his defence of King Artasires, iv. 169.
- ISAURIANS, rebellion of the against the emperor Gallienus, i. 414; chastised by Probus, ii. 43; besiege Seleucia, 395; incursions of the, v. 81; war with Anastasius, 82; reduced to submission, *ib.*
- ISDIGUNE, ambassador from Chosroes to Justinian, his pomp and eloquence, v. 204.
- ISIDORE the Milesian, colleague of the architect Anthemius, v. 73.
- ISIDORE, archbishop of Russia, receives a cardinal's hat for assenting to the union of the Greek and Latin churches, viii. 101; condemned and imprisoned in Russia, 124; legate from the Pope to Constantine Palæologus, 156; his escape at the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, 174, *notes* and *note M.*
- ISIS and SERAPIS, their temples at Rome, i. 169, *sq.*; worship of, iii. 417.
- ISLAM, meaning of that term, vi. 222, *note S.*; four practical duties of, 234, *note S.*
- ISMAEL, progenitor of the Arabs, vi. 202.
- ISMAEL, the Seljuk, his conversation with Mahmud the Gaznevide, vii. 152.
- ISMAEL BEG, prince of Sinope, surrenders to the Turks, viii. 182; his revenues, *ib. note.*
- ISMAELITES, Shiite sect, account of, vi. 417, *note S.*
- ISOCRATES, price of his lessons, v. 91.
- ISSUS, city of, v. 400 and *note.*
- ISTER, Lower Danube why so called, i. 159 and *note.*
- ISTRIA, annexed to Italy, i. 157.
- ITALICA, birthplace of Trajan, Hadrian, and Theodosius, iii. 343 and *note.*
- ITALIAN, modern language how formed, v. 350 and *note M.*
- ITALIANS, their character in the sixteenth century, iv. 109; separated from the Goths, by Theodoric, v. 12.
- ITALY described, i. 157; divided into eleven regions by Augustus, *ib.*; its distinction from the provinces, 171; singular change in the application of its name, ii. 314, *note S.*; invaded by the Goths under Alaric, iv. 31; kingdom of, Western empire reduced

JANE.

- to the, iv. 276; miserable state of under Odoacer, 303; reduced by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, v. 10; flourishing state of under him, 22; invaded by Belisarius, 132; oppression of by Justinian's generals and by his minister Alexander, 217; invaded by the Franks and Alemanni, 237; civil settlement of by Justinian after its reduction by Narses, 241; desolation caused by the Gothic war, 242; conquests of the Lombards in, 337; harassed by them, 346; how divided between them and the exarchate of Ravenna, 348; at the instigation of Pope Gregory II. revolts from the Emperor Leo the Isaurian in the cause of image worship, vi. 148; Byzantine dominion preserved in till the time of Charlemagne, 150; extent of his empire in, 174; rise of the cities of, 187; ravaged by the Hungarians, vii. 76; conflict of the Saracens, Latins, and Greeks in, 96.
- ITHACIUS, bishop, his cruelty, iii. 376.
- ITINERARY from the wall of Antoninus to Jerusalem, i. 188, *note*; of Alexander, ii. 370, *note M.*; of Trajan, *ib.*

J.

- JAAFAR, kinsman of Mahomet, heroic death at Muta, vi. 257.
- JABALAH, chief of the Christian Arabians of the tribe of Gassan, account of, vi. 319 and *note.*
- JACOB, son of Leith, his pious robbery, vi. 421; founds the dynasty of the Soffarides, *ib.*; makes war on the caliph, *ib.*; death, *ib.*
- JACOBITES, or Monophysites, account of, vi. 53; persecuted by Justin, *ib.*; name of Jacobites derived from James Baradæus, 54; absurdity of their tenets, 55; austerity, *ib.*; of Egypt, form an alliance with the Arabs during the siege of Memphis, 332; their mission to Cairoan, 370.
- JALULA, Yezdegerd defeated at by the Saracens, vi. 296.
- JAMES, ST., romances concerning, ii. 212.
- JAMES, ST., bishop of Edessa, his miracles there, ii. 372, *note.*
- JANE, sister of the Count of Savoy, marries Andronicus the Younger,

JANE,

- emperor of Constantinople, and assumes the name of Anne, vii. 395; conspires against the regent John Cantacuzene, 397.
- JANE, queen of Naples, arraigned before Rienzi, for strangling her husband, viii. 236; parallel of with Mary of Scotland, *ib. note*.
- JANIZARIES, destroy the Hippodrome of Constantinople, ii. 298, *note G.*; account of the institution of the, viii. 29 and *note M.*; meaning of the name, 29; discipline of the, 74; Greek, 99 and *note*.
- JANSENISTS, compare Athanasius and Arnould, iii. 84, *note*.
- JANUS, temple of, when last opened, i. 325; state of in the time of Belisarius, v. 140; originally a gate, *ib. note*.
- JAROSLAUS, sovereign of Russia, attacks Constantinople, vii. 88.
- JAZYGE, Sarmatians described by Ovid, probably of that tribe, ii. 359; account of, *ib.* and *notes*; choose a Vandal king, *ib.*
- JAZYGES, Cumanian tribe, vii. 79 and *note S.*
- JEHAN NUMA, or watch-tower of the world, Mahomet II.'s palace at Adrianople, viii. 150.
- JERMUK, or Hieromax, date of the battle of, vi. 310, *note S.*; battle of, between the Romans and Saracens described, 318.
- JEREMIAH the prophet, his conduct compared with that of the Roman Senate towards Hannibal, iv. 71.
- JEROM, St., his abilities engaged in the service of Damasus, bishop of Rome, iii. 255; his complaints of the ravages of the Goths, 340.
- JERUSALEM, temple of destroyed, ii. 237, *note*; Julian's design to rebuild the temple, iii. 154; city described, 155; state under Hadrian, *ib.*; circumference of the ancient city, *ib. note*; under Hadrian, *ib. note S.*; Gibbon's account corrected, *ib.*; Holy Sepulchre, pilgrimages to, 156; site, *ib. note M.*; vices of the inhabitants, 157; Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple supernaturally frustrated, 159; testimony of the Christians, 160; of Ammianus, *ib.*; physically explained by Michaelis, *ib. note G.*; excavations under the

JEWS.

- temple, *ib.* 161 and 162, *note M.*; the explosions occasioned by inflammable air collected in these, *ib.*; spoils of the temple carried from Rome to Carthage by Genseric, iv. 257; taken by the Persians under Chosroes II., v. 392; tumults of the Monophysite monks at, vi. 30; Mahomet's first Kebla of prayer, 232 and *note S.*; taken by the Saracens under Abu Obeidah, 320; called Ælia by the Arabs as well as Romans, *ib. note*; mosch founded by Omar, 321; state of, under the Abbasside caliphs, vii. 171; pilgrimages to, *ib.*; annual miracle of the flame in the holy sepulchre, 172 and *notes*; state under the Fatimite caliphs, 173; sacrilege of the caliph Hakem, 175; great pilgrimage to, under the archbishop of Mentz, 176; conquered by the Turks, *ib.*; regained by the Fatimite caliphs, 223; siege and conquest of by the Crusaders, 225; massacre, 227 and *note S.*; oppressions of the Latin clergy at, 229; feudal kingdom of, 230; assize of, 232; taken by Saladin, 259; entered by Frederick II., 270; taken and pillaged by the Carizmians, 271.
- JERUSALEM, New, idea of the, ii. 174.
- JESUITS, mission to Abyssinia, vi. 65; expelled, 67.
- Jews, encouraged by Artaxerxes, i. 339, *note M.*; rebellion of in the reign of Hadrian, 145, *note*; religious character of the, ii. 153 and *notes M.*; their zeal increased under the second temple, 154; their cruelty and unsociability, 155; did not proselytize, *ib.*; defence of their conduct, *ib. note M.*; first adopted the doctrine of a future state under the Assonæan princes, 172; rebellious spirit and cruelties of the, 222; tolerated by Antoninus Pius, *ib.*; privileges enjoyed by, 223; patriarch of, *ib.*; that office suppressed by Theodosius the Younger, *ib. note*; their religion why exempted from persecution, *ib.*; how they escaped persecution under Nero, 236; capitation tax on under Domitian, 237; philosophical of Alexandria, iii. 46 (*v.* Alexandria); Julian's letter to the Jews, 154; their rabbis approved the murder of an apostate, *ib.*; oppressed

JEZDEGERD.

by the Christian emperors, *ib.*; Julian's sentiments respecting their faith, 158; laws and conduct of adopted by the Christian clergy, 406; persecution of in Spain, iv. 341; their intrigues promoted the Arabian conquest, 342; persecution of the by Heraclius, v. 414 and *note M.*; their belief of the immortality and transmigration of souls whence derived, vi. 5; persecuted by Justinian, 37; settled in Arabia, 215; military laws of the, 245; Arabian, subdued by Mahomet, 250; of Spain, assisted the arms of the Saracens, 358; massacre of by the first crusaders, vii. 192 and *note S.*; Roman tribute on, viii. 232 and *note.*

JEZDEGERD, king of Persia, supposed guardianship of Theodosius the Younger, iv. 159; war with Theodosius, 166.

JOAN, pope, probable origin of that fable, vi. 183 and *notes*; proved false by two protestants, *ib.*

JOANNINA, daughter of Belisarius and Antonina, her marriage with Anastasius, nephew of Theodora, prevented by her mother, v. 226.

JOANNITES or followers of Chrysostom, iv. 157, *note.*

JOB, book of, its sublimity, vi. 228; its dialect and age, 229, *note*, and *note M.*

JOHN the Almsgiver, archbishop of Alexandria, entertains the fugitive Christians of Jerusalem on its capture by Chosroes II., v. 392; his charity, vi. 61.

JOHN, bishop of Antioch, his decision against and reconciliation with Cyril of Alexandria, vi. 19-21.

JOHN of Apri, patriarch of Constantinople, conspires against the regent John Cantacuzene, vii. 397; his absurd vanity, *ib.* *note*; deposed by the Palamites, 406.

JOHN the Armenian, general of Belisarius, v. 107.

JOHN of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, elected emperor of Constantinople, vii. 338, 339, *note M.*; prowess and death, *ib.*

JOHN of Cappadocia, minister of Justinian, arraigned by the people, v. 53; character of, 69 and *notes M.*; conspiracy of Theodora against, 70;

JOHN.

wretched fate of, *ib.*; opposed the African war, 98; fraud in the bread supplied to the army, 104.

JOHN COMNENUS or Calo-Johannes, emperor of Constantinople, vi. 119; character, *ib.*; victories, 120; singular death, *ib.*

JOHN, count, reputed father of Theodosius the younger, iv. 158.

JOHN the eunuch, brother and minister of Michael IV., compels the empress Zoe to adopt his nephew Calaphates, vi. 109.

JOHN, son of Isaac the Sebastocrator, and grandson of Alexius Comnenus, goes over to the Turks, vi. 123.

JOHN, hermit of Lycopolis, consulted by Theodosius the Great respecting the usurpation of Eugenius, iii. 399.

JOHN, count of Nevers, his valour and imprudence at the battle of Nicopolis, viii. 32; ransom of, 34.

JOHN, monophysite bishop of Asia, employed by Justinian to extirpate pagans and heretics, vi. 37, *note.*

JOHN PHILOPONUS, solicits Amrou to spare the library of Alexandria, vi. 336.

JOHN XII., pope, grandson of Marozia, his profligate life, vi. 183; degraded by Otho I., 185.

JOHN XXII., pope, immense wealth of, viii. 92, *note*; of Avignon, deposed by the Romans, 213.

JOHN XXIII., pope, his profligacy, viii. 255; deposed and imprisoned by the council of Constance, 256.

JOHN the præfect succours Carthage against the Saracens, vi. 350; driven out, 351.

JOHN the primicerius usurps the Western throne on the death of Honorius, iv. 172; conspiracy of Ardaburius against, and ignominious death, 173.

JOHN of Procida, history of, vii. 378; excites the revolt of Sicily from Charles of Anjou, *ib.*

JOHN of Ravenna, professor of Latin at Florence, viii. 112 and *note.*

JOHN, St., reveals the incarnation of the Logos, iii. 48; beginning of his gospel admired by the Platonists, *ib.* *note*; his intention to confute the Ebionites and Docetes, *ib.*, and vi. 5, *note*; controverted text of respecting the Trinity, iv. 335 and *notes.*

JOHN.

- JOHN, St., Christians of in Bassora, vi. 214 and *note M*.
- JOHN, St., Damascus, account of, vi. 143, *note*; writings against Constantine V., 144 and *note*; last Father of the Greek church, vii. 43, *note*.
- JOHN, St., of Jerusalem, hospital of founded by the Italians, vii. 172; knights of, 231; profession of arms when assumed by them, *ib. note*.
- JOHN the Sanguinary, general of Belisarius, his successes against the Goths, v. 147; defence of Rimini, 148.
- JOHN, officer of Basiliscus, desperate courage of, iv. 286.
- JOHNSON, Dr., commentary on Shakespeare's Henry IV., vii. 184, *note*; passage of his 'Irene' censured, viii. 166, *note*.
- JOINVILLE, the historian, companion of Louis IX., vii. 272; editions of his work, *ib. notes*.
- JONAS of Damascus, story of his love for Eudocia and apostasy, vi. 311.
- JORNANDES, Gothic history of, i. 375.
- JORTIN, Dr., character of his remarks on the Arian controversy, iii. 57, *note*.
- JOSEPH the Carizmian defends Berzem against the sultan Alp Arslan, vii. 163; assassinate him, *ib*.
- JOSEPH, the patriarch, said to be worshipped in Egypt as Apis and Serapis, iii. 416, *note*.
- JOSEPH, patriarch of Constantinople, withdraws to a monastery on the union of the Greek and Latin churches, vii. 373.
- JOSEPHS of Anida, Nestorian sect, vi. 51.
- JOSEPHUS, interpolated passage of respecting Christ, ii. 234, *note*; whether entirely a forgery, 235, *note M*; his opinion that Plato derived his knowledge from the Jews controverted, iii. 45, *note*.
- JOSEPHUS, the false, his legend of Tsepho, ii. 223, *note*; his literary character, *ib. note M*.
- JOURNEYS of the Romans, how conducted, iv. 79, and *note*.
- JOVIAN, saluted emperor by the troops on the death of Julian, iii. 216; his previous rank, *ib. note*; character, 216 and 217, *note*; retreat to Samara, 217; to Dura, 218; negotia-

JUDGES.

- tion with Sapor, 219; irresolution and humiliating peace, *ib*; his interested views, 220; retreat contrasted with that of the Ten Thousand, *ib*; losses in recrossing the Tigris, 221; arrives at Nisibis, 222; astonishment and indignation of the Romans at his treaty, 223; which he fulfils, *ib*; expels the citizens of Nisibis, 224; proceeds to Antioch, 225; appoints Procopius to bury Julian, *ib*; displays the Labarum on his march, 226; edict in favour of Christianity, *ib*; declares for the Nicene faith, 229; proclaims universal toleration, 230; march from Antioch, 231; makes his infant son consul, *ib*; sudden death at Dadastana, *ib*.
- JOVIANS, guards of Diocletian so called, ii. 92.
- JOVINUS, general of Julian, iii. 115; besieges Aquileia, 119; made a judge at Chalcedon, 126; defeats the Alemanni at Scarponna, 258; on the Moselle, *ib*; at Châlons, *ib*; made consul, 259; assumes the diadem at Mentz, iv. 122; defeats Constantius and gains possession of Gaul, *ib*; rejects the friendship of Adolphus, *ib*; makes his brother Sebastian emperor, *ib*; put to death by Adolphus, 123.
- JOVIUS, title of Diocletian, ii. 67.
- JOVIUS and Gaudentius commissioned by Theodosius to close the pagan temples in the West, iii. 414.
- JOVIUS, praetorian praefect, succeeds Olympius as minister of Honorius, iv. 95; instigates a mutiny of the guards, 96; negotiates with Alaric, *ib*; deserts to Attalus, 100; betrays him, 101.
- JUBILEES, Popish, a copy of the secular games, i. 327, *note*; instituted by Pope Boniface VIII., viii. 217; altered to the Mosaic Jubilee by Clement VI., 218; successive reductions of the term of the, *ib*.
- JUDAISING Christians, ii. 157; Justin Martyr's decision respecting, 160.
- JUDAS, the Gaulonite, ii. 236; obstinate defence of his successors, *ib. note*.
- JUDE, St., his grandsons summoned before a Roman tribunal, ii. 238; his relationship to Christ, *ib. note*.
- JUDGES, venality of under Constantine, ii. 317.

JUDGES.

JUDGES; kings of the Visigoths assume that title, iii. 282.

JUDGMENTS of God among the Franks, iv. 363.

JULIA DOMNA, her marriage with Severus and character, i. 263; Gibbon's account too favourable, 264, *note* S.; suicide, 277.

JULIA MÆSA banished, i. 277; gains the army for Elagabalus, 278; persuades him to adopt Alexander Severus, 283.

JULIAN assumes the purple at Carthage, ii. 76; defeat and suicide, *ib. note*.

JULIAN, nephew of Constantine the Great, his character of Octavianus, i. 209, *note*; of Alexander Severus, 293, *note*; escapes being assassinated by Constantius, ii. 365; charges that prince with murder, 366, *note*; education and imprisonment, 388; saved by Mark, bishop of Arethusa, *ib. note*; his epistle to the Athenians the best account of his early life, *ib.*; was the son of Basilina, *ib. note* G.; assisted by his brother Gallus, 389; after the death of the latter he is conveyed to Milan, 393; danger, 394; saved by Eusebia, *ib.*; banished to Athens, *ib.*; conduct there, 395; opposite character to Gallus, 396; compared to Titus, *ib.*; Eusebia procures his recall, *ib.*; marries Helena, *ib.*; appointed to the trans-Alpine provinces, *ib.*; fear and regret at leaving Athens, *ib.*; awkward demeanour, *ib.*; declared Cæsar, 397; distress in his new situation, *ib.*; conduct in Gaul, 413; first campaign there, 414; march from Autun to Rheims, *ib.*; defeats the Germans at Brocomagus, 415; winters at Sens, *ib.*; besieged there by the Germans, *ib.*; obtains the dismissal of Marcellus, *ib.*; acquires supreme military command in Gaul, *ib.*; second campaign, 416; defeats the Germans at Strasburg, 417; punishes his fugitive cuirassiers, *ib. note*; generous conduct to Chnodowar, 418; subdues the Franks, 419; sends some captives to Constantius, *ib.*; generous treatment of the Chamnavians, 420; three expeditions beyond the Rhine, *ib.*; composed commentaries of the Gallic war, *ib.*; dictates conditions to six

JULIAN.

kings of the Alemanni, 421; restores the cities of Gaul, *ib.*; despatches corn ships to Britain, 422; his civil administration, *ib.*; retort on Delphidius, 423; protects the Gauls from the oppression of Florentius, *ib.*; their flourishing state under his rule, 424; residence at Paris, *ib.*; his account of the persecutions of Constantius II., iii. 93; jealousy of Constantius, 102; perplexity of Julian on the Gallic legions being ordered to the East, 105; discontent of the latter, 106; they proclaim Julian emperor, 107; his reluctant consent, *ib.*; inquiry respecting his innocence, 108; his dream, *ib.*; embassy to Constantius, 109; demands the confirmation of the title of Augustus, *ib.*; fourth and fifth expeditions beyond the Rhine, 110; his ambassadors angrily dismissed by Constantius, 111; conditions offered by the latter, 112; Julian resolves on civil war, *ib.*; absurd accusation of poisoning his wife, 112, *note*; his violent epistle to Constantius, 113; renounces Christianity, *ib.*; his soldiers consent to follow him against Constantius, 114; makes Sallust prætorian præfet in Gaul, *ib.*; march to Illyricum, 115; descends the Danube, 116; takes Sirmium, *ib.*; acknowledged in Italy and Illyricum, 117; his manifesto, *ib.*; and epistle to the Athenians, 118; excellence of the latter, *ib. note*; his claims admitted by the Romans, *ib.*; death of Constantius and submission of his army, 120; Julian enters Constantinople in triumph, *ib.*; attends the funeral of Constantius, 121; civil government and private life, *ib.*; date of his birth, *ib. note*; vegetable diet, 122; chastity, *ib.*; works, 123; reforms the court, 124; but too hastily and inconsiderately, 125; to avoid foppery becomes a sloven, *ib.*; description of himself in his 'Misopogon,' *ib. and note*; institutes a chamber of justice at Chalcedon, 126; punishes the innocent with the guilty, 127; passes an act of oblivion, 128; deceives the Egyptians, *ib.*; clemency, *ib.*; dismisses the Stoics, *ib.*; love of freedom, 129; refuses the title of Dominus, 130; affected devotion to republican

JULIAN.

forms, *ib.*; care of the Grecian cities, 131; an orator and judge, 132; merits and faults as a judge and legislator, 133; character, *ib.*; his religion examined, 135; a devout Pagan, *ib.*; cause of his apostasy, 136; Christian education, *ib.*; officiates in the church of Nicomedia, *ib.*; a tolerable theologian, 137, *note*; opinion on the Trinity, *ib.*; admiration for Homer and his mythology, 138; embraces Paganism, *ib.*; adopts the allegorical mythology of the Platonists, 139; his theological system, 140; initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, 142; fanaticism, 143; dissembles his religion, 144; work against Christianity, 145; character of its fragments, *ib.*; edict of universal toleration, 146; recalls the Christian exiles of all sects, 147; hears their disputes, *ib.*; secret motives for tolerating them, *ib.*; becomes Pontifex Maximus, *ib.*; zealous in restoring Paganism, *ib.*; his extravagant superstition, *ib. sq.*; directions for the reformation of the Pagan priests, 149; abhorrence of the Epicureans and Sceptics, 150; friendship for the philosophers and diviners, 151; their corruption at his court, 152; Julian's proselytizing zeal, *ib.*; success with the soldiery, 153; favours the Jews, 154; epistle to, *ib.*; design to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, *ib.*; motives, 158; his attempt supernaturally frustrated, 160; this event physically explained, *ib. note G.*; names the Christians Galileans, 162; his unjust prejudices against them, *ib.*; transfers the revenues of the church to the pontiffs, 163; prohibits the Christians from teaching schools, *ib.*; excludes them from offices of trust and profit, 164; condemns them to restore the Pagan temples, 165; his visit to the Apollo of Daphne, and disappointment at its Christian profanation, 168; shuts up the cathedral of Antioch in retaliation of the burning of the temple of Daphne by the Christians, 170; confiscates the property of the church of Edessa, 173; epistle to the Alexandrians, 174; expels their bishop Athanasius, 175; his mortal hatred of that prelate, 176; account of his

JULIANUS.

'Cæsars,' 179; marches against the Persians, 181; residence at Antioch, 182; insulted by the inhabitants, 184; retaliates in his 'Misopogon,' 185; his friendship for Libanius, 186; march to Carrhæ, 188; march to Circesium, 190; number and composition of his forces, *ib.*; letter to the satrap Arsaces, *ib.* and *notes*; fleet on the Euphrates, 191; he enters Persia, *ib.*; marches through Mesopotamia, 192; invades Assyria, 196; takes Perisabor, 197; and Mago-gamalcha, 198; how represented by the Persians, 199; his temperance, chastity, and valour, *ib.*; address to his discontented troops, 200; encamps near Seleucia, 201; opens an old canal of Trajan's, 202; passes the Tigris, 203; inauspicious omens, 204; abandons the siege of Ctesiphon, 205; obstinacy in refusing to treat with Sapor, *ib.*; deceived by a Persian deserter, 206; burns his fleet, 207; marches against Sapor, 208; want of provisions, 209; retreat, *ib.*; harassed by the Persians, 210; his dream, 211; wound, 212; last exhortation and death, 213; funeral, 225; rumours respecting his assassination, 226 and *notes*; reflections on his funeral, *ib.*

JULIAN, SALVIUS composes the Perpetual Edict, v. 267.

JULIAN of Halicarnassus converts the Armenians to Eutychnianism, vi. 58.

JULIAN, count, repulses Musa from Ceuta, vi. 353; offers to introduce the Arabs into Spain, *ib.*; story of his daughter Cara, 354 and *notes*; probable motives of his treachery, *ib.*

JULIAN, Cardinal, manager for the Latins at the council of Florence, viii. 100; papal legate at the court of Ladislaus, king of Poland and Hungary, 128; stimulates that monarch to violate his treaty with the Turks, 130 and *note*; his history and character, 133; killed at the battle of Varna, *ib.*

JULIAN, poet, iv. 79, *note*.

JULIANUS, Didius, purchases the empire, i. 244; the armies declare against him, 246; distress, 250; deserted by the Prætorians, 251; beheaded, *ib.*

JULIUS.

JULIUS, master-general in the East, massacres the Gothic youth in Asia, iii. 341.

JURISPRUDENCE, Roman, perfection of under Severus, i. 262; advocated arbitrary power, *ib.*; account of, v. 257 *sqq.*; abuses of under Justinian, 327.

JUS relationis, ii. 42, *note*; Italicum, in what it consisted, 301 and *note* S.; Papirianum, v. 259, *note*.

JUSTIN the Elder, commander of the guards, seizes the empire on the death of Anastasius, v. 36; question as to his illiterateness, *ib.* and *note* M.; character and reign, 37; death, 39.

JUSTIN II. receives an embassy from the Turks, v. 178 and *note*; accepts their alliance, 179; sends ambassadors to Disabul, *ib.*; account of his elevation to the empire, 329; discharges his uncle Justinian's debts, 330; consulship, *ib.*; date of, *ib.* *note* S.; receives an embassy of the Avars, *ib.*; supersedes Narses in the exarchate, 336; weakness of his reign, 341; associates Tiberius, captain of the guards, in the empire, 342; Justin's speech on that occasion, *ib.*; death, 343; his war against the Persians, 365.

JUSTIN MARTYR, his opinion respecting Judaizing Christians, ii. 160; his Dialogue with Tryphon, *ib.* *note*; exaggerated account of the progress of Christianity, 213; his education and conversion, 215; his opinion of the Ebionites, iii. 48 and *note*.

JUSTINA, her marriage with Valentinian examined, iii. 290; whether the widow of Magnentius, *ib.* *note* S.; on the death of Valentinian I. she appears in the camp with her infant son, who is saluted emperor, 291; was an Arian, 377; her disputes with St. Ambrose, archbishop of Milan, and final triumph of the latter, *ib.* *sq.*; flies to Aquileia with her son Valentinian II. on the approach of Maximus, 382; and thence to Thessalonica, *ib.*; visited there by Theodosius, 383; death, 396.

JUSTINIAN, emperor of the East, his Institutes, to whom addressed, ii. 317; yields the sovereignty of the countries beyond the Alps to the Franks, iv. 362; limitation of this account, *ib.* *note* S.; birth and edu-

JUSTINIAN.

cation of, v. 35; genealogical table, *ib.* *note* S.; names, *ib.* *note*, and *note* S.; his artful ambition, 33; orthodoxy, *ib.*; splendour, *ib.*; invested with the diadem by his uncle Justin, 39; marriage with Theodora, 44; abolishes the law prohibiting the marriage of a senator with a slave or actress, *ib.*; associates Theodora in the empire, 45; patron of the blue or orthodox faction of the hippodrome, 50; *Nika* sedition, 51; apocryphal dialogue with his subjects, *ib.* and *note* S.; extent, agriculture, and manufactures of his dominions, 55; his avarice and profusion, 64; taxes, 66; monopolies, 67; coinage, *ib.*; venality, *ib.*; humanity towards Eulalius, 68; his ministers, 69; edifices and architects, 71; founds the new cathedral of St. Sophia, 73; churches and palaces, 76; fortifications, 78; wall of the Thracian Chersonese, 80; strengthens the wall of Anastasius from the Propontis to the Euxine, *ib.*; his fortifications from the Euxine to the Persian frontier, 82; suppresses the schools of Athens, 93; and Roman consulship, 95; purchases a truce from the Persians, 96 and 187; African expedition, 96 *sq.*; army, 102; fleet, 103; reduction of Africa, 114; fortifies and adorns Septem or Ceuta, *ib.*; re-establishes the Catholic church in Africa, 115; remodels the civil government of, *ib.*; seizes some Spanish cities, 124; negotiates secretly with Theodatus, king of Italy, 128; intercedes for the life of Amalasontha, *ib.*; declares war against Theodatus, 129; treaty with him, 130; assumes the title of Conqueror of the Franks, 152; imprudent treaty with Vitiges, 153; recalls Belisarius from Italy, 155; disgraces him, 161; invites the Lombards into Noricum and Pannonia, 165; receives an embassy from the Ogors, or Avars, 177; assists the Lazi against the Persians, 201; negotiations with Chosroes, 204; embassy to and alliance with the Abyssinians, 207 *sq.*; pragmatic sanction for the settlement of Italy, 241; rumoured death and consequent riots, 245; conspiracy against,

JUSTINIAN.

- ib.*; disgraces Belisarius on suspicion of treason, 246; death and character, 248; physical phenomena during his reign, 249; his civil jurisprudence, 257; compilation of his Code, 282; of the Digest or Pandects, 283; of the Institutes, *ib.*; legal inconstancy, 287; second edition of the Code, *ib.*; Novels, 288; charge of venality, *ib.*; abuses of jurisprudence under, 327; his religious character and government, vi. 34; affected the name of *Pious*, 35; his persecutions, 36; held the slaughter of unbelievers not to be murder, 38; his orthodoxy, *ib.*; heresy, 40; translation of his Code and Pandects into Greek, vii. 37 and *note*; discovery of his corpse by the crusaders, 316; colossus of at Constantinople, viii. 122 and *note*.
- JUSTINIAN II., tyrannous reign of, vi. 77; deposed and mutilated, *ib.*; exile, 78; restoration, 79; assassinated, 80.
- JUSTINIAN, son of Germanus, conspires with the empress Sophia against Tiberius II., v. 343; discovered and pardoned, 344; successes against the Persians, *ib.*
- JUSTINIAN, Roman advocate, confidant of Stilicho, iv. 60.
- JUSTINIAN, Roman general, successful campaign against Nushirvan, v. 366.
- JUSTINIANA PRIMA, city of, founded by Justinian at Tauresium, v. 79.
- JUSTINIANI, John, a Genoese noble, assists in the defence of Constantinople, viii. 156; wound and flight, 170 and *notes* M. and S.
- JUSTUS, the apostate Paulician, slays his master Constantine, vii. 51.
- JUTES invade Britain under Hengist, iv. 388.
- JUVENAL, his sixteenth satire when composed, i. 259, *note*; his works much read by the Roman nobles, iv. 81; complaints respecting the dwellings at Rome, 88.

K.

- KAOTI, emperor of China, defeated by the Huns, iii. 309.
- KASHGAR, Chinese garrison at, ii. 80.
- KEATING, Dr., his History of Ireland, i. 353, *note*.
- VOL VIII.

LABARUM.

- KEBLA of prayer, Mahometan, what, vi. 232 and *note* S.
- KENRIC, conquests of, in western Britain, iv. 390.
- KEBAITES, account of that nation, viii. 3, *note* S.
- KERBOGA, prince of Mosul, besieges the Crusaders in Antioch, vii. 218; defeated, *ib.*
- KERMAN, Seljukian dynasty of, vii. 167.
- KHALIL, sultan, takes Acre, vii. 276.
- KHAN or Cagan, meaning of that term, iii. 301, iv. 44; all lineal descendants from Zingis, iii. 301; orthography of the title, viii. 2, *note* S.
- KHEDEB KHAN, his magnificence and liberality, vii. 166, *note*.
- KILDJE ARSLAN, sultan of Roum, destroys the vanguard of the first crusaders, vii. 194; confounded with Soliman by Gibbon, *ib.* and *note* M.; retires from Nice, 211; defeated at Dorylæum, 213; evacuates Roum, 214.
- KINDRED, civil degrees of among the Romans, v. 307.
- KING, Hannibalianus the only Roman prince so called, ii. 355 and 356, *note* M.
- KIOW, origin of that city, vii. 84 and *note*.
- KIPZAK conquered by the Mongols, viii. 14; position of, *ib.* *note*.
- KLAPROTH, theory respecting Amazons, ii. 27, *note* M.
- KNIGHTHOOD, origin of, vii. 200; ceremonies and duties of, *ib.*; arms of the knight, 201.
- KNOLLES, character of his History of the Turks, viii. 22, *note*.
- KOBAD, grandson of the Persian king, commands the Persians in Italy under Narses, v. 231 (*v.* Cabades).
- KORAN, the, how composed, vi. 227; publication and editions of, 228; style, *ib.*
- KOREISHITES, Arabian tribe of, vi. 201; acquire the custody of the Caaba, 212; origin of the, 216, *note* S.; oppose Mahomet, 240; subdued by him, 253.
- KUSSAI, *v.* Cosa.

L.

- LABARUM, or standard of the Cross, iii. 11; described, 12; etymology un-

LABEO.

- known, *ib. note*; disuse of, 13; motto of, *ib.*; Cyril of Jerusalem's surprising ignorance of, 66, *note*; Julian erases the name of Christ from the, 153.
- LABEO, Antistius, his voluminous legal works, v. 275; nature of his legal tenets, 278; founder of a legal sect, 279.
- LACTANTIUS accuses Diocletian of timidity, ii. 64; vindicated, 107, *note G.*; whether author of the treatise *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, *ib. note S.* (*v. Casilius*); his notion of an Asiatic empire, 175, *note M.*; preceptor of Crispus, 350; date of his 'Institutions,' iii. 1, *note*; account of Constantine's conversion, 2; exhortations to, 7; character of his Christianity, 18 and *note*; purity of his worship, 432; imitated the method of the civilians in his Institutes, v. 288, *note*; his opinion on image worship, vi. 134, *note*.
- LACTARIUS, mount, its medicinal benefits, v. 236 and *note*; defeat and death of Teias at, *ib.*
- LADIES, Roman, their Christian ardour, iii. 253.
- LADISLAUS, king of Poland and Hungary, undertakes a crusade against the Turks, viii. 129; violates the treaty with, 130; second expedition against, 131; defeat and death at Varna, 132.
- LADISLAUS, king of Naples, plunders Rome, viii. 253; supposed title of king of Rome, 254 and *note*.
- LÆTA, widow of the emperor Gratian, relieves the indigent Romans during the siege of Alaric, iv. 90.
- LÆTI, Gallic tribe, iv. 234 and *note*.
- LÆTUS, prætorian præfect, conspires against Commodus, i. 233.
- LAITY and clergy, distinction between established, ii. 197.
- LAMPADIUS, Roman senator, opposes the demands of Alaric, iv. 59.
- LANCE, holy, legend of the, vii. 220.
- LANDLORD and tenant, Roman law of, v. 313 and *note*.
- LANDS, conquered, how divided by the barbarians, iv. 371; allodial and Salic, 373; nature of the latter, *ib.* and *note M.*
- LAND TAX, provincial, i. 302, *note S.*; method of raising, ii. 337, *note S.*; called *capitatio*, *ib.*

LAW.

- LANFRANC, archbishop of Canterbury, corrected the Bibles, iv. 335, *note*.
- LAODICEA, its ancient splendour, i. 187; ruins of, viii. 24.
- LAPLANDERS, their consanguinity with the Hungarians, vii. 72 and *note S.*; ignorance of war, 73 and *note*.
- LASCARIS, Theodore, son-in-law of Alexius Angelus, defends Constantinople against the Latins, vii. 303; becomes emperor of Nice, 326; reign, 358.
- LASCARIS, Theodore II., son of John Vataces, emperor of Nice, his character and reign, vii. 360; death, 362.
- LASCARIS, John, grandson of Vataces, emperor of Nice, blinded and banished by Michael Palæologus, vii. 369.
- LASCARIS, James, Greek grammarian, account of, viii. 114 and *note*, 117.
- LATHAM, Dr., his hypothesis respecting the Goths, i. 375, *note S.*; respecting the Saxons, iii. 263, *note S.*
- LATIN Christians, moderation and ignorance of, iii. 61; indisposed to Arianism, 62; entrapped by Valens and Ursacius, *ib.*
- LATIN Fathers and Classics, Greek versions of, vii. 347 and *note*.
- LATIN language in Britain, i. 174, *note M.*; debased by pride and flattery, ii. 304; corruption of in Gaul, iv. 381; date of its gradual oblivion, vii. 37; language of government in the Eastern empire, *ib.*
- LATINS, name of the Franks, vii. 38; massacre of, at Constantinople, 284; contrasted with the Greeks and Arabians, 347; how improved by the crusades, *ib.*; disclaimed the learning of the Greeks and Arabians, *ib.*; progress of learning among the, viii. 116.
- LATIUM, right of, explained, i. 173.
- LATRONIAN, a poet, put to death for Priscillianism, iii. 374.
- LAURA, circle of solitary cells round eastern monasteries, iv. 319.
- LAURE DE NOVES, mistress of Petrarch, history of, viii. 225 and *notes*.
- LAW, study and profession of, ii. 317; books of, quantity of in fourth century, 318, *note*; Roman or civil, in what countries adopted, v. 257, *note*; modern writers on, *ib. note*

LAWYERS.

W.; laws of the kings, 259; best notice of the fragments of, 260, *note* S.; twelve tables, 261; gradual accumulation of laws, 263; laws of the people, 264; decrees of the senate, 265; had the force of laws before the time of the emperors, *ib. note* W.; edicts of the prætors and other magistrates, 265 and *note* W.; perpetual edict of Hadrian, 267; modifications of Gibbon's account, 268, *notes* W.; constitutions of the emperors, *ib.*; legal fictions respecting the legislative power of the emperors, 269; their rescripts, 270; Gregorian, Hermogenian, and Theodosian codes, 271; authorities for the Roman law at the commencement of the fifth century, *ib. note* S.; pantomimic forms of, 272; not to be regarded as unimportant, 273, *note* W.; origin and succession of the civil lawyers, 273; first and second period, 274; third period, 275; authority, 277; legal sects, 278; reforms of Justinian, 280; destruction of legal works, 286; review of the Institutes of Justinian, 289, *sqq.*; judgments of the people, 324; select judges, 325; assessors, *ib.*; Byzantine, account of its sources, vii. 44, *note* S.; best histories of, *ib.*, p. 45.

LAWYERS, later Roman, degraded character of, ii. 318; how esteemed by the barbarians, iv. 203 and *note*.

LAYMEN, how far invested with a sacerdotal character, ii. 193 and *note* M.

LAZI, tribe of, occupy Colchis, and give it the name of Lazica, v. 198; dependent on the Persians, 199; conversion to Christianity, *ib.*; alliance with the emperor Justin, *ib.*; oppressed by the Romans, *ib.*; revolt to the Persians, 200; repentance, *ib.*; assisted by the Romans against Chosroes, 202.

LEAKE, Col., his edition of the Edict of Diocletian, ii. 97, *note* M.; his opinion as to the site of Dodona, v. 228, *note* S.

LEANDER, archbishop of Seville, assists the rebellion of his orthodox convert prince Hermenegild, iv. 338.

LEARNING, Greek, revival of, vii. 39; in Italy, viii. 105-107; writers on, *ib. note*; second revival under Ma-

LEO.

nuel Chrysoloras, 111; restorers of in the fifteenth century, 113; their faults and merits, 114; vicious pronunciation, *ib.* and *note*; emulation of the Latins, 116; ancient, use and abuse of, 118.

