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THE HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

BY
EDWARD GIBBON

EDITED
WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND APPENDICES

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY
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INTRODUCTION ¹

BY W. E. H. LECKY

THE history of Gibbon has been described by John Stuart Mill as the only eighteenth-century history that has withstood nineteenth-century criticism; and whatever objections modern critics may bring against some of its parts, the substantial justice of this verdict will scarcely be contested. No other history of that century has been so often reprinted, annotated, and discussed, or remains to the present day a capital authority on the great period of which it treats. As a composition it stands unchallenged and conspicuous among the masterpieces of English literature, while as a history it covers a space of more than twelve hundred years, including some of the most momentous events in the annals of mankind.

Gibbon was born at Putney, Surrey, April 27, 1737. Though his father was a member of Parliament and the owner of a moderate competence, the author of this great work was essentially a self-educated man. Weak health and almost constant illness in early boyhood broke up his school life, — which appears to have been fitfully and most imperfectly conducted, — withdrew him from boyish games, but also gave him, as it has given to many other shy and sedentary boys, an early and inveterate passion for reading. His reading, however, was very unlike that of an ordinary boy. He has given a graphic picture of the ardour with which, when he was only fourteen, he flung himself into serious but unguided study; which was at first purely desultory, but

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gradually contracted into historic lines, and soon concentrated itself mainly on that Oriental history which he was one day so brilliantly to illuminate. "Before I was sixteen," he says, "I had exhausted all that could be learned in English of the Arabs and Persians, the Tartars and Turks; and the same ardour led me to guess at the French of D'Herbelot, and to construe the barbarous Latin of Pocock's 'Abulfaragius.'"

His health, however, gradually improved, and when he entered Magdalen College, Oxford, it might have been expected that a new period of intellectual development would have begun; but Oxford had at this time sunk to the lowest depth of stagnation, and to Gibbon it proved extremely uncongenial. He complained that he found no guidance, no stimulus, and no discipline, and that the fourteen months he spent there were the most idle and unprofitable of his life. They were very unexpectedly cut short by his conversion to the Roman Catholic faith, which he formally adopted at the age of sixteen.

This conversion is, on the whole, the most surprising incident of his calm and uneventful life. The tendencies of the time, both in England and on the Continent, were in a wholly different direction. The more spiritual and emotional natures were now passing into the religious revival of Wesley and Whitefield, which was slowly transforming the character of the Anglican Church and laying the foundations of the great Evangelical party. In other quarters the predominant tendencies were towards unbelief, scepticism, or indifference. Nature seldom formed a more sceptical intellect than that of Gibbon, and he was utterly without the spiritual insight, or spiritual cravings, or overmastering enthusiasms, that produce and explain most religious changes. Nor was he in the least drawn towards Catholicism on its æsthetic side. He had never come in contact with its worship or its professors; and to his unimaginative, unimpassioned, and profoundly intellectual temperament, no ideal type could be

more uncongenial than that of the saint. He had, however, from early youth been keenly interested in theological controversies. He argued, like Lardner and Paley, that miracles are the