LE BEAU, his theory of the origin of the story of Belisarius' beggary, v. 247, *note* S.

LEBEDIAS refuses the sceptre of Hungary, vii. 71.

LE CLERC, his character as an ecclesiastical historian, vi. 2, *note*.

LEGACIES and inheritances, clergy excluded from, by a law of Valentinian I., iii. 253 and 254, *note* S.

LEGACY DUTY introduced by Augustus, i. 299; confined to property bequeathed by Roman citizens, *ib. note* S.; exemptions, *ib.*; suited Roman manners, 300; doubled by Caracalla, 302.

LEGACY HUNTERS, i. 300, iv. 82.

"LEGIBUS SOLUTUS," how to be interpreted as applied to the emperors, v. 269 and *note* S.

LEGION, Roman, how composed and levied, i. 146, 148; arms, 149; contrasted with the phalanx, 150; march and evolutions, 153; number of men in, *ib.*; revolt of the under Alex. Severus, 291; pay, origin of, 294; Niebuhr's opinion, *ib. note* S.; reduction in the size of the, ii. 322.

LEGISLATION of Constantine, ii. 142; Roman, unity of in the Eastern and Western empires dissolved, iv. 174 and *note*.

LEKHS, or Lygii, ancestors of the Poles, ii. 44, *note* S.

LENFANT, M., character of his history of the councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basil, viii. 256, *note*.

LEO of Thrace, or the Great, steward of Aspar, elected emperor of the East, iv. 279; the first Christian prince crowned by a priest, *ib.*; extraordinary scene with his former master, *ib.*; introduces Isaurian troops into Constantinople, *ib.*; makes Anthemius emperor of the West, 280; sends an armament against the Vandals, 284; its cost and magnitude, *ib.*; approves the nomination of Olybrius as emperor of the West, 292; murders Aspar and his sons, v. 3.

LEO.

- LEO III., the Isaurian, emperor of Constantinople, vi. 81; genealogy of his dynasty, *ib. note S.*; his birth, name, early history, and reign, 82; born at Germanicia, *ib. note S.*; his proceedings for the abolition of images, 141; insolent epistles of pope Gregory II. to, 146; revolt of Italy from, 148; publishes a Greek Manual of law, vii. 44, *note S.*
- LEO IV., emperor of Constantinople, v. 84.
- LEO V., the Armenian, emperor of Constantinople, vi. 89; assassinated by Michael II., 90.
- LEO VI., the Philosopher, emperor of Constantinople, vi. 99; his claim to the former title, 100; violates his own laws by a fourth marriage with Zoe, 101; establishes absolutism at Constantinople, vii. 26; coronation oath, *ib.*; encouraged learning, 42.
- LEO, appointed general in Asia by Eutropius, iv. 145; character, *ib.*
- LEO the Great, bishop of Rome, embassy to Attila from Valentinian III., iv. 245; assisted by the apparition of St. Peter and St. Paul, 246; mediates with Genserich, 256; calls the council of Chalcedon, vi. 26; his epistle on the incarnation subscribed by the Oriental bishops, 27; approved by the council of Chalcedon, 29.
- LEO III., pope, attempted assassination of, vi. 168; miraculous restoration of his eyes and tongue, *ib.*; visits Charlemagne at Paderborn, *ib.*; crowns him in St. Peter's, 169; his conduct in the dispute respecting the procession of the Holy Ghost, vii. 279 and *notes.*
- LEO IV., pope, his character and reign, vi. 410; victory over the Saracens, 411; founds Leopolis and the Leonine city, 412.
- LEO IX., pope, his character, vii. 108; alliance with the emperors of the East and West against the Normans, *ib.*; expedition against them, *ib.*; defeat and captivity, 109.
- LEO the Jew, family of, at Rome, viii. 219; his grandson becomes pope, with the title of Anacletus, 220.
- LEO AFRICANUS, account of, vi. 343, *note.*
- LEO, archbishop of Thessalonica, head

LIBANIUS.

- of the Cæsar Bardas' College at Magnaura, vii. 40.
- LEO PILATUS, first professor of the Greek language at Florence and in the West, viii. 110; his person, character, and learning, *ib.*; death, 111.
- LEONARD ARETIN, pupil of Manuel Chrysoloras, viii. 112; history of, *ib. note.*
- LEONAS, the Quæstor, embassy from Constantius to Julian, iii. 112.
- LEONTIUS rebels against Justinian II. and ascends the throne, vi. 77; dethroned and mutilated by Apsimar, 78; executed by Justinian, 79.
- LEOPOLIS and the Leonine city founded by pope Leo IV., vi. 412.
- LEOVIGILD, Gothic and Arian king of Spain, character, iv. 337; puts to death his orthodox and rebellious son Hermenegild, 339.
- LETHE, castles on the Bosphorus, so called, ii. 289, *note.*
- LETTI, Gregorio, character of his Life of Pope Sixtus V., viii. 265, *note* and *note M.*
- LETTERS, when introduced into Europe, i. 161; Gibbon's opinion corrected, *ib. note S.*
- LEUDERIS, Gothic commander in Rome, v. 135; refuses to fly before Belisarius, 136; sent with the keys of Rome to Belisarius, *ib.*
- LEUTETIA, or Leucetia, ancient name of Paris, ii. 425 and *note.*
- LEVIES, difficulty of, ii. 323.
- LEWIS the Pious, emperor of the West, vi. 177; empire divided among his sons, 178.
- LEWIS II., son of Lewis the Pious, obtains the kingdom of Italy, vi. 178; letter to the Byzantines respecting the title of emperor, 181; his epistle to Basil the Macedonian, vii. 97.
- LEWIS of Bavaria, emperor, elected senator of Rome, viii. 205; endeavours to restore the popular election of popes, 213; deposes John XXII., pope of Avignon, *ib.* and *notes.*
- LEWIS of Hungary, appeals to Rienzi, the Roman tribune, against Jane, queen of Naples, viii. 236.
- LIBANIUS, the Sophist, his account of Julian's eloquence, iii. 132; praises Julian's hypocrisy, 145; account of, 185; his writings secretly studied by Julian, *ib.*; literary character, 186

LIBELS.

- and *notes*; remarks on Jovian's treaty with Sapor, 220; funeral oration on Valens and his army, 337; patronised by Theodosius, 425; remark concerning Chrysostom, iv. 151.
- LIBELS**, how punished among the Romans, v. 317 and *note*.
- LIBER PONTIFICALIS**, the, by whom and when composed, vi. 146, *note*.
- LIBERIUS**, bishop of Rome, supports Athanasius against Constantius II., iii. 80; banished, *ib.*; purchases his return by compliances, *ib.* and 90.
- LIBERIUS**, prætorian præfect of Theodoric the Great, v. 19; commands an expedition for the relief of Sicily, 229; superseded by Artaban, *ib.*
- LIDURNIAN** galleys, i. 154.
- LICINIUS** saved by Tiridates, ii. 79; probable age, *ib.* *note*; invested with the purple by Galerius, 119; divides the empire with Maximin, 122; alliance with Constantine, 135; war with Maximin, *ib.*; defeats him, 136; cruelty, *ib.*; foments a conspiracy against Constantine, 139; defeated at Cibalis by Constantine, 140; again at Mardia, 141; treaty with Constantine, *ib.*; is attacked by Constantine, 145; defeated at Hadrianople, 147; retires to Byzantium, *ib.*; his fleet destroyed, 148; defeated at Chrysopolis, 149; submission and death, *ib.*; counteracted the edict of Milan, iii. 9; vision of an angel, 14.
- LICINIUS** the Younger made Cæsar, ii. 142.
- LICINIUS**, son of Constantia, put to death by his uncle Constantine, ii. 352.
- LIEUTENANTS**, imperial, their office and rank, i. 200.
- LIGHTNING**, superstition respecting things struck with, ii. 56 and *note*; knowledge of the ancients respecting the conducting of, iv. 91 and 92, *note* M.
- LIGNITZ**, battle of between the Mongols and Germans, viii. 114.
- LIKENESS** of the Son, how explained by three Arian sects, iii. 59, *sg.*
- LILIUS**, ambassador from Phocas to Chosroes, King of Persia, v. 390.
- LILYBÆUM** resigned to the Vandals by the Goths, v. 125; by whom built, *ib.* *note*; claimed by Belisarius, *ib.*

LOMBARDS.

- LIMIGANTES**, Sarmatian slaves so called, insurrection of, ii. 362; subdued by Constantius II., 402; their interview with Constantius, 403; attempt to seize him, *ib.*; are totally extinguished by the Romans, 404.
- LINEN**, unknown at Rome, iv. 76.
- LITERATURE**, diffusion of, i. 194; not incompatible with arms, 402; decline of under Diocletian, ii. 104 (v. Learning).
- LITHUANIA**, late conversion of from idolatry, vi. 94.
- LITORIUS**, Count, relieves Narbonne, besieged by Theodoric, iv. 225; defeated and captured by the Goths in an attempt on Toulouse, *ib.*
- LITTUS SAXONICUM**, what, iii. 264, *note* S.; extent of in Britain, iv. 388, *note* S.; why so called, *ib.*
- LITURGIX**, Roman, modelled by pope Gregory the Great, v. 359.
- LIUTPRAND**, king of the Lombards, his obedience to pope Gregory II., and devotion at the tomb of St. Peter, vi. 153; declares himself the champion of images, *ib.*; enters Ravenna, *ib.*; expelled by the Venetians, *ib.*
- LIUTPRAND**, bishop of Cremona, his contempt for the Byzantine Romans, vi. 151 and *note* M.; his embassy to Constantinople, vii. 4, 21.
- LOCUSTS**, probably the ancient harpies, ii. 288, *note*.
- Logos**, the Platonic, iii. 46; how applied by the Alexandrian Jews, 47; revealed by St. John, *ib.*; confession of Athanasius respecting, 50; opinions of the Christians respecting, 51; of Arius, 54; of the Gregories, Cyril, and others, 55; represented by the sun, 141.
- LOGOTHETE**, officer of the Byzantine emperors, his functions, vii. 19.
- LOLLIANUS**, competitor of Posthumus, medals of, ii. 18, *note*.
- LOMBARDS** of ITALY converted to the Nicene faith, iv. 341; date, *ib.* *note*; or Longobards, invited by Justinian into Noricum and Pannonia, v. 165; etymology of their name, *ib.* and *note* S.; situation of, *ib.* *note*; origin, 166 and *note*; migrations, *ib.*; ferocity, *ib.*; subdue the Gepidae, 167; conquer a great part of Italy, 337; their numbers, language, and manners, 349; exact a third of agricul-

LOMBARDY.

- tural produce, 351 and *note S.*; their dress, 352; monarchy elective, 353; government, 354; laws, *ib.* and *note S.*
- LOMBARDY, ancient, described, i. 157; ravaged by Attila, iv. 241; foundation of the kingdom of by Alboin, v. 337; oppressed by a ducal aristocracy after the death of Clepho, 341; extent of the kingdom of, 349; its destruction by Charlemagne, vi. 156; Greek province of, its limits, and government, vii. 98.
- LONDON, Roman treasury at, under Constantine, ii. 329, *note*; description of, by Chalcocondyles, the Greek historian, viii. 88 and *note*.
- LONGINA, his character, i. 195, *note*; tutor of Zenobia, li. 20; betrayed by her, 26; heroic death, *ib.*
- LONGINUS appointed to supersede Narses as exarch of Ravenna, v. 336.
- LORIA, Roger de, Catalan admiral, destroys the French fleet, vii. 380.
- LOTHAIRE I., emperor of the West, his dominions, vi. 178.
- LOTHAIRE, Duke of the Alemanni, invades Italy with his brother Bucelin, v. 237; ravages Apulia and Calabria, 238; return and death, 239; defeat of a body of his troops, *ib.* *note M.*
- LOUIS VII. of France delivered from the Greeks by the Sicilian admiral George, vii. 136; undertakes the second crusade, 239; interview with the Emperor Manuel, 243; march through Anatolia, 244 and *note S.*; narrow escape of, 245 and *note S.*
- LOUIS IX., or St., established by the French Parliament as founder of the royal line, vii. 354 and *note*; crusades of, 271; character, *ib.*; takes Damietta, 272; captured by the Saracens, 273; ransom, *ib.*; undertakes the seventh crusade, 274; expedition to Tunis and death, *ib.*
- LOUIS XVI. offended by a passage in Gibbon's History, iv. 407, *note S.* (Louis, *v. Lewis*).
- LUBLIN, city of destroyed by the Mongols, viii. 14.
- LUCAN, character of Cæsar, i. 253, *note*.
- LUCAS NOTARAS, great duke of Constantinople, his reception by Mahomet II., viii. 177; executed, 178.

LUSTRAL CONTRIBUTION.

- LUCCA, siege of by Narses, v. 237.
- LUCIAN, count of the East, put to death by Rufinus, iv. 6.
- LUCIAN attacks paganism, i. 167; originality of that writer, 195.
- LUCIAN, presbyter of Jerusalem, discovers in a vision the body of St. Stephen, iii. 429.
- LUCILIANUS, count, intrepid defence of Nisibis, ii. 372; Constantius' general in Illyricum, surprised and made prisoner by Julian, iii. 117; appointed by Jovian to Gaul and Illyricum, 231; massacred at Rheims, *ib.*
- LUCILLA attempts the assassination of her brother Commodus, i. 224.
- LUCILLA, a wealthy matron, purchases the bishopric of Carthage for Majorinus, ii. 262, *note*.
- LUCIUS II., pope, killed in a riot at Rome, viii. 193.
- LUCIUS III., pope, insulted by the Romans, viii. 193.
- LUCIUS succeeds Athanasius in the throne of Alexandria, iii. 251; worthless character and persecutions, *ib.*
- LUCRINE lake described, iv. 79 and *note*.
- LUCELLUS, villa of in Campania, history of, iv. 300.
- LUDEN'S History of the Germans, i. 355, *note M.*
- LUGDUNENSIS GALLIA, province, i. 156.
- LUEDUNUM, or LYONS, colony of, i. 156.
- LUKE, St., his body transported to Constantinople, iii. 427; probably a physician, vi. 138.
- LUPERCALIA, festival described, iv. 282; celebrated under the reign of Anthemius, *ib.*; abolished by pope Gelasius, 283.
- LUPICINUS, general of the cavalry, ordered into Britain, iii. 105; imprisoned, 110; marches against Procopius, 241.
- LUPICINUS, Valens' commander in Thrace, oppresses the Gothic emigrants, 323; provokes them to hostilities at Marcianopolis, 325; defeated by them, 326.
- LUPUS, St., saves Troyes from the Huns, iv. 231.
- LUSATIA, Vandals in, v. 121.
- LUSITANIA, province of Spain, i. 155.
- LUSTRAL CONTRIBUTION, tax on industry so called, ii. 342.

LUTHER.

- LUTHER, furious spirit of, iv. 109; his doctrine of the Eucharist, vii. 59.
 LUXURY, beneficial effects of, i. 191.
 LYCHNIDUS, or ACHRIDA, capital of Bulgaria, vii. 64 and *note*.
 LYCIA degraded by Rufinus, minister of Theodosius, from the rank of a Roman province, iv. 4.
 LYCUS, river, ii. 289.
 LYDUS, his character of Anastasius, v. 63, *note M.*; his life, 64, *note M.*; character of John of Cappadocia, 69, *note M.*
 LYGIANS driven from Gaul by Probus, ii. 44; identical with the Lekhs, *ib.*, *note S.*
 LYONS, battle of between Severus and Albinus, i. 255; reduced by Aurelian, ii. 19; martyrs of, 211, *note*; 229, *note*; 245, *note*; date of, 257, *note M.*; council of, receives the submission of the Greek church, vii. 273.

M.

- MACARIUS, patriarch of Antioch, condemned of heresy, vi. 43; a zealous Monothelite, 56.
 MACEDONIA, maid of Antonina, wife of Belisarius, accuses her mistress of adultery, v. 158; put to death, *ib.*
 MACEDONIA described, i. 159; pedigree of the kings of, iii. 132 and *note*.
 MACEDONIANS, sect of condemned at the council of Constantinople, iii. 370; Gregory's sermon against, *ib.*, *note*.
 MACEDONTIUS, semi-Arian bishop of Constantinople, his contest with Paul, iii. 90; installed by force, 91; his turbulent reign, *ib.* *sq.*; cruelties, 92; persecutes the Novatians, 93.
 MACEFRACTA, town of, iii. 194; meaning of the name, *ib.*, *note M.*
 MACKINTOSH, Sir James, his opinion on Gibbon's 15th chapter, ii. 151, *note M.*; opinion of Gibbon's 16th chapter, ii. 220, *note*.
 MACPHERSON'S OSSIAN, its authenticity questioned, i. 266 and *note M.*
 MACRIANUS, pretorian præfect under Valerian, weak and fatal counsels of, i. 404.
 MACRIANUS, prince of the Alemanni, his alliance with Valentinian I., iii. 262.
 MACRINUS, Ophilus, i. 273; the empire predicted to him, 274; election and character, 275; the first emperor not of senatorial rank, 276; origin, *ib.*, *note*; reforms the army, 277; defeat and death, 259.
 MADAYN (or Ctesiphon), taken and sacked by the Saracens, vi. 294; date, *ib.*, *note S.*; ruin of, 295 (*v.* Ctesiphon).
 MADRAS, shrine of St. Thomas near, vi. 51.
 MÆXONIUS assassinates his uncle Odenathus, ii. 21; put to death by Zenobia, *ib.*
 MAFFKI, his 'Verona Illustrata,' i. 172, *note*.
 MAGI, council of, i. 333; power of, 337; doctrine, whence derived, *ib.*; superintended education, 338; intolerance, *ib.*; predictions concerning the birth of Sapor, ii. 366; multitude of the, iii. 30, *note*; Persian, take refuge in Arabia, vi. 215; fall of the, 367; remnant of the, 369 and *note*.
 MAGIAN religion reformed, i. 332; its simple worship, 335; whether idolatrous, *ib.*, *note S.*
 MAGIC, i. 251 and *note M.*; studied by Severus, 262; whence named, 338; inquisition into under Valentinian and Valens, iii. 242; almost extinguished heathen philosophy, *ib.*, *note M.*; ancient belief in described, 243; two sorts, Theurgic and Goetic, *ib.*, *note*; rigour and extent of the inquisition into, 344.
 MAGISTRACIES, civil, abolished, ii. 93.
 MAGISTRATES, Roman, their religious policy, i. 168; situation of under the empire, 204; their humanity towards the Christians, ii. 244.
 MAGNAURA, the Cæsar Bardas' school at, vii. 40.
 MAGNENTIUS saluted emperor in Gaul, ii. 375; compared with Leicester, *ib.*, *note*; puts Constans to death, 376; assumes the purple, *ib.*; campaign against Constantius II., 380; insolent message to, *ib.*; defeated at Mursa, 382; flight, *ib.*; forced to retire from Italy, 383; victory near Pavia, *ib.*; oppressions in Gaul, 384; last defeat and death, 385.
 MAGNUS, death of that senator, i. 309.

MAGYARS.

MAGYARS of Hungary, of the Ugrian race, iii. 303, *note S.*; national and Oriental denomination of the Hungarians, vii. 70 and 72, *note S.*

MAHADI, or the Guide, last of the twelve Persian Imams, belief of his reappearance, vi. 280.

MAHADIA, capital of the Zeirides, taken by the Normans, vii. 135.

MAHMUD, the Gaznevide, pedigree of, vii. 147; expeditions into Hindostan, *ib.*; destroys the idol in the pagoda of Sumnat, 149; character and anecdotes of, *ib.*

MAHOMET the Prophet adopted the legend of the Seven Sleepers, iv. 190; his prediction on the rejection of his summons by Chosroes II., v. 395 and *note M.*; ancestors of, their princely dignity, vi. 205; birth and education, 216; genealogy, *ib.* and *notes M.* and *S.*; meaning of his name (Mohammed), 217, *note S.* and 227, *note*; date of his birth, *ib.* and *note*, and 218, *note S.*; an orphan, *ib.*; his patrimony, *ib.* and *note S.*; marries Cadijah, *ib.*; assumes the title of Prophet, 219; personal appearance, *ib.* and *note S.*; mental qualities, 220; question of his illiterateness, *ib.* and *note S.*; travels, 221; solitary contemplation, 222; summary of his creed, *ib.*; held the Unity of God, 223; and predestination, 224; Gibbon's view of his tenets examined and modified, *ib.* *note S.*; the last of the prophets, 225; accused the Jews and Christians of corrupting the Scriptures, 227; appropriated the promise of the Paraclete, *ib.*; composes the Koran, *ib.*; miracles, 229; journey beyond the seventh heaven, 230; miracle of the moon, *ib.* and *note*; precepts, 231; ritual, 232; an enemy of asceticism, 233; inculcated charity, *ib.*; doctrine of the Resurrection, 234; hell and paradise, *ib.*; converts his family, 237; preaches at Mecca, *ib.*; materials for his Life, *ib.* *note* and *note S.*; emigrations of his proselytes to Abyssinia, 240 and *note S.*; personal danger, 241 and *note S.*; flies from the conspiracy of Abu Sophian and the Koreishites, 242; arrives at Medina, *ib.*; received as prince, 243; his regal and sacerdotal dignity, 244;

MAHOMET.

declares war against unbelievers, 245; his military character, 246 and 248, *note S.*; defensive wars against the Koreish, 247; battle of Beder, 248; his conduct at, *ib.* and *note S.*; battle of Ohud, 249; wounded, 250 and *notes S.*; battle of the Nations or Ditch, *ib.*; expeditions to Mecca, 252; waives his title of Apostle, 253 and *note S.*; submission of Mecca, *ib.*; Mahomet's clemency, 254; installed Prince and Prophet at Mecca, *ib.*; battle of Honain, 255; besieges Tayef, *ib.*; his presents to Abu Sophian and the Koreishites, 256; submission of Arabia, 257; number of Moslems at his last pilgrimage, *ib.* and *note S.*; intercourse with Heraclius, *ib.*; war with the Roman empire, *ib.*; expedition of Tabuc, 258, 259, *note S.*; tolerates the Christians, 259; epileptic fits, *ib.* and 260, *note S.*; suspicion of poison, 260; humility, *ib.*; question as to his ability to write, *ib.* and *note S.*; death, 261; tomb, 262 and *notes*; date of his death, *ib.* *note S.*; character, 262; story of his tame pigeon, 263 *note*; account of his physical temperament, 264, *note S.*; domestic life, 265; wives, 266; incontinence, 267; children, 268; choice of his successor, 270; causes of the success and permanency of his religion, 282; merit towards his country, 283.

MAHOMET I., son of Bajazet, character and reign, vii. 68.

MAHOMET II., Sultan, strengthened the castles on the Bosphorus, ii. 288; his character, viii. 143; learning, *ib.* and 144, *note M.*; reign, 145; murders his brothers, *ib.*; preparations for the siege of Constantinople, 147; builds a fortress on the Bosphorus, 148; levies a tribute on its navigation, 150; builds the palace of Jehan Numa at Adrianople, *ib.*; his great cannon, 152 and *note M.*; invests Constantinople, 154; forces, 155; artillery, 159; attack, 160; defeat of his navy, 162; transports his ships overland, 164; parallel scata, *ib.* *notes*; general assault, 168; and capture of the city, 171; brutality of Mahomet, 174; enters Constantinople, 176; behaviour to the Greeks, 177; re-peoples and adorns

MAHOMETANISM.

- Constantinople, 178; secures the Greeks in their lives, liberties, and religion, 179; death, 185.
- MAHOMETANISM**, its spirit of toleration, vi. 366; propagation, 367; eulogium of, *ib.*
- MAHOMETANS**, their detestation of image worship, vi. 139 and *note G.*
- MAHON**, Lord, his 'Life of Belisarius,' v. 99, *note S.*; his opinion on the beggary of Belisarius examined, 247, *note S.*
- MAINFROY**, king of Naples and Sicily, defeated and slain at Benevento by Charles of Anjou, vii. 376.
- MAINOTES**, or Eleuthero-Laonians, vii. 10; their adherence to idolatry, *ib.*
- MAJESTAS**, crime of, i. 219 and *notes.*
- MAJO**, great admiral of Sicily, conspires against William I., vii. 141.
- MAJORCA** and neighbouring isles, an appendix of the African kingdom, v. 114.
- MAJORIAN**, character of, iv. 265; origin and services, 266; elected emperor, *ib.*; noble epistle to the senate, *ib.*; salutary laws, 267 *sq.*; checks the demolition of the public monuments, 270; repels an invasion of the Vandals, 271; collects an army of barbarians, *ib.*; reunites Gaul and Spain, 272; constructs a navy, *ib.*; it is surprised and destroyed at Carthage by Genseric, 273; Ricimer excites the barbarians against him, 274; abdication and death, *ib.*
- MAJORINUS**, controversy with Cæcilian, iii. 43.
- MALABAR**, Nestorian Christians of persecuted by the Portuguese, vi. 52.
- MALALA**, the historian, age of, v. 39, *note* and *note M.*
- MALARICH** declines Jovian's appointment to Gaul and Illyricum, iii. 231.
- MALATERRA**, his character of the Normans, vii. 106.
- MALAZKED** besieged by Romanus Diogenes, vii. 159.
- MALDIVES**, islands described, iii. 25, *note.*
- MALEK ROSACES** annoys Julian's march, iii. 194; a king, not emir, *ib.* *note M.*
- MALIK SHAH**, son of the sultan Alp Arslan, defeats his competitors for the throne, vii. 164; character, 165;

MANUEL COMNENUS.

- conquists and empire, *ib.*; patronizes learning, 166; reforms the calendar, *ib.*; death, 167.
- MALLIUS**, prætorian præfect, Claudian's epigram on, iv. 64.
- MALTA**, conquered by Roger, king of Sicily, vii. 134.
- MALTHUS** on the population of Germany, iii. 260, *note G.*
- MAMEA**, mother of Alexander Severus, i. 278; sole regent, 285; power, 286; wise administration, *ib.*; council, *ib.*; pride and avarice, 293; murdered, 308; her interview with Origen, ii. 259.
- MAMALUKES**, their origin and establishment in Europe, vii. 252; murder Touran Shaw, sultan of Egypt, 273; their project of electing Louis IX. for their sultan, *ib.* *note*, and *note S.*; their two dynasties, 274; repulse the Mongols from Egypt, viii. 13.
- MAMAS**, St., monument of at Cæsarea erected by Gallus and Julian, iii. 137; miracle in its construction, *ib.* *note.*
- MAMERTINUS**, the panegyrist, a minister of Julian, iii. 126; consul, 130.
- MAMGO**, the Scythian, ii. 80 and *note M.*
- MAN** compared with the hog, i. 352, *note.*
- MANCIPIUM**, meaning of that term in the Roman law explained, v. 304 and *notes.*
- MANDARINS**, Chinese, superstition of, vi. 49.
- MANDRACIUM**, suburb of Carthage restored by Belisarius, v. 110.
- MANES**, his death, i. 339 *note*, and *note M.*; origin of his heresy, iii. 42, *note.*
- MANIACES**, Greek governor of Lombardy, reduces the Saracens in Sicily, vii. 105.
- MANIACH**, prince of the Sogdoites, ambassador from the Turks to Justin II., v. 178 and *note.*
- MANICHÆANS**, their heresy made capital by Theodosius, iii. 373.
- MANUEL COMNENUS**, emperor of Constantinople, vi. 120; his martial prowess, 121; inconsistent character, 122; repulses the Normans, vii. 137; reduces Apulia and Calabria, 138; attempts to recover the Western

MANUEL.

- Empire, *ib.*; failure of his designs, 139; peace with the Normans, 140; his character, 242; violates his engagements with the crusaders, *ib.*
- MANUEL, Roman general at the battle of the Jermuk, fate of, vi. 319.
- MANUFACTURERS, Roman, i. 191.
- MANUMISSION, tax on, i. 295, *note S.*; limited by the Caninian law, ii. 37, *note.*
- MANUSCRIPTS, ancient, destruction of in the sack of Constantinople by the Turks, viii. 176.
- MAOGAMALCHA, fortress of, besieged and destroyed by Julian, iii. 197.
- MARBLE, varieties of, i. 311 and *note.*
- MARCELLINUS, count of the sacred largesses, assists Magnentius's designs on the empire, ii. 375; his ambassador to Constantius, 377; killed at Mursa, 385.
- MARCELLINUS, son of Maximin, obtains the government of Valeria, iii. 287; oppresses the Quadi, *ib.*; treacherously murders their king Gabinus, *ib.*
- MARCELLINUS, Roman general, friend of Aëtius, maintains in Dalmatia his independence during the sway of Ricimer, iv. 275; acknowledges and assists Anthemius, 283; expels the Vandals from Sardinia, 284; joins the expedition of Basiliscus, 285; assassinated, 286.
- MARCELLUS the centurion, martyrdom of, ii. 267.
- MARCELLUS, general of the cavalry, dismissed at the instance of Julian, ii. 415; his son executed by the latter, iii. 129.
- MARCELLUS, bishop of Rome, exiled, ii. 277.
- MARCELLUS, bishop of Apamea, crusade against the pagan temples, iii. 415; slain, *ib.*
- MARCELLUS of Ancyra, his Sabellian opinions, iii. 58.
- MARCELLUS, conspiracy of against Justinian, and suicide, v. 245.
- MARCH, Spanish, instituted by Charlemagne, vi. 174.
- MARCLA, concubine of Commodus, i. 229; conspires against him, 233; a patroness of the Christians, ii. 257; had been actually converted, *ib. note S.*
- MARCIAN conspires against Gallienus, ii. 2.

MARIUS.

- MARCIAN, nominally marries the empress Pulcheria and is acknowledged emperor, iv. 161, 219; origin and character, *ib.*; temperately refuses the demands of Attila, 220; ratifies the election of Avitus to the Western empire, 260; death, 278.
- MARCIANOPOLIS besieged by the Goths, i. 382; quarrel between the Goths and Romans at, iii. 325; Romans defeated at by Attila, iv. 200.
- MARCIONITES, sect of, ii. 164, and *note.*
- MARCOMANNI, subdued by M. Antoninus, i. 370; site of, *ib. note*; a general name=*Marchmen, ib. note S.*
- MARCOMANNIC war, how occasioned, i. 380, *note.*
- MARCOMB, Frankish king banished by Stilicho, iv. 51.
- MARCUS, bishop of the Nazarenes, ii. 159.
- MARCUS elected emperor by the British legions, iv. 54; murdered, *ib.*
- MARDAITES, Maronites of Mount Libanus so called, vi. 56, and *note M.*
- MARDAVIGE, the Dilemite, last of the Magians, vi. 369, *note.*
- MARDIA, battle of between Constantine and Licinius, ii. 141.
- MARDONIUS the eunuch, Julian's preceptor, iii. 136, *note.*
- MÁREB, i. 138, *note S.*
- MARGUS, battle of between Carinus and Diocletian, ii. 63; site of, *ib. notes*; treaty of violated by the Huns, iv. 199; town of betrayed to them by its bishop, 200; battle of between Theodoric the Ostrogoth and the Roman general Sabinian, v. 16.
- MARIA, daughter of Eudæmon the Carthaginian, story of, iv. 187.
- MARIA, widow of Manuel Comnenus, put to death by Andronicus, vi. 129.
- MARLABA, or Merab, i. 138, *note*; means "metropolis," *ib. S.*; said to be destroyed by the legions of Augustus, vi. 200, and *note S.*
- MARIANA, his description of the invasion of Spain by the barbarians, iv. 124; character of his History of Spain, vi. 354, *note.*
- MARINUS, a subaltern, elected emperor by the Mæsan legions, i. 373; murdered, 374.
- MARIUS, one of the Thirty Tyrants, i. 410.
- MARIUS reigns in Gaul by the influence of Victoria, ii. 18.

MARIUS.

- MARIUS MAXIMUS**, his histories much read by the Roman nobles, iv. 82, and *note*.
- MARK**, bishop of Arethusa, cruelty of Julian's magistrates towards, iii. 166; had saved Julian's life, 167.
- MARK**, bishop of Ephesus, viii. 96; manager for the Greeks at the council of Florence, 100; rejects a union with the Latins, 102; patriarch of Constantinople, 123; death, *ib*.
- MARKLAND**, Jeremiah, his censure of the Æneid, viii. 114, *note*.
- MAROBODUUS**, king of the Marcomanni, i. 370, *note* and *note* S.
- MARON**, a Syrian saint, gives name to the Maronites, vi. 55.
- MARONGA**, action at between Julian and the Persians, iii. 210.
- MARONITES**, the Monothelites so called by the Oriental Christians, from Maron, vi. 55; present state, 56; country, 57.
- MAROZIA**, Roman prostitute, two generations of her descendants occupied the papal chair, vi. 183 and *note* M.; introduces Hugh king of Burgundy into the Castle of St. Angelo, 185; marriage banquet, *ib*.; imprisoned by her son Alberic, *ib*.
- MARRIAGE**, Roman, law and rites of, v. 294; fourth, condemned by the Byzantine laws, vi. 101.
- MARSYABA**, or Marsyaba, i. 138, *note* S.
- MARTEL**, v. Charles Martel.
- MARTIALIS**, assassinates Caracalla, i. 274.
- MARTIN**, St., bishop of Tours, his haughty treatment of the emperor Maximus, iii. 26, *note*; his miraculous gifts, 376; character of Sulp. Severus' Life of that prelate, *ib. note*; zeal in destroying pagan temples, 415; founder of monasticism in Gaul, iv. 309; miraculous shrine of, converts the Suevi, 340.
- MARTIN**, pope, anathematizes the *type* of Constans and *ecthesis* of Heraclius, vi. 42; banished, *ib*.
- MARTIN IV.**, pope, excludes Michael Palæologus from the Latin Church, vii. 375, 377; elected senator of Rome, viii. 205.
- MARTIN V.**, pope, his election by the Council of Constance restores the popes to the Vatican, and terminates the schism of the West, viii. 256;

MATTHEW.

- resumes the prerogative of coining, 257.
- MARTIN**, abbot, preaches the fourth crusade in Germany, vii. 295 and *note*; leaves the army at Zara, 297.
- MARTINA**, incestuous marriage with her uncle Heraclius, v. 398; procures the association of her son Heracleonas in the empire, vi. 72; attempts to ascend the throne, 73; her tongue cut out, 74.
- MARTINIANUS** named Cæsar by Licinius, ii. 148; put to death, 149.
- MARTYRDOM**, proofs of required by the Roman Catholics, ii. 246, *note*; incitements to, 250.
- MARTYRS**, primitive, legends respecting, ii. 244; small number of, 245; mostly of very high or very low condition, *ib*.; honours paid to, 251; title when refused, 252, *note*; their example produced conversions, 253; new æra of under Diocletian, 264; probable account of, 281; number of, 283; worship of by the Christians, iii. 427; fabulous martyrs, 428.
- MARY**, Virgin, place of her burial, vi. 18, *note*; likenesses of, 138; her immaculate conception borrowed from the Koran, 226.
- MARY**, queen of Bulgaria, negotiates with the Sultan of Egypt against her uncle Michael Palæologus, vii. 375.
- MASCEZEL** takes refuge at Milan from the fury of his brother Gildo, iv. 17; appointed by Stilicho to lead an army against Gildo, 18; his religious devotion, 19; defeats Gildo, 20; jealousy of Stilicho and death, 21.
- MASSAGETÆ** invade Persia, ii. 373.
- MASSOUD**, son of Mahmud the Gaznevide, defeated by the Turkmans, vii. 153.
- MASTER** of the Offices, functions of, ii. 326.
- MASTERS-GENERAL** of cavalry and infantry, ii. 319.
- MATERNUS**, insurrection of against Commodus, i. 226; his plot discovered, 227.
- MATTER**, M., his 'Histoire du Gnosticisme,' ii. 163, *note* M.
- MATTHEW**, St., first two chapters of his Gospel not in the Ebionite copies, vi. 3, *note*; contents of alluded to in the 'Ascensio Isaie,' *ib. note* M.; wrote in Hebrew, *ib*.; loss of his

MATTHIAS.

Hebrew Gospel naturally accounted for, 4, *note M.*; inquiry whether his Gospel was composed in Hebrew, ii. 206, *notes.*

MATTHIAS CORVINUS elected king of Hungary, viii. 135; reign and character, *ib.*

MAURICE named emperor by Tiberius II, v. 345; character and reign, *ib.*; espouses the cause of Chosroes, grandson of Nushirvan, 373; war against the Avars, 380; attempts to reform the army, 382; his work on military tactics, *ib.* *note*; rebellion of his troops, who elect Phocas, 383; revolt of the Constantinopolitans, 384; flight of Maurice, *ib.*; executed by Phocas, 385; pretended son of, 391 and *note.*

MAURINGANIA, reputed seat of the Franks, i. 390.

MAURITANIA CÆSARIENSIS and Tingitana, i. 162; invaded by the Franks, 392; invaded by Akbah, vi. 347.

MAURITANIAN SIFITI, province of, re-annexed to the Roman empire by Solomon the eunuch, v. 123.

MAXENTIUS, son of Maximian, declared emperor at Rome, ii. 114; vices and incapacity, *ib.*; alliance with Maximin, 123; tyranny in Italy and Africa, 124; triumph, *ib.*; licentiousness, *ib.*; pride, 125; provokes a war with Constantine, *ib.*; forces, 126; supineness, 130; consults the Sibylline books, 131; defeat and death, 132; his (imputed) artifice of the bridge examined, *ib.* *notes*; his head exhibited to the people, 133; patronized the Christians, 276.

MAXIMIAN, colleague of Diocletian, ii. 66; his birth and character, *ib.*; date, *ib.* *notes*; ignorance, *ib.*; assumes the title of Hercules, 67; quells the insurgent Bagaudæ, 69; employed by Diocletian in difficult wars, 74; subdues the Mauritians, 76; triumph, 89; persecutes the senators, 91; abdicates, 99; re-assumes the purple, 115; visits Constantine in Gaul, 116; second abdication, 120; seizes Arles, 121; besieged in Marseilles, *ib.*; death, *ib.*

MAXIMIAN and **GALERIUS** punish some Christian soldiers, ii. 267; persecuted the Christians, 276.

MAXIMIAN, general of Probus, ii. 44.

MAXIMUS.

MAXIMILIANUS, martyrdom of, ii. 267.

MAXIMIN, præfect of Gaul, obtains the government of Valeria for his son Marcellinus, iii. 287.

MAXIMIN, origin, i. 305; strength and valour, 306; promotion, *ib.*; conspires against Alex. Severus, 307; accession, *ib.*; tyranny, 308; ignorance, *ib.* *note*; oppresses the provinces, 309; African revolt, 310; declared a public enemy, 314; chronological difficulties, 318; examined, *ib.* *note S.* (and *note*, 321); marches into Italy, 319; besieges Aquileia, *ib.*; murdered, 320; portrait, 321.

MAXIMIN (Daza) Caesar, ii. 109; emperor, 119; divides the empire with Licinius, 122; alliance with Maxentius, 123; takes Byzantium and Heraclea, 136; defeated by Licinius, *ib.*; flight and death, *ib.*; brutal conduct towards Valeria, 137; unbounded licentiousness, *ib.* *note*; persecutes the Christians, 259 and *note G.*, 280; supports polytheism by introducing the Christian discipline, 280; publishes an edict of toleration, 281, *note.*

MAXIMIN, Constantinopolitan courtier, embassy to Attila with Priscus the historian, iv. 208; entertains the Huns at Sardica, 209; his contemptuous reception by Attila, 210; hospitality of Bleda's widow, 211; visits Cerca, wife of Attila, 213.

MAXIMINIANISTS, Donatist sect, iii. 45.

MAXIMUS elected emperor with Balbinus, i. 315; character, *ib.*; tumult, 317; enters Rome in triumph, 321; wise administration, *ib.*; visits the camp at Aquileia, 322; discord with Balbinus, 323; both assassinated, *ib.*

MAXIMUS, revolt of in Britain, iii. 359; apocryphal marriage with Helena, a British lady, *ib.* and *note S.*; his rank, *ib.* and *note*; invades Gaul, 360; favourable reception and success, *ib.*; embassy to Theodosius, 361; obtains the countries beyond the Alps, 362; the first Christian prince who shed the blood of his subjects (the Priscillianists) for their religion, 374; invades Italy, 382; enters Milan, *ib.*; encamps near Siscia, 384; defeated by Theodosius, 385; besieged and captured in Aquileia, *ib.*; beheaded, *ib.*

MAXIMUS.

- MAXIMUS** made emperor in Spain by Gerontius, iv. 119; executed, 120.
- MAXIMUS**, the Platonist, initiates Julian in theurgic science, iii. 142; invited to Constantinople by that emperor, 151; his triumphant journey and flattering reception, *ib.*; his corruption and avarice, 152; how punished by Valentinian, 237, *note*.
- MAXIMUS**, abbot, inhuman chastisement of, by Constans, vi. 42.
- MAZALON**, great domestic of Theodore Lascaris II., emperor of Nice, guardian of his son John, vii. 361; massacred, 362.
- MAZDAK**, the Persian Archimagus, his fanatical tenets, v. 181 and *note* M.
- MEBODES**, the Persian, his services how rewarded by Nushirvan, v. 183.
- MEBODES**, general of Chosroes, takes Modain, v. 374.
- MECCA**, description of, vi. 201 and *notes* M. and S.; trade, *ib.*; besieged by Abrahah, 216; delivered by Abdol Motaleb, 217; the kebla of prayer, 232; flight of Mahomet from, 242; surrenders to Mahomet, 253; Christians and unbelievers excluded from, 254 and *note*; stormed and pillaged by Abu Taher, 419.
- MECHANICS**, how esteemed among the Huns, iv. 203.
- MEDALS**, imperial, with the head of a subject, iv. 184 and *note* S.
- MEDIAN** tribes implore the protection of Trajan, i. 143.
- MEDICINE**, science of, proficiency of the Arabians in, vi. 402.
- MEDICIS**, Cosmo of, his character and patronage of learning, viii. 117.
- MEDICIS**, Lorenzo of, his encouragement of learning, viii. 117.
- MEDINA**, Arabian name for *city*, appropriated to Yatreb, the residence of Mahomet, vi. 200, *note*; 243 and *note* S.; distinguished as the city of the Book, *ib.*; Mahomet received as prince at, 243.
- MEDITERRANEAN**, its coasts and islands subject to the Romans, i. 163.
- MEGALLESIA**, festival of the, how celebrated at Rome, i. 227, *note*.
- MELCHITES**, or royalists, eastern name for Catholics, origin of, vi. 44 and *note*.
- MELITIANS**, sect of, in Egypt, iii. 71 and *note*.

MERVAN.

- MELITIUS**, bishop of Antioch, death of, iii. 371 and *note*.
- MELISENDA**, daughter of Baldwin II., queen of Jerusalem, vii. 256.
- MELITENE** (Malathea, *note* M.), battle of, between the Romans and Persians under Nushirvan, v. 365.
- MELLOBAUDES**, count of the domestics and king of the Franks, rescues count Romanus from justice, iii. 275; and Equitius cause the troops to elect Valentinian II. to the purple, 291; defeats the Alemanni at Argentaria, 332; put to death by Maximus, iii. 361.
- MELO** of Bari invites the Normans into Italy, vii. 103.
- MELPHI**, metropolis of the Normans in Apulia, vii. 106.
- MEMNON**, vocal, secret of explained, iii. 419, *note* M.
- MEMPHIS** described, vi. 330; taken by Amrou, 331.
- MENSURIUS**, bishop of Carthage, ii. 277.
- MENTZ** sacked by the northern barbarians, iv. 52.
- MERAB** in Arabia Felix, i. 138 and *note* S.
- MERANES**, or Mirranes, a title of dignity among the Persians, iii. 210, *note* S.
- MERIDA** besieged and taken by Musa, vi. 360; seat of the veterans of Augustus, *ib.* and *note*.
- MERIT**, personal, estimate of relative, v. 163.
- MERMEBOES**, Persian general in the Lazic war, character, v. 202.
- MEROBAUDES**, a pagan of the fifth century, obtains a statue, iii. 425, *note* M.
- MEROVEUS**, younger son of Clodion, protected and adopted by Aëtius, iv. 229; his lineage doubtful, *ib.* *note* M.
- MEROVINGIAN** kings of the Franks, way of election and royal ensigns, iv. 227; origin of the name, *ib.* *note*; gold coinage of, 362, *note* S.; account of their mintage, 363 and *note*; allowed their subjects to use their peculiar laws, 366; this controverted by M. Savigny, *ib.* *note* M.; domains and benefices of, 372; family of, when extinguished, vi. 173; last, or rois fainéans, described, 385.
- MERSEBURG**, castle of, its historical picture, vii. 77 and *note*.
- MERVAN**, last Ommiade caliph, de-

MESOPOTAMIA.

- feated by Saffah at the Zab, vi. 392; retires to Busir on the Nile, *ib.*; his surname of 'the Ass,' *ib.* and *note*; defeat and death, *ib.*
- MESOPOTAMIA, a Roman province, i. 143; ravaged by Carus, ii. 55; ceded to the Romans, 87; Julian's march through, iii. 192.
- MESSALLA, VALERIUS, first præfect of Rome, his high character, ii. 312.
- MESSALLA, governor of Pannonia, saves Constantia from the Quadi, iii. 288.
- MESSIAH, pure man to the Ebionites, vi. 2; heresy of his soul being Adam's, 4, *note*; pure God to the Docetes, 5; God and man according to Cerinthus, 7; incarnate God according to Apollinaris, 9; orthodox doctrine, 10; Nestorian heresy, 16; monophysite doctrine, 24; opinion of Pope Leo I. established by the council of Chalcedon, 29.
- MESROBES invents the Armenian alphabet, iv. 168, *note*.
- MESUA, Arabian physician, vi. 402.
- METAURUS river, ii. 15, *note*.
- METELLI, triumphs and consulships of the, i. 293, *note*.
- METELLUS Numidicus, his opinion of women, i. 285, *note*.
- METHODIUS, bishop of Tyre, dialogue of the ten virgins, ii. 188, *note*.
- METTIUS FALCONIUS recommends the election of Tacitus as emperor, ii. 37.
- METROPHANES, patriarch of Constantinople, viii. 123.
- METZ destroyed by the Huns, iv. 232 and *note*.
- MICHAEL I., Rhangabe, emperor of Constantinople, vi. 88.
- MICHAEL II. the Phrygian, surnamed the Stammerer, compels Leo V. to ascend the throne of Constantinople, vi. 89; conspires against and assassinates that emperor, 90; assumes the purple, *ib.*; captures and executes Thomas the Cappadocian, 91; marries Euphrosyne, *ib.*
- MICHAEL III., emperor of Constantinople, vi. 93; profligate reign, 94; assassinated by Basil, 95; defeated by the Paulicians, vii. 53.
- MICHAEL IV., the Paphlagonian, emperor of Constantinople, origin of, vi. 109; intrigue with Zoe, wife of Romanus III., *ib.*; elevation, *ib.*
- MICHAEL V., Calaphates, his mean

MIRACLES.

- origin, vi. 109; ingratitude, 110; dethroned, *ib.*
- MICHAEL VI., Straticus, emperor of Constantinople, vi. 111; deposed by Isaac I., 113.
- MICHAEL VII., Parapinaces, emperor of Constantinople, vi. 115; character, *ib.*; resigns the empire to Nicephorus Botaniates, 116; deposed, vii. 119; personated by an impostor, *ib.*
- MICHAEL, bastard of the house of Angeli, despot of Epirus, vii. 327.
- MICHAELIS, his opinion on Moses' omission of a future state, ii. 171, *note M.*; his explanation of the preternatural obstacles to the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, iii. 160.
- MIDDLETON, Dr., his 'Free Inquiry,' how received, ii. 179, and *note*.
- MILAN made an imperial residence by Maximian, ii. 90; described, *ib.*; edict of in favour of the Christians, iii. 5; counteracted by Licinius, 9; secured the revenues of the Church, 32; Council of, 78; corruption practised at to procure the condemnation of Athanasius, *ib.*; taken by Attila, iv. 241; taken and destroyed by the Goths and Burgundians under Vitiges, v. 151; razed by Frederick I., vi. 188.
- MILES, change in the meaning of that word, i. 149, *note*.
- MILITARY force, its due proportion to the population, i. 241.
- MILLENNIUM, doctrine of the, ii. 173; a Jewish tradition, *ib.* *note M.*; received by the Fathers, 174; condemned by the Articles of Edward VI., *ib.* *note M.*
- MILTON, his enumeration of the Syrian deities, ii. 154, *note*.
- MINCIUS, river, Attila's camp on the, iv. 245 and *note M.*
- MINERVINA, first wife of Constantine, ii. 348.
- MINES, use of in sieges, first theory and practice of, viii. 160, *note*.
- MINGRELIA, *v.* Colchis.
- MINORITY, Roman, two kinds of, iv. 11, *note*; period of under the Roman law, v. 302 and *note S.*
- MINT, revolt of the workmen under Aurelian, ii. 30; observations on, *ib.*
- MIRACLES of the primitive church, ii. 178; period of their duration, 180; a belief in often converted Pagans,

MIRCHOND.

- 181; difference of in the Apostolic and post-Apostolic times, *ib. note M.*; those of Christ and his apostles not observed by the pagan writers, 218.
- MIRCHOND, his History of the East, vi. 368, *note.*
- MIRANES of Persia, engagement with Belisarius, v. 100.
- MISCREANT, origin of that word, vii. 212, *note.*
- MISENUM, a naval station, i. 154, *note*; marines of, 250.
- MISITHEUS, minister of Gordian, i. 325; genuineness of that name examined, *ib. note S.*; death, 326.
- MISNAH, the, denounced death against apostates, iii. 155, *note.*
- 'MISOPOGON,' Julian's, on what occasion written, iii. 185.
- MISSIONARIES, Christian, promoted trade in the East, v. 61.
- MISSORIUM, Adolphus' great dish of gold, history of, iv. 116.
- MITHRA, what, i. 335.
- MITHRAS, worship of, ii. 265, *note.*
- MITHRIDATES, massacre by, i. 173.
- MOAWIYAH, son of Abu Sophian, assumes the title of caliph, and wages war with Ali, vi. 275; conquers him, 276; early history of, 277; reign, *ib.*; conspiracy against at Medina, 278, and *note S.*; address in proclaiming his son Yezid as his successor, *ib.*; undertakes the siege of Constantinople, 375; makes a degrading treaty with the Greeks, 376.
- MOCTADER, caliph, his splendid reception of a Greek ambassador, vi. 396; his alarm at the approach of the Carmathians, 419.
- MODAIN, AL, winter residence of the Sassanides, iii. 201.
- MODAR, a Gothic prince, deserts to the Romans, iii. 349.
- MODESTINUS, juridical authority conferred on by Theodosius II., v. 279.
- MŒSLA described, i. 159; defended from the Sarmatians by Theodosius, iii. 288.
- MOEZ, Fatimite caliph, his proof of his pedigree, vi. 281.
- MOGUL, Great, of Hindostan, viii. 3 and *note M.*
- MOGULS, v. Mongols.
- MOGULS, Great, dominion of, viii. 66.
- MOGUNTIAOUM (Mentz) surprised by Rando, a German chief, iii. 259.

MONKS.

- MOHADI, or Mahdi, Abbasside caliph, sends an expedition against Constantinople, vi. 404.
- MOHAGERIANS, or fugitives of Mecca, vi. 244.
- MOHAMMED, v. Mahomet.
- MOHAMMED, sultan of Carizme, iii. 313, *note*; subdued by Zingis Khan, viii. 9.
- MOKAWKAS, a noble Egyptian, embassy of Mahomet to, vi. 332; treaty with Amrou, *ib.*
- MOKO, a slave of the Topa princes, becomes the founder and head of the Geougen, iv. 43.
- MONARCHY defined, i. 196; hereditary, its advantages, 304.
- MONASTICISM, early traces of, ii. 188; origin and progress of, iv. 305, *sqq.*; causes of its dissemination, 310.
- MONDARS, dynasty of the overthrown by Caled, vi. 291 and *notes M.* and *S.*
- MONEY, its effects, i. 356; value of under Constantine the Great reduced to sterling, ii. 338, *notes*; debasement of the Roman in the fifth century, iv. 268 and *note.*
- MONGOLS, or Moguls, how connected with the Tatars, iii. 294 and *notes*; described, 302, *note S.*; their barbarous maxims of war, iv. 201; method of disposing of their captives, 202; a distinct race from the Turks, viii. 1, *note S.*; seats of the, *ib.* 2; introduction of letters among, 5, *note M.*; sources of their history, *ib.* and 6, *notes*; sovereigns of the, 10; conquest of northern and southern China, 10, 11; of Persia and the empire of the caliphs, 12; of Armenia and Anatolia, 13; of Kipzak, Russia, Poland, Hungary, &c., 14; general alarm at their progress, 15; the pope attempts to convert them, *ib.*; conquest of Siberia, 16; manners of their khans, *ib.*; they adopt the laws and fashions of China, 18; expelled from that country, *ib.*; division of their empire, *ib.*; invade Bulgaria and Thrace, 19; abstained from attacking the Greeks and Franks, 20; decline of the Mongol khans of Persia, *ib.*
- MONKS, their legends respecting the primitive martyrs, ii. 244; specimen of, 246, *note*; of Egypt, shelter Athanasius, iii. 85; their zeal in destroying

MONOPHYSITE.

- the pagan temples, 415; origin of, iv. 306; industry in making proselytes, 310; vows and blind submission, 312; punishments, *ib. note*; dress and habitations, 313; diet, 314; manual labour, 315; property in common, *ib. and note*; riches, 316; solitude, 317; devotion and visions, 318; two classes, Cœnobites and Anachorets, 319; miracles and worship of, 321; persecuted and suppressed by Constantine V., vi. 144; how esteemed by the Saracens, 302 and *notes*.
- MONOPHYSITE doctrine, vi. 24.
- MONOPHYSITES, massacre of the in Persia, vi. 47.
- MONOPOLIES under Justinian, v. 67.
- MONOTHELITE controversy, vi. 41; doctrine condemned in the sixth general council, 43.
- MONTAIGNE, his account of Roman spectacles, ii. 58, *note*.
- MONTANER, Ramon de, companion and historian of Roger de Flor and the Catalans, vii. 384, *notes G. and M.*
- MONTANISTS, their rigid adherence to ancient discipline, ii. 254; of Phrygia, persecution of the by Justinian, vi. 36.
- MONTASSEB, caliph, son and parricide of Motawakkel, his remorse, vi. 416.
- MONTESQUIEU, his dialogue of Sylla and Eucrates, i. 319, *note*; description of Roman military government, 326; account of the censorship, 383, *note*; remark on taxation in free and despotic states, ii. 333; misapprehension of the English laws, iii. 128; theory of the revolutions of Asia, 299, *note*; error respecting the Goths, 355, *note*.
- MONTFAUCON, Father, edition of St. Chrysostom, iv. 136; his description of Rome, viii. 288, *note*.
- MONTIUS, quæstor of the palace, his insolence towards Gallus, ii. 391; put to death, *ib.*
- MONTREAL, Chevalier, Italian freebooter, executed by Rienzi, viii. 247, *note*.
- MONUMENTS, Roman, i. 181; mostly for public use, 184.
- MOORS, war of Antoninus Pius against the, i. 145, *note*; manners of the ancient, v. 116, 121; revolt from Justinian, 213; defeat and slay the eunuch Solomon at Tebeste, 214;

MOURZOUFLE.

- reduced, *ib.*; conquered, converted, and adopted by the Arabs, vi. 352, *sq.*
- MOPSUESTIA taken by Nicephorus Phocas, vi. 426.
- MORALS, purity of those of the early Christians, ii. 182.
- MORAVIANS driven from Hungary, vii. 45.
- MOREA, the, occupied by the Turks, viii. 181.
- MORGING-CUP, wedding-gift of the Lombards, iv. 115.
- MOROSINI, a Venetian, made patriarch of Constantinople, vii. 222.
- MOSEILAMA, the false Arabian prophet, interview with the prophetess Sedjah, vi. 286 and *note S.*; defeated by Caled, 287; slain, *ib.*
- MOSES, his religion suited a particular country, ii. 156; did not inculcate the immortality of the soul, 171; causes of this omission examined, *ib. note M.*; how regarded in the Koran, vi. 226; his military laws compared with those of Mahomet, 245.
- Moses of Chorene, his authority erroneously used by Gibbon, ii. 369, *note M.*; character of his Armenian history, iv. 168, *note*.
- MOSHEIM, his character as an ecclesiastical historian, vi. 2, *note*.
- MOSLEMAH, brother of the caliph Soliman, invests Constantinople, vi. 379; destruction of his fleet, 380; retreats, 381.
- MOSLIM, or Musulman, meaning of that term, vi. 222, *note S.*
- MOSTALI, caliph of Egypt, his negotiations with the crusaders, vii. 222.
- MOSTASEM, last of the Abbasside caliphs, captured and put to death by Holagou, khan of the Mongols, viii. 12.
- MOSTHADI, Abbasside caliph of Bagdad, recognised as true Commander of the Faithful, vii. 253.
- MOTASSEM, caliph, his name of 'Octonary,' how founded, vi. 413 and *note*; defeats Theophilus at Amorium, 414; destroys that town, 415; dangerous example of introducing Turkish guards, 416.
- MOTAWAKKEL, caliph, son of Motassem, killed by his Turkish guards, vi. 416.
- MOUNTAIN, old man of the, chief of the Assassins, viii. 12.
- MOURZOUFLE deposes Isaac Angelus

MOUSA.

- and his son and usurps the empire, vii. 309; defeated by Henry of Flanders, 310; flight, 312; alliance with Alexius Angelus, 325; blinded by him, *ib.*; seized by the Latins, *ib.*; his singular execution, *ib.* and *note M.*
- MOUSA, son of Bajazet, made king of Anatolia by Timour, viii. 57; reign and character, 67.
- MOXOENE, province of, ii. 87 and *notes.*
- MOZARABES of Spain and Africa, vi. 370 and *note.*
- MUCAPEE assassinates Aurelian, ii. 32.
- MUCHI, renowned for their knowledge of the law, v. 274.
- MUMMOLUS the patrician, last governor of Burgundy, iv. 381.
- MUNICIPAL cities, Italian, i. 171 *note M.*; privileges of, 173.
- MUNUZA (or Abu Nesa), rebel Moor, quelled by Abderame, vi. 386.
- MURATORI, Italian annalist, account of, and list of his works, viii. 266, *note.*
- MURCI, origin and meaning of that term, ii. 324, *note.*
- MURDER punished capitally under Charlemagne, iv. 368.
- MURBA, or Chinese porcelain, iv. 79, *notes.*
- MURSA, or Essek, remarkable bridge at, ii. 381 and *note*; battle of between Constantius and Magnentius, 381; great slaughter at, 382.
- MURSA, Tatar chiefs so called, iii. 301.
- MUSA the Saracen defeats the Greeks at Utica, vi. 351; takes and destroys Carthage, *ib.* and *note S.*; finally reduces Africa, 352; repulsed from Ceuta, 355; correspondence with count Julian, *ib.*; sends an expedition into Spain, *ib.*; lands at Algizre and completes the conquest of Spain, 360; ignominiously punishes his lieutenant, Tarik, 361; account of his penetrating into France, *ib.* and *note*; probable origin of the story, *ib.* *note S.*; his ambitious projects, 363; disgrace and return to Damascus, *ib.*; ignominious punishment and death, 364.
- MUSIC, much cultivated by the later Romans, iv. 82; instruments of, *ib.*
- MUSONIAN, prætorian præfect, negotiates with the Persians, ii. 404.
- MUSTAPHA, reputed son of Bajazet, history of, viii. 66.
- MUTA, battle of between the Moslems

NARSES.

- and Romans, vi. 257; date of, 258, *note S.*
- MYGDONIUS, river, its course diverted by Sapor, ii. 372.
- MYTHOLOGY, Pagan, character of the, i. 166.

N.

- NACOLIA, battle of between Valens and Procopius, iii. 242.
- NACOBAGAN, Persian general in the Lazic war, vain boast of, v. 203; defeat and flight, *ib.*; flayed alive by Chostoes, *ib.*
- NAHAR-MALCHA, canal of the Tigris, how used by Julian, iii. 202.
- NAISSUS, battle of between Claudius and the Goths, ii. 7; birthplace of Constantine, 109.
- NAPLES, account of, v. 132; capture of by Belisarius, 133.
- NAPLES, kingdom of, a fief of the Holy See, vii. 110; monarchy of how composed, 114; dukes of, *ib.*; conquered by Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, 376.
- NAPOLI DI ROMANIA, or NAUPLIA, vii. 324, *note.*
- NAPHTHA, the basis of the Greek fire, vi. 382 and *note M.*
- NARBONNE, province of, i. 156; acquired by the Visigoths, iv. 287; conquered by the Moslems, vi. 386 and *note S.*
- NARSES, king of Persia, ii. 81; defeated by Galerius, 84; embassy to Diocletian and Galerius, 85; treaty, 86.
- NARSES, Persian ambassador from Sapor to Constantius II., ii. 404; conciliating behaviour, 405.
- NARSES the eunuch, marches to the relief of John the Sanguinary, v. 148; dissension with Belisarius, 150; recalled to Constantinople, *ib.*; appointed to command an expedition against Italy, 230; character, *ib.*; a Pers-Armenian, *ib.* *note S.*; march from Ravenna towards Rome, 232; defeats Totila at Tagina, 233; enters Rome, 235; besieges Cumæ, *ib.*; defeats and slays Teias at Mount Lactarius, 236; reduces the Ostrogoths to submission or exile, *ib.*; takes Lucca, 237; defeats the Franks and Alemanni under Bucelin at Casilinum, 240; enters Rome with military pomp, *ib.*; administers the

NARSES.

- kingdom of Italy as first exarch of Ravenna, 241; vigorous government, *ib.*; the Romans complain of his avarice and oppression, 336; recalled by Justin, *ib.*; insulting message of the empress Sophia, *ib.*; invites the Lombards into Italy, *ib.*; accepts the repentance of the Romans, 337; death at Rome, *ib.*
- NARSES, the Persian, general of the emperor Maurice, restores Chosroes II. to the throne of Persia, v. 373; revolt and death, 391.
- NASIREUS, Codex, sacred book of the Christians of St. John, vi. 214, *note* M.
- NATIONS, or Ditch, battle of the between Abu Sophian and Mahomet, vi. 250.
- NATURAL CHILDREN, right of legitimating, v. 300; when first conferred, *ib.* *note* G.; incapable of inheriting, *ib.* *note* M.
- NAULOBATUS, chief of the Heruli, made a consular, i. 401.
- NAVIGATION, Roman, described, i. 189.
- NAVY, Roman, how stationed, i. 154; Byzantine, vii. 28; its tactics, 29; fleet for the reduction of Crete, *ib.*
- NAZARENE church, ii. 158; transplanted to Pella, 159; Gibbon's error respecting the date of that event, *ib.* *note* M.; renounces the Mosaic law, *ib.*; the remnant that refuses called Ebionites, 160; question as to its orthodoxy, iii. 48 and *note*.
- NAZARIUS, his description of divine warriors who assisted Constantine, iii. 16.
- NAZIANZUS, site of, iii. 366, *note*.
- NEANDER, his work on Julian, iii. 134, *note* S.
- NEBRIDIUS, prætorian præfect in Gaul, alone opposes Julian's enterprise against Constantius, iii. 114; Julian rescues him from the fury of the soldiers, *ib.*
- NECTARIUS, successor of Gregory at Constantinople, his baptism delays his consecration, iii. 372.
- NEGED, district of Arabia, vi. 198.
- NEGRA, city of Yemen, Christians of persecuted by Dunaan prince of the Homerites, v. 207 and *note* M.; site of that town, *ib.* *note*.
- NEGROES, African, their moral and intellectual character, iii. 277.
- NEGUS of Abyssinia, his reception of

NETHERLANDS.

- Nonnosus, the ambassador of Justinian, v. 208.
- NEHAVEND, decisive victory of the Saracens at over the Persians, vi. 296.
- NEMESIANUS, contends in poetry with Numerian, ii. 61, *note*.
- NENNIUS, his account of the Saxon invasion of Britain, iv. 387 and *note*.
- NEPHTHALITES (Ephthalites) or White Huns, defeat and slay Perozes, king of Persia, v. 85; conquered by the Turks, 175.
- NEPOS, Julius, marries a niece of the empress Verina, iv. 294; succeeds his uncle Marcellinus in the sovereignty of Dalmatia, *ib.*; made emperor of the West by Leo the Great, *ib.*; flies to Dalmatia on the approach of Orestes, 295; assassinated by Glycerius, *ib.*
- NEPOTIAN, nephew of Constantine, revolt of, ii. 383; assumes the purple at Rome, *ib.*; slain, *ib.*
- NERO, the last of the Julian line, i. 208; conspiracy against, 210; characterized, 217; wished to abolish taxes, 301; accused as the incendiary of Rome, ii. 233; evades the charge by punishing the Christians, *ib.*; reasons why he did not accuse the Jews, 236.
- NERVA, his character, i. 213; adopts Trajan, *ib.*; his gentle administration, ii. 240.
- NESTOR, Russian annalist, account of, vii. 81 and *note* G.
- NESTORIAN controversy, iv. 342.
- NESTORIANS, inconsistency of their opinions, vi. 41, *note*; chiefly confined to Persia, 46; missions of the, 48; among the Tatars, 49 and *note* M.; their numbers under the caliphs, 50; modern sects of, 51; of Malabar, their primitive Christianity and persecution by the Portuguese, 52.
- NESTORIUS, patriarch of Constantinople, his persecuting zeal, vi. 15; his heresy, 16; condemned by Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, and by pope Celestine, 17; condemned and degraded by the Council of Ephesus, 19; exiled, 23; persecuted, 24; death, *ib.*; tradition respecting his sepulchre, *ib.*
- NETHERLANDS, number of protestants executed in the, ii. 285.

NEVITTA.

- NEVITTA**, general of Julian's cavalry, iii. 115; made a judge at Chalcedon, 126; consul, 130.
- NEWTON**, Sir Isaac, his theological criticisms, vi. 9, *note*; his average term of a reign, vi. 132.
- NICA** burnt by the Goths, i. 399; appointed for the election of an emperor, iii. 232; council of, 39, 56; its canons, vi. 46, *note*; second council of pronounces in favour of the worship of images, 164; becomes the capital of the Seljukian dynasty of Roum, vii. 170; besieged by the crusaders, 211; surrenders to Alexius Comnenus, 212; empire established by Theodore Lascaris, 326; groundless panic at respecting the Tatars, viii. 20; taken by the Turks under Orchan, 23.
- NICEPHORIUM**, or Callinicum, town of, iii. 190.
- NICEPHORUS I.**, great treasurer, deposes Irene and ascends the throne of Constantinople, vi. 87; character and reign, 88 and *notes* M. and S.; sends an embassy to Charlemagne, 180; reception of his ambassadors by Harun al Rashid, 405; conquered by that caliph, 406; slain in an expedition against the Bulgarians, vii. 67; his skull made into a cup, *ib.*
- NICEPHORUS II.**, Phocas, emperor of Constantinople, his character, vi. 104; intrigue with Theophano, widow of Romanus II., *ib.*; assumes the diadem, 105; murdered by John Zimisces, 106; reduced Crete, 424; eastern conquests, 425; mostly transient, 428.
- NICEPHORUS III.**, Botaniates, emperor of Constantinople, revolts from Michael VII. and assumes the purple, vi. 115; Michael VII. abdicates in his favour, 116.
- NICEPHORUS Bryennius**, revolts from Michael VII. and assumes the purple, vi. 115; rejected by the Constantinopolitans, *ib.*; vanquished by Botaniates, 116.
- NICEPHORUS**, son of Constantine Copronymus, conspires, with his four brothers, against Leo IV. and his son Constantine, vi. 85; tragical fate, *ib.*
- NICEPHORUS**, patriarch and chronicler, account of, v. 391, *note*.

NILE.

- NICTAS**, expedition against Phocas, v. 388; marries a daughter of Heraclius, 390.
- NICTAS**, Greek senator and historian, his adventures during the sack of Constantinople by the Latins, vii. 315; his birth and promotion, 317, *note*.
- NICTIUS**, bishop of Trèves, exhortation to Justinian, vi. 41.
- NICHOLAS I.**, pope, constituted judge between Photius and Ignatius, patriarchs of Constantinople, vii. 280.
- NICHOLAS III.**, pope, transfers the kingdom of the Sicilies from the house of Anjou to that of Aragon, vii. 379.
- NICHOLAS V.**, pope, his origin, character, and zeal in encouraging learning, viii. 116; founds the Vatican library, *ib.*; foretells the fall of Constantinople, 153; restores and adorns Rome, 257; crowns the Emperor Frederick III. of Austria, 258.
- NICHOLAS III.**, marquis of Este, viii. 93 and *note*.
- NICOMEDIA** taken by the Goths, i. 398; burnt, 399; residence of Maximian and Diocletian, ii. 91; embellished by the latter, *ib.*; church of, destroyed, 269; taken by the Turks under Orchan, viii. 23.
- NICOPOLIS** besieged by the Goths, i. 382; belonged to Paula, pupil of Jerom, iv. 75; battle of, between Sigismund, king of Hungary, and the sultan Bajazet, viii. 32.
- NIEBUHR**, father of the historian, his work on Arabia the best, vi. 203, *note* M.
- NIEBUHR**, on the census, i. 171, *note* M.; his opinion on the *Philopatria*, ii. 53, *note*.
- NIGER**, Pescennius, governor of Syria, his character, i. 247; assumes the imperial dignity, 248; vanquished by Severus, 255; Gibbon corrected, *ib.* *note* W.; death, 257.
- NIRA** sedition at Constantinople, v. 51; suppressed, 55.
- NILE**, navigation improved by Probus, ii. 51; rise of the, iii. 421 and *note*; vi. 331, *note*; canal to the Red Sea, 339 and *note* S.; statue of the, discovered at Rome, viii. 286.

NINE.

- NINE, reverence of the Tatars for that number, viii. 44, *note*.
- NINEVEH, battle on the site of, between the Romans under Heraclius and the Persians, v. 408.
- NINUS, date of his accession, i. 331, *note*.
- NISIBIS, capture of, i. 403 and *note M*.
- NISIBIS, negotiations respecting, ii. 86; described, 372; third siege of by Sapor, *ib.*; raised, 373; surrendered to the Persians by Jovian, iii. 219; who expels the citizens, 124.
- NITRIA, slaughter of the monks at, under Valens, iii. 253; monasteries of, iv. 307.
- NIZAM, vizir of the sultans Alp Arslan and Malek Shah, his learning and virtues, vii. 166; assassinated, 167 and *note M*.
- NOAH, a prophet, vi. 225.
- NOBATÆ, or Nubians, Diocletian's treaty with, ii. 77.
- NOBILISSIMUS, title invented for Hannibal, ii. 355.
- NOGA, Mongol chief, marries the natural daughter of Michael Palæologus, viii. 19.
- NOGARET, William of, minister of Philip the Fair of France, seizes and imprisons pope Boniface VIII. at Anagni, viii. 215.
- NOGENT, near Soissons, field of battle between Clovis and Syagrius, iv. 348, *note*.
- NOLA besieged by Alaric, iv. 110.
- NONNOSUS, embassy of from Justinian to the Negus of Abyssinia, v. 207; journey and reception, 208.
- NORICUM described, i. 158.
- NORMANS, their expeditions stimulated by the conquests of Charlemagne, vi. 177; occasion of their invading Italy, vii. 102 and *note M*.; their language, *ib.* *note*; serve against the Saracens in Sicily, 105; conquer Apulia, *ib.*; their character, 106; tyranny in Apulia, 107; Italian conquests, 114; conquest of Sicily, 117; extinction of the, 145.
- NOTOBLA, official despatch received by the emperors from the *frumentarii*, ii. 3.
- NOTITIA, when published, ii. 303, *notes*.
- NOUBEDDIN, sultan of Aleppo, his recapture of Damascus and other conquests, vii. 250: character, *ib.* and

OCKLEY.

- note*; attempts upon and conquest of Egypt, 251-253; deposes the Fatimite caliphs, *ib.*
- NOVATIANS, Constantine's edict in favour of the, iii. 42; of Paphlagonia vanquish the legions sent against them by Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, 93.
- NOVELS of Justinian, account of, v. 288.
- NOVGOROD, Russian capital, vii. 84.
- NUBLA, whether conquered by Trajan, i. 143, *note S*.; converted to Christianity, vi. 63; becomes Mahometan, 64.
- NUMERALS called Arabic or Indian, used by the Greeks and Latins, vi. 378, *note*; borrowed by the Arabs from the latter, *ib.*
- NUMERIAN, son of Carus, ii. 53; emperor with Carinus, 56; retreats from Persia, *ib.*; character, 61; death, 62.
- NUMIDIA, limits of under Augustus, i. 162; Christians condemned to the mines of, ii. 245, *note*.
- NUSHIRVAN, v. Chosroes.
- NYMPHÆUM, residence of the emperors of Nice, vii. 367 and *note*.

O.

- OAK, synod of the, iv. 154; condemns and deposes Chrysostom, 155.
- OASIS of Libya described, iv. 142, *note*; vi. 23, *note* and *note M*.
- OATH by the head of the emperor, iv. 97 and *note*.
- OBEDIENCE, passive, of the Christians, favourably regarded by Constantine, iii. 7.
- OBEIDOLLAH, governor of Cufa, insults the dying Hosein, vi. 280.
- OBELISK of the temple of the Sun, transferred to Rome by Constantius II., ii. 400; whether now extant, 401, *note*; several transported to Rome by Augustus and his successors, 401.
- OBLATIONS, origin of, ii. 197.
- OBLIGATIONS, Roman law respecting, v. 311.
- OCKLEY, author of the History of the Saracens, his literary merits and unworthy fate, vi. 377, *note*.

OCTAL.

- OCTAL**, son of Gingis, khan of the Mongols and Tartars, viii. 10.
- OCTAVIA**, tragedy of Seneca, characterized, iv. 86, *note*.
- OCTAVIAN**, son of Alberic, and grandson of Marozia, becomes pope John XII., vi. 185.
- OCTAVIANUS**, name of Augustus, i. 208.
- ODENATHUS** of Palmyra, harasses Sapor's army, i. 406; named Augustus by the senate, 411; bequeaths the government of the East to Zenobia, *ib.*; family, ii. 20, *note*; assassinated by his nephew Mæonius, 21.
- ODEUM** restored by Herodes, i. 183 and *note* W.; Gibbon's mistake respecting, corrected, 184, *note* S.
- ODIN**, descendants of, i. 360, *note*; history of, 377; expedition of examined, *ib.* *notes*; god and warrior how confounded, 378, *note* M.; flight of from Azoph to Sweden rejected, viii. 273, *note*.
- ODACER**, son of Edecon, assumes the command of the barbarian confederates in Italy, iv. 297; history of, 298; prediction of St. Severinus, *ib.*; whether he assumed the title of king, *ib.* and *note* M.; character and reign, 302; acquires Dalmatia, 303; vanquishes the Rugians, *ib.*; resigns to Euric all the provinces beyond the Alps, 345; thrice defeated by Theodoric, v. 9; besieged by him in Ravenna, 10; capitulation and death, *ib.*
- OFFICERS**, Roman Military, their character, i. 146; Constantine's regulations respecting, ii. 319.
- OGORS**, or Varchonites, conquered by the Turks, v. 176, and *note* S.
- OHUD**, battle of, between the Moslems and Koreishites, vi. 249.
- OL**, distribution of, at Rome, iv. 85.
- OLGA**, princess of Russia, her conversion to Christianity, vii. 92.
- OLIVE**, cultivation of the, i. 190.
- OLMUTZ** defended against the Mongols by Stenberg, viii. 14, *note* M.
- OLYBRIUS**, history of, iv. 292; married to Placidia, daughter of Valentinian, *ib.*; proposed as emperor by Ricimer, *ib.*; established by the capture of Rome, 293; death, 294.
- OLYMPIAS**, wife of Arsaces Tiranus, iii. 278; confounded by Gibbon with Pharansem, *ib.* *note* M.

ORCHAN.

- OLYMPIC** games at Antioch, iii. 168.
- OLYMPIODORUS**, his account of the magnificence of Rome, iv. 74.
- OLYMPIUS**, the philosopher, exhorts the Alexandrians to defend their idols, iii. 418.
- OLYMPIUS**, an officer of the palace, excites the suspicions of Honorius against Stilicho, iv. 60; entices the latter from his sanctuary and causes him to be beheaded, 61, *egg.*; persecutes and tortures his family and adherents, 62; his disgrace, adventures, and ignominious death, 95.
- OMAN**, district of Persia, vi. 198.
- OMAR**, caliph, conversion to Mahometanism, vi. 240; names Abubeker as caliph, 270; succeeds him, 271; assassination, *ib.*; date of, *ib.* *note* S.; his abstinence and humility, 288; conquests, 289; founds Bassora, 293; his division of the spoil of Madayn, 295; his journey to receive the capitulation of Jerusalem, 320; interview with the patriarch Sophronius, 321; founds a mosque on the site of the temple of Solomon, *ib.* and *note*.
- OMAR II.**, caliph, character, vi. 380 and *note* M.
- OMAYAH** of Tayef, contemporary of Mahomet, preached doctrines similar to his, vi. 224, *note* S.
- OMMIYAH**, family of, elevated to the caliphate, vi. 277; character of the princes of that house, 288; reduction of its dominions by the revolt of Arabia and Persia, 377; unpopular except in Syria, 390; fall of, 392; massacre of the Omniades at Damascus, 393; their dynasty established in Spain, 394.
- OMNIPOTENCE**, how limited by Estius and Bull, iii. 60, *note*.
- ONAGRI**, warlike engines so called, v. 139 and *note*.
- ONEGESIUS**, architect of Attila, iv. 203.
- OPTATUS**, brother-in-law of Constantine, murdered by Constantius II., ii. 365.
- ORACLES**, revived credit of, ii. 266 and *note*; that of Apollo at Miletus consulted by Diocletian, *ib.*; abolished by Constantine, iii. 98.
- ORCHAN**, son of the caliph Othman, takes Prusa, viii. 23; conquest of Bithynia, *ib.*; marries Theodora, daughter of the emperor John Can-

ORESTES.

- tacuzene, 26; treaty with the empress Anne respecting the sale of captives, 27; death, 28.
- ORESTES, præfect of Egypt, assaulted by the monks of Nitria, vi. 13.
- ORESTES, the patrician, and commander of the barbarian confederates, ambassador of Attila to Theodosius the Younger, iv. 209; second embassy, 217; deposes Nepos, 295; history of, 296; makes his son Augustulus emperor of the West, *ib.*; put to death by Odoacer, 297.
- ORIENTALS, their insensibility, i. 218.
- ORIGEN, how he escaped temptation, ii. 187 and *note*; his account of the number of Christians, 214; his testimony respecting the martyrs, 245 and 246, *note G.*; attempts to convert Mamaea, 259; theological character and opinions of, vi. 39; works condemned as heretical by Justinian, *ib.*
- ORLANDO (Rutland or Rolando), death of, vi. 171, *note.*
- ORLEANS, besieged by Attila, iv. 232; relieved by Aëtius and Theodorice, 234.
- ORMUSD, principle of good, i. 334.
- ORMUZ, city of, its history, viii. 44, *note.*
- OROSIUS, account of the defeat of Radagaisus, iv. 48.
- ORTHODOXY and Arianism, their moral effects contrasted, iii. 369.
- ORTHOGRUL, father of the caliph Othman or Osman, his pastoral reign, viii. 21; death, 22, *note S.*
- ORTOK, hereditary emir of Jerusalem, vii. 177.
- OSIMO (Auximum) reduced by Belisarius, v. 152.
- OSIRIS, Egyptian deity, supplanted by Serapis, iii. 417; identical with Bacchus, 418, *note S.*
- OSIUS, bishop of Cordova, his ascendant over Constantine the Great, iii. 18 and *note*; presides in the council of Nice, 64; supports Athanasius against Constantius II., 80; a condemnation of that prelate extorted from him, *ib.*
- OSMANLIS, correct name of the Ottomans, viii. 21.
- OSSET, or Julia Constantia in Bætica, miraculous fonts at, iv. 339; site of, *ib. note.*

OTRANTO.

- OSSIAN's poems composed by a Caledonian, i. 141, *note*; whether correct in the account of a campaign between Fingal and the emperor Severus, 266 and *note*; his dispute with a foreign missionary, ii. 213, *note.*
- OSRHOENE reduced by Trajan, i. 143.
- OSRHOENE, kingdom of, reduced by the Romans, i. 342; duration of, 343, *note.*
- OSTIA, port of, i. 189; described, iv. 97; taken by Alaric, 98; an episcopal city, *ib.* and *note S.*; present state of, viii. 210.
- OSTROGOTHS AND VISIGOTHS, first occurrence of their names, i. 379, *note S. (v. Goths).*
- OTAS the satrap, ii. 80.
- OTHMAN, secretary of Mahomet, revises the Koran, vi. 228 and *note S.*; elected to the caliphate, 271; nominated by Abd Errahman, 272, *note S.*; sect of "the return" sought his dethronement, *ib.*; view of his reign and character, 273; rebellion of the Charegites, *ib.*; death, 274.
- OTHMAN, caliph, character and reign, viii. 21; his real name was Osman, *ib. note S.*; date of his invasion of the territory of Nicomedia, 22.
- OTHO I. OR GREAT, king of Germany, genealogy, vi. 178 and *note*; restores the Western empire, 179; fixes the imperial crown in the German nation, *ib.*; obtains the nomination of the popes, 182; campaign against and victory over the Hungarians, vii. 78.
- OTHO II., emperor of the West, marries Theophano, daughter of Romanus II., emperor of Constantinople, vi. 104; punishes pope John XII. and the revolt of the Romans, 185; accused of the treacherous murder of the senators, *ib.*
- OTHO III. narrowly escapes the fury of the Romans, vi. 186; poisoned by the widow of Crescentius, *ib.*
- OTHO of Freysingen, bishop and historian, leads a body of German crusaders through Anatolia, vii. 244, *note S.*; nobleness of his family, viii. 205, *note.*
- OTHO DE LA ROCHE, duke of Athens and Thebes, vii. 384.
- OTRANTO, taken and sacked by the Turks, viii. 185.

OTTOMAN.

- OTTOMAN empire, rise and progress of, viii. 20; works on, *ib.* and *notes* M. and S.; its true æra, 23; its unity restored, 69; hereditary succession and merits of the Ottoman princes, 72; their obscure origin, *ib.*
- OVID, exile of, i. 220, *note*; ii. 358; description of the Getæ and Sarmatians, *ib.*; character of his epistles from Pontus, *ib.* *note*; his Sarmatians probably Jazygæ, 359.
- OXFORD, university of, first teachers of Greek at, viii. 117, *note*.
- OXYBINCHUS, city of, seat of Christian orthodoxy, iv. 308.

P.

- PACATUS, his panegyric on Theodosius the Great, iii. 387.
- PACHOMIUS, abbot, number of his followers and monasteries, iv. 307.
- PACTS, obligation of, v. 312 and *note* S.
- PÆDERASTY, how punished by the Scatinian law, v. 322; made capital by the Christian emperors, *ib.*; torture added by Justinian, 323; charge of used as an instrument of tyranny, *ib.* and *notes*.
- PÆTUS, Ælius, his 'Tripartite,' the oldest work of Jurisprudence, vi. 274.
- PAGAN, derivation and revolutions of the term, iii. 100, *notes*; true etymology uncertain, *ib.* *note* S.
- PAGANISM, not suppressed by Constantine, iii. 97 and *note*; edict of Constantius II. against, 98; not enforced, 99; lasted during the reigns of the sons of Constantine, *ib.*; its ruin suspended by the division of the Christians, 100; its destruction under Theodosius the Great described, 406; state of at Rome, 407; condemned by a majority of the senate, 411; abandoned by the Roman citizens, 412; M. Beugnot's account, 413, *note* M.; restored by Julian, 147; who attempts to reform it, 149; fall of under Jovian, 230; final and absolute edict of Theodosius against, 422; long maintained in the rural districts, *ib.* *note* M.; pagan conformers, 424; obtained civil and military honours under Theodosius, 425; last vestiges of paganism, 426 and *note* M.; lin-

PALÆOLOGUS.

- gered last in Asia Minor, vi. 37; instances of in the fifteenth century, viii. 119 and *note*.
- PAGANS, their increased zeal against Christianity, ii. 265; growth and superstition among, *ib.*; abandon the study of philosophy, 266; of Rome, their joy at the approach of Radagaisus, iv. 47 and *note* M.; laws against relaxed after the removal of the minister Olympius, 95.
- PAINTING successfully cultivated by the Italians of the sixth century, v. 358.
- PALACE of Caracalla and Geta, i. 267, *note*; palaces of Justinian described, v. 77.
- PALÆOLOGI, genealogy of the, vii. 362, and 363 *note* S.; extinction of the family of, viii. 180.
- PALÆOLOGUS, Michael, guardian and colleague of John, emperor of Nice, negotiations with the emperor Baldwin II., vii. 343; alliance with the Genoese, 344; recovers Constantinople, 346 and 367; family and character, 362; dexterous evasion of a fiery ordeal, 364; great duke and governor of Nice, 365; administration, *ib.*; assumes the title of despot, and then of emperor, 366; triumphal entry into Constantinople, 368; blinds and banishes his ward John Lascaris 369; excommunication by and interview with the patriarch Arsenius, 369, 370; conquests, 372; negotiations with popes Urban IV. and Gregory X., and union with the Latin church, *ib.*; persecutes the Greeks, 374; fortifies Constantinople, 376; assists the revolt of Sicily, 378; surprised by the Tatars, viii. 19.
- PALÆOLOGUS, Michael II., associated in the empire by his father Andronicus, vii. 390; death, 391.
- PALÆOLOGUS, John, son of Andronicus the Younger, takes up arm against his guardian the emperor Cantacuzene, vii. 403; defeat and flight to the isle of Tenedos, *ib.*; character and reign, viii. 35; deposed and imprisoned, *ib.*; divides the empire with his eldest son and grandson, 36; treaty with pope Innocent VI., 81; visits pope Urban V. at Rome, 82; acknowledges the pope's supremacy and the double procession of the Holy

PALÆOLOGUS.

- Ghost, *ib.*; negotiates with John Hawkwood, 83; arrested for debt at Venice, *ib.*
- PALÆOLOGUS, John II., his reign, viii. 72; Turkish tribute, *ib.*; divorces his wife and marries the princess of Trebizond, 91; converts a Jew, *ib.*; embarks on the pope's galleys, 95; triumphal entry of Venice, 97; attends the synods of Ferrara and Florence, 98, 99; effects a reunion with the Latin church, 103; treaty with the pope, *ib.*; death, 139.
- PALÆOLOGUS, Manuel, second son of John, receives the imperial crown, viii. 35; deposed and imprisoned with his father, *ib.*; restoration and civil wars with his cousin, 36; humiliating treaty with the sultan Bajazet, 37; obtains assistance from France, *ib.*; abdicates in favour of the prince of Selymbria, *ib.*; restored, 70; alliance with Soliman, son of Bajazet, *ib.*; with Mahomet, *ib.*; dismisses Mustapha, reputed son of Bajazet, from custody, 71; leath, 72; his visit to and favourable reception at the court of France, 84; to England, 85; negotiations with pope Martin V., 89; his double dealing, *ib.*; private motives, 90; death, 91; history of his sons, *ib.*
- PALÆOLOGUS, Constantine, receives the imperial crown at Sparta, viii. 140; killed in the storm of Constantinople by the Turks, 171.
- PALÆOLOGUS, Andrew, son of Thomas, despot of the Morea, sells his claim to the empires of Constantinople and Trebizond to Charles VIII. of France, viii. 182 and *note*.
- PALÆOLOGUS, Andronicus, son of John, forms a conspiracy with Saunzes, son of Amurath I., to murder their fathers, viii. 35; his punishment, *ib.*; raised to the throne on the deposition of his father, *ib.*; divides the empire with his father, 36.
- PALÆOLOGUS, Demetrius, attempts to seize the throne on the death of John II., viii. 139; despot of the Morea, history of after the fall of Constantinople, 180; deposed by Mahomet II., who marries his daughter, 181; dies in a convent, 182.
- PALÆOLOGUS, George, seizes the navy

PANDECTS.

- of Nicephorus Botaniates, vi. 117; defends Durazzo against the Normans, vii. 121.
- PALÆOLOGUS, Thomas, despot of the Morea, history of after the fall of Constantinople, viii. 180; takes refuge at Rome, 182; fate of his family, *ib.*
- PALÆOLOGUS, Manuel, son of Thomas, despot of the Morea, accepts the protection of Mahomet II., viii. 183.
- PALÆOLOGUS, Michael, lieutenant of the emperor Manuel, his conquests in Italy, vii. 138.
- PALAMAS, Gregory, monk of Athos, his doctrine concerning the light of mount Thabor, vii. 405.
- PALANDERS, or horse-transporters, vii. 298, 301, *note*.
- PALATINES, what troops so called, ii. 321; how corrupted, *ib.*
- PALERMO, taken by Belisarius by stratagem, v. 129.
- PALESTINE described, i. 160; Gibbon's opinion respecting its fertility examined, *ib.*, *notes* G. and M.; conquered by Chosroes II., v. 392; population of in the time of king David, vii. 230, *note* and *note* M.
- PALESTRINA, or PRÆNESTE, seat of the Colonna family, destroyed by pope Boniface VIII., viii. 222.
- PALLADIUM, attempt on by Elagabalus, i. 281, *note*; probable account of, iii. 407, *note*.
- PALLADIUS, the notary, commissioned by Valentinian to inquire into the state of Africa, iii. 272; his corruption and treachery, 273.
- PALLADIUS, son of the emperor Petronius Maximus, marries the daughter of Valentinian III., iv. 255.
- PALLAS, his fortune, i. 228, *note*.
- PALMA, A. Corn., lieutenant of Trajan, conquers part of Arabia, i. 143, *note* S.; subdues Bostra and Petra, vi. 202, *note*.
- PALMYRA described, ii. 23; besieged by Aurelian, 24; ruins discovered, *ib.* *note*; surrenders, 25; revolts, 26; destroyed by Aurelian, *ib.*
- PAMBO, the monk, sublime answer to Melania, iv. 316, *note*.
- PAMPHONIUS, Roman patrician, his embassy to Constantinople, v. 346.
- PANDECTS, or Digest of Justinian, compilation of, v. 283; etymology of

PANHYPERSEBASTOS.

- the word pandects, *ib. note*; merits and defects of the, 284; antinomies of with the Code, 285; emblemata or forgeries of, *ib. and note*; only one MS. of, 286 and *note*; story of its discovery, 287 and *note M.*; collations and editions, *ib. and note S.*
- PANHYPERSEBASTOS, title invented by Alexius Comnenus, vii. 18.
- PANNONIA, or Hungary, described, i. 158; conquest of, 248; reduced by Charlemagne, vi. 175.
- PANNONIANS, their character, i. 248.
- PANSOPHIA, v. Irene.
- PANTHEON at Rome, consecrated as a Christian church by pope Boniface IV., iii. 416 and *note*; viii. 274 and *note*; plundered of its bronze tiles by the emperor Constans, 275.
- PANTOMIMES, Roman, described, iv. 87; extensive knowledge required of, *ib. note.*
- PAPENCORDT, Dr. Felix, his Life of Rienzi, viii. 229, *note M.*
- PAPER, manufacture of from linen introduced from Samarcand, vi. 300; imported into Samarcand from China, *ib. note*; paper MSS., ancient in the Escorial, *ib.*
- PAPINIAN, prætorian præfect, i. 261; his noble conduct and execution, 271; Gibbon corrected, *ib. note W.*; his superior wisdom and authority as a jurist, v. 279.
- PAPIRIUS compiled the first code or digest, v. 259, *note and note S.*
- PARA, son of Arsaces Tiranus, shares the throne of Iberia with Aspacuras, iii. 279; his adventures, 280, *sq.*; assassinated by count Trajan, 281.
- PARABOLANI, or visitors of the sick, at Alexandria, iii. 32; account of, vi. 12, *note.*
- PARADISE, or Persian garden, v. 107, *note*; Mahomet's described, vi. 236.
- PARIS in the time of Julian, ii. 424; origin of its present name, 425, *note*; Roman thermæ at, probable remains of Julian's palace, iii. 107, *note*; saved from the Huns by St. Geneviève, iv. 232.
- PARRICIDE, singular punishment of among the Romans, v. 316 and *note*; first at Rome, 317, *note.*
- PARSEES, modern, their views, i. 335, *note.*
- PARTHIA subdued by Trajan, i. 143;

PAULA.

- by Artaxerxes, 331; its government resembled feudalism, 339; wars with Rome recapitulated, 340.
- PARTHOLANUS, the giant, i. 353, *note.*
- PASCAL, niece of, saved by a prickle of the holy crown, vii. 342 and *note.*
- PASCHAL II., pope, his civil war with the Romans, viii. 192.
- PASCHAL CHRONICLE, its merits, v. 397, *note*; when composed, *ib.*
- PASITIGRIS, or Shat-el-Arab, iii. 194, *note.*
- PATERNAL AUTHORITY, absoluteness and perpetuity of peculiar to the Romans, v. 291; exception, *ib. note M.*; gradual limitations of, 292.
- PATRAS, siege of by the Slavonians and Saracens, vii. 8.
- PATRICIAN of Rome, title of equivalent to exarch of Ravenna, vi. 158; after the revolt of Italy bestowed on Charles Martel and his posterity, *ib.*
- PATRICIANS, Roman, ii. 308; nearly extinct in A.U.C. 800, 309 and *note*; title revived by Constantine, 309; but with an altered meaning, 310; under the Greek empire, vi. 157.
- PATRICIATE, Roman, restoration and abolition of, viii. 201, and *note S.*
- PATRICK, tutelar saint of Ireland, name of whence derived, iv. 300, *note.*
- PATRIFASSIANS, iii. 47, *note M.*; Sabellians so called, 56, *note.*
- PAUL, St., his Epistle to the Romans, ii. 196, *note M.*
- PAUL of Samosata, story of, ii. 262; degraded from the episcopal character by a council of bishops, 263; the sentence enforced by Aurelian, *ib.*; protected by Zenobia, *ib.* and *note M.*; Constantine's edict against his followers, iii. 41.
- PAUL, orthodox bishop of Constantinople, contest with Macedonius, iii. 90; persecutions and death, *ib.*
- PAUL of Cilicia defends the mole of Hadrian against Totila, v. 227.
- PAUL, the civilian, juridical authority conferred on by Theodosius II., v. 279.
- PAUL, the hermit, Jerome's legend of, ii. 244, *note.*
- PAUL of Tanis, patriarch of Alexandria, expelled on a charge of murder, vi. 60; bribes for his return, *ib.*
- PAULA, spiritual pupil of Jerom, her illustrious descent, iv. 71; proprie-

PAULICIANS.

- truss of the city of Nicopolis, 75; account of her monastic life, 311, 316.
- PAULICIANS, Christian sect, origin of, vii. 47; name whence derived, 48; their Bible to what restricted, *ib.* and *note*; simplicity of their creed and worship, 49; rejected the Old Testament, *ib.*; establishment of their sect in Armenia, Pontus, &c., 50; persecuted by the Greek emperors, 51; revolt, 52; defeat the emperor Michael, 53; pillage Asia Minor, *ib.*; their decline, 54; transplanted from Armenia to Thrace, 55; their pope or primate, 56; their introduction into Italy and France, *ib.*; settlements in the country of the Albigeois, 58; persecutions, *ib.*; not exempt from the errors of Gnosticism, *ib.* *note* M.
- PAULINUS, Suetonius, i. 139, *note*.
- PAULINUS, bishop of Nola, account of, iv. 110.
- PAULINUS, master of the offices, executed, iv. 165; supposed intrigue with the empress Eudocia, *ib.*
- PAULINUS, patriarch of Aquileia, flies to the isle of Grado, v. 337.
- PAULINA, wife of Maximin, softens his ferocity, i. 309, *notes*.
- PAVIA, battle of between Aurelian and the Alemanni, ii. 15; obstinate siege of by Alboin, king of the Lombards, v. 338; he makes that city his capital, *ib.*; taken by Charlemagne, vi. 155; burnt by the Hungarians, vii. 76.
- PEACE, temple of at Rome, i. 184, and *note* W.
- PEARL fishery in Britain, i. 139 and 140, *note*; in the East, 192 and *note*.
- PEERS, members of the British House of doubled since the time of Gibbon, v. 289, *note* M.; court of at Jerusalem, vii. 233.
- PEGASLANS, legal sect of the, v. 279.
- PEHLVI language, i. 332, *note*; 333, *note* S.
- PEKIN besieged by Zingis Khan, viii. 7; foundation of the modern, *ib.* *note*.
- PELAGIANISM, its progress and extinction, iv. 342.
- PELAGIUS, archdeacon, supplicates Totila, v. 222.

PERSECUTION.

- PELAMIDES, or thunnies, ii. 293, *note*.
- PELLA, Nazarene church at, ii. 159.
- PELOPONNESUS overrun by Slavonians, vii. 8, 9, *note* S.; cities and revenue of, 10; manufactures, 11.
- PELSEO, lake, drained by Galerius, ii. 122; situation, *ib.* *note*.
- PENANCE, public, origin and nature of, ii. 202; jurisprudence of, iii. 36.
- PENDBAGON, or British Dictator, iv. 134.
- PENITENTIALS, Greek, vii. 186 and *note*.
- PENTAPOLIS, the, a dependency of the exarchate of Ravenna, its limits, vi. 159.
- PEPIN, son of Charles Martel, assists the Romans against the Lombards, vi. 154; second expedition, 155; receives the regal title by the sanction of pope Gregory, 157; presents the exarchate of Ravenna to the Popes, 159.
- PEPIN, John, count of Minorbino, deposes the tribune Rienzi, viii. 244.
- PEPPER, use and price of at Rome, iv. 93, *note*.
- PEREDEUS, seduced by Rosamond, queen of Alboin, to assist in the murder of her husband, v. 339; his feats of strength 340 and *note* M.
- PEREGRINUS the philosopher, ii. 184, *note*.
- PERENNIS, minister of Commodus, i. 225; deputation of the legions of Britain against, and execution, 226; Gibbon's account examined, *ib.* *notes* W. and M.
- PERFECTISSIMUS, title of, ii. 305, *note*.
- PERGAMUS, library of transferred to Alexandria, iii. 417, *note*.
- PERINTHUS, Byzantium subjected to, i. 257 and *note* W.
- PERISABOR, or Anbar, on the Euphrates, besieged by Julian, iii. 196 and *note* M.
- PEROZES, king of Persia, expedition against the Nephthalites or White Huns, v. 85; death, *ib.*
- PERSARMENIA, name of Armenia when reduced to a Persian province, iv. 170; persecutions of the Magi in, v. 364 and *note* M.; revolt of, 365.
- PERSECUTION of the early Christians, delayed by their being confounded with the Jews, ii. 231; first instance of occasioned by the fire of Rome

PERSEUS.

under Nero, 233; that persecution confined to Rome, 237; not caused by the religious tenets of the Christians, *ib.*; second persecution under Domitian, 239; methods of escaping persecution, 253; flight from hew regarded, 254 and *note*; avoided by purchasing false certificates, 254; and by apostasy, *ib.*; *ten* persecutions, when first established, 255; persecution of M. Antoninus, 257; of Severus, 258; of Maximin, 259 and *note* G.; of Decius, 260; of Valerian, 261; of Aurelian, 261, *note* G.; of Maximian and Galerius, 267; of Diocletian, 269, *sqq.*; general idea of the last, 275; in Italy and Africa, 276; in Illyricum and the East, 278; suspended by the edict of Galerius, *ib.*; renewed by Maximin, 280; end of, 281.

PERSEUS, treasures of, i. 294.

PERSIA, monarchy of restored, i. 331; extent and population under Artaxerxes, 340; military power of, 346; cavalry excellent, 347; youth how educated, *ib.*; thrones of disputed by Hormuz and Narses, ii. 81; Narses overthrown by Galerius, 83; war between Sapor and Constantine, 370; Christians are protected by Constantine, iii. 25 and *note*; invaded by Julian, 191; he passes the Tigris, 204; retreat, 208; terms of the treaty between Sapor and Jovian, 219; peace with Theodosius, 280; state of under Cabades or Kobad, contemporary of Justinian, v. 181; accession of Chosroes, or Nushirvan, 182; contest with Rome reviewed, 363; anarchy of after the death of Chosroes II., 412; Christianity in, vi. 46; Fatimite kings of, 281, *note*; standard of described, 293; conquered by the Saracens, 296; conquered by the Turks, vii. 165; Seljukian dynasty of, 167; conquered by Timour, viii. 43.

PERSIAN despotism, i. 218; war under Gordian III., 325.

PERSIANS, modern, ignorant of Sapor's victories, i. 407, *note*; account of their religion, 332, *sqq.*; their persecutions in Armenia, ii. 79; why not easily Christianized, 214; discussed the most important affairs at table, 405; intemperance of, *ib.*

PETER DE RUPIBUS.

note; Mahometan, their discord with the Turks, vi. 272; reverence for Mahomet's cousin Ali, *ib.*; called Shiites, or sectaries, *ib.*; pilgrimage of to the tomb of Ali at Cufa, 277.

PERTINAX chosen emperor, i. 234; successive employments, *ib. note*; reluctant accession, 235; virtues, 236; reforms, 237, *sq.*; popularity, 238; discontent and conspiracy of the prætorians, 239; murder of Pertinax, *ib.*; funeral and apotheosis, 252.

PERTINAX, Helvius, *bon mot* and execution, i. 270 and *note*.

PESCENNIUS NIGER, governor of Syria, assumes the purple, i. 247.

PESTILENCE at Rome, i. 228.

PETAVIUS, object of his work on the Trinity, iii. 52, *note*; character of his 'Dogmata Theologica,' vi. 2, *note*.

PETCHENEGES, Turkish tribe of the, vii. 79, *note* S.

PETER, king of Arragon, assists John of Procida in the revolt of Sicily from Charles of Anjou, vii. 378; relieves Messina, 380.

PETER, Bulgarian chief, leads a revolt from Isaac Angelus, vii. 287.

PETER, Byzantine ambassador, his character and negotiations with Theodatus, king of Italy, v. 120.

PETER of Courtenay, emperor of Constantinople, crowned by pope Honorius III., vii. 335; captivity and death, 336.

PETER I., czar of Russia, his conduct to his son contrasted with that of Constantine, ii. 353.

PETER GNAPHREUS, patriarch of Antioch, his addition to the Trisagion, vi. 33 and *note*.

PETER THE HERMIT visits Jerusalem and Constantinople, vii. 178; character, *ib.*; encouraged by pope Urban II. to proclaim a crusade, 179; leads the first, 191; escapes from the Bulgarians, 193; attempts to fly from Antioch, 219; retirement and death, 228, *note* S.

PETER, brother of the emperor Maurice, violates the privileges of Azimuntium, v. 381; is forced to fly, *ib.*

PETER, the patrician, character of his work, ii. 84, *note*.

PETER DE RUPIBUS, bishop of Winchester, commands the auxiliaries of

PETER, ST.

- the pope in the battle of Viterbo, viii. 210 and *note*.
- PETER, ST., his visit to Rome, ii. 196; did not found that church, *ib. note* M.; tombs or trophies of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, iii. 427; legend of their apparition to Attila, iv. 246; the two epistles of St. Peter rejected by the Paulicians, vii. 48.
- PETER'S, ST., church, erected on the garden of Nero, ii. 234.
- PETRA, Arabian town of, i. 143, *note* S.; siege of, by Dagisteus, general of Justinian, v. 201; capital of the Nabathæans, vi. 202, *note*.
- PETRARCH, epistle to the doge and senate of Venice respecting the war with the Genoese, vii. 411; one of the first revivers of learning in Italy, viii. 107; intimacy with Barlaam and Greek studies, 108; his love and esteem for the Colonna family, 222, 224; poetical and literary character, 225; coronation at Rome, 227; patriotism, 228; applauds the tribune Rienzi, 237; invites and upbraids the emperor Charles IV., 248; solicits the popes of Avignon to return to Rome, 249; testifies the destruction of the Roman monuments by the citizens, 280.
- PETRONIUS, father-in-law of Valens, rapacity and cruelty of, iii. 239.
- PETRONIUS MAXIMUS, his wife ravished by Valentinian III., iv. 250; his family and character, 254; saluted emperor, 255; compels Eudoxia, widow of Valentinian, to marry him, *ib.*; cowardice on the approach of Genseric, 256; massacred, *ib.*
- PFEFFEL, character of his *Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire d'Allemagne*, vi. 191.
- PHALANX, Grecian, compared with the Roman legion, i. 150.
- PHANTASMA, the body of Christ held to be by the Docetes, vi. 5.
- PHARAMOND a fabulous sovereign, iv. 129 and *note* M.
- PHARANDSEM, wife of Arsaces Tiranus, confounded by Gibbon with Olympias, iii. 278, *note* M.; her brave defence of Artogerassa, *ib.*
- PHARAS, chief of the Heruli, under Belisarius, v. 102; beleaguers Gelimar at Mount Papua, 116; letter to

PHILOSOPHY.

- that monarch, 117; three extraordinary gifts to, *ib.*
- PHARISEES, sect of the, ii. 171; added tradition to Scripture, 172.
- PHASIS, river, described, v. 193.
- PHEASANT, name of that bird, whence derived, v. 195.
- PHILADELPHIA, its valiant defence against the Turks, viii. 24.
- PHILAGRIUS, præfect of Egypt, opposes Athanasius, iii. 74, *note*.
- PHILELPHUS, Francis, his description of the Greek language, viii. 105; Lives of, *ib. note*; obtains from Mahomet II. the liberty of his mother and sisters by a Latin ode, 144, *note*, and 174, *note*.
- PHILIP, prætorian præfect under Gordian III., i. 326; supplants his master, *ib.*; whether he ordered his execution? 327, *note*; solemnises the secular games, *ib.*; rebellion against, 373; death, 374; protected the Christians, ii. 260; suspected of being a convert, *ib.* and *note*.
- PHILIP, minister of Constantius II., puts Paul, bishop of Constantinople, to death, iii. 90; his previous stratagem to banish Paul, 91.
- PHILIP I., of France, his limited dominion, vii. 182.
- PHILIP AUGUSTUS of France, assists at the siege of Acre, vii. 262; contrasted with Richard I., 263.
- PHILIP, duke of Burgundy, his banquet, pageant, and promised crusade against the Turks, viii. 183.
- PHILIPPA, daughter of Raymond of Poitou, her intrigue with Andronicus Comnenus, vi. 126.
- PHILIPPICUS, v. Bardanes.
- PHILIPPOLIS taken by the Goths, i. 383.
- PHILO, his works, when published, iii. 47 and *note* S.; his Platonism, *ib., note*.
- PHILOPATRIS, dialogue, date of, discussed, ii. 55, *notes*; derides the Trinity, 225 and *note*.
- PHILOSOPHERS, Grecian, religious systems of the, i. 167; pagan, indifferent to the evidence of prophecy and miracles, ii. 218; how esteemed among the Huns, iv. 103.
- PHILOSOPHY, divine or monkish, described and contrasted with the Grecian, iv. 306.

PHILOSTORGIUS.

- PHILOSTORGIUS**, value of his authority, ii. 365, *note* G.; character of that historian, iii. 53, *note*.
- PHILOTHEUS**, a Macedonian sectary, inculcates religious toleration on Anthemius, iv. 281.
- PHINEUS**, palace of, ii. 228 and *note*.
- PHIROUZ**, a Syrian renegade, betrays Antioch to Bohemond, vii. 217.
- PHOCÆA**, Genoese colony at, viii. 69 and *notes*.
- PHOCAS**, a centurion, elected emperor by the army of Maurice, v. 383; consecration and public entry into Constantinople, 385; executes Maurice and his five sons, *ib.*; his character, 386; tyranny, 387; captured and beheaded by Heraclius, 389; his rebellion suppressed by Basil II., vi. 107.
- PHOENICIA** described, i. 160.
- PHOENICIAN** inscriptions, quoted by Procopius, v. 121 and *note* M.
- PHOTIUS**, persecuted by his mother Antonina, wife of Belisarius, v. 159; persuades Belisarius to punish her vices, *ib.*; further persecutions, 160; becomes a monk, 161.
- PHOTIUS**, patriarch of Constantinople, preceptor of Leo the Philosopher, vi. 100; account of and of his "Library," vii. 40; attempts the conversion of the Russians, 92; his promotion from a captaincy in the guards to the patriarchate, 280.
- PHOTIUS**, the patrician, escapes the persecution of Justinian by suicide, vi. 37.
- PHRANZA**, George, Greek historian, his testimony to Bajazet's iron cage, viii. 59; account of, 90, *notes*; embassy from Constantine Palæologus into Georgia, 140; to the court of Trebizond, 141; fate of himself and family at the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, 174.
- PHYSICIANS**, much esteemed among the Huns, iv. 204.
- PICARDY**, origin of the name of, vii. 178, *note*.
- PICTURES**, use of in Christian worship censured by the council of Illiberis, vi. 135; more decent and harmless than sculpture, 136.
- PIGMIES** of Africa, fabulous race of, iii. 276 and *note*.
- PILATE**, **PONTIUS**, date of his procurator-

PLATO.

- ship, ii. 233, *note*; story of his testimony in favour of Christ, 256 and *note*.
- PILGRIMAGE**, Christian, to Jerusalem, iii. 156; vii. 171; Mahometan, two kinds of, vi. 232, *note*.
- PILPAY**, fables of, procured by Chosroes Nushirvan V., 186; how preserved, 187 and *note* M.; intrinsic merit, *ib.*
- PILUM**, description of the, i. 149.
- PINCIAN** palace at Rome, v. 144 and *note*.
- PINNA MARINA**, shell fish, silk manufactured from, v. 58 and *note*.
- PIPA**, a German princess, marries Gallienus, i. 394.
- PIRÆUS**, Gothic fleet at, i. 400.
- PISA**, council of, viii. 92; deposes the popes of Rome and Avignon, 255.
- PISANI**, Venetian admiral, defeated by the Genoese in a sea fight at Constantinople, vii. 410 and *note* M.
- PISO**, **CALPURNIUS**, the only noble among Gallienus' competitors, i. 410; his virtues, *ib.*
- PIITYS** attacked by the Goths, i. 396; taken, 397.
- PIUS II.**, pope, *v.* Æneas Sylvius.
- PLACENTIA**, battle of between Aurelian and the Alemanni, ii. 15; council of summoned by pope Urban II., vii. 180.
- PLACIDIA**, sister of Honorius, her adventures, iv. 114; marriage with Adolphus, king of the Goths, *ib.*; where solemnized, *ib.* *note* S.; ill-treatment of by Singeric, 126; restored to Honorius by Wallia, 127; after the death of Adolphus marries Constantius, 171; fondness of Honorius for changed to hatred, 172; flies to Constantinople with her children, *ib.*; restored after the death of Honorius, 173; assumes the guardianship of her son Valentinian III., 174; her administration, 175; banishes her daughter Honoria, 229; death, 249, *note*; sepulchre at Ravenna, *ib.*
- PLAGUE**, its origin and nature, v. 253; account of the destructive one in the reign of Justinian, *ib.*
- PLANE-TREES** cultivated by the ancients, iv. 111.
- PLATO'S** doctrine of immortality, ii. 169; republic, 197 and *note*; system

PLATONISTS.

- of, iii. 45; whether derived from the Jews, *ib. note*; three principles, 46; his system taught at Alexandria, *ib.*; respect of the Christians for, 49 and *note*; the source of the Gnostic errors, *ib. note*; how distinguished from the Christian doctrines, 50; his theological Trinity not understood by ancient philosophers, *ib. note*; study of revived in Italy, viii. 115; character of his philosophy, *ib.*
- PLATONISTS, new, rise of, ii. 104; characterized, 105; oppose Christianity, 266; allegorical mythology of adopted by Julian, iii. 139; their magic or theurgy, 142 and *note*; seven Platonists take refuge in Persia on the suppression of the schools of Athens, v. 93; their disappointment, *ib.*; Chosroes exacts an immunity for them from Justinian, 94.
- PLAUTIANUS, minister of Severus, i. 261; rank, 276, *note*.
- PLEBELANS, Roman, account of, ii. 308.
- PLETHO, George Gemistus, revives the study of Plato in Italy, viii. 115; account of, *ib. note*; a pagan, 119, *note*.
- PLINY, the younger, legacies to, i. 300; examines the Christians of Bithynia, ii. 133; describes the prevalence of Christianity in Bithynia, 208; date of his proconsulship, *ib. note S.*; mentions Christians of every order, 216; consults the emperor Trajan respecting them, 240; which proves that there were then no general laws against them, *ib.*; tortures two females, *ib. note M.*; his test of recantation, 243, *note M.*
- PLOTINA, empress, i. 213.
- PLOTINUS, the philosopher, accompanies the army of Misithens into Persia, i. 326, *note*; his intimacy with Galienus, 408.
- PLUMBATEÆ, weapons so called, ii. 92, *note*.
- POCOCK, character of his 'Description of the East,' vi. 315, *note*.
- POET LAUREATE, invention of that title, viii. 482; its perpetuation a ridiculous custom peculiar to the English court, *ib. and note*.
- POGGIUS, his dialogue De Varietate Fortunæ, when composed, viii. 58, *note*; testimony as to the iron cage of Bajazet, *ib.*; his reflections on the fall of

POPES.

- Rome, 267; description of its ruins, 268.
- POITIERS, battle of between Clovis and Alaric II., iv. 360.
- POLAND ravaged by the Mongols, viii. 14.
- POLLENTIA, date of the battle of between Stilicho and Alaric, iv. 32, *note S.*; battle described, 36.
- POLL-TAX, provincial, i. 303, *note S.*; sometimes called *capitatio*, ii. 337, *note S.*; how levied, *ib.*
- POLYBIUS, his opinion of Byzantium, ii. 287.
- POLYCARP, martyrdom of, ii. 243, *note*.
- POLYUCTES, story of, ii. 252, *note*.
- POLYTHEISM, best described by Herodotus, i. 165; M. Constant's view of, 166, *note M.*; its ministers little interested in supporting it, ii. 204; its weak hold on the human heart, 205 (*v. Paganism*).
- POMPEIANUS, Claudius, his manly resolution, i. 233.
- POMPEIANUS, Ruricius, commandant of Verona, ii. 129; defeated and slain by Constantine the Great, 130.
- POMPELANUS, prefect of Rome, superstitious project for driving away Alaric, iv. 91.
- POMPEY, extraordinary power of, i. 200 and *note*; raised the Asiatic tribute, 295 and *note S.*; his house at Rome, 311, *note*.
- POMPEY, nephew of the emperor Anastasius, suspected of sedition, v. 53; executed, 55.
- POMPTINE marshes drained by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, v. 23.
- PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, office of assumed by the first seven Christian emperors, iii. 99; first refused by Gratian, *ib. note*; but not till the sixteenth year of his reign, *ib. note S.*
- PONTIFFS, Roman, their jurisdiction, iii. 407, *sqg.*
- PONTIBOLO (pons Aureoli), ii. 2.
- PONTIUS, his Life of Cyprian, ii. 247, *note*.
- PONTUS, kingdom of, i. 160.
- POPES of Rome, growth of their power, v. 361; their policy and ambition, vi. 145; their dominion founded on rebellion during the heresy of the Iconoclasts, *ib.*; begin to be considered by the Romans as their first magistrates, 152; mutual obligations

POPPÆA.

with the Carolingian family, 156; donations of Pepin and Charlemagne to, 159; forgery of the donation of Constantine, 161; transfer the empire to Charlemagne, 166; admonition to on their accession, 168, *note*; average length of reign, *ib.*; their dexterous use of the quarrels of the Carolingians, 178; method of their election and authority of the emperors, 181; their abasement and indigence in the ninth and tenth centuries, 182; acquiesced at first in the Greek doctrine of the procession of the Holy Ghost, vii. 279; their authority in Rome, viii. 188; donation of Constantine, *ib.*; appeals to, 189; election of, 211; absence of from Rome, 213; origin of the papal schism, 214; temporary return of Urban V. to Rome, 249; final return of pope Gregory XI., 250; great schism of the West, 253; negotiations for a union, 254; of Rome and Avignon, deposed by the council of Pisa, 255; three popes, *ib.*; election of Martin V. by the council of Constance, and restoration of the popes to the Vatican, 256; acquire the absolute dominion of Rome, 263; merits and defects of their government, 264; power over the public buildings, 274 and *note M.*

POPPÆA, Nero's mistress, ii. 236.

POPULATION of Rome, iv. 87, 89; various modern computations of, *ib.* *note S.*; writers on, *ib.* 90.

POCCARO, Stephen, his conspiracy at Rome, viii. 260; execution, 261.

POCCLAINS, Chinese, whether known to the Romans, iv. 79, *notes.*

PORPHYRIANS, the Arians so called, iii. 64.

PORPHYRO, the celebrated whale of the Propontia, v. 78.

PORPHYRIUS OPTATIANUS, panegyric of, ii. 352 and *note.*

PORPHYROGENITY, meaning and application of that term explained, vi. 101.

PORPHYRY, neo-Platonist, ii. 104; his Life of Plotinus, *ib.* *note*; his treatise against the Christians, 266, *note.*

POSSON, settled the controversy respecting 1 John v. 7, iv. 335, *note M.*

POSTO, present state of, viii. 210.

PRÆTORIAN.

POSTORIA, or customs, i. 295, *note S.*; re-established by Augustus, 298 and *note S.*; rate, *ib.*

PORTUGUESE persecute the Nestorian Christians of Malabar, vi. 52; their expedition to Abyssinia, 64.

POSDER, eunuch of Claudius, ii. 386, *note.*

POSTHUMUS, general of Gallienus, his victories over the Franks, i. 391; murdered by his troops at Mentz, ii. 18.

POETS and post-houses under the empire, i. 188.

PREFECTS of Rome and Constantinople, ii. 312; equal in dignity to the Prætorian præfects, 313; Augustal of Egypt, 314.

PREFECTUS MORUM, what, i. 204, *note S.*

PRÆJECTA, niece of Justinian, her marriage with Artaban prevented by Theodora, v. 226.

PRÆPOSITUS, or chamberlain, under Constantine, functions of, ii. 326.

PRÆTEXTATUS, proconsul of Achaia, obtains from Valentinian toleration for the Eleusinian mysteries, iii. 249; tranquillises the disturbances occasioned at Rome by the schism of Donatus and Ursinus, 256; jest of to Damasus, *ib.*; his honours and titles, *ib.* *note.*

PRÆTORIA, Roman, reduction of their number and power, ii. 312; legislative power of the, v. 265 and *note W.*; often abused, 267.

PRÆTORIAN bands, or city cohorts, i. 154; their origin, 241; numbers, *ib.* and *note*; camp, 242; site of, *ib.* *note S.*; their power, 242; donatives to, *ib.*; claim to be the Roman people, 243; sell the empire, *ib.*; dread the Pannonian legion, 250; disgraced by Severus, 252; remodelled and increased by him, 260; pay, 273; Gibbon corrected, *ib.* *note G.*; murder Ulpian, 290; Gibbon corrected, *ib.* *note W.*; besieged by the people, 322; weakened and reduced by Diocletian, ii. 92; their desperate resistance against Constantine, 132; suppressed by him, 134.

PRÆTORIAN præfects, office of, i. 260; progress of, *ib.* *note S.*; civil functions, *ib.* 261; their civil and military

PRAGMATIC SANCTION.

- power, ii. 310; deprived of the latter by Constantine, *ib.*; increased to four, *ib.*; their civil functions, 311; salary, *ib.* and *note*; no appeal from, *ib.*; had no jurisdiction in Rome and Constantinople, 312; table of their provinces, 315, *note S.*; prerogatives of, 316; gradual degradation of that office, v. 65, *note M.*
- PRAGMATIC SANCTION of Justinian for the settlement of Italy, v. 241, 242, *note.*
- PRAXAGORAS, Life of Constantine, ii. 126, *note.*
- PRAXEAS, heresy of, iii. 52 and 53, *note*; confuted by Tertullian, *ib.*
- PRAXITELES, sculptures of destroyed by Belisarius in his defence of Rome, v. 139; excelled in fauns, *ib. note.*
- PREACHING, introduction and freedom of, iii. 37; abuse of, 38.
- PRECEDENCY, severe law of Gratian against the infringement of, ii. 304, *note*; rules of, 305, *note.*
- PREDESTINATION, doctrine of, taught in the Koran, vi. 224-247; its influence on the courage of the Saracens, *ib.*
- PREROGATIVES, imperial, i. 204; augmented by Severus, 262.
- PRESBYTERS, institution of, ii. 191.
- PRESENTS, Roman, to foreign kings, ambassadors, &c., i. 386 and *note.*
- PRESIDIUS spoiled by Constantine, governor of Spoleto, v. 149.
- PRESTER JOHN, story of, vi. 49 and *note*; his skull encased in silver by Zingis, viii. 3; monarchs of the Keraites so called *ib. note S.*
- PRIESTHOOD, pagan, hereditary succession of in various nations, iii. 30, *note*; partly elective among the Druids, *ib.*
- PRIESTLEY, Dr., tendency of his opinions, vi. 62, *note* and *note M.*
- PRIESTS, pagan, their tricks, iii. 419.
- PRIMOGENITURE, prerogative of, unknown to the Romans, v. 307.
- PRINCE of the Waters, Persian officer, his functions, v. 184 and *note.*
- PRINCEPS JUVENTUTIS, what, i. 151, *note S.*
- PRINCEPS SENATUS, nature of that title, i. 197 and *note S.*; the emperor Tacitus so called, ii. 35, *note.*
- PRINCIPLES, two, doctrine of, i. 334.
- PRINTING, ancient use of by the Chinese, v. 62.

PROCESSIONS.

- PRISCA, wife of Diocletian, put to death by Licinius, ii. 138; her conversion to Christianity, 264.
- PRISCILLIAN, bishop of Avila, put to death with some of his sect by Maximus, iii. 374; account of his heresy, 375.
- PRISCUS, Thræsea, i. 270.
- PRISCUS accepts the purple from the Goths, i. 383.
- PRISCUS, engineer, i. 256 and *note.*
- PRISCUS, the historian, conversation with a renegade Greek in the camp of Attila, iv. 204, 209; probably a pagan, *ib. notes.*
- PRISCUS, general of the emperor Maurice, his successes against the Avars, v. 381.
- PRIULF, Gothic leader, his character, iii. 355; slain by Fravitta, *ib.*
- PROBA, widow of the præfect Petronius, escapes from the sack of Rome with her daughter Læta and granddaughter Demetrias, iv. 107.
- PROBOLE, or *Prolato*, Valentinian doctrine adopted by orthodox Christians, iii. 51, *note.*
- PROBUS, general of Aurelian, ii. 23, 25; opposes the usurpation of Florianus, 40; his character and services, 41; elected emperor, 42; respectful letter to the Senate, *ib.*; victories over the barbarians, 43; mostly gained in person, 44; delivers Gaul from the Germans, *ib.*; invades Germany, 45; dictates a treaty, *ib.*; builds a wall from the Rhine to the Danube, 46; introduces barbarians into the army, 47; quells the revolt of Saturninus, 49; of Bonosus and Proculus, 50; triumph, *ib.*; military discipline, *ib.*; employed the troops in agriculture, 51; murdered, 52.
- PROBUS, prætorian præfect, defends Sirmium against the Quadi, iii. 288.
- PROBUS, chief of the Anician family, honours and fortunes of, iv. 73; two sons of associated in the consular dignity, *ib.*
- PROCESSION of the Holy Ghost from the Son as well as from the Father first established in the eighth council of Toledo, iv. 340 and *note*; controversy concerning, vii. 279.
- PROCESSIONS of the Greek emperors, vii. 22.

PROCHIRON.

- PROCHIRON**, or legal manual of Basil I., account of, vii. 45, *note S*.
- PROCLUS**, the quaestor of Justin, v. 37; prevents the adoption of Nushirvan, son of Cabades king of Persia, by Justin, 182.
- PROCLUS**, story of his renewing the expedient of Archimedes to burn the fleet of Vitalian, v. 71.
- PROCLUS**, the Platonist, account of, v. 92.
- PROCONNESUS**, isle, marble of, ii. 296.
- PROCONSUL**, duties of, ii. 316, *note*.
- PROCOPIA**, consort of Michael I., her martial spirit, vi. 88.
- PROCOPIUS**, kinsman and general of Julian, iii. 189; fails to join Julian at Ctesiphon, *ib.*; appointed by Jovian to conduct Julian's funeral, 225; regarded as the successor of Julian, 238; escapes the satellites of Valentinian and Valens, *ib.*; his adventures, *ib.*; how connected with Julian, *ib. note*; a pagan, *ib.*; seizes on Constantinople, 239; progress of his rebellion, 240; betrayed by his troops, 242; beheaded, *ib.*
- PROCOPIUS**, father-in-law of Valens, appointed to try Timasius, iv. 141.
- PROCOPIUS**, the historian, account of the testament of Arcadius, iv. 150; fabulous account of Britain, 399; his character and writings, v. 39; occasion of his 'Edifices,' 40, fate of his works, *ib. note*; character of his 'Anecdotes,' 41 and *note M*.; enters the service of Belisarius, 100; his defence of archery, 102; his confession of dishonesty, 129, *note*; his description of the temple of Janus, 140, *note*; mission into Campania, 146; estimate of the numbers destroyed by the inroads of the barbarians, 172; escapes with Solomon from the rebellion at Carthage, 211; description of the desolation of Africa, 214; his medical skill, 254 and *note*; description of the plague under Justinian, *ib. sq.*; his sentiments concerning religion, vi. 35.
- PROCULIANS**, legal sect of, v. 278.
- PROCULUS**, revolt and character, ii. 50.
- PROFESSORS**, salaries of, i. 194, *notes G*. and *W*.
- PROMOTUS**, master-general of the infantry, his quarrel with Rufinus, banishment and death, iv. 3.
- PROPERTY-TAX**, establishment of, i.

VOL. VIII.

PSALMODY.

- 294; history of, *ib. note S*.; Gibbon corrected, 293, *note S*.
- PROPERTY**, right of, on what founded, v. 302; Roman laws respecting, 304; Gibbon's view developed and corrected, *ib. note W*.
- PROPHETS** of the early Christian church, ii. 191; evil consequences and abolishment of, *ib.*; female, reproved by St. Paul, *ib. note M*.
- PROPONTIS**, or Sea of Marmora, described, ii. 290; abounds in excellent fish, 292.
- PROSTITUTES**, taxation of, ii. 342; how and when abolished, *ib. note G*.
- PROTECTORS**, Constantine's body-guard so called, ii. 330.
- PROTERIUS**, successor of Dioscorus as patriarch of Alexandria, murdered by the monk Timothy, the Cat, vi. 30.
- PROTESTANTS**, their political views different from those of the primitive Christians, iii. 8.
- PROTOSEBASTOS**, title invented by Alexius Comnenus, vii. 18.
- PROTOSPATHAIRE**, Byzantine officer, vii. 20.
- PROTOSTRATOR**, Byzantine officer, vii. 20.
- PROTOVESTIARE**, officer of the Byzantine emperors, his functions, vii. 19.
- PROVINCES**, Roman, described, i. 155, *sq.*; list of under Hadrian, 162, *note S*.; how governed, 172; difference between the eastern and western, 174; how divided between the emperor and senate, 201 and *note S*.; division of under Constantine, ii. 314; two singular provisions for the government of, 316; governors of not to be natives, *ib.*; Zeno's law respecting governors of, 317, *note*; numerous revolts of governors, 319.
- PRUDENTIUS**, his testimony as to the debate in the senate respecting Christianity or Paganism, iii. 411 and *notes*.
- PRUSA**, conquest of, by Orchan, son of the caliph Othman, viii. 23; the true era of the Ottoman empire, *ib.*
- PRUSSIA**, conquest and conversion of, i. 378, *note*.
- PRUSSIANS** invade Britain, iv. 389.
- FRYFEO**, river, i. 380.
- PSALMODY**, when and by whom introduced, iii. 88 and *notes*.

2 D

PTOLEMAIS.

- PTOLEMAIS, *v.* Acre.
 PTOLEMIES, library of, at Alexandria, iii. 417, *notes*.
 PTOLEMY, Roman senator, heads a revolt against Otho III., vi. 186.
 PUDENTIUS assists the Romans against Gelimer, Vandal king of Africa, v. 99.
 PUGIONE, à, whether Cleander's title? i. 229 and *note* M.
 PULCHERIA, sister of Theodosius the Younger, her character and administration, iv. 161; effects the disgrace of the empress Eudocia, 166; proclaimed empress of the East on the death of her brother, 218; executes the eunuch Chrysophius, 219; marries the senator Marcian, *ib.*; death and canonization, 278 and *note*; supports the cause of Cyril against Nestorius, vi. 22.
 PULE RUDBAR, or Hyrcanian Rock, v. 369.
 PULLANI, or Poullains, name of the descendants of the crusaders settled in Palestine, vii. 231 and *note*.
 PUNISHMENTS, Roman, v. 316; disuse of penal laws, 318; rigour of the Christian emperors, 322; capital, abolished by the emperor Calo-Johannes, vi. 119.
 PUBIM, Jewish festival of, ii. 223, *note*.
 PURPLE colour, Phœnician, described, v. 56 and *note*; restricted to imperial use, *ib.*
 PURPLE, or porphyry, ancient, nature of, vi. 101.
 PURPLE CHAMBER of the Byzantine palace, vii. 16.
 PURPURIUS, his violence against Cæcilian, iii. 43.
 PYRRHIC dance, i. 148.
 PYTHEAS, navigations of, i. 378, *note*.

Q.

- QUADI vanquished by M. Antoninus, i. 370; invade the Illyrian provinces, ii. 401; reduced by Constantius II., 402; oppressed by Marcellinus, iii. 287; who murders their king, *ib.*; they ravage Pannonia, 288.
 QUÆSTORS, revolution in the office of, ii. 327; their origin obscure, *ib.* *note*; Niebuhr's opinion, *ib.* *note* S.; number, *ib.* *note*; imperial functions

RATIONARIUM IMPERII.

- of, 328 and *notes*; office of sometimes filled by the heir-apparent, *ib.*
 QUINDECENVIRS, functions of the, iii. 407.
 QUINTIANUS, bishop of Rodez, iv. 358.
 QUINTILIAN brothers, their history, i. 225.
 QUINTILIUS, brother of Claudius, attempts to seize the empire, ii. 9; suicide, *ib.*
 QUINTUS CURTIUS, inquiry as to the age of, i. 324 and *note*, and *note* S.
 QUIRITES, soldiers disgraced by that term, i. 292; whether used by Al. Severus, *ib.* *note* S.
 QOSS, a præ-Mahometan, preaches the unity of God, vi. 224, *note* S.

R.

- RACCA, palace of Harun al Rashid, vi. 406 and *note*.
 RADAGAIUS, or Rhodogast, leads the German emigration in the reign of Honorius, iv. 44; the god of war so called by the Slavonians, *ib.* *note* M.; forces how composed, 45; was a Slavonian, *ib.* *note* S.; date of his invasion of Italy, 46, *note* S.; besieges Florence, 47; threatens Rome, *ib.*; defeated by Stilicho, 48; put to death, 49; his execution justified, *ib.* *note* M.
 RADIGER, king of the Varni, conquered and compelled to fulfil his promise of marriage by an Anglo-Saxon princess, iv. 400.
 RAHDI, the Abbasside, the last who deserved the title of caliph, vi. 422.
 RAINULF, count, leader of the Normans in Italy, vii. 104 and *note* G.
 RAMADAN, fast of instituted by Mahomet, vi. 233.
 RAMON DE MONTANER, his History of the Catalan freebooters, vii. 384, *notes* G. and M.
 RAMUSIO, his History of the Conquest of Constantinople, vii. 319, *note*.
 RANDO, a chief of the Alemanni, surprises Moguntiacum, iii. 259.
 RAPEL, Constantine's severe law against, ii. 143.
 RASAPHE obtains the name of Sergio-polis, v. 375, *note*.
 RATIONARIUM IMPERII of Augustus, i. 295 and *note* W.

RAVENNA.

RAVENNA, a naval station, i. 154; siege of by Maximian, ii. 116; account of its foundation and progress, iv. 41; becomes the residence of Honorius, 42; and seat of government, 43; siege of by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, v. 10; exarchate of, its limits, 348; conquered by Pepin and presented to the popes, vi. 159; limits, *ib.*; reclaimed by Charlemagne, 161; archbishops of rival the pope, *ib.*; exarch of murdered in a sedition respecting image-worship, 149; Greeks repulsed from, 150; exarchs restored, but with limited power, *ib.*; entry and expulsion of Liutprand, 153; finally subdued by Asolphus, *ib.*

RAYMOND, count of Toulouse, engages in the first crusade, vii. 183; character, 198; march to Constantinople, 203; keeper of the holy lance, 221; incursion into Syria, 224 and *note*; declines to compete for the crown of Jerusalem, 228 and *note* S.

RAYMOND, count of Tripoli, his intrigues with the Saracens, vii. 257 and *note* M.

RAYNAL, Abbé, mistake respecting Constantine's law about Christian slaves, iii. 23; *note*; erroneously attributes the suppression of Paganism to Constantine, 97.

RAZIS, Arabian physician, vi. 402.

RECARED, son and successor of Leovigild, first Catholic king of Spain, iv. 339; his two substantial arguments for orthodoxy, *ib.*; converts his kingdom to the Nicene faith, 340; embassy to pope Gregory the Great, *ib.*

RECHLIARIUS, king of the Suevi in Spain, defeated by Theodoric II., iv. 262; capture and death, 263.

RED SEA, only a part of the ancient Mare Rubrum, vi. 196, *note*; communication with the Nile by a canal, 339 and *note* S.

REFORMATION, Protestant, character of, vii. 59, *sq.*

REGINALD of Châtillon, his forays against the Saracens, vii. 257; put to death by Saladin, 258 and *note*.

REI or RAGÆ, site of, v. 368, *note*.

REIGNING, art of, Diocletian's remark on, ii. 100.

REINDEER in Germany, i. 351.

RELICS, progress of the worship of, iii.

RHYNDACUS.

428; forgeries of, *ib.*; lucrative trade of the Latins in after the pillage of Constantinople, vii. 319; sale of by Baldwin II. to St. Louis, 342.

RELIGION of the Roman people, i. 165; difference of a lawful ground of enmity with the Arabs, vi. 353 and *note*.

REMIGIUS, bishop of Rheims, converts and baptizes Clovis, iv. 351.

RENNELL, Major, his maps and memoirs of Asia, v. 60, *note*.

RENATUS PROFUTURUS FRIGERIDUS, his character of Aëtius, iv. 221.

RENT of houses at Rome, iv. 88 and *note*.

REPENTANCE, Christian doctrine of, favoured conversions, ii. 182.

REPUBLIC, Roman, that name confined to the Latin provinces after the division of the empire, iv. 137.

RES MANCIPI explained, v. 304 and *note* W.

RESPONSES and psalmody, introduction of, iii. 88.

RESTOM or **ROSTAM**, the Persian hero, romance of, v. 185.

RESURRECTION of the dead, frequent in second century, ii. 179; this test declined by Theophilus, *ib.*; Mahometan doctrine of the, vi. 234.

RETZ, Cardinal de, description of a conclave, viii. 213, *note*.

REVENUE, total under Augustus, i. 297 and *note* S.

RHÆTIA described, i. 158.

RHAZATES, general of Chosroes II., defeated and slain by the hand of Heraclius, v. 409.

RHEGINA COLUMNA, v. 348 and *note*.

RHETORIC, study of congenial to a popular state, v. 90.

RHETRA, in Mecklenburg, temple of Radagaisus at, iv. 45, *note* M.

RHINE, freezing of the, i. 351 and *note* M.; seven posts on established by Julian, ii. 421 and *note*; and Neckar, banks of fortified by Valentinian I., iii. 260 and *notes*.

RHODES, isle of, taken by Chosroes II., v. 293; colossus of, its fragments sold by the Arabians, vi. 328; knights of, their defence against the Turks, viii. 24; commanded by pope Gregory XI. to defend Smyrna, 26, *note*.

RHOCETUM, city of, ii. 291.

RHYNDACUS, river, i. 399.

RIALTO.

- RIALTO**, island of, Venice founded on, vii. 290.
- RICHARD I.** of England redeems the Jerusalem relics, vii. 260; assists at the siege of Acre, 262; beheads the Moslem prisoners, 263 and *note S.*; character, 264; whether concerned in the assassination of Conrad of Montferrat, *ib.* and *note M.*; conquests in Syria, *ib.*; refuses to look upon Jerusalem, 265 and *note S.*; daring valour at Jaffa, *ib.*; treaty with Saladin, 266; proposes to marry his sister to the Sultan's brother, *ib.*; return and captivity, 267; answer to Fulk of Neuilly, preacher of the fourth crusade, 289.
- RICHARD** of Cirencester, character of his work, iv. 132, *note.*
- RICIMER**, Count, commander of the barbarian troops, destroys a fleet of the Vandals, iv. 264; hailed as deliverer of Italy, *ib.*; deposes Avitus, *ib.*; consents to the elevation of Majorian, 266; excites the barbarian troops to depose him, 274; dictates the election of Libius Severus, *ib.*; exercises supreme power during six years, 275; defeated by Ægidius at Orleans, 287; fixes his residence at Milan, 291; quarrel with Anthemius, *ib.*; marches to Rome, 292; designates Olybrius as emperor, *ib.*; takes Rome and kills Anthemius, 293; death, 294.
- RIENZI**, Colà di, the Roman tribune, Lives of, viii. 228, *notes*, and 229, *note M.*; birth and character, 229 and *note M.*; patriotic aspirations, *ib.*; assumes the government of Rome, 231; and title of tribune, 232; laws and administration, 233; submission of the nobles, 234; scheme of an Italian federative republic, 235; hears the cause of Lewis of Hungary and Jane queen of Naples, 236 and *notes M.*; his vices and follies, 237; knighthood, 238; coronation, 240 and *note M.*; imprisonments and pardons the nobles, 241; they rise against him, 242; defeats and slays the Colonna, *ib.*; excommunication, fall, and flight, 244; adventures in exile, 245; visions, *ib.* and *note M.*; imprisonment at Avignon, 246; re-enters Rome as senator, *ib.*; assassinated, 247.

ROMAN EMPIRE.

- ROMINI**, council of, iii. 62; introduction of Arianism at, *ib.*; powers of Taurus, prætorian prefect, to establish unanimity in, 69; an Arian confession extorted from, *ib.*; conference at between Jovius and Alaric, iv. 96, *sq.*; seized by John the Sanguinary, v. 147; besieged by Vitiges, and relieved by Belisarius, 148.
- RINALDO**, hero of Tasso, exploits of chimerical, vii. 199, *note.*
- RIOTHAMUS**, British chieftain, sails up the Loire, iv. 288.
- RIPAÏLLE**, hermitage of, near Thonon, viii. 104, *note.*
- RIPUARIANS**, or Riparii, their situation, iv. 234 and *note.*
- RIPUARIAN LAWS**, when published, iv. 365.
- ROADS**, Roman, account of, i. 187.
- ROBERT** of COURTENAY, Emperor of Constantinople, vii. 337; mutilation of his wife, *ib.*; death, 338.
- ROBERT**, count of Flanders, a leader in the first crusade, character, vii. 197.
- ROBERT**, king of Naples, procures building materials from the ruins of Rome, viii. 276.
- ROBERT**, duke of Normandy, a leader in the first crusade, character, vii. 197; pawns his duchy, *ib.* *note.*
- ROBERT** of Paris, his insolence towards the Greek emperor, vii. 208.
- RODERIC**, the Goth, deposes Witiza and his sons, and usurps the crown of Spain, vi. 354; collects an army against the Saracens, 357 and *note S.*; defeated at Xeres, *ib.*; flight and death, *ib.*; legends respecting, 358, *note.*
- ROGATIANS**, Donatist sect, iii. 45.
- ROGER**, count of Sicily, character, vii. 116; conquest of Sicily, 117; tolerates the Moslems and encourages their learning, 118.
- ROGER II.**, great count of Sicily, character, vii. 132; seizes the dukedom of Apulia, 133; becomes first king of Sicily, *ib.*; driven from Italy, *ib.*; recovers Apulia, 134; African conquests, *ib.*; invades Greece, 135.
- ROMAN EMPIRE**, three periods of its decline, Author's *Pref.*, i. xviii.; its prosperity in the second century, 137; boundaries under Augustus, 139; military establishment, 145, *sq.*; total naval and military force

ROMANS.

155; *view of the provinces, &c.*; extent of the empire, 164; population, 179, 180, *note M.*; union and disunion, 180; number of cities in, 185; progress of retirement and luxury, 191; eastern commerce of, 192; supposed annual loss by, 193; general prosperity, &c.; decline of courage and genius, 194; of literary taste, 195; state after the battle of Actium, 196; general idea of the imperial system, 306; happiest period of, 216; sale of the empire by the Prefectians, 243; civil wars of characterized, 255; prosperity under Sept. Severus, 259; that empire the principal author of its decline, 262; finances of, 293, 294; total revenue, 297; calamities from want of hereditary succession, 305; decline of, 328; limits under Philip, 329; its provinces invaded by the Goths, 379; fourfold division under Diocletian, ii. 68 and 96; eastern limits as settled by the treaty between Diocletian and Narses, 86; troubles after the abolition of Diocletian, 106; six emperors, 119; division of provinces between Maximin and Licinius, 122; civil war between Constantine and Maxentius, 125; empire divided between Constantine and Licinius, 139; respite-ment after the battle of Martin, 141, 94; reunited under Constantine the Great, 150; distributed into one hundred and sixteen provinces, 314; how divided among the sons of Constantine, 366; establishment of Christianity as the national religion, iii. 25; treaty of Dura, a remarkable era in the decline of the, 225; divided by Valentinian I. into the empires of the East and West, 237; fall of many be dated from the reign of Valens, 254; Decia and Maximian added to the Eastern empire by Gratian, 343; disease of armor, an immediate cause of the downfall of the, 405; right of female succession, iv. 230; Western, clear symptoms of its fall in the seventh century, 252; general observations on the fall of, 438.

ROMANS averse to the sea, l. 154; their religion, 165; peculiar misery under their tyrants, 218; ill prepared for slavery, 219; impossibility of escape, 220; their discontent at the taxes

ROME.

of Galerius, ii. 113; decline Marcianus emperor, 114; number of in the Punic war, iv. 70, *note*; Emperor of the, that title retained by the emperors of the East, 136; of Gaul, condition of under the Merovingian princes, 350; their lands not exempt from tribute, *ib.* *note S.*; blind ardour of the Romans for the factions of the circus, v. 49; progress of their intercourse with the Greeks, 262, *note*; perpetual hazled inheritance of the first, 303 and *note*; their conquests and possessions in Arabia, vl. 302, *note*.

ROMULUS I., Leontinus, his origin and character, vl. 102; deposes Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and secunda the throne, 62; deposed and banished by his sons, &c.; marriage of his granddaughter with a Bulgarian prince descended, vii. 24.

ROMULUS II., emperor of Constantinople, vl. 103; possessed by his wife Theophano, 104.

ROMULUS III., ARGYRA, marries Zoe, daughter of Constantine IX., vl. 109; ceases at her adultery with Michael the Paphlagonian, &c.; possessed by her, *ib.*

ROMULUS IV., Diogenes, becomes emperor by marrying Eudokia, widow of Constantine XII., vl. 114; made prisoner by the Turks, &c.; deposed and put to death, 115; account of his conjurations against the Turks, vii. 159; deposed and captured by Alp Arslan, 161; disastrous treaty, 162.

ROMULUS, son of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, marries Bertha, daughter of Huns, king of Italy, vii. 24; second marriage, 25.

ROMULUS, Count, his mal-administration in Africa, iii. 272; artfully frustrates the complaints of the Tritobrarians, &c.; escapes justice through the favour of Melchiorides, 273.

ROMULUS, governor of Bosphorus, his treachery and profligacy, vi. 304.

ROME, greatness of, its true nature, l. 165; foreign superstitions at, 169; number of citizens, 170; freedom of, 171; era of its foundation, 328, *note*; threatened by the Alemanni, 363; defended by the senate, 394; pestilence at under Gallienus, 415; fortified by Aurelianus, ii. 16; walls,

ROME.

ib. and *notes*; ancient state of, *ib.*; Diocletian and Maximian the first princes who did not reside in the capital, 90; Diocletian's single visit to, 91; residence of Maxentius at, 125; the mystic Babylon of the primitive Christians, 175; its destruction by fire predicted, 176; fire of under Nero, 232; prefects of, their functions, 312; extent of their jurisdiction, *ib.*; the fountains of municipal authority, 313; vicars of, 314; visited by Constantius, 399; appeals to, sanctioned by the council of Sardica, iii. 75, *note*; citizens of adopt Christianity, 412; walls of restored by Honorius, iv. 39; wealth and splendour of in the Theodosian age, 74; citizens, their state described, 83; a mixed and degenerate race under the empire, 84; distribution of provisions at, *ib. sq.*; baths, 85; indolence and vice of the populace, 86 and *note*; games and spectacles, 86; population of, 87; walls, 88; houses, *ib.*; number of, 89; besieged by Alaric, 90; famine, *ib.*; plague, 91; siege raised, 93; second siege, 97; third siege and sack, 101; slaughter, 103 and *note*; edifices, how far injured, 105 and *notes*; captives and fugitives, 106; sack by Alaric contrasted with that under Charles V., 108; restoration of the city, 117; sacked by Genseric, 257; monuments of destroyed by the Romans themselves, 270; taken and sacked by Ricimer, 293; regions of in the fifth century, *ib.*, *note*; propagation of monasticism at, 308; prosperity of under Theodoric the Great, v. 19; his visit to, 20, and care of the public monuments, 21; citizens invite Belisarius, 135; besieged by Vitiges, 137; compass of the walls, 138 and *note S.*; walls restored by Belisarius, 139; a portion guarded by St. Peter, *ib.*; destruction of works of art during the siege, *ib.*; distress at, 142; invested by Totila, 216; famine at, 220; taken and sacked by Totila, 222; recovered by Belisarius, who repairs the walls destroyed by Totila, 224; reoccupied by Totila, 227; retaken by Narses, 235; the citizens send embassies to the emperors Tiberius and Maurice for assistance

ROME.

against the Lombards, 346; duchy of, its limits, 348; subject to and oppressed by the exarchs of Ravenna, 349; misery and depopulation of, 355; preserved from destruction through the relics of the apostles, 357; duchy of, its territory, vi. 151 and *note*; sovereignty of the Greek emperors extinguished and a republic established, *ib.*; depopulation and decay, *ib.*; style of the Roman senate and people revived, 152; but the pope considered as the first magistrate, *ib.*; saved from the Lombards by Pepin, 155; final separation from the Eastern empire, 166; menaced and its suburbs plundered by the Arabs, 410; project of Constans II. to restore the seat of empire to, vii. 37; pillaged and deserted by him, *ib.*; part of, burnt by the Saracens under Robert Guiscard, 129; compared with Constantinople, viii. 120; state and revolutions of from the eleventh century, 186; change in the climate of, *ib. note*, and 187, *note M.*; French and German emperors of, ceremony of their coronation, *ib.*; their jurisdiction, 188; authority of the popes at, *ib.*; seditions against, 191; character of the Romans by St. Bernard, 194; supposed restoration of the senate, consuls, and tribunes, 198 and *notes*; restoration of the Capitol, 200; coin of the modern republic, *ib.*; prefects of the city restored, 201; wars against the neighbouring cities, 209; secession of the popes to Avignon, 214; nobles and barons of, 219; coronation of Petrarch at, 227; conspiracy of Rizenzi, 231; freedom and prosperity of Rome under his administration, 234; return of pope Gregory XI. from Avignon, 250; calamities of Rome in the great schism, 253; expulsion of pope Eugenius IV., 257; last coronation of a German emperor at, 258; statutes and government of, *ib.*; conspiracy of Porcaro, 260; tumults of the nobles at, 261; taking of by Charles V., 263 and *note*; authorities for its history in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, 265, *note*; Poggius' description of its ruins, 268; gradual decay of, 269; four causes of destruction, 270; worst

ROME.

- damage, how inflicted, 280, *note M.* ; games of Rome, 282 ; ignorance and barbarism of the Romans, 285 ; population, 287 and *note S.* ; restoration of the city by the popes, *ib.*
- ROME, CHURCH OF, not founded either by St. Peter or by St. Paul, ii. 196, *note M.* ; statistics of, in the third century, 211 ; its firm adherence to Liberius, iii. 89 ; refuses to associate Felix, *ib.* ; its vices under Valentinian, 256 ; bloody contention of Damasus and Ursinus for the episcopacy, *ib.* ; canonizes Augustin and reprobates Calvin, iv. 183, *note* ; upholds the worship of images, vi. 144 ; discipline how different from that of the Greek church, vii. 279 ; its corruption, viii. 92 ; schism of, *ib.* ; healed, 104.
- ROMILDA betrays Friuli to Baian, chagan of the Avars, v. 396 ; cruelly executed by him, *ib.*
- RONCEVALLES, battle of, vi. 171 and *note M.*
- ROMULUS, interregnum after, ii. 34.
- ROSAMOND, daughter of Cunimund, king of the Gepidæ, carried off by Alboin, v. 333 ; marries him, 334 ; intrigues with Helmichis, 339 ; compelled by Alboin to drink from her father's skull, *ib.* ; conspires and accomplishes his murder, *ib.* ; takes refuge and intrigues with Longinus, exarch of Ravenna, 340 ; poisons Helmichis and is murdered by him, *ib.* ; her daughter sent to Constantinople, *ib.*
- ROTHARIS, laws of, v. 354 ; ignored witchcraft, 355.
- ROUDA, island of the Nile at Memphis, vi. 330.
- ROUM, Seljukian dynasty of, vii. 167 ; kingdom of, established, 169 ; sultans of remove their throne to Cogni or Iconium, 239.
- ROUMELIA, countries comprehended under that name, i. 159.
- ROUSSEAU, observations on animal food, iii. 296, *note* ; remark on his parallel of Christ and Socrates, vi. 8, *note*.
- ROXOLANI, Sarmatian tribe, ii. 359, *note S.* ; iii. 317.
- RUDBECK, OLAUS, account of the Swedish women, i. 352, *note* ; his Atlantica, 353.
- RUFINUS, minister of the great Theodosius, his history and character, iv.

SABELLIUS.

- 2 *sqq.* ; becomes præfect of the East, 4 ; governs Arcadius, 5 ; avarice and oppression, *ib.* ; deceived in his project of marrying his daughter to Arcadius, 7 ; alarm at the approach of Stilicho, 12 ; put to death by Gainas in the presence of Arcadius, 13 ; his body mangled by the populace, *ib.* ; treacherous correspondence with the Goths, 24.
- RUFINUS, presbyter of Aquileia, account of, iv. 32.
- RUGA, Spurius Carvilius, the first Roman who divorced his wife, v. 296 and *note*.
- RUGEN, holy island of the Varini, iv. 399, *note S.*
- RUGIANS, probable situation of the, iv. 295 ; invade Britain, 389.
- RUGILAS, or Roas, uncle of Attila, settles in Hungary, iv. 192.
- RUNIC CHARACTERS, theories respecting, i. 354, *notes* ; disappear after the propagation of Christianity, iv. 323.
- RURIC, Scandinavian chief, founds a monarchy in Russia, vii. 82 (*v. p. 80, note S.*)
- RUSSIA conquered by the Mongols, viii. 14 ; by Timour, 45.
- RUSSIANS, their origin, iii. 317 and *note* ; Greek form of their name, vii. 80 ; account of their origin, *ib. note S.*, and 81 ; were Scandinavians, *ib.* ; geography and trade of, 83 ; naval expeditions against Constantinople, 86 ; conversion to Christianity, 92 ; their zeal against the union of the Greek and Latin churches, viii. 124.
- RUSTAM, general of Yezdegerd, king of Persia, vi. 292 ; slain at Cadesia, 293 and *note S.*
- RUSTAN, saying of, i. 288.
- RUSTAN and ASFENDIAR, Persian heroes, iii. 304.
- RUSTICIANA, widow of Boethius, saved by Totila, v. 223.
- RUTILIUS NUMATIUS, date of his voyage, iv. 117, *note*.

S.

- SABÆANS, or Homerites, converted, iii. 25.
- SABARLA, ruins of, i. 249, *note S.*
- SABATON, lake, ii. 122, *note*.
- SABELLIUS, heresy of, iv. 53 and *note* ;

SABIANS.

- his doctrine of the Trinity and Logos, 55; his followers called Patripassians, 56, *note*; unite with the Tritheists at the Council of Nice against the Arians, 57.
- SABIANS, their astronomical science and worship, vi. 214; adopt the Scriptures, *ib*.
- SABINIAN supersedes Ursicinus in the conduct of the war against Sapor, ii. 410; his indolence and timidity, 411.
- SABINIAN, general of Anastasius, defeated by Theodoric the Ostrogoth at Margus, v. 16.
- SABINIANS, legal sect of the, v. 278.
- SABINUS, Flavius, cousin of Domitian, executed by him, ii. 239.
- SABINUS, his circular respecting the Christians in Asia, ii. 279.
- SACÆ, tribe of the, ii. 81, *note*.
- SACRIFICES, human, of the Suevi, i. 392; public, at Rome, prohibited by Theodosius, iii. 413 and *note M*.; human, of the Huns, iv. 195; of sheep and camels by the Arabians, vi. 212; human, of the Arabians, 213 and *note S*.; occasion and kinds of Arabian sacrifice, 232, *note S*.
- SACRIFICIAL KING, his dignity and functions, iii. 407.
- SADDER, authority of the, i. 334, *notes G. and M*.
- SADDUCEES, sect of, ii. 171; rejected the immortality of the soul, 172.
- SADE, ABBÉ DE, character of his 'Life of Petrarch,' viii. 225.
- SAFFAH, AL (or Abul Abbas), assumes the caliphate, vi. 391 and *note S*.
- SAGREDO, John, character of his History of the Ottoman Monarchs, viii. 185, *note*.
- SAID, lieutenant of the caliph Omar, takes Madayn, vi. 294.
- SAIN, Persian general, flayed alive for conducting a Roman embassy to Chosroes II., v. 397.
- SAINT MARTIN, his account of the successors of Tiridates, ii. 369, *note M*.
- SAINTS, worship of, 426, *sq*.; restored the reign of Polytheism, 432 *sq*.
- SALADIN, sultan, pedigree of, vii. 254; military service and conquests, *ib*.; character, 255; overthrows Guy de Lusignan at Hittin, 257; treatment of his prisoners, 258; takes Jerusalem, 259; generosity, 260; besieges Tyre, *ib*.; retreats to Damascus, 261;

SANCTUARY.

- defends Jerusalem against the Crusaders, 264; treaty with Richard I., 266; death, 267.
- SALADINE TENTH, or tax for the Holy War, vii. 267.
- SALBAN taken by Heraclius, v. 404.
- SALERNO, school of medicine at, sprang from the Arabians, vi. 402; account of, vii. 115.
- SALIAN FRANKS, permitted by Julian to remain in Toxandria, ii. 419 and *note M*.
- SALIO laws, how composed, iv. 364 and *note*; when published, 365; language of, *ib. note S*.; lands, tenure of, 373 and *note M*.
- SALICES, battle of between the Goths and Romans, iii. 329.
- SALLUST, officer of Julian, his character, ii. 414; made prætorian præfect in Gaul by Julian, iii. 114.
- SALLUST, præfect of the East, appointed by Julian judge at Chalcedon, iii. 126; his virtues, *ib. and note*; refuses the empire on the death of Julian, 216; his embassy to Sapor, 219; the diadem again offered to and refused, 233; confounded by Gibbon with Secundus, *ib. note S*.; Valentinian I. opposes his wish to retire, 236; voluntarily resumes the præfecture of the East on the revolt of Procopius, 241.
- SALLUST, palace of at Rome burnt by the Goths, iv. 105; site of, *ib. note*.
- SALONA, the retreat of Diocletian, described, ii. 101; palace, 102.
- SALVIAN, his invectives against the Carthaginians, iv. 186; account of the rebellion of the Bagaudæ, 252, *note*.
- SAMANIDES, Saracen dynasty of the, vi. 421; vii. 147 and *note*.
- SAMARA on the Tigris, iii. 217 and *note S*.; residence of the caliph Motassem VI., 416 and *notes*.
- SAMARCAND conquered by the Saracens, vi. 300; manufacture of paper in, *ib. and note*; marriages of six of Timour's grandsons magnificently celebrated at, viii. 62.
- SAMARITANS, sect of described, vi. 37; rebellion of under Justinian, 38.
- SAMOYEDES, their manners, viii. 16.
- SAMUEL, the prophet, his ashes transferred to Constantinople, iii. 428.
- SANCTUARY, privilege of transferred

SAND.

- to Christian temples, iii. 35; Fra Paolo's remarks on the abuse of, *ib. note*.
- SAND, a substitute for water in Mahometan ablutions, vi. 232, 303, *note*.
- SANGIAR, Seljukian sultan of Persia, his character, vii. 249 and *note*.
- SANGIBAN, king of the Alani, invites the arms of Attila, iv. 232.
- SAPAUDIA, or Savoy, when first mentioned in history, iv. 224.
- SAPHADIN or Ardel, brother of Saladin, refuses the hand of the sister of Richard I., vii. 266.
- SAPOR, son of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, i. 346; his victories, 403; causes Chosroes king of Armenia to be assassinated, *ib.*; takes Valerian prisoner, 404; overruns Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, *ib.*; cruelties, 405; his army harassed by Odenathes, 406; treatment of Valerian, *ib.*
- SAPOR, son of Hormouz, king of Persia, crowned before his birth, ii. 366 and 367, *note M.*; subdues the Arabs, 367; besieges Nisibis, 368, 372; occupies several fortresses in Mesopotamia, *ib.*; persecutes the Christians, *ib. note M.*; imposes hard conditions of peace on Chosroes, king of Armenia, 369; defeats Constantius at Singara, 371; Sapor's son executed by the Romans, *ib.*; abandons the siege of Nisibis, 373; truce with the Romans, *ib.*; haughty epistle to Constantius, 404; invades Mesopotamia, 406; besieges Amida, 407; great losses before, 409; reduces Singara and Bezabde, 410; his distress at the rapid progress of Julian, iii. 206; anxiety to conclude a peace, *ib.*; joy on the death of Julian, 217; treaty with Jovian, 219; artful delay, *ib.*; terms imposed by him, *ib.*; enters Armenia, 277; imprisons Arsaces Tiranus and reduces the kingdom, 278; subdues Sauromaces, king of the Iberians, *ib.*; besieges Artogerassa, *ib.*; death, 280.
- SARACENS, Greek and Latin name for the Arabians, vi. 204; its etymology, *ib. note*, and *note M.*; assist the Greeks in Italy, vii. 99; discomfited in Sicily, 105 (*v. Arabs*).
- SARAGOSSA, emir of restored by Charlemagne, vi. 174.

SATURNINUS.

- SARBAR, the Persian general, besieges Constantinople, v. 405; revolts to Heraclius, 408.
- SARBARAZA, Persian general, vanquished by Heraclius, v. 404.
- SARDICA, interview of Constantius II. and Vetranio at, ii. 378; Council of, iii. 75; its dissensions, *ib.*; reveals the first symptoms of schism between the Greek and Latin churches, *ib.*; allowed appeals to the Roman pontiffs, *ib. note*.
- SARDINIA, Vandals expelled from by Marcellinus, iv. 284; conquered by Zano, brother of Gelimer, v. 111; recovered by the Romans, 114.
- SARMATIAN games, ii. 144, *note*.
- SARMATIANS how distinguished from Germans, i. 381; races of, *ib.*; signally defeated by the emperor Carus, ii. 53; allied with the Goths, 144; account of, 357, *sqq.*; were Slavonians, 359, *note S.*; war with the Goths, 360; implore the aid of Constantine the Great, *ib.*; their ingratitude induces Constantine to abandon them, 361; defeated with great loss by the Goths, 362; expelled by the slaves whom they had armed, *ib.*; some retire among the Quadi, *ib.*; the greater part received into the Roman provinces, *ib.*; allied with the Quadi, 401; formed into a kingdom by Constantius II., 402.
- SARUS, a Gothic warrior, attempts the life of Stilicho, iv. 61; received in Ravenna by Honorius, 101; successful sally against the Goths, *ib.*; enters the service of Jovinus, 122; surprised and killed by Adolphus, *ib.*
- SARUS, river, battle at the, between the Romans under Heraclius and the Persians, v. 404.
- SASIMA, wretchedness of that bishoprick, iii. 366.
- SASSANIDES, Persian dynasty of the, founded, i. 331; origin of that name, *ib. note*; genealogical table of the, 348, *note S.*; fall of the, vi. 292.
- SATALIA, the ancient Attalia, vii. 245 and *note S.*
- SATRAPIES, Persian, i. 343 and *note*.
- SATURNINUS, competitor of Gallienus, his observation on being made emperor, i. 411.
- SATURNINUS, general of Probus, revolt of, ii. 49.

SAUCE.

- SAUCE**, Elagabalus' punishment for a bad one, i. 282, *note*.
SAUL, general of Stilicho, iv. 36.
SAURONACES, king of the Iberians, deposed by Sapor, iii. 278; supported by Valens, 279.
SAUSAGES, Bologna, how made, v. 143, *note*.
SAUZES, son of Amurath I., forms a conspiracy with Andronicus, son of John Palaeologus, to murder their fathers, viii. 35; discovered and blinded, *ib*.
SAVELLI, Italian family of, viii. 220.
SAVIGNY, his account of taxation under Constantine, ii. 337, 341, *notes* S.
SAXA RUBRA, battle of between Constantine and Maxentius, ii. 132; site of, *ib*. *note*.
SAXONS, when first mentioned, ii. 70, *note*; situation and manners of the, iii. 262; according to Dr. Latham, a generic appellation, including Germans, &c., 263, *note* S.; their ships, 264; harass the coast of Gaul, *ib*.; settlements in Gaul at this time, *ib*. *note* S.; and iv. 234 and *note*; their defeat, iii. 265; come to the defence of Britain, iv. 387; massacre 300 British chiefs, *ib*. and *note*; were in England before the date assigned to Hengist's invasion, 388, *note* S.; probable date of their earliest settlements, *ib*.; havoc committed by, 394; influence on the British language, 395 and *note* S.; vanquished, how treated by Charlemagne, vi. 170 and *note*, 174; character of the, by Liutprand, vii. 36.
SAXONY, ancient, boundaries of, vi. 175.
SCABINI, or assessors, origin and election of, iv. 368 and *note* M.
SCANDERBEG, prince of Albania, history of, viii. 135; revolt from and exploits against the Turks, 137; death, 138.
SCANDINAVIA, ancient, i. 350, *note*; subdued by Attila, iv. 196.
SCARPONA, battle of between Jovinus and the Alemanni, iii. 258.
SCATINIAN LAW, account of, v. 322.
SCAURUS, degradation of the family of, ii. 309, *note*.
SCPTICISM, prevalence of among the pagans, ii. 205; assisted the growth of Christianity, *ib*.
SCPTRE, Greek, described, vii. 367, *note*.

SEGUED.

- SCHAFARIK**, character of his 'Schlawische Alterthümer,' vii. 66, *note* M.
SCHISM, religious, origin of, ii. 163 and *note* G.
SCIENCE reducible to four classes, vi. 400.
SCIRI, or **SCIREI**, their situation, iv. 295.
SLAVONIANS, v. Slavonians.
SCLERENA, concubine of Constantine X., vi. 110.
SCLERUA, his rebellion suppressed by Basil II., vi. 107.
SCODRA, or **SCUTARI**, vii. 203 and *note*.
SCOTS and **PICTS**, how distinguished, iii. 266; controversies concerning their descent, 268, *note* and *note* S.; invade Britain, 268.
'SCOURGE OF GOD', epithet of Attila, iv. 202 and *note*.
SCRIBONIANUS, revolt of, i. 211, *note*.
SCRINIA, four ministerial offices so called, ii. 326.
SCRIPTURES, Christians compelled to deliver up the, ii. 273; Eastern versions of, vi. 45 and *note*.
SCYRRI, tribe of the Huns, defeated, iv. 160.
SCYTHIA, v. Tartary.
SCYTHIANS confounded with the Goths, i. 401 (v. Tatars).
SEBASTIAN, count of Egypt, places George of Cappadocia on the episcopal throne of Alexandria, iii. 83; despatched towards Nisibis by Julian, 189; fails in joining that emperor, 205.
SEBASTIAN, general of Valens, his exploits against the Goths, iii. 324; killed at the battle of Hadrianople, 337.
SEBASTIAN created emperor by his brother Jovinus, iv. 122; put to death by Adolphus, king of the Goths, 123.
SEBASTOCRATOR, title of invented by Alexius Comnenus, vii. 18.
SECULAR GAMES, account of, i. 327.
SEEL, the bishop and canons of castreated, viii. 191, *note*.
SEDJAR, Arabian prophetess, her interview with Moseilama, vi. 286 and *note* S.
SEGESTAN, independence of, i. 340, *note*; Rustan, prince of, *ib*.; alliance with Sapor, ii. 408 and *note*.
SEGUED, emperor of Abyssinia, converted to Roman Catholicism, vi. 66.

SEID BECHAR.

SEID BECHAR, descendant of the Prophet, his false prediction of the fall of Constantinople, viii. 71 and *note*.
 SEJANUS, his rank and privileges, i. 276, *note*.
 SELDEN, his remark on transubstantiation, vi. 134.
 SELEUCIA described, i. 341; sacked and ruined, 342; besieged by the Isaurians, ii. 395; council of, iii. 68.
 SELEUCUS NICATOR, cities founded by, i. 339, *note*; era of, *ib*.
 SELEUCUS, mount, site of, 384, *notes*; battle of between Constantius and Magnentius, ii. 385.
 SELGA, defeat of Tribigild the Ostrogoth at, iv. 144.
 SELIM I., sultan, his treaty with the Mamalukes, vii. 274 and *note*.
 SELJUK, grandfather of Togrul Beg, founder of the Seljukian dynasty, his history, vii. 153; family, 154, *note* S.; division of their empire, 167 and *note* M.; extinguished by the khans of Persia, viii. 13.
 SELYMBRIA, besieged by Mahomet II., viii. 154.
 SEMIRAMIS invented castration, ii. 386, *note*.
 SEMNO, chief of the Lygii, captured by Probus, ii. 45.
 SENATE, state of under Augustus, i. 197; functions under the empire, 205; attempts to recover its rights after the murder of Caligula, 210; its jurisdiction over the emperors, 236; Gibbon corrected, *ib. note* W.; its acclamations, *ib. note* W.; condemns Julianus, 251; oppressed by Severus, 261; indignant at the elevation of Macrinus, 274; women formally excluded from, 286; its dignity restored by Al. Severus, 288; secret form of convocation, 313; assumes the reins of government, 314; elects Maximus and Balbinus emperors, 315; excluded from military employments, 394; prerogatives regained under Tacitus, ii. 37; refuses to name Florianus, the brother of Tacitus, consul, 38; persecuted and debased by Diocletian and Maximian, 91; Constantinopolitan, 301 and *note*; Roman, majority of, remained Pagan under the Christian emperors, iii. 408; were sworn at the altar of Victory, *ib*.; four depu-

SERAPION.

tations for its restoration, 409; petition of Symmachus to Valentinian for, *ib*.; solemn debate respecting the worship of Jupiter or Christ, 411; truth of this fact examined, *ib. note* M.; renounces Paganism, *ib*.; consulted by Stilicho on the demands of Alaric, iv. 58; grants him 4000 lbs. of gold, 59; decrees the death of Serena, 90; rejects the heathen project of Pompeianus against the arms of Alaric, 92; negotiates with him, *ib*.; second embassy to, 95; elects Attalus emperor, 99; close of its jurisdiction in Gaul, 288; supports Anthemius against Olybrius, 293; epistle to the emperor Zeno, transferring the seat of empire to the East, 299; extinction of in the reign of Justinian, v. 235; legislative power transferred to by Tiberius, 265; decrees of had the force of law previously, *ib. note* W.; revival of in the twelfth century, viii. 199; number and election of, 202.
 SENATORS, Roman, qualification, i. 171, *note*; and knights perform as gladiators, 232, *note*; under Honorius, their genealogical pretensions, iv. 71; unfounded, 72 and *note*; immense wealth, 74; luxury and manners, 76 *sqq.*; young, permitted to take 6 per cent. interest, *ib. note*; literary studies, 82 and *note*.
 SENATOR, office of, in the modern Roman republic, viii. 202, 258.
 SENECA, his *Ἀποκαλύψεις*, i. 207, *note* M.; his theory of comets, v. 250 and *note*.
 SENIORS, or lords, origin of, iv. 373.
 SEPTEM, or Ceuta, adorned and fortified by Justinian, v. 114.
 SEPTIMANIA, Gothic and Roman, distinguished, iv. 128, *note* S.; Gothic province of in Gaul (Languedoc), 361, 363; conquered by the Saracens, vi. 386 and *note* S.
 SEPTIZONIUM of Severus at Rome, viii. 270; materials of, used by Sixtus V. for St. Peter's, 277.
 SERAI, city and palace of built by Batou the Mongol, viii. 16.
 SERAPEUM, or temple of Serapis at Alexandria, v. Serapis.
 SERAPION, relinquishes the doctrine of anthropomorphism, vi. 7.

SERAPIS.

SERAPIS, account of the worship of in Egypt, iii. 416 and *note S.*; temple of at Alexandria described, 417; sacrifices tolerated in after their prohibition by Theodosius, 418; tumults respecting, *ib.*; temple demolished by Theophilus, 419; Gibbon's account corrected, *ib. note S.*; statue of described, 420; destruction of, *ib.*

SERENA, niece of Theodosius, married to Stilicho, iv. 10; strangled by order of the Roman senate, 90.

SERGEANTS, what, vii. 302, *note.*

SERGIOPOLIS, *v.* Rasaphe.

SERGIUS, nephew of Solomon the eunuch, massacres the deputies of the Moors at Leptis, v. 213; conspiracy of against Justinian detected, 245; implicates Belisarius, 246.

SERGIVS and Bacchus, saints and martyrs, their tomb at Rasaphe, v. 375 and *note.*

SERGIUS, the Paulician, virtues of, vii. 52.

SERIPHUS, isle of described, i. 220 and *note.*

SERONATUS, præfect of Gaul, condemned for corresponding with the Visigoths, iv. 290.

SERVETUS, his execution by Calvin examined, vii. 60, *note.*

SERVIANUS, overthrown by Simeon, king of the Bulgarians, 68.

SERVIVS, walls of, ii. 16 and *notes.*

SESOSTRIS, long wall of, vi. 206, *note.*

SESTUS, distance from Abydus, ii. 290.

SEVERA, wife of Valentinian I. and mother of Gratian, iii. 291, *sq.*

SEVERIANUS put to death by Licinius, ii. 136.

SEVERINA, widow of Aurelian, empress at Alexandria, ii. 34, *note S.*

SEVERINUS, St., his prediction to Odoacer, iv. 298; relics of, 301, *note.*

SEVERUS, Septimius, wall of in Britain, i. 141, *note S.*; enlarges the province of Arabia, 143, *note S.*; commander in Pannonia, assumes the purple, 249; donative, *ib.*; marches towards Rome, *ib.*; Hume's mistake respecting, *ib. note*; success against Niger and Albinus, 253; artful policy, *ib. sq.*; cruelty, 257; wise government, 258; military success, 259; relaxes discipline, *ib.*; Gibbon's account questioned, 260, *note W.*; reforms the Prætorians, 260; oppresses the

SIBERIA.

senate, 261; establishes absolute government, 262; principal author of the decline of the empire, *ib.*; satiety, 263; addicted to magic and divination, *ib.*; at first protected the Christians, ii. 257; publishes an edict against them, 258; repairs to Britain, 265; death, 267.

SEVERUS, Alexander, age, i. 278, *note*; declared Cæsar, 283; accession to the empire, 285; education and way of life, 287; admonition to his visitors, 288; refuses the name of Antoninus, *ib.*; reforms the army, 289; firmness, 291; defects, 292; histories of his life characterized, 293, *note*; murdered, 307; pretended victory over Artaxerxes, 344; more probable account, 345; associates the statues of Abraham and Christ with those of Orpheus and Apollonius, ii. 259; his design of building a Christian temple examined, *ib. note.*

SEVERUS, officer of Galerius, declared Cæsar by him, ii. 108; and Augustus, 112; defeat and death, 115.

SEVERUS appointed general of cavalry under Julian, ii. 415.

SEVERUS, Sulpicius, the first author of the ten persecutions, ii. 255, *note.*

SEVERUS, Libius, elected emperor at the dictation of Ricimer, iv. 274.

SEVERUS, patriarch of Antioch, his theological tenets and persecutions, vi. 53.

SEVILLE taken by Musa, vi. 360.

SEVIR, an officer of the Equites, i. 151, *note S.*

SHAH MANSOUR, prince of Fars, valiant defence against Timour, viii. 44 and *note.*

SHAHAN SHAH, origin of that title, i. 331, *note M.*

SHAWER, his faction in Egypt under the Fatimite caliphs, vii. 251; murdered by Shiracouh, 253.

SHEICKS, Arabian, how chosen, vi. 204.

SHEPHERD-KINGS of Persia, dynasty of, founded, vii. 153.

SHITES, Mahometans who reverence Ali so called, vi. 272.

SHIRACOUH, emir of Noureddin, his first expedition into Egypt, vii. 251; second expedition, 252; third expedition and conquest of, 253.

SIBERIA, description of, iii. 306; conquered by the Mongols, viii. 16.

SIBYLLINE.

- SIBYLLINE** books consulted by Aurelian, ii. 15; verses, Christianity proved from the by Constantine, iii. 19 and *note*; books, burnt by Stilicho, iv. 63.
- SIBYLS**, Christian, ii. 218; predicted the ruin of Rome in 195, *ib. note*.
- SICHEM**, or Naplous, city of the Samaritans, site of, vi. 37, *note*.
- SICILIAN Vespers**, vii. 379.
- SICILY**, disorders in, i. 413; reunited to the Roman empire by Belisarius, v. 129; ravaged by Totila, 228; conquered by the Arabs, vi. 407; conquered by Roger the Norman, vii. 117; princes of, perpetual legates of the Holy See, 118; Roger II. king of, 132; reign of William the Bad, 141; of William the Good, 142; conquered by the emperor Henry VI. 144; subdued by Charles of Anjou, 376; separated from Naples and transferred to the house of Arragon, 380.
- SICORIUS PROBUS**, his embassy to Narses, ii. 86.
- SICULI**, tribe of Huns, vii. 79 and *note* S.
- SIDON**, manufactures of, v. 56 and *note*.
- SIDONIUS APOLLINARIUS**, his metaphor respecting the capitation tax, ii. 339; his account of his father-in-law Avitus, iv. 258 and *note*; character of Theodoric II., 260, *sq.*; panegyric on Avitus, 263; joins a faction in Gaul, 265; panegyric on Majorian, 266, *note*; panegyric on Anthemius, 281; made prefect of Rome, *ib.*; literary style, 288, *note*.
- SIENSI**, tribe of oriental Tatars, iii. 312; revolutions of that people, iv. 43; assume the name of Topa, *ib.*
- SIFFIN**, plain of, war of Ali and Moawiyah on, vi. 275.
- SIGANFU**, inscription of, its authenticity, vi. 50, and *note* M.
- SIGISMUND**, king of the Burgundians, guilt and subsequent piety, iv. 356; founds the monastery of Agaunum, *ib.*; defeated and buried alive by the sons of Clovis, *ib.*
- SIGISMUND**, emperor, protects the synod of Basil, viii. 93; receives the Turkish ambassadors in their presence, *ib.*
- SIGISMUND**, King of Hungary, defeated by the sultan Bajazet, viii. 32.

SINGARA.

- SILENTIARIUS**, Paul, his description of the marbles used in the church of St. Sophia, v. 75, *note*.
- SILENTIARY**, office of at Constantinople, v. 203, *note*.
- SILINGI** occupy Bætica, iv. 125.
- SILK**, how regarded by the Romans, i. 192 and *note*; manufacture of in China and Cos, v. 57; Gibbon's account corrected, *ib. note* S.; use of by the Romans, 58; price of, *ib.*; procured from the fish *pinna marina*, *ib.*; silk trade, *ib.*; worms introduced into Greece, 61; silk manufacture in Greece, vii. 12; in Spain and Sicily, *ib.*; in Italy, 13; when established in England, *ib. note*.
- SILURES**, British tribe, i. 157.
- SILVER** the chief instrument of commerce, i. 192 and *notes* W. and M.; increase of, 193; relative value to gold under Constantine the Great, ii. 338, *note* S.
- SILVESTER**, St., pope, legend of Constantine's donation to, vi. 161.
- SIMEON**, king of Bulgaria, history of, vii. 68 and *note* S.; treaty with the emperor Romanus, *ib.*
- SIMEON STYLITES**, the Syrian hermit, his extraordinary penance, iv. 320; reverence paid to, 321.
- SIMEON METAPHRASTES**, works of, vii. 3 and *note*.
- SIMEON**, Greek minister, cruelly executes Constantine, the Paulician, vii. 51; converted to that faith, *ib.*
- SIMEONS** of Van or Ormia, Nestorian sect, vi. 51.
- SIMOCATTA THEOPHYLACT**, his Life of the Emperor Maurice, v. 390.
- SIMON THE MAGICIAN**, odiousness of his name, vi. 23 and *note*.
- SIMON DE MONTFORT** engages in the fourth crusade, vii. 239; abandons the enterprise, 296 and *note* M.
- SIMONY**, early instance of, ii. 262, *note*.
- SIMPLICIUS**, with six other philosophers, seeks refuge at the court of Persia, v. 93; character of his works, 94.
- SINDBAL**, leader of the Heruli under Narses, his valour at the battle of Casilinum, v. 240; hanged for rebellion by Narses, 241.
- SINGARA**, site of, ii. 87, *note*; Gibbon corrected, *ib. note* S.; battle of between Constantius and Sapor, 370; taken by Sapor, 410.

SINGERIC.

- SINGERIC, brother of Sarus, succeeds Adolphus as king of the Goths, iv. 126; murders the children of Adolphus, *ib.*; assassinated, *ib.*
- SINGIDUNUM razed by the Avars, v. 379.
- SINGING, tramontane, contempt of the Italians for, v. 360 and *notes*.
- SINISTUS, high priest of the Burgundians so called, iii. 261.
- SINOPE, surrendered to Mahomet II., viii. 189.
- SIRA, or SCHRIN, wife of Chosroes, v. 376; poetical celebrity of their love, 410, *note* M.
- SIRMUM declares for Julian, iii. 116; attacked by the Quadi and Sarmatians, 288; defended by Probus, *ib.*; captured by Baian, chagan of the Avars, v. 378.
- SIROES, or KABAD, conspires against his father, Chosroes II., v. 411 and *note* M.; deposes and murders him, 412; makes peace with Heraclius, 413.
- SISEBUT, Gothic king of Spain, persecutes the Jews, iv. 341.
- SIXTUS IV., pope, tumults in Rome under, viii. 261 and *note*.
- SIXTUS V., pope, his vigorous reign, viii. 265.
- SLAVES, condition among the Romans, i. 176; price, *ib.* *note* M.; manumission, 177; numbers, 178; admitted into the army, ii. 323, 324, *note* S.; Roman, join the army of Alaric, iv. 93; condition of under the barbarian conquerors of Rome, 374.
- SLAVES (Slavonians), etymology and perversion of the word, vii. 66 and *note* S.
- SLAVONIANS between the Elbe and Vistula, i. 350, *note* S.; their origin and various tribes, v. 167, *note* S.; manners, 169; number of their villages, *ib.* and *note* S.; ravage Illyricum and Thrace, 171; cruelty, *ib.*; boundaries of in the reign of Charlemagne, vi. 175; their settlements in Greece examined, vii. 9, *note* S.
- SLEEPERS, Seven, legend of, iv. 188; introduced into the Koran, 190.
- SMALLPOX, its first appearance in Arabia, vi. 217.
- SMYRNA, cause of its populousness, viii. 24; its defence assigned to the knights of Rhodes, 26, *note*; taken by Timour, 56.

SOLOMON.

- SMYTH, Capt., catalogue of medals, i. 391, 409 and *note* M.
- SOZEMIAS, mother of Elaçabalus, i. 278; signed the acts of the senate, 286.
- SOCRATES, daemon of, vi. 263 and *note*.
- SOFFARIDES, Saracen dynasty of the, vi. 421.
- SOGDORTES, their silk trade with China, v. 59; their civilisation, 178.
- SOISSONS, vase of, iv. 347; its arsenals and manufactures, 348, *note*.
- SOLDIERS, Roman, property qualification of, 146, *note*; pay, 147, *note*.
- SOLICINIUM, Mount, Valentinian I. defeats the Alemanni at, iii. 260.
- SOLIDUS, value of the, iv. 74, *note* S.
- SOLIMAN, brother of the caliph Walid, besieges Constantinople, vi. 378; death, 380; his gluttony, *ib.* *notes*.
- SOLIMAN, son of Cutulmish, and great-grandson of Seljuk, authorised by Malek Shah to invade the Roman dominions, vii. 168; declares himself for Nicephorus Botaniates, 169; permanently occupies Asia Minor, *ib.*; surnamed Gazî, *ib.*; his conquests, 170.
- SOLIMAN, son of Orchan, establishes himself in Thrace, viii. 28; death, *ib.*
- SOLIMAN, son of Bajazet, escapes into Europe after the battle of Angora, viii. 56; accepts the investiture of Romania from Timour, 61; character and death, 67 and *note* M.; alliance with Manuel Palæologus, 70.
- SOLIMAN, v. Kildije Arslan.
- SOLOMON, king of the Jews, not the author of the Book of Wisdom, iii. 47 and *note*; sacrifices of emulated by Julian, 158; equalled by those of the caliph Mokteder, *ib.* *note* M.; probably not the author of the 'Ecclesiastes,' v. 119 and *note* M.
- SOLOMON, the eunuch, entrusted with the command of Africa by Belisarius, v. 122; destroys sixty thousand Moors, *ib.*; besieges Mount Aurasius, 123; reannexes the province of Mauritanian Sifti to the Roman empire, *ib.*; conspiracy against at Carthage, 211; escapes to Sicily, *ib.*; defeated and slain by the Moors at Tebeste, 214.
- SOLOMON, knights of the temple of, viii. 231 and *note*.

SONG.

- SONG, Chinese dynasty of, viii. 10.
- SONNA, or Mahometan oral law fixed by Al Bochari, vi. 229 and *note* S.
- SONNENWALD, sacred wood of the Suevi in Lusatia, i. 392.
- SONNITES, or orthodox Mahometans, tenets of, vi. 272.
- SOPATER, the philosopher and friend of Constantine, executed for magic, iii. 73 *note*.
- SOPHIA, consort of Justin II., her benevolence to indigent citizens, v. 330; her insulting message to Narses, 336; disappointed of the hand of her protégé Tiberius II., 343; conspires against him with Justinian, son of Germanus, *ib.*
- SOPHIA, St., new cathedral of Constantinople, designed by Anthemius, v. 73; description of, 74; converted into a mosque, *ib.*; magnificence and expense of, 76; repairs of, viii. 122 and *note*; transformed into a mosque by Mahomet II., 176.
- SOPHIAN, lieutenant of Moawiyah in the siege of Constantinople, vi. 375 and *note* S.
- SOPHRONIA, Roman matron, death of, ii. 124, *note*.
- SOPHRONIUS, patriarch of Jerusalem, proposes to the besieging Saracens to capitulate in the presence of the caliph Omar, vi. 320.
- SORTES SANCTORUM, a Christian mode of divination, iv. 358, *note*.
- SOUL, immortality of the, ii. 168; not believed by educated Romans, 169; its pre-existence held by many of the Fathers, *ib.*, *note*; its immortality not generally believed by the Greek and Roman pagans, 170; believed by the barbarians, *ib.*; not part of the law of Moses, 171; its belief began to prevail among the Jews under the Asmonæan princes, 172; material, of the universe, iii. 47, and *note*; sleep of the, 430 and *note* S.; of the prophets and martyrs, place of the, 431, *note*; four opinions concerning the origin of the soul, vi. 4, *note*.
- SOVOT, or So-ou, the Chinese patriot, iii. 308 and *note*.
- SOZOPETRA, birthplace of the caliph Motassem, taken and razed by Theophilus, vi. 413; site, *ib.* *note* S.
- SPADO, force of that term, ii. 386 *note*.

STATUES.

- SPANIARDS, character of, in the 16th century, iv. 109.
- SPAIN, province described, i. 155; its division by Augustus, *ib.*; the Peru and Mexico of the Old World, 296, invaded by the Franks, 391; its prosperity during the first four centuries, iv. 123; illustrious cities of, 124; invaded by the barbarians, *ib.*; calamities, *ib.*; how divided among the barbarians, 125; Adolphus, king of the Goths, marches against the invaders, *ib.*; reduced and restored to Honorius by Wallia, 127; state of, after the retreat of the Goths, 176; conquests of the Visigoths in, 287; legislative assemblies of, 384; civil war in, after the death of Theudes, v. 124; Justinian seizes several cities, *ib.*; Romans finally expelled by Suintila, *ib.* *note*; state of under Charlemagne, vi. 174; crown of usurped by Roderic, 354; early history of deficient, *ib.* *note*; invaded by the Arabs, 355; best works on the Saracen conquest of, *ib.* *note* and *note* S.; conquered by Musa, 359; prosperity under the Arabs, 364; revenue, 366 and *note*; revolts from the Abbassides, 393.
- SPALATRO, ancient Salona, ii. 103.
- SPANHEIM, his 'Orbis Romanus,' i. 170; character of his edition of Julian's works, iii. 179.
- SPARTA, population of, i. 371, *note*.
- SPECTABLES, or *Respectable*, title of, ii. 305; class of, defined, 313.
- SPECTACLES, Roman, described, ii. 58, *sq.*; iv. 86.
- SPELMAN, his version of the Anabasis, ii. 83.
- SPICE country, i. 138, *note*.
- SPOLETO, duchy of, inhabitants surrender themselves to the pope, vi. 160.
- SPORTULÆ, or SPORTELLÆ, baskets of presents, described, iv. 80, *note*.
- SPRENGER, Dr., character of his *Life of Mahomet*, vi. 238, *note* S.
- SQUIRRELS (or dormice—*glivres*), eaten by the Romans, iv. 81 and *notes*.
- STADIUM, Olympic, compared with the Roman circus, v. 48.
- STATUES, multitude of at Rome, ii. 313; had a special guardian, *ib.*; account of those destroyed at Constantinople by the Latins, vii. 317.

STATURE.

STATURE, Roman military, reduction in the standard, ii. 323 and *note*.
STAURACIUS, emperor of Constantinople, vi. 88.
STEPHANEPHOROS, an annual, not perpetual, magistrate of the Chersonites, ii. 360, *note* M.
STEPHEN, freedman of Domitilla, assassinates Domitian, ii. 239.
STEPHEN, count of Blois, a leader in the first crusade, character, vii. 197.
STEPHEN, count of Chartres, letter respecting Alexius Comnenus, vii. 207; deserts his standard, 219.
STEPHEN, son of Romanus I., Byzantine emperor, vi. 102; conspires with his brother Constantine against his father, and is deposed and banished, 103.
STEPHEN III., pope, visits the court of France to solicit aid against the Lombards, vi. 154; extraordinary letter to the French in the name and person of St. Peter, 155 and *note*; crowns Pepin king of France, 157.
STEPHEN, St., the first martyr, miraculous discovery of his body, iii. 429; his blood liquefied at Naples, *ib.*, *note*; prodigies performed by his relics, 430; Gallic proverb respecting, *ib.* *note*; converts 540 Jews in eight days, 431, *note*.
STEPHEN, the Savage, favourite of Justinian II., his expedition against the Chersonites, vi. 79.
STILICHO, master-general of Theodosius, iii. 400.
STILICHO, general of the West, his origin and character, iv. 9; marries Serena, niece of Theodosius, 10; his military commands, *ib.*; appointed guardian of Arcadius and Honorius by Theodosius, 11; marches towards Constantinople, 12 and *note* S.; transfers the command of his troops to Gainas, *ib.*; puts Rufinus to death, *ib.*; declared an enemy of the state, 14; supplies Rome with corn from Gaul, 17; opposes Alaric in Greece, 27; two expeditions, *ib.* *note* S.; defeats Alaric, 28; allows him to escape, *ib.*; reason of this, *ib.* *note* S.; commanded by Arcadius to evacuate Greece, 29; checks the advance of the barbarians in Rhetia, 33; recalls the legions from Gaul and Britain,

SULPICIUS.

34; defeats Alaric at Pollentia, 36; expels him from Italy, 39; triumph at Rome, *ib.*; collects an army against Radagaisus, 46; encloses and defeats him, 48; puts him to death, 49; allows the remnant of his army to invade Gaul, 50; concludes a treaty with Alaric, 57; consults the senate on the demands of that leader, 58; loses the confidence of Honorius, 59; massacre of his adherents at Pavia, 60; hesitates at rebellion and repairs to Ravenna, 61; seized and beheaded by Count Heraclius, 62; his family and memory persecuted, *ib.*; reflections on his fate, *ib.*.
STOIC PHILOSOPHY, when first taught at Rome, v. 276, *note*.
STOZA, a private soldier, elected chief by the revolted army of Justinian in Africa, v. 211; character, *ib.*; death, 212 and *note* M.
STRASBURG, battle of between Julian and the Alemanni, ii. 417.
STRATA, or Roman road, from Aurantius to Babylonia, v. 188 and *note*.
STRATEGIUS employed by Constantine to inquire into heresies, iii. 42 and *note*.
STRATOPEDARCH, Byzantine officer, vii. 20.
STUKELY, Dr., his History of Carausius, ii. 72, *notes*.
STURGEONS of the Don or Tanais, vii. 407, 408, *note*.
SUBURBICARIAN churches, iii. 39, *note*.
SUCCESSIANUS repulses the Goths, i. 397.
SUEVI, their origin and renown, i. 392; join Radagaisus in invading Italy, iv. 45; overrun Gaul, 51; and Vandals occupy Galicia, 125; converted from Arianism, iv. 340, *note*.
SUFETULA captured by the Saracens, vi. 345.
SUGER, Abbé, minister of Louis VII., vii. 245 and *note* S.
SUICIDE, how regarded by the Romans, v. 326; under the emperors a means of escaping the legal penalties of condemnation, *ib.*.
SULLECTE opens her gates to Belisarius, v. 106; site, *ib.* *note* S.
SULPICIANTUS treats for the empire, i. 243, *sq.*
SULPICIUS, Servius, perfected the science of Roman law, v. 274; first

SULTAN.

- applied to it general theories and Grecian philosophy, 275.
- SULTAN, title of, when invented, vii. 147 and *note S*.
- SULTANS, Arabic titles of the, how to be understood, vii. 254, *note*.
- SUMIUM, province of, ii. 86, *notes*.
- SUMNAT, pagoda of described, vii. 148; idol of destroyed by Mahomed the Gaznevide, 149; its secret treasures, *ib.* and *note M*.
- SUN, worship of introduced at Rome, i. 281; by the Persians, 335; Aurelian's temple of the, at Rome, ii. 29; the, represented the Platonic Logos, iii. 141; the tutelary deity of Julian, 147.
- SUNDAY (dies solis), Lord's day so named by Constantine, iii. 3, *note*.
- SUPERSTITION, origin of, ii. 15; congenial to the multitude, 206; inconsistency of, viii. 190.
- SUPER-INDICATIONS, ii. 334.
- SURENAS, Gibbon's mistake respecting that name, iii. 194, *note M*.
- SURNAMES, uncertain under the Lower Empire, ii. 35, *note*; increase of the number of among the Romans, iv. 77, *note*; use of revived by the Greeks, vi. 111.
- SUS, river of Western Africa, vi. 348; probably confounded by Gibbon with the province of that name, *ib.* *note S*.
- SUSA, taken by Constantine, ii. 128.
- SWATOSLAUS, sovereign of Russia, character and reign, vii. 89; subdues the Bulgarians, 90; threatens Constantinople, *ib.*; defeated by John Zimisce, 91.
- SWEDES, account of, i. 376.
- SWISS CANTONS contrasted with the Frank Confederacy, i. 391.
- SWORD, Roman, described, i. 149; of Mars, discovered by Attila, iv. 195.
- SWORD of Aristotle, i. 338.
- "SWORD of God," surname of the Mahometan general Caled, vi. 258.
- SYAGRIUS, son of Ægidius, king of the Franks and Burgundians, his dominions, iv. 347; title, 348, *note*; character, 348; defeat by Clovis and death, *ib.*
- SYBILLA, sister of Baldwin IV. of Jerusalem, crowns her second husband, Guy of Lusignan, vii. 257.
- SYLLA, the dictator, his mildness as a

SYRIAN GATES.

- legislator, v. 320; numbers prescribed by him, *ib.*
- SYLLANUS, the consul, addresses the senate in favour of the Gordians, i. 313.
- SYLVANIA, sister of Rufinus, her monastic virtues, learning, and filthiness, iii. 13, *note*.
- SYLVANUS, general of Constantius in Gaul, his usurpation and murder, ii. 398.
- SYLVERIUS, pope, reproached by Antonina, wife of Belisarius, for treachery, and banished, v. 144 and *notes*; starved to death by Justinian in the isle of Palmaria, 216, *note*.
- SYMMACHUS, his account of the pagan conformity of Constantius, iii. 99; his rank, genius, and pagan zeal, 409; petition to Valentinian in favour of the goddess of Victory, *ib.*; firm and dexterous opposition of St. Ambrose, 410; literary character of the epistles of Symmachus, *ib.*, *note*; made consul by Theodosius, 425.
- SYMMACHUS, father-in-law of Boethius, v. 23; executed by Theodoric, 33.
- SYNESIUS, bishop of Ptolemais, illustrious pedigree of, iii. 36, *note*; avowed disqualification as a bishop, *ib.*, *note*; excommunicates the president Andronicus, 37; his patriotic advice to Arcadius, iv. 29; made bishop of Ptolemais, *ib.* *note*.
- SYNODS, provincial, instituted, ii. 193; Gibbon corrected, *ib.* *note G*.; produced the union of the church, 194; yearly Christian, iii. 39; extraordinary, only convened by the emperor, *ib.*; Nicene canons respecting, *ib.*, *note*.
- SYRACUSE sacked by the Franks, ii. 48; taken by the Saracens, vi. 409.
- SYRIA, province of, described, i. 160; under the Mamelukes, 187, *note*; campaign of Belisarius in, v. 100; invaded by Chosroes Nushirvan, 190; conquered by Chosroes II., 391; invaded by the Saracens, vi. 300; described, 315; final conquest of by the Saracens, 325; invaded by Nicephorus Phocas and Zimisce, 426; Seljukian dynasty of, vii. 167; invaded by Timour, viii. 51.
- SYRIAC tongue, cultivation of and dialects, vi. 45, *note*.
- SYRIAN and Cilician gates, v. 399, *note*.

SYRIANS.

- SYRIANS, or Oriental Christians, state of under the kingdom of Jerusalem, vii. 236.
- SYRIANUS, duke of Egypt, expels Athanasius from Alexandria, iii. 82.
- SYROPULUS, SYLVESTER, character of his History of the false union of the Greek and Latin churches, viii. 96 and *notes*.

T.

- TABARI, his biography of Mahomet, vi. 238, *note* S.; account of, 290, *note*.
- TÁBENNE, or trumpet of the Egyptian monks, iii. 85.
- TABENNE, island of the Nile, residence of Pachomius, iv. 307.
- TABIYS, or "Successors" of the Companions of Mahomet, vi. 237, *note* S.
- TABLE, emerald, in the Gothic treasury in Spain, iv. 116.
- TABLES, or Trictrac, Roman game of, described, iv. 81 and *note*.
- TABLES, astronomical, of the Arabians, vi. 401.
- TABUG, Mahomet's expedition of, vi. 258.
- TACITURNESS, English, iv. 398.
- TACITUS the historian, his account of the principles of the Stoics, i. 216, *note*; object of his episodes, 330; his Germania, 349; how faulty, 350, *note* S.; account of the revolt of Civilis, 368, *note*; works how preserved, ii. 36, *note*; his account of the Christians at Rome, 210; of the persecution of the Christians under Nero, 233; passage respecting, examined, *ib.*, *note*; remarks on his narrative, 234; account of his works, 235.
- TACITUS the senator, character, ii. 35; elected emperor by the senate, 36; administration, 37; election confirmed by the army, 38; repulses the Alani, 39; dies at Tyana, 40; prophecy respecting his family, 41 and *note*.
- 'TACTICS,' work of the emperors Leo and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, vii. 3.
- TADMOR, *v.* Palmyra.
- TAGINA, battle of between Narses and Totila, v. 233; site of, *ib.* *note*.
- TAHERITES, Saracen dynasty of, founded in Chorasán by Taher, vi. 421.
- TARSUS.
- TAIFALE, Gothic tribe allied with the Romans, ii. 403; join the Visigoths, iii. 330; their ethnology, *ib.* *note* S.; infamous manners, 331.
- TAITSONG, emperor of China, his virtues, vi. 298; assists Yezdegerd, the fugitive emperor of Persia, *ib.*
- TALZ, town of, i. 340, *note*.
- TALENT, the varieties of, i. 296, *note*; Gibbon corrected, *ib.* *note* S.
- TALMUD, hypothesis respecting the, ii. 223, *note*.
- TAMERLANE, *v.* Timour.
- TANCRED, king of Sicily, defends Apulia against the Germans, vii. 144.
- TANCRED DE HAUTEVILLE, his family, vii. 111.
- TANCRED, cousin of Bohemond, accompanies him in the first crusade, vii. 199; pedigree, *ib.* *note*; reluctant submission to the Greek emperor, 207; seizes Tarsus, 214; worsted by Baldwin, 215.
- TANJOU, rustic chief of the Huns, iii. 307; how received in the capital of China, 311.
- TAPROBANA (Ceylon), iii. 180, *note*; commerce of, v. 60 and *note*.
- TARACHUS, sufferings of, ii. 282, *note*.
- TARANTULA, effects of its bite, vii. 118, *note*.
- TARANTUS, nickname of Caracalla, i. 264, *note*.
- TARASIVS, secretary of the empress Irene, made patriarch of Constantinople, vi. 163; frames the decrees of the second council of Nice, 164.
- TARGETIUS, ambassador of the Avars, his address to Justin II., v. 331.
- TARIF, in Spain, name whence derived, vi. 355.
- TARIEK, lieutenant of Musa, lands at and gives name to Gibraltar, vi. 356; defeats Roderic the Goth at Xeres, 357; takes Toledo, 358; term of his conquests in Spain, 359; imprisoned and scourged by Musa, 361.
- TARKHAN, prince of Fargana, entertains Jezdegerd, king of Persia, vi. 298.
- TARQUIN, his punishment of suicide, v. 326, *note*.
- TARRAGONA, Roman province of, in Spain, i. 155.
- TARRAGONA, city of, sacked by the Franks, i. 392.
- TARSUS, in Cilicia, Julian's interment at,

TARTARY.

- iii. 227; restored to the Byzantine emperors, vii. 238.
- TARTARY, its situation and extent, iii. 203; conquered by Toulun, iv. 44.
- TASILLO, duke of Bavaria, his treasons punished, vi. 174.
- TASSO, enchanted grove of, vii. 226 and *note* S.
- TATARS, or Tartars, their situation and connection with the Mongols, iii. 294, *notes*; why called *Tartars* instead of *Tatars*, 295, *note* S.; identical with the Scythians, 294, *note*; their pastoral manners, 295; diet, 296; habitations, 297; exercises, 299; government, 300; probably a Mongolian tribe, viii. 2, *note* S.; descent of the, 3 and *note* M.
- TATIAN, prefect of the East, and his son Proculus, ruined by Rufinus, iv. 3.
- TAURIS, residence of Tiridates, called Ecbatana, ii. 88.
- TAURIS, or Gandzaca, city of, v. 402, *note*.
- TAUROBOLIA, ii. 265, *note*.
- TAURUS, prætorian præfect, presides in the council of Rimini, iii. 69.
- TAURUS, consul and prefect of Italy, flies on the approach of Julian, iii. 117; banished to Verocellæ, 127.
- TAXATION, Romans exempted from, i. 294; reimposed by Augustus, 298; provincial, reduced by Al. Severus to 1-30th, 302; account of, *ib.* *note* S.; increase of under Diocletian, ii. 96; on property by Galerius, 113; system of in the Roman empire at this period, 114, *note* S.; how adjusted by Constantine the Great, 134; direct, preferred by Constantine, 333; on land how levied, 335; on crops, &c., exacted in kind, 336.
- TAYEF besieged by Mahomet, vi. 255; surrenders, 256; date, *ib.* *note* S.
- TEBESTE, the modern Tibesh, remains of, v. 213, *note*; battle of between the Romans and Moors, 214.
- TECBIR, Arabian war-cry, its meaning, vi. 314, *note*.
- TELAS, Gothic commander, occupies Verona, v. 232; elected to succeed Totila, 235; marches to the relief of Cumæ, besieged by Narses, *ib.*; defeated and slain at Mount Lactarius, 236.
- TEKRIT, captured by Tamerlane, ii.

TEUTONIC KNIGHTS.

- 410; site of, *ib.* *note* S.; the birth-place of Saladin, *ib.*
- TELEMACHUS, St., killed in attempting to separate the gladiators, iv. 41.
- TELHA, Arabian chief, revolts with Zobeir against Ali, vi. 274; defeated and slain, 275 and *note* M.
- TEMPLARS, knights, vii. 231 and *note*.
- TEMPLE of Solomon, v. 74, *note* (v. Jerusalem).
- TEMPLE, Sir William, his account of Timour censured, viii. 69, *note*.
- TEMPLES, pagan, destroyed by Theodosius, iii. 414 and *note* M.; crusade of Marcellus bishop of Apagea against, 415.
- TEMUGIN, v. Zingis.
- TEPHRICE, fortified by Carbeas the Paulician, vii. 53; taken and destroyed by Basil the Macedonian, 54.
- TERBELIS, the Bulgarian, assists Justinian II. to regain the throne, vi. 78.
- TERMINUS, the god, refuses to move, i. 143.
- TERRASSON, character of his 'Jurisprudence Romaine,' v. 260, *note*.
- TERTULLIAN, his sentiments not to be deemed general among the Christians, ii. 167, *note* G.; his exultation on the subject of the last judgment, 177; suggested desertion to Christian soldiers, 188, *note*; date of his Apology, 212, *note*; when a Montanist calumniated the Agape, 229, *note*; his account of the edicts of Tiberius and M. Antoninus, 255; argument of against the Patripassians, iii. 47; boast of Christian knowledge, 51 and *note*; purity of his worship, 432.
- TESSERÆ, or dice, Roman game of described, iv. 81 and *note*.
- TESTAMENTS, nuncupatory, of soldiers, iii. 214, *note*; Roman laws respecting, v. 308; ceremony of making, 309; distinction between inheritance and legacies, *ib.*; codicils and trusts, 310.
- TETRIGUS reigns in Gaul by the influence of Victoria, ii. 18; betrays his army to Aurelian, 19; date of his fall, *ib.* *note*; adorns the triumph of Aurelian, 27; reinstated in his rank, 28; banquet to Aurelian, 29.
- TEUTONIC KNIGHTS conquer Prussia, i.

THABOR.

- 378, *note*; when founded, vii. 231, *note*.
- THABOR, Mount, dispute concerning the divine light of, vii. 404; the light established as an article of faith in the Greek church, 406.
- THAIR, king of Yemen, overruns Persia, ii. 367; subdued by Sapor, *ib.*
- THAMUD, caverns of the tribe of, vi. 240, *note*.
- THANET, isle of, assigned by Vortigern to his Saxon auxiliaries, iv. 387.
- THAPSACUS, fords of, on the Euphrates, iii. 190.
- THEATRICAL ENTERTAINMENTS of the Romans described, iv. 86.
- THEBÆAN legion, apocryphal story of its martyrdom, ii. 267, *note*; three different legions, 392, *note*.
- THEBARMA, or Ormia, birthplace of Zoroaster, v. 403 and *note M.*
- THEBES, in Egypt, kings of, i. 248, *note*; circumference of, ii. 295.
- THECLA, sister of the emperor Michael III., concubine of Basil I., vi. 97, *note S.*
- THEFT, Roman laws regarding, v. 315.
- THEMES, or military governments of the Eastern empire, account of, vii. 5; list of, *ib.* *note S.*
- THEMISTIUS, address to Jovian in the name of the Senate of Constantinople in favour of toleration, iii. 230.
- THEODATUS marries Amalasontha and ascends the throne of Italy, v. 123; puts her to death, *ib.*; secret negotiations with Justinian, *ib.*; weak character, 130; signs an ignominious treaty with Justinian, *ib.*; dialogue with Peter the Byzantine ambassador, 131; changes from despair to presumption, 132; deposed by his army, 135; assassinated, *ib.*
- THEODEBERT, king of Austrasia, invades Italy, v. 151; attacks at once the Romans and Goths, *ib.*; reduced to treat with Justinian, 152; killed by a wild bull, *ib.*
- THEODEMIR, father of Theodoric, sole king of the Ostrogoths, v. 3.
- THEODEMIR, Gothic prince of Murcia and Carthage, his treaty with Abdelaziz, son of Musa, vi. 362.
- THEODORA, wife of Constantius, ii. 112.

THEODORIC.

- THEODORA, consort of Justinian, her birth and early history, v. 42; captivates and marries Justinian, 44; associated in the empire, 45; private life, *ib.*; tyranny, 46; virtues, *ib.*; journey to the Pythian baths and death, 47; partiality for the blue faction, 42 and 51; firmness in the Nika sedition, 54; conspiracy against John of Cappadocia, 70; revenge on, *ib.*; secret intrigues at the court of Italy, 129 and *note G.*; buys the papal chair for the deacon Vigilius, 145; compels Belisarius to pardon his guilty wife Antonina, 160; restores to the latter her lover Theodosius, *ib.*; letter to Belisarius, 161; her spiritual discord with Justinian, vi. 38.
- THEODORA, her singular marriage with the emperor Theophilus, vi. 93; regent, *ib.*; zeal in restoring images, *ib.*; empress, her sanguinary persecution of the Paulicians, vii. 52.
- THEODORA, daughter of Constantine IX., reigns jointly with her sister Zoe, vi. 110; sole reign, *ib.*; death, 111.
- THEODORA, daughter of John Cantacuzene, her marriage with Orchan, Turkish prince of Bithynia, viii. 26.
- THEODORA, sister of Marozia, her amours and intrigues, vi. 182.
- THEODORA, widow of Baldwin III. of Jerusalem, becomes the concubine of Andronicus Comnenus, vi. 126.
- THEODORE ANGELUS, despot of Epirus, seizes and imprisons the emperor Peter of Courtenay, vii. 336; expels Demetrius, son of Boniface, and seizes the kingdom of Thessalonica, 337.
- THEODORE of Mopsuestia, condemned of heresy by the second council of Constantinople, vi. 39, *sq.*
- THEODORE, monk of Tarsus and primate of Britain, account of, vi. 44, *note*.
- THEODORET, bishop of Cyrrhus, his charity towards Maria the Carthaginian exile, iv. 188; condemned of heresy, vi. 39, *sq.*
- THEODORIC, son of Alaric, becomes king of the Visigoths on the death of Wallia, iv. 224; besieges Arles and Narbonne without success, *ib.*; his family, 226; resolves to avenge the mutilation of his daughter by

THEODORIC.

- her father-in-law Genseric, king of the Vandals in Africa, *ib.*; is prevented by the invasion of Gaul by Attila, *ib.*; forms an alliance with Aëtius and the Romans, 233; marches against the Huns, 234; killed at the battle of Châlons, 237.
- THEODORIC II.** acquires the Gothic sceptre by the murder of his brother Torismond, iv. 260; character, *ib.*; expedition into Spain, 262; defeats and puts to death Rechiarus, king of the Suevi, 263; recalled by the death of Avitus, *ib.*; acquires the territory of Narbonne, 287; assassinated by his brother Euric, *ib.*
- THEODORIC** the Ostrogoth, his birth and education, v. 1, *sq.*; genealogical table of his family, 2, *note S.*; illiterateness of, 2, *note*, and 3, *note M.*; intrusted with the defence of the Lower Danube by Zeno, 3; date of his accession, *ib.* *note S.*; forced by the Triarian Goths to revolt against Zeno, 6; treaty, 7; marches into Italy with the consent of Zeno, 8; defeats Odoacer on the Sontius, 9; on the Adige, *ib.*; solicits the aid of the Visigoths in Gaul, *ib.*; reproached by his mother for flight, 10 and *note*; subdues all Italy except Ravenna, *ib.*; reduces and murders Odoacer, *ib.*; proclaimed king of Italy, *ib.*; reign, *ib.*; partition of lands, 11; foreign policy, 13; extent of his dominion, 15; war with the emperor Anastasius and defeat of his general Sabinian, 16; naval armament, *ib.*; transactions in Gaul, 17; published no Gothic laws, *ib.*; his Latin edict, *ib.* *note* and *note S.*; connection with the Byzantine Court, 18; administration of justice, *ib.* and *note M.*; revenue, 18, *note S.*; visits Rome, 20; restores and protects the public monuments, 21; residence at Verona, 22; an Arian, 23; his toleration, 24; vices of his government, 25; provoked to persecute the Catholics, 26; puts Boethius to death, 31; executes Symmachus, 33; remorse and death, *ib.*; tomb at Ravenna, 34 and *note M.*
- THEODORIC**, son of Triarius, v. 6; killed, 7 and *note*.
- THEODORUS**, Mallius, merit and promo-

THEODOSIUS.

- tions of, ii. 318, *note*; consul with Eutropius, iv. 139.
- THEODORUS** the deacon, his Acroases, vi. 425, *note M.*
- THEODOTUS** of Hierapolis, base adulation of Constantius, iii. 118.
- THEODOSIAN CODE**, dates often altered, ii. 135, *note*; when published, 303, *note*; digested by the younger Theodosius, v. 271 and *note S.*; account of its framing, 279, *note M.*; discovery of the first five books, *ib.*
- THEODOSIOPOLIS**, foundation and site of, iv. 168 and *note*.
- THEODOSIUS**, father of the emperor, despatched by Valentinian I. to the assistance of the Britons, iii. 270; founds the province of Valentia, 271; made master-general of the cavalry, *ib.*; defeats the Alemanni, *ib.*; suppresses the revolt of Firmus in Africa, 274; beheaded at Carthage, under Gratian, 275.
- THEODOSIUS** the Great, his distinction between a Roman prince and Parthian monarch, ii. 344, *note*; magical prediction of his succession, iii. 243, *note*; repulses the Sarmatians from Mœsia, 288; made emperor of the East by Gratian, 343; birth and character, *ib.*; genealogical table, 344, *note S.*; private life, 345; prudent conduct of the Gothic war, 347; illness at Thessalonica, 348; entertains Athanaric at Constantinople, 350; buries him with splendour, *ib.*; treaty with Maximus, 362; the first orthodox emperor, 363; baptism, *ib.*; edict establishing the Trinity, *ib.*; practical argument of Archilochius in favour of orthodoxy, 364; banishes Damophilus, Arian archbishop of Constantinople, 368; forcibly installs Gregory Nazianzen, *ib.*; expels the Arian clergy throughout the East, 369; publishes severe edicts against heretics, 370; establishes inquisitors of the faith, 374; visit to the fugitive Justina and her son at Thessalonica, 383; marries Galla, sister of the latter, 384; espouses the cause of Valentinian II., *ib.*; defeats Maximus on the Save, *ib.*; makes his triumphal entry into Rome, 386; his virtues, *ib.*; faults, 387; clemency towards the seditious Antiochians, 390; orders the seditious Thessalo-

THEODOSIUS.

- nicans to be massacred, 392; influence of St. Ambrose over, 393; excommunicated by him and subjected to public penance in the cathedral of Milan, 394, *sq.*; restores Valentinian II. in the provinces usurped by Maximus, 396; consults the Egyptian hermit John respecting the usurpation of Eugenius, 399; repulsed by Arbogastes at Aquileia, 401; his troops desert to Theodosius, *ib.*; defeat and deaths of Eugenius and Arbogastes, 402; sole emperor, 403; appoints his sons Arcadius emperor of the East and Honorius emperor of the West, *ib.*; death, *ib.*; proposition to the senate whether Jupiter or Christ shall be worshipped, 411; date of that event, *ib.* *note*; inquiry as to its truth, *ib.* *note M.*; prohibited sacrifices, 413; destroyed the heathen temples, 414; laws how evaded, 421; last and peremptory edict against paganism, 422; patronized meritorious pagans, 425; family of in Spain oppose the invasion of the usurper Constantine, iv. 55; posterity of, 294 and *note*.
- THEODOSIUS the Younger, surrounds Constantinople with walls, ii. 295 and *note*; reception of the relics of St. Chrysostom, iv. 158; education and character, 162; marries Eudocia, 164; Persian war, 166; truce of one hundred years, 167; despatches an army to Italy against the usurper John, 172; devout triumph for his death, 173; relinquishes the Western empire to Valentinian III., 174; acquires Western Illyricum, *ib.*; final dissolution of the unity of the Roman government, *ib.*; pays tribute to the Huns, 192; increased by Attila, 193; disgraceful peace with the latter, 205; approves the plot for the assassination of Attila, 217; severely reproved by Eslaw, Attila's ambassador, *ib.*; death, 218; his conduct in the dispute between Cyril and Nestorius, vi. 20; banishes Nestorius and proscribes his opinions, 23.
- THEODOSIUS III., emperor of Constantinople, deposed by Leo the Isaurian, vi. 81; inscription on his tomb, *ib.*
- THEODOSIUS, son of the emperor Maurice, beheaded by Phocas, v. 387.

THEOPHILUS.

- THEODOSIUS, paramour of Antonina, wife of Belisarius, history of, v. 158; turns monk, 159; death, 160 and *note M.*
- THEODOSIUS, the deacon, murdered by his brother Constans II., vi. 75.
- THEODOSIUS, deacon of Syracuse, captured and imprisoned by the Saracens, vi. 409.
- THEODOSIUS, patriarch of Alexandria, his contest with Gaian, vi. 59; deposed, 60; conferences with Justinian, 61.
- THEODOSIUS, a revenue officer, invested with the purple by the troops of the Obsequian theme, vi. 379.
- THEOLOGIAN, how esteemed among the Huns, iv. 303.
- THEOPHANES, the chronicler, account of, v. 391.
- THEOPHANO, empress of Leo V., procures a fatal respite for Michael the Phrygian, vi. 90.
- THEOPHANO, wife of Romanus II., origin and character, vi. 103; poisons her husband and father-in-law, 104; intrigues with Nicephorus Phocas, *ib.*; her marriage with him refused by the patriarch, 105 and *note M.*; intrigues with John Zimisces, *ib.*; conspires with him against Phocas, *ib.*; exiled by him, 106.
- THEOPHANO, daughter of the emperor Romanus, marries the son of Otho the Great, vii. 25; regent of Rome, Italy, and Germany, *ib.*
- THEOPHILUS, consular of Syria under Gallus, murder of, ii. 390.
- THEOPHILUS, surnamed the Unfortunate, emperor of Constantinople, vi. 91; tyranny, 92 and *note S.*; ungrateful execution of Theophobus, 93; death, *ib.*; his singular marriage, *ib.*; the last and most cruel of the Iconoclasts, 165.
- THEOPHILUS, son of Michael the Stammerer, emperor of Constantinople, his warlike character, vi. 413; takes and razes Sozopetra, *ib.*; defeated at Amorium by the caliph Motassem, 414.
- THEOPHILUS, bishop of Antioch, declines to produce one raised from the dead, ii. 179.
- THEOPHILUS, archbishop of Alexandria, character, iii. 418 and *note*; demolishes the Serapeum, 419; seconds

THEOPHILUS.

- Eudoxia in persecuting Chrysostom, iv. 154; flies from Constantinople, 155.
- THEOPHILUS, Christian missionary to the Sabæans or Homerites, iii. 25 and *note M*.
- THEOPHILUS, the jurist, his servile opinion respecting the arbitrary power of the emperor, v. 270.
- THEOPHOBUS, Sassanid prince, commander of the Persians in the service of the emperor Theophilus, refuses to rebel against that monarch, vi. 92; beheaded by Theophilus, 93.
- THERAPEUTÆ, described, ii. 210, *note*.
- THERMÆ of Diocletian, ii. 113, *note*.
- THERMANTIA, wife of Honorius, and sister of Maria, divorced, iv. 62.
- THERMOPYLÆ, straits of, strengthened by Justinian, v. 79.
- THESSALONICA, sedition at, iii. 391; the citizens massacred by order of Theodosius, 392; kingdom of, vii. 324; united to the empire of Nice, 343.
- THEUDELINDA, daughter of Garibald, king of Bavaria, marries Autharis, king of Lombardy, v. 353; her second husband succeeds to the kingdom, *ib*.
- THEUDES, Gothic king of Spain, besieges Ceuta, v. 123; refuses assistance to Gelimer, king of the Vandals, 124.
- THEURGY or magic of the Platonists, iii. 142 and *note*.
- THIBAUT, count of Champagne, leader of the fourth crusade, vii. 289; death, 294.
- THLUTHA, fortress of, resists the arms of Julian, iii. 193.
- THOMAS, St., said to have preached Christianity in India, vi. 51; his shrine near Madras visited by the ambassadors of Alfred, *ib*.; gospel of, 226, *note*.
- THOMAS, St., Christians of on the coast of Malabar, vi. 51, and 53, *note M*.
- THOMAS, a noble Greek, his valiant defence of Damascus, vi. 308; skill in archery, *ib*.; wounded by the wife of Aban, 309; repulsed by Caled, *ib*.; exile, 311.
- THOMAS the Cappadocian disputes the title of Michael II., and besieges Constantinople, vi. 91; taken and executed, *ib*.

TILLEMONT.

- THOR, cave of, Mahomet's concealment in, vi. 242; legends respecting, *ib*. and *note S*.
- THRACE described, i. 159; colonized by the Bastarnæ, ii. 48; gold mines of, iii. 327 and *note*; Goths settled in by Theodosius, 352.
- THRASIMUND, king of the African Vandals, his religious sentiments, iv. 329.
- THUNDERING LEGION, story of the, ii. 256 and *note*.
- THURINGIA, subdued by Attila, iv. 196.
- THURINGIANS, their cruelty to the Franks on the retreat of Attila, iv. 239 and *note*.
- THYATIRA, church of, when founded, ii. 207; battle of, iii. 242; site, *ib*. *notes*.
- THYSDRUS, city of, i. 310 and *note*.
- TIARA, or triple crown of the popes, origin and meaning of, viii. 250, *note*.
- TIBER, inundations of the, viii. 272, 273, *note M*.
- TIBERIAS, the residence of the Jewish patriarch, iii. 155; besieged by Saladin, vii. 257; battle of between Saladin and Guy de Lusignan, *ib*. and *note M*.
- TIBERIUS, adopted by Augustus, i. 212; character, 217; used the forms of justice, 219; first assumed the privilege of *majestas*, *ib*. *note W*.; conduct towards Germanicus' widow, *ib*. *note*; fixes the prætorians at Rome, 242; abolishes half the excise on the reduction of Cappadocia, 298, *note*; supposed edict of in favour of the Christians, ii. 256.
- TIBERIUS, captain of the guards, associated in the empire by the younger Justin, v. 342; accession, 343; declares his wife Anastasia empress, *ib*.; assumes the name of Constantine, 344; his virtues, *ib*.; names Maurice as his successor, 345; death, *ib*.; his war with the Persians, 365.
- TIBUR or Tivoli, town of, viii. 210; siege of by the modern Romans, *ib*.
- TIGRANOCERTA, city, ii. 88, *note*.
- TIGRIS, passage of the by Julian, iii. 203.
- TIL or Tula river, v. 176 and *note M*.
- TILLEMONT, his Life of St. Augustin, iv. 182, *note*; character as an ecclesiastical historian, vi. 14, *note*.

TIMASIUS.

- TIMASIUS**, master-general, ruined and banished by Eutropius, iv. 141; various accounts of his death, 142.
- TIMAVUS**, Virgil's description of the, i. 319, *note*.
- TIME** without bounds, doctrine of, when first introduced into the Persian religion, i. 334, *note* S.
- TIMOTHY** the Cat, monk, instigates the murder of Protesius and becomes patriarch of Alexandria, vi. 30.
- TIMOTHY**, St., his body transported to Constantinople, iii. 427.
- TIMOUR** or Tamerlane, massacres of, iv. 202 and *note*; histories of, viii. 39 and *note* M.; pedigree, 40; origin and meaning of his corrupted name of Tamerlane, *ib.* *note* and *note* M.; birth and first adventures, 41; ascends the throne of Zagatai, 43; conquest of Persia, *ib.*; of Turkestan, 44; of Kipzak, Russia, &c., 45; of Hindostan, 46; war against Bajazet, 48; letter to that sultan, 49 and *note* M.; invades Syria, 51; takes and sacks Aleppo, *ib.*; interview with the cadhis of, 52; seizes and burns Damascus, 53; burns Aleppo, *ib.*; invades Anatolia, 54; gains the battle of Angora, *ib.*; treatment of the captive Bajazet, 56; testimonies as to its harshness, 57, *sq.*; term of his conquests, 60; triumphal return to Samarcand, 62; march to China and death, 63; character and merits, *ib.*; character of his 'Institutions,' 65.
- TINGI**, or Tangier, conquered by the Saracens, vi. 347.
- TIPASA**, city of, Catholic miracle at during the persecution of Hunneric, iv. 336; modern illustration of, 337, *note* S.
- TIRIDATES**, son of Chosroes, king of Armenia, escapes from the Persians, i. 403; his Roman education, ii. 78; saves the life of Licinius, 79; restored to the throne of Armenia by Diocletian, *ib.*; bodily strength, *ib.* *note*; invades Assyria, 81; driven from Armenia by Narses, 82; extraordinary escape, 83; again restored, 88; becomes a Christian, 368; iii. 24, *note* M.; death, ii. 363; his heir exiled, *ib.*
- TITLES**, imperial, under Diocletian, ii. 93; of honour under the empire, 304, *sq.*

TOTILA.

- TITUS** invested with imperial power by his father, i. 212; administration, 213.
- TOBOLSKOR**, Mongol dynasty at, viii. 16, and *note* M.
- TOGRUL BEG**, grandson of Seljuk, elected king of the Turkmans, vii. 153; character and reign, 154; expels the Gaznevites from Persia, *ib.*; a devout Mahometan, 155; delivers Cayem, caliph of Bagdad, *ib.*; his humility before the caliph and investiture as temporal lieutenant, 156 and *note* S.; affianced to Cayem's daughter, 156 and 157, *note* S.; death, 157.
- TOLBIAC**, near Cologne, the Alemanni defeated at by Clovis, iv. 349.
- TOLEDO**, Council of under Recared, declares the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son as well as from the Father, iv. 340; taken by the Arabs under Tarik, vi. 358; Nonius' description of, *ib.* *note*.
- TOLEBATION**, religious, happy effects of, i. 165; exceptions to, 166, *note*, 169; Galerius' edict of, ii. 278; Maximin's, 281, *note*.
- TOLLIVS**, his literary character, iii. 14, *note*.
- TONGUES**, gift of, ii. 178 and *note* M.
- TONGOUSES** and Samoiedes, iii. 306.
- TONSURE**, circular, what typified by the, vi. 302, *note*.
- TOPA** (masters of the earth), name assumed by the Sienpi, iv. 43; invade and settle in the north of China, *ib.*
- TOPIRUQ** sacked by the Slavonians, v. 171.
- TORISMOND**, son of Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, his valour at the battle of Châlons, iv. 235, 237, 238; proclaimed king on the death of his father, 238; murdered by his brother Theodoric, 260.
- TORTURE** applied only to slaves by the Romans, ii. 331; extended to citizens in cases of treason under Constantine, 332.
- TOTILA** elected to the Gothic throne of Italy, v. 215; his real name was Badvila, *ib.* *note* S.; defeats the Romans at Faenza, 216; reduces southern Italy, *ib.*; invests Rome, *ib.*; his virtues, 217; defences of the Tiber, 221; takes Rome, 222; his design to destroy the city averted by the remonstrance of Belisarius, 223;

TOUCUSH.

- occupies one of the camps of Hannibal on Mount Garganus, *ib.*; fails in the attempt to recover Rome from Belisarius, 224; admitted, after his departure, by the treachery of the Isaurians, 227; ravages Sicily, reduces Sardinia and Corsica, and harasses the coasts of Greece, 223; his navy destroyed, 230; defeated at Tagina by Narses, 234; slain by Asbad, the Gepid, *ib.* and *note M.*
- TOCCUSH**, brother of the Sultan Malek Shah, subdues Syria and Palestine, vii. 176.
- TOULOUSE**, the residence of the Gothic kings, iv. 128.
- TOULUSIDES**, Saracen dynasty of, vi. 422.
- TOULUS**, descendant of Moko, conquers Tartary, iv. 43; vanquishes the Huns, 44; assumes the title of Khan or Cagan, *ib.*
- TOURAN SHAW**, sultan of Egypt, murdered by his Mamalukes, vii. 273.
- TOURNAMENTS** contrasted with the Olympic games, vii. 200.
- TOURS**, battle of between Charles Martel and the Saracens, vi. 389.
- TOWERS**, built by the nobles in Rome and other Italian cities, viii. 278.
- TOWNS**, walled, origin of, vii. 75.
- TOKANDRIA**, in Brabant, occupied by the Franks, ii. 412; extent of, *ib. note.*
- TOXOTUS**, husband of Paula, lineage of, iv. 71.
- TRADE**, foreign, of the Romans, i. 191.
- TRADITORS**, or Christians who delivered up the Scriptures, i. 273.
- TRAJAN**, emperor, conquers Dacia, i. 142; emulates Alexander, *ib.*; expeditions in the East, *ib.*; the only emperor that entered the Persian gulf, 143; encouraged military knowledge, 148; forum and pillar, 184; his adoption by Nerva, 213; character, *ib.*; refuses the censorship, 333, *note*; his arch stripped by Constantine, ii. 134; his rescript regarding the Christians, 241; deemed by Tertullian a relaxation of the ancient penal laws, *ib. note*; further remarks on, 245, *notes*; his bridge over the Danube, v. 78 and *note.*
- TRAJAN**, Count, assassinates Para, king of Armenia, iii. 281.
- TRAJAN** and Profuturus, Valens' generals against the Goths, iii. 328.

TRINITY.

- TRANS**, siege of by Count Roger, vii. 116.
- TRANSMIGRATION** of souls, whether believed by the ancient Germans, i. 366 and *note.*
- TRANSOXIANA** conquered by the Arabs, vi. 299.
- TRANSUBSTANTIATION**, establishment of that doctrine, vii. 268.
- TREASON**, cruel and unjust law of Arcadius against, iv. 142; inserted in the codes of Theodosius and Justinian, 144.
- TREBATIUS**, his opinion of the equality of crimes, v. 276.
- TREBELLIANUS**, rebellion of in Isauria, i. 414.
- TREBIZOND** taken by the Goths, i. 397; sovereignty of usurped by the descendants of Andronicus Comnenus, vi. 131; escapes subjection to the Turks, vii. 169; dukedom and empire of, 327 and *note S.*; yielded to the Turks by David, the last emperor, viii. 181, 182, *note M.*
- TREVES**, Gallienus at, i. 391; Sarmatians settled at, ii. 75, *notes*; revolts from Magnentius, 384.
- TRIARIAN** Goths, v. 5, *note 6.*
- TRIBIGILD**, the Ostrogoth, revolt of in Phrygia, iv. 144; demands the head of Eutropius, 146; joined by Gainas, 148.
- TRIBONIAN**, minister of Justinian, arraigned by the people, v. 53; his character and various erudition, 261; employed by Justinian, with nine others, to compile his Code, 262; employed, with seventeen others, to compile the Digest or Pandects, 263; his method, 264; Latinity, *ib., notes.*
- TRIBUNES**, jurisdiction of the, i. 203; situation of under the empire, 204 and *note S.*
- TRIBUNITIA POTESTAS** of the emperors, i. 203, *note S.*
- TRIBUTUM**, *v.* Property-tax.
- TRIGETIUS**, his embassy to Attila, iv. 245.
- TRINITY**, controversy respecting the, its origin and progress, iii. 45; Platonic doctrine of, 49; term when first used, *ib. note*; controversy concerning revived at Alexandria, 53; three hypotheses, 54, *sq.*; explanation of Eoethius, 55, *note*; decision

TRIPOD.

- of the Council of Nice, 56; equal deity of the Third Person established by the Council of Constantinople, 370; interpolated text in St. John respecting, *iv.* 335 and *notes*.
- TRIPOD, dedicated at Delphi after the defeat of Xerxes, how preserved, *ii.* 298 and *note*.
- TRIPOLI, federation of (Oca, Leptis, and Sabrata), its miserable condition under Romanus, *iii.* 272; its complaints to Valentinian frustrated by the arts of Count Romanus, *ib.*; its president executed, 273.
- TRIPOLI, city, besieged by the Saracens under Abdallah, *vi.* 343.
- TRISAGION, hymn, religious war concerning, *vi.* 32.
- TRITHEISM of the Gregories, Cyril, &c., *iii.* 55.
- TRITHEISTS, at the Council of Nice, join the Sabellians against the Arians, *iii.* 57.
- TRUMP, Diocletian's, the last celebrated at Rome, *ii.* 89.
- TROWERS, a Gallic fashion, *ii.* 28, *note*.
- TROY, site of, *ii.* 291 and *note*; plain before at first designed by Constantine for the site of his new city, 292.
- TRUCE of God (Treuga Dei), probable origin of, *i.* 365; when and where invented, *vii.* 182, *note*.
- TRULL, name applied to the Goths by the Vandals of Spain, *iv.* 127, *note*.
- TRUMPET, Roman, *v.* 142 *note*.
- TSEPHO, grandson of Esau, legend respecting, *ii.* 223, *note*.
- TUDELA, Benjamin of, his Travels, whether genuine, *vii.* 14 and *note M.*
- TUNGUSOANS described, *iii.* 302, *note S.*
- TUNIS besieged by Louis IX., *viii.* 274.
- TURCELLINGI, probable situation of the, *iv.* 295, *note S.*
- TURIN, battle of between Constantine and the lieutenants of Maxentius, *i.* 128.
- TURISUND, king of the Gepidæ, entertains Alboin, the slayer of his son, *v.* 332.
- TURKESTAN conquered by Timour, *viii.* 44.
- TURKS, tribes of, described, *iii.* 303, *note S.*; origin and monarchy of the, *v.* 172; Turks of Mount Altai and etymology of their name, *ib.* *note S.*;

TYRANTS.

- their religion and laws, 174; conquests and territorial limits, 175; their embassy to Justin II., 178 and *note*; alliance with the Romans, 179; offensive against the Persians, 180; their rigorous punishments, *vii.* 73 and *note*; or Turkmans, their manners and emigrations, 151; defeat Massoud the Gaznevide at Zende-can, and establish the Seljukian dynasty in Persia, 153; converted to Mahometanism, 154; invade the Roman empire, 157; Gelalean æra of, 166; division of the Seljukian empire, 167; conquer Asia Minor, 168; take Jerusalem, 176; oppress the pilgrims, 177; remove their seat of government from Nice to Iconium, 239; conquer Egypt, 253; Ottoman, introduced into Europe by John Cantacuzene, 400, 403; extent of their race, *viii.* 2, *note S.*; inquiry as to their oldest historical writers, 22 and *note M.*; first passage into Europe, 25; fleet, *ib.*; establishment in Europe, 27 and *note M.*; remarkable delicacy respecting their women, 50 and *notes*; act with the Christians against Timour, 60; reason of their abstaining from legitimate marriage, 59; extension of their name, 73; their education and discipline, *ib.* *sq.*; take Constantinople, 171.
- TURPILIO, general of Honorius, *iv.* 67.
- TURPIN, archbishop of Rheims, spurious romance of approved by pope Calixtus II., *vii.* 181 and *note*; by whom and when composed, *ib.*
- TUSCULUM, battle of between the Romans and Frederick Barbarossa, *viii.* 210.
- TWELVE TABLES, account of the laws of the, *v.* 261; on what material written, *ib.* and *note S.*; whether they included laws imported from Greece, *ib.* *notes W. M. and S.*; how far they resemble those of Solon, 262 and *note*; esteem of the Romans for, 263; best work on, *ib.* *note S.*; severity of their punishments, 316.
- TYANA, besieged by Aurelian, *ii.* 22.
- TYPE of Constans, imposing the law of religious silence, *vi.* 42.
- TYRANT, ancient meaning of that term, *i.* 409.
- TYRANTS, Roman, their contempt of decency, *i.* 283; thirty, 408; their

TYRE.

- real number, 409; lists of, *ib. notes M. and S.*; their merits, 410; obscure birth, *ib.*; rebellion how caused, 411; violent deaths, *ib.*; fatal consequences of their usurpations, 412.
- TYRE, council of, iii. 72; degraded and exiles Athanasius, 73; besieged by Saladin, vii. 260.
- TYTHES instituted both by Zoroaster and by Moses, i. 337, *note*; established in the Christian church by Charlemagne, vi. 172.
- TZAKONES, a people of the ancient Laconia, their language and descent, vii. 10, *note S.*
- TZETZES originated the story of the beggary of Belisarius, v. 246.

U.

- UBII of Cologne, i. 355, *note.*
- UGRI, or Hungarians, vii. 72 and *note S.*; not to be confounded with the Igours, *ib.*
- UGRIA or Jugoria, original seat of the Hungarians, vii. 71, *note S.*
- UGRIANS, Finnish or Tschudish described, iii. 303, *note S.*
- UKRAINE described, i. 381.
- ULDIN, king of the Huns, intercepts and slays Gainas, iv. 150; compelled to recross the Danube, 160.
- ULPHILAS, apostle of the Goths, iv. 322; translates the Scriptures, *ib.*; his country, *ib. note*; invents the Mæso-Gothic alphabet, 323 and *note M.*; missions to Constantinople, *ib.*; taught the Arian doctrine, 327.
- ULPIAN, head of Mama's council, i. 286; constant guest of Al. Severus, 288; murdered by the prætorians, 290; Gibbon corrected respecting this fact, *ib. note W.*; his work on the duties of a proconsul, ii. 316, *note*; his authority as a jurist, v. 379.
- UMBRIANS, i. 157.
- UMRA, species of Mahometan pilgrimage, vi. 232, *note S.*
- UNITARIANS, Mahometans so called, vi. 224.
- UNIVERSAL HISTORY, modern, character of the history of the caliphs, vi. 284, *note.*
- UNIVERSITIES, European, in the middle ages, viii. 107 and *note.*

USURY.

- UPSAL, temple of, i. 360, *note*; described, 376; destroyed by Ingo, *ib. note.*
- URALAS, nephew of Vitiges, declines the command of the Goths in favour of Hildibald, v. 215; put to death by him, *ib.*
- URBAN II., pope, encourages the design of Peter the Hermit to deliver Jerusalem, vii. 179; summons a council at Placentia, 180; anathematizes Philip I. of France, 181; convenes the council of Clermont, 182; declines to lead the crusade, 183; his speech, *ib.* and *note S.*; his secret motives for the crusades, 205, *note M.*
- URBAN IV., pope, publishes a crusade against the schismatic Greeks, vii. 372.
- URBAN V., pope, his haughty reception of the emperor John Palæologus, viii. 82; his temporary return to Rome from Avignon, 249.
- URBAN VI., pope, disputed election of, viii. 251; excommunicated by the cardinals as an apostate and anti-christ, *ib.*
- URSACIUS, bishop of Illyricum, introduces Arianism into the Latin church, iii. 62; question of his retraction, 76, *note*, and 77, *note M.*
- URBACTUS, master of the offices, occasions a revolt of the Alemanni, iii. 257.
- URSEL of Baliol commands the Franks and Normans in the service of Romanus Diogenes, vii. 160 and *note.*
- URSIGINUS joins and betrays Sylvanus in Gaul, ii. 399; defends the East against Sapor, 410; removed by the eunuchs, *ib.*; sent back to act under Sabinian, 411; punished for the latter's misconduct, *ib.*
- URSINI, Roman family, history of, viii. 223; Guelphs, *ib.*; hereditary feuds with the Colonna family, *ib.*
- URSINUS, his bloody contest with Damasus for the see of Rome, iii. 255; banished, 256.
- URSULA, St., and train of virgins, legend of, iii. 360, *note.*
- URSULUS, the treasurer, unjustly executed by Julian, iii. 127.
- USURY, how practised by the Roman nobles, iv. 75 and *note (v. Interest of money).*

UTUS.

- UTUS, Romans defeated on the, by Attila, iv. 200.
 UZBEKS, least altered from the primitive Tatars, iii. 296, *note*.
 UZI, tribe of, 159 and *note* S.

V.

- VABALATHUS (or Balbatus) son of Zenobia, ii. 22, *note* S.
 VADOMAIR, a prince of the Alemanni, entrapped and made prisoner by Julian, iii. 111; enters the Roman service, *ib. note*; employed by Valens in the East, 279.
 VALARSAOES, era of, ii. 79, *note*; first of the Arsacides, *ib.*; when appointed king of Armenia, iv. 170, *note*.
 VALDRADA, wife or concubine of Lothaire II., vii. 25.
 VALENS, general of the Illyrian frontier, made Cæsar by Licinius, ii. 140; put to death, 141.
 VALENS associated in the empire by his brother Valentinian I., iii. 236; his mediocrity and attachment to Valentinian, *ib.*; appointed to the empire of the East, 237; abject fear at the revolt of Procopius, 241; character contrasted with that of Valentinian, 245; fiscal administration, 248; declares for the Arians, 250; baptism, *ib.*; ecclesiastical government, *ib.*; just idea of his persecution, 251; transactions with archbishop Basil, 252; edict against the monks, *ib.*; assists Sauromaces, king of the Iberians, 279; treacherous behaviour towards Para, son of that monarch, 280, *sqq.*; negotiations and war with the Goths, 285, *sq.*; residence at Antioch, 319; grants the Visigoths, after their overthrow by the Huns, a settlement in Thrace, 320; forbids the Ostrogoths to pass the Danube, 322; marches against the rebellious Visigoths, 328; defeated by Fritigern at Hadrianople, 336; death, *ib.*
 VALENS, bishop of Illyricum, introduces Arianism into the Latin Church, iii. 62.
 VALENS, Arian bishop of Mursa, artful conduct towards Constantius II., iii. 66; question of his retractation, 76, *note*, and 77, *note* M.

VALENTINIAN.

- VALENTIA, new province in Britain settled by Theodosius, iii. 271.
 VALENTIA, city of, destroyed by Adolphus, iv. 123.
 VALENTIN, general, espouses the cause of the children of Constantine III., vi. 73.
 VALENTINIAN I. elected Emperor, iii. 233; origin and character, *ib.* and *note* M.; genealogical table, *ib.*, *note* S.; intrepid address to the troops, 235; associates his brother Valens, 236; reforms the administration, *ib.*; divides the empire into *East* and *West*, 237; assigns the East to Valens, *ib.*; resides at Milan, *ib.*; punishes the crime of magic, 242; his character contrasted with that of Valens, 245; his cruelty, 246; his favourite bears, *ib.*; care for the public interest, 247; establishes schools at Rome, Constantinople, &c., *ib.*; institutes *defensors* or tribunes, 248; his universal religious toleration, 249; edict against clerical avarice, 253; war with the Alcmanni, 257; punishes the Batavians for losing their standard, *ib.*; invades Germany, 259; defeats the Alemanni at Mount Solicinium, 260; exhibits triumphal games at Trèves, *ib.*; fortifies the Rhine, *ib.*; and Neckar, *ib. note* M.; his mechanical skill, 261 and *note*; deceives the Burgundians, 262; gains over Marcrianus, prince of the Alemanni, *ib.*; despatches Palladius to inquire into the state of Africa, 272; condemns the president of Tripoli and others to death, 273; war with the Quadi and Sarmatians, 287; marches to Sirmium, 289; interview with a Cynic, *ib.*; inroad on the Quadi, *ib.*; winters at Bregetio, 290; singular death, *ib.*; defended from the charge of polygamy, *ib. sq.*
 VALENTINIAN II., son of Valentinian and Justina, saluted emperor by the soldiers, iii. 292; after the death of Gratian, confirmed in the sovereignty of Italy, Africa, and Western Illyricum, 362; expelled by Maximus, 382; restored by Theodosius, 396; who adds the countries beyond the Alps, *ib.*; character of Valentinian, *ib.*; murdered by Arbogastes, 397.
 VALENTINIAN III., an infant, installed

VALENTINIANS.

- Emperor of the West, iv. 174; betrothed to Eudoxia, daughter of his cousin Theodosius the younger, *ib.*; his guardianship intrusted to his mother Placidia, *ib.*; flies from Ravenna to Rome on the approach of Attila, 244; sends an embassy to Attila, *ib.*; conditions of the peace, 245; murders Aëtius, 249; ravishes the wife of Petronius Maximus, 250; assassinated, 251; character, *ib.*
- VALENTINIANS, sect of the, ii. 164; their doctrines, vi. 8, *note.*
- VALERIA, daughter of Diocletian, marries Galerius, i. 68, *note*; tragic fate of, ii. 137; her conversion, 264.
- VALERIA, province of, ii. 122, *note.*
- VALERIAN elected censor, i. 384; emperor, 389; character, *ib.*; associates his son Gallienus, *ib.*; proceeds to the East, 403; taken prisoner by Sapor, *ib.*; how treated, 406; story of his skin being stuffed, 407 and *note M.*; first favoured, then persecuted the Christians, ii. 261.
- VALERIUS, that name assumed by Diocletian, ii. 64, *note.*
- VALET, originally an honourable title, vii. 296, *note.*
- VALLA, Laurentius, his confutation of the donation of Constantine, vi. 162 and *note.*
- VALLE, Pietro della, character as a writer, iii. 201, *note.*
- VALLIO, Count, general of Gratian, death of, iii. 361, *notes.*
- VANDALS identical with Goths, i. 378; in N. Germany, *ib.*; probably Slavonic, *ib. note S.*; subdivisions of, 379; introduced into Britain by Probus, ii. 48; join the Sarmatians, 359; join the invasion of Italy under Radagaisus, iv. 45; under Godigisclus, routed by the Franks, 51; invade Gaul, *ib.*; their progress in Spain, 177; invade Africa under Genseric, 178; havoc committed by them, 181; probably exaggerated, 182 and *note*; progress in Africa, 185; become a maritime power, 253; sack Rome, 256; depredations on the coasts of the Mediterranean, 276; their persecution of the Christians in Africa, 330; converted from Arianism, 337; numbers of their army under Gelimar, v. 108 and *note S.*; fate of,

VEGETIUS.

- 120; remains of their nation in Germany, 121; their disappearance in Africa, 214.
- VARANES, general of Honorius, iv. 67.
- VARANES, or BAHRAM, king of Persia, ii. 54; saying of, *ib. note*; fourth successor to Artaxerxes, *ib. note S.*; remarkable conspiracy against, *ib. note M.*
- VARANES, or BAHRAM, son of Jezdegerd, ascends the throne of Persia, iv. 166; date, *ib. note S.*; persecutes the Christians, 167; war with Theodosius the Younger, *ib.*; truce, *ib. (v. Bahram).*
- VARANGIANS in the Byzantine service, vii. 20; their acclamations, 22 and *note*; meaning and etymology of the name, 80, *note S.*; Byzantine body-guard of, whether English, 81, *note S.* and 83, *note*; Scandinavians so called, 82; origin of their Byzantine service, *ib.*; serve in the army of Alexius Comnenus, 123; composed of Danes and English, 304 and *note.*
- VARCHONITES, *v. Ogors.*
- VARNA, battle of, between Ladislaus of Poland and the sultan Amurath II., viii. 131; account of, *ib. note.*
- VARNI, or VARINI, situation of the, 399, *note S.*, 400 and *note S.*
- VARRONIAN, Count, father of Jovian, iii. 216.
- VARRONIAN, infant son of Jovian, made consul, iii. 231; history of, 232.
- VARUS, slaughter of with his legions, i. 139.
- VASAG, general of Arsaces Tiranus, flayed alive, iii. 278, *note M.*
- VATACES, John Ducas, emperor of Nice, his long and prosperous reign, vii. 337; besieges Constantinople in conjunction with Azan king of Bulgaria, 339; conquests and dominions, 343; death, *ib.*; date of, 358, *note S.*; his administration described, 359.
- VATICAN, library of the, founded by pope Nicholas V., viii. 117.
- VAUCLUSE, Petrarch's retreat at, viii. 226 and *note.*
- VAYVODS, or Hungarian chiefs, vii. 71.
- 'VECTIGAL STIPENDIARIUM,' what, i. 302, *note S.*
- VEGETIUS, his remarks on the decay of Roman discipline, iii. 404.

UTUS.

- UTUS, Romans defeated on the, by Attila, iv. 200.
 ÜZBEKS, least altered from the primitive Tatars, iii. 296, *note*.
 UZI, tribe of, 159 and *note* S.

V.

- VABALATHUS (or Balbatus) son of Zenobia, ii. 22, *note* S.
 VADOMAIR, a prince of the Alemanni, entrapped and made prisoner by Julian, iii. 111; enters the Roman service, *ib. note*; employed by Valens in the East, 279.
 VALARSAOES, *era* of, ii. 79, *note*; first of the Arsacides, *ib.*; when appointed king of Armenia, iv. 170, *note*.
 VALDRADA, wife or concubine of Lothaire II., vii. 25.
 VALENS, general of the Illyrian frontier, made Cæsar by Licinius, ii. 140; put to death, 141.
 VALENS associated in the empire by his brother Valentinian I., iii. 236; his mediocrity and attachment to Valentinian, *ib.*; appointed to the empire of the East, 237; abject fear at the revolt of Procopius, 241; character contrasted with that of Valentinian, 245; fiscal administration, 248; declares for the Arians, 250; baptism, *ib.*; ecclesiastical government, *ib.*; just idea of his persecution, 251; transactions with archbishop Basil, 252; edict against the monks, *ib.*; assists Sauromaces, king of the Iberians, 279; treacherous behaviour towards Para, son of that monarch, 280, *sqq.*; negotiations and war with the Goths, 285, *sq.*; residence at Antioch, 319; grants the Visigoths, after their overthrow by the Huns, a settlement in Thrace, 320; forbids the Ostrogoths to pass the Danube, 322; marches against the rebellious Visigoths, 328; defeated by Fritigern at Hadrianople, 336; death, *ib.*
 VALENS, bishop of Illyricum, introduces Arianism into the Latin Church, iii. 62.
 VALENS, Arian bishop of Mursa, artful conduct towards Constantius II., iii. 66; question of his retractation, 76, *note*, and 77, *note* M.

VALENTINIAN.

- VALENTIA, new province in Britain settled by Theodosius, iii. 271.
 VALENTIA, city of, destroyed by Adolphus, iv. 123.
 VALENTIN, general, espouses the cause of the children of Constantine III., vi. 73.
 VALENTINIAN I. elected Emperor, iii. 233; origin and character, *ib.* and *note* M.; genealogical table, *ib.*, *note* S.; intrepid address to the troops, 235; associates his brother Valens, 236; reforms the administration, *ib.*; divides the empire into *East* and *West*, 237; assigns the East to Valens, *ib.*; resides at Milan, *ib.*; punishes the crime of magic, 242; his character contrasted with that of Valens, 245; his cruelty, 246; his favourite bears, *ib.*; care for the public interest, 247; establishes schools at Rome, Constantinople, &c., *ib.*; institutes *defensors* or tribunes, 248; his universal religious toleration, 249; edict against clerical avarice, 253; war with the Alemanni, 257; punishes the Batavians for losing their standard, *ib.*; invades Germany, 259; defeats the Alemanni at Mount Solicinium, 260; exhibits triumphal games at Trèves, *ib.*; fortifies the Rhine, *ib.*; and Neckar, *ib. note* M.; his mechanical skill, 261 and *note*; deceives the Burgundians, 262; gains over Marcrianus, prince of the Alemanni, *ib.*; despatches Palladius to inquire into the state of Africa, 272; condemns the president of Tripoli and others to death, 273; war with the Quadi and Sarmatians, 287; marches to Sirmium, 289; interview with a Cynic, *ib.*; inroad on the Quadi, *ib.*; winters at Bregetio, 290; singular death, *ib.*; defended from the charge of polygamy, *ib. sq.*
 VALENTINIAN II., son of Valentinian and Justina, saluted emperor by the soldiers, iii. 292; after the death of Gratian, confirmed in the sovereignty of Italy, Africa, and Western Illyricum, 362; expelled by Maximus, 382; restored by Theodosius, 396; who adds the countries beyond the Alps, *ib.*; character of Valentinian, *ib.*; murdered by Arbogastes, 397.
 VALENTINIAN III., an infant, installed

VALENTINIANS.

- Emperor of the West, iv. 174; betrothed to Eudoxia, daughter of his cousin Theodosius the younger, *ib.*; his guardianship intrusted to his mother Placidia, *ib.*; flies from Ravenna to Rome on the approach of Attila, 244; sends an embassy to Attila, *ib.*; conditions of the peace, 245; murders Aëtius, 249; ravishes the wife of Petronius Maximus, 250; assassinated, 251; character, *ib.*
- VALENTINIANS, sect of the, ii. 164; their doctrines, vi. 8, *note*.
- VALERIA, daughter of Diocletian, marries Galerius, i. 68, *note*; tragic fate of, ii. 137; her conversion, 264.
- VALERIA, province of, ii. 123, *note*.
- VALERIAN elected censor, i. 384; emperor, 389; character, *ib.*; associates his son Gallienus, *ib.*; proceeds to the East, 403; taken prisoner by Sapor, *ib.*; how treated, 406; story of his skin being stuffed, 407 and *note* M.; first favoured, then persecuted the Christians, ii. 261.
- VALERIUS, that name assumed by Diocletian, ii. 64, *note*.
- VALET, originally an honourable title, vii. 296, *note*.
- VALLA, Laurentius, his confutation of the donation of Constantine, vi. 162 and *note*.
- VALLE, Pietro della, character as a writer, iii. 201, *note*.
- VALLIO, Count, general of Gratian, death of, iii. 361, *notes*.
- VANDALS identical with Goths, i. 378; in N. Germany, *ib.*; probably Slavonic, *ib.* *note* S.; subdivisions of, 379; introduced into Britain by Probus, ii. 48; join the Sarmatians, 359; join the invasion of Italy under Radagaisus, iv. 45; under Godigisclus, routed by the Franks, 51; invade Gaul, *ib.*; their progress in Spain, 177; invade Africa under Genseric, 178; havoc committed by them, 181; probably exaggerated, 182 and *note*; progress in Africa, 185; become a maritime power, 253; sack Rome, 256; depredations on the coasts of the Mediterranean, 276; their persecution of the Christians in Africa, 330; converted from Arianism, 337; numbers of their army under Gelimor, v. 108 and *note* S.; fate of,

VEGETIUS.

- 120; remains of their nation in Germany, 121; their disappearance in Africa, 214.
- VARANES, general of Honorius, iv. 67.
- VARANES, or BAHRAM, king of Persia, ii. 54; saying of, *ib.* *note*; fourth successor to Artaxerxes, *ib.* *note* S.; remarkable conspiracy against, *ib.* *note* M.
- VARANES, or BAHRAM, son of Jezdegerd, ascends the throne of Persia, iv. 166; date, *ib.* *note* S.; persecutes the Christians, 167; war with Theodosius the Younger, *ib.*; truce, *ib.* (v. Bahram).
- VARANGIANS in the Byzantine service, vii. 20; their acclamations, 22 and *note*; meaning and etymology of the name, 80, *note* S.; Byzantine body-guard of, whether English, 81, *note* S. and 83, *note*; Scandinavians so called, 82; origin of their Byzantine service, *ib.*; serve in the army of Alexius Comnenus, 123; composed of Danes and English, 304 and *note*.
- VARCHONITES, v. Ogors.
- VARNA, battle of, between Ladislaus of Poland and the sultan Amurath II., viii. 131; account of, *ib.* *note*.
- VARNI, or VARINI, situation of the, 399, *note* S., 400 and *note* S.
- VARRONIAN, Count, father of Jovian, iii. 216.
- VARBONIAN, infant son of Jovian, made consul, iii. 231; history of, 232.
- VARUS, slaughter of with his legions, i. 139.
- VASAG, general of Arsaces Tiranus, flayed alive, iii. 278, *note* M.
- VATACES, John Ducas, emperor of Nice, his long and prosperous reign, vii. 337; besieges Constantinople in conjunction with Azan king of Bulgaria, 339; conquests and dominions, 343; death, *ib.*; date of, 353, *note* S.; his administration described, 359.
- VATICAN, library of the, founded by pope Nicholas V., viii. 117.
- VAUCLUSE, Petrarch's retreat at, viii. 226 and *note*.
- VAYVODS, or Hungarian chiefs, vii. 71.
- 'VECTIGAL STIPENDIARIUM,' what, i. 302, *note* S.
- VEGETIUS, his remarks on the decay of Roman discipline, iii. 404.

VEII.

- VEIL, siege of, i. 294; site of, *ib. note*.
 VELLERA, German prophetess, i. 363.
 VENAISSEIN, county, ceded to the popes by Philip III. of France, viii. 216.
 VENEDI, their extraction, i. 380; subdued by Hermanric, iii. 283; were Slavonians, *ib. note S*.
 VENETI or Venetians, their origin, i. 257, *note*; their alliance with Alexius Comnenus, vii. 130; maintain their independence against the Latins, 291; obtain it from the Greeks, *ib.*; commerce and manufactures, *ib.*; fleet, *ib.*; government, 292; alliance with the French crusaders, *ib.*; conditions of the treaty, 293; acquisitions after the conquest of Constantinople, 323; settlements there under the restored Greek emperors, 368; defeat of in a sea-fight with the Genoese, 410.
 VENICE, or Venetia, province described, iv. 242; foundation of the republic, *ib.* and 243, *note G*.; rise of, v. 348; foundation of, vii. 290; regarded as a portion of the Greek empire, 291; splendour, viii. 97 and *note*.
 VENUS, the bald, i. 320, *note*; temples of Venus in Phœnicia, abolished by Constantine, iii. 98; celestial, temple of at Carthage converted into a Christian church, 416.
 VENUSIA, burial of Robert Guiscard at, vii. 131; birthplace of Horace, 132 and *note*.
 VERATIUS, singular amusement of, v. 315.
 VERINA, widow of Leo, deposes Zeno, v. 4; her turbulent life, *ib.*
 VERONA besieged by Constantine the Great, ii. 129; defeat of Alaric at, iv. 39; doubtful, *ib. note S*.; residence of Theodoric at, v. 22 and *note*.
 VERONICA, or image of Christ, vi. 138.
 VERRES, inadequate punishment of, v. 319 and *notes*.
 VESBUS politici of the Greeks, vii. 42; account of, 43, *note S*.
 VERTÆ, an unknown nation, ii. 408 and *notes*.
 VERTOT, Abbé de, character of his style as an historian, viii. 160.
 VERUS, Ælius, adopted by Hadrian, i. 214.
 VERUS the Younger, his adoption and character, i. 214.

VIGILIUS.

- VERUS, M. Aur., issued no edicts against the Christians, ii. 257, *note M*.
 VESPASIAN associates Titus in the empire, i. 212; his origin and character, *ib.*; satirical jest at his funeral, iii. 226.
 VESPASIANA, province in Scotland, i. 141, *note*.
 VESTALS, difficulty of procuring, ii. 187; their office, iii. 407.
 VETERANS, how rewarded under Constantine, ii. 323; sons of obliged to serve, *ib.* and *note*.
 VETRANIO, governor of Illyricum, accepts the diadem from the hands of Constantina, ii. 376; unites with Magnentius, *ib.*; his ignorance, *ib. note*; forced to abdicate by Constantius, 379; retires to Prusa, *ib.*
 VICARS, or vice-prefects, ii. 314; of Rome, *ib. note*; extent of their jurisdiction, *ib. note S*.; vicars of Italy, *ib. notes*.
 VICTOR, Julian's general of infantry, iii. 192; prevents the troops from entering Ctesiphon, 204.
 VICTOR, Valens' general against the Goths, iii. 285.
 VICTOR, African bishop, his account of the Catholic miracle at Tipasa, iv. 336.
 VICTORIA, mother of Victorinus, rules in Gaul, ii. 18.
 VICTORINUS, associate of Posthumus, character, ii. 18; slain at Cologne by jealous husbands, *ib.*
 VICTORY, statue and altar of in the senate-house, account of, iii. 408; finally removed by Gratian, *ib.*; four deputations from the senate and priesthood for its restoration, 409.
 VIGILANTIA, mother of Justinian, tries to prevent his marriage with Theodora, v. 44.
 VIGILANTIUS, general of Honorius, iv. 67.
 VIGILIUS, unseasonable flattery of at the interview of Maximin and the ambassadors of Attila, iv. 209; is privy to the plot for the assassination of Attila, 216; detected and dismissed by Attila for a ransom, 217.
 VIGILIUS, the deacon, purchases the popedom by means of the empress Theodora, v. 144; solicits Justinian

VILLAINS.

- to deliver Italy, 228; apostasy of, vi. 40.
- VILLAINS, or serfs, British, iv. 397; state of in the kingdom of Jerusalem, vii. 236.
- VILLEHARDOUIN, Jeffrey de, marshal of Champagne, accompanies the fourth crusade, vii. 289; his history, *ib.*; family, *ib. notes*; becomes marshal of Romania, 324; obtains the principality of Achaia, 325, *note M.*; masterly retreat before the Bulgarians, 331, and 333 and *note*; captured by Michael Palæologus, 344.
- VILLEMAIN, M., his strictures on Gibbon, ii. 185, *note M.*
- VINDONISSA, site of, how occupied, iv. 349, *note.*
- VINE, cultivation of the, i. 190; prohibited beyond the Alps, *ib. note M.*
- VIRGIL, fourth Eclogue of regarded by Constantine as a prediction of Christianity, iii. 19; the most ancient writer who mentions the manufacture of silk, v. 57.
- VIRGINITY, crown of, whether lost by forcible violation, iv. 104 and *note.*
- VIRTHE, or TERCIT, a fortress of the Arabians, ii. 410 and *notes*; etymology of the name, *ib. note S.*
- VISANDUS, Gothic standard-bearer, death of, v. 137.
- VISIGOTHS, or THERVINGI, subdued by Hermanric, iii. 282 (*v. Goths*).
- VITALIAN, his rebellion coloured by religious zeal, vi. 34.
- VITALIAN, the Gothic chief, murdered by Justin and Justinian, v. 37.
- VITALIANUS, prætorian præfect under Maximin, murdered, i. 314.
- VITAXÆ, power of the, i. 339.
- VITELLIUS, emperor, character, i. 217 and *note.*
- VITERBO, battle of, viii. 210.
- VITIGES, general of Theodatus, elected king of Italy in his place, v. 135; retreats before Belisarius, *ib.*; lays siege to Rome, 137; repulsed in a general assault, 141; treats for peace, 146; defeated in a last assault, 147; disastrous retreat, 148; besieges John the Sanguinary in Rimini, *ib.*; flies to Ravenna on the approach of Belisarius and Narses, *ib.*; assents to the nomination of Belisarius as king of the Goths, 154;

WALID.

- made prisoner, 155; becomes a senator and patrician at Constantinople, *ib.*; embassy to Nushirvan, 188.
- VITRUVIUS, the architect, his remark on the Roman buildings, iv. 88.
- VIVARIUM at Rome, v. 141 and *note.*
- VIZIR, meaning of that name, vi. 239, *note*; Turkish office of, instituted, viii. 23; average duration of their place, 74, *note.*
- VOCONIAN law, abolished female inheritance, v. 308 and *notes*; restricted the amount of legacies to ten ales, 310.
- VOGULS, Finnish tribe of, vii. 72, *note*, and *note S.*
- VOLOCKAN MARSHES, ii. 122, *note.*
- VOLTAIRE, his reflections on the expenses of a siege, iv. 408, *note*; his false picture of Mahomet, vi. 253, *note*; comparison respecting, 264, *note*; his tragedy of 'Tancredè,' 408.
- VOLUSIANUS, son of Gallus, murdered, i. 388.
- VOPISCUS, date of his work, ii. 34, *note.*
- VORTIGERN, the British prince, invites the assistance of the Saxons, iv. 386; evidence of this fact suspicious, *ib. note.*
- VORTIMER, son of Vortigern, tomb of in Kent, iv. 392.
- YOU-TI, emperor of China, receives a Roman embassy, ii. 80, *note*, and *note M.*; ruins the Huns by his arms and policy, iii. 310, *sqg.*
- VULTURES, twelve, of Romulus, fulfilment of that augury, iv. 251 and *note.*

W.

- WACKIDY, his biography of Mahomet, vi. 238, *note S.*; character of his works, 301, *note* and *notes M.* and *S.*
- WAGGONS, post, iii. 106 and *note.*
- WALADIMIR I. of Russia, delivers his country from the Varangians, vii. 82.
- WALAMIR, prince of the Ostrogoths in Pannonia, repulses the Huns, v. 2.
- WALAMIRS, Gothic tribe so called, subject to Theodoric, v. 5, 6, 8.
- WALES, flight of the Britons to, iv. 391; bards of, 397.
- WALID, caliph, authorizes Musa to conquer Spain, vi. 355.

WALL.

- WALL, Roman, in Britain, i. 141 and *note* S.; of Aurelian, ii. 16 and *notes*; of Probus described, 46; its uselessness, 47; of China, iii. 308 and *note* S.; of Rome, circuit of, in the reign of Honorius, iv. 88 and *note* S.; of Justinian in the Thracian Chersonese, v. 80; of Anastasius, from the Propontis to the Euxine, *ib.*
- WALLACHIANS, their Roman descent, ii. 12, *note*; language derived from Latin, *ib. note* S.; ethnology of the, vii. 65 and *note* S.
- WALLA, elected king of the Goths on the death of Singeric, iv. 126; reduces the barbarians in Spain, 127; restores Spain to Honorius, *ib.*
- WALTER DE PEKEJO, leader in the first crusade, vii. 193, *note* M.
- WALTER the Penniless, leads the van of the crusaders, vii. 191, 193, *note* M.
- WAR, rights of, how used by Belisarius, v. 153; observations on, *ib. note*.
- WARBURTON, his hypothesis respecting Moses' omission of a future state, ii. 171, *notes*; his literary character, iii. 158, *note*.
- WARTON, Thomas, his 'History of English Poetry,' iv. 394 and *note* M.
- WATSON, his view of Christian zeal, ii. 152, *note* M.
- WATSON, Dr., character of his chemical essays, vi. 382, *note*.
- WEIL, Dr., character of his Life of Malomet, vi. 238, *note* S.; of his History of the Caliphs, 269, *note* S.
- WELTIN, vision of, vi. 170, *note*.
- WENDS, Slavonians so called, i. 378, *note* S.
- WERDAN, general of Heraclius, vi. 306 and *note* S.
- WHITAKER, his History of Manchester, iv. 386, *note*.
- WHEAT, average price of under the successors of Constantine, iii. 183, *note*.
- WHITE, Mr., Arabic professor at Oxford, character of his Bampton Lectures, vi. 387, *note*.
- WHITE HUNS, iii. 313.
- WIFE, Roman, a chattel, v. 295.
- WILFRID, Anglo-Saxon bishop, accepts the peninsula of Selsey, and manumits the serfs, iv. 396; attends the Lateran synod, vi. 44, *note*.

WOTTON.

- WILLIAM I. king of Sicily, surnamed the Bad, acknowledges himself the military vassal of the Roman empire, vii. 140; character, 141.
- WILLIAM II. of Sicily, surnamed the Good, vii. 142.
- WILLIAM, Count of Apulia, his character, vii. 106.
- WINDMILLS, invention of and introduction into Normandy, vii. 347 and *note*.
- WINCHESTER, Roman Gynecæum or manufactory at under Constantine, ii. 329, *note*.
- WINE, distribution of at Rome, iv. 85; proclamation of Augustus respecting, *ib.*; forbidden by Mahomet, vi. 233.
- 'WISDOM OF SOLOMON,' published by the Alexandrian Jews, iii. 47; sanctioned by the Council of Trent, *ib. note*.
- WISUMAR, Vandal king of the Goths, defeated and slain by Geberic, ii. 361.
- WITCHCRAFT, derided by Rotharis the Lombard lawgiver, v. 354.
- WITCHES, ancient, iii. 243 and *note*.
- WITHICAB, son of Vadomair, assassinated at the instigation of the Romans, iii. 259.
- WITHIMER, succeeds Hermanric king of the Goths, iii. 317; defeated and slain, *ib.*
- WITIZA, Gothic king of Spain, and his two sons, deposed by Roderic, vi. 354; history of his sons, 364.
- WOLODOMIR, grand duke and apostle of Russia, marries Anne, daughter of Romanus II. emperor of Constantinople, vi. 104; his conversion to Christianity, 93.
- WOMEN, political position, i. 235; Metellus Numidicus' opinion of them, *ib. note*; act to exclude them from the senate, 286; respect of the Germans for, 363; a supply of exacted from the Chinese by the Huns, iii. 310; not excluded from paradise by Mahomet, vi. 236.
- WORLD, age of the, ii. 174, *notes*.
- WORSHIP, public, the only solid foundation of the religion of a people, iii. 426.
- WOTTON, character of his 'Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning,' vi. 402, *note*.

XENAIAS.

X.

- XENAIAS**, or Philoxenus, bishop of Mabug, put to death by the Melchites of Paphlagonia, vi. 53 and *note*.
XENOPHON, character of his 'Anabasis,' iii. 192, *note*; that work contrasted with the *Cyropædia*, 221, *note*.
XERES, battle of between the Goths and Saracens, and overthrow of Roderic at, vi. 357.
XIPHILIN, patriarch of Constantinople, his ambition cheated by Eudocia, vi. 114.

Y.

- YATREB**, residence of Mahomet, called Medina, or the City, vi. 200, 243.
YELUTCHOUSAY, Chinese mandarin, saves his country from the horrible design of Zingis, iv. 201 and *notes*.
YEMANAË, Arabian city, vi. 286 and *note*.
YEMEN, or Arabia Felix, conquered by Nushirvan and restored to the Homerites, v. 364; date, *ib. note M*; kingdom of, vi. 198; successive conquests of, 202 and *notes*, 203.
YERMUK, battle of the, between the Greeks and Saracens, vi. 317.
YEZDEGERD ascends the throne of Persia, vi. 292; æra of, *ib. note and note S*; defeat at the battle of Jalula, and flight to Farsistan, 296; further flight, 297; death of and extinction of the Sassanian dynasty, 299 and *note M*; his daughters marry the Arabian conquerors, *ib. and note*.
YEZDEGIRD III., last king of Persia, æra of, v. 412, *note M*.
YEZID, caliph, destroys all the images in Syria, vi. 139 and *note*; son of Moawiyah, proclaimed his successor, 278 and *note S*; honourably dismisses the family of Ali, 280.
YEZID, son of Walid, his high descent, vi. 299, *note*.
YOLANDE, sister of the emperors Baldwin and Henry, and wife of Peter of Courtenay, empress of Constantinople, vii. 335.
YOUNKINNA, his valiant defence of Aleppo, vi. 322; turns Mahometan, 323.
YUEN, Mongol dynasty of, expelled from China, viii. 18.

VOL. VIII.

ZENGI.

Z.

- ZABDAS**, general of Zenobia, ii. 23.
ZABDICENE, province of, ii. 87 and *notes*.
ZABERGAN, leader of the Bulgarian cavalry, crosses the Danube and threatens Constantinople, v. 243; repulsed by Belisarius, 244.
ZACHARY, pope, establishes the regal title of Pepin, vi. 156.
ZALEUCUS, laws of, v. 262.
ZAMA, Saracen leader, defeated and slain at Toulouse, vi. 385.
ZAMOLXIS, ii. 12.
ZANI, tribe of, v. 201 and *note*.
ZANO, brother of Gelimer, conquers Sardinia, v. 111; joins Gelimer at Bulla, 112; killed, 113.
ZAPHARAN, Jacobite monastery near Merdin, vi. 54.
ZARA, siege of by the French and Venetians, vii. 295; account of that city, *ib. note*.
ZATHUS, king of Lazica, conversion of and alliance with the emperor Justin, v. 199.
ZAYD the Sceptic, a forerunner of Mahomet, vi. 224, *note S*.
ZEALOTS, sect of the, ii. 222, *note*.
ZEBRAS exhibited at Rome, ii. 58 and *note*.
ZEBRA, city and palace of near Cordova, founded by Abdalrahman III., vi. 396.
ZEID, slave of Mahomet, conversion of, vi. 237; general of the Moslems against the Romans, 257; slain at the battle of Muta, *ib*.
ZEIRIDES, Saracen dynasty in Africa, vii. 134; their capital taken by the Normans, 135.
ZEMZEM, or holy well of Mecca, water of, vi. 201 and *note S*; trade of, *ib*.
ZEND LANGUAGE, i. 332, *note*; 333, *note S*.
ZENDAVESTA, the, or Bible of the Ghebers, i. 332; account of, 333, *note S*; liberal principles of, 336; whether a true description of Zoroastrianism, vi. 367, *note and note M*.
ZENDECAN, battle of between Massoud the Gaznevide and the Turkmans, vii. 153.
ZENGI, son of Ascansar, governor of Aleppo, his military fame, vii. 249;

2 F

ZENIA.

recapture of Edessa, and other conquests, 250.

ZENIA, or ZENASTAN, Armenian name for China, ii. 80, *note*.

ZENO, emperor, his law respecting governors of provinces, ii. 317, *note*; receives the surrender of the Western empire, iv. 299; corresponds with Odoacer, *ib.*; accession and reign, v. 4.

ZENOBLA, queen of Palmyra, her character, ii. 19; beauty, 20; married to Odenathus, *ib.*; their joint victories, *ib.*; a Jewess, *ib.* *note* M.; reigns over the East, 21; whether possessed of Egypt, *ib.* *note* G.; defeated by Aurelian at Antioch and Emesa, 23; retires to Palmyra, *ib.*; flight and capture, 25; behaviour in captivity, *ib.*; betrays Longinus, 26; adorns the triumph of Aurelian, 28; retires to Tibur, *ib.*; family, *ib.* and *note*.

ZIEBEL, prince of the Chozars, his reception by Heraclius near Teflis, v. 407.

ZIMISCES, John, the Armenian, promoted the elevation of Nicephorus Phocas, vi. 105; intrigues with the empress Theophano, *ib.*; called Zimisces from his short stature, *ib.* *note* S.; murders Nicephorus Phocas, 106 and *note* M.; coronation as emperor of the East, *ib.*; dismisses Theophano, *ib.*; reign and death, 107; his eastern conquests, 425; passes the Euphrates, 427; threatens Bagdad, 428; transplants a colony of Paulicians from Armenia to Thrace, vii. 55; etymology of his name, 90, *note* and *note* M.; takes Marcianopolis and defeats Swatoslaus, 91.

ZINGIS KHAN, or Temugin, miraculous conception of, iv. 194; compared with Attila, *ib.*; proposes to exterminate the Chinese, 201; millions slain by him, 202; birth, history, and conquests of, viii. 2; armies, how composed, *ib.*, *note* S.; orthography of his name, *ib.*; meaning of his name, 3 and *note*; proclaimed khan or emperor of the Mongols, *ib.*; laws, 4; religious, their similarity

ZUINGLIUS.

with those of Locke, *ib.* and *note*; letter to the Lama of Thibet, *ib.* *note* M.; illiterateness, 5; invasions of China, 7; of Carizma, Transoxiana, and Persia, 8; death, 9; instructions to his sons, *ib.* and *note* M.; successors of, their manners, 16.

ZIZAIS, chief of the Sarmatians, made king by Constantius II., ii. 404.

ZOBEIR, Arabian chief, revolts with Telha against Ali, vi. 274; defeated and slain, *ib.* and *note* M.; his courage and discretion in the African war, 344; retorts the stratagem of the præfect Gregory, *ib.*; slays Gregory, 345.

ZOE, daughter of Constantine IX., marries Romanus Argyros, vi. 109; intrigues with Michael the Paphlagonian, *ib.*; poisons Romanus, *ib.*; marries Michael, and raises him to the empire, *ib.*; compelled by John the eunuch to adopt his nephew, *ib.*; banished by Michael V., 110; recall and reign with her sister Theodora, *ib.*; marries Constantine Monomachus, *ib.*

ZOE, concubine and wife of the emperor Leo VI., vi. 101; regent, 102.

ZONARAS, his ignorance, i. 316, *note*.

ZOROASTER, æra of, i. 332, *note* and *note* S.; system of, 334; ceremonies and duties, 336; inculcated agriculture, *ib.*; tithes, 337, *note*; his religion often confounded by the Mahometans with that of the
• Hindoos, vi. 368, *note*.

ZOSIMUS, account of Constantine's conversion, iii. 2, 22; not invented by that author, *ib.* *note* M.; date of his History, 25, *notes*.

ZOUPANS, or feudatory lords of Croatia, vii. 66.

ZUHEIR, third Saracen governor of Africa, defeated by the Romans, vi. 348.

ZUMPT, on Roman slaves, i. 179, *note* M.; 180, *note* M.

ZURICH, city of, its origin and increase, viii. 196 and *notes*.

ZUINGLIUS believed a virtuous pagan might be saved, ii. 176, *note*; his doctrine of the Eucharist, vii. 59.

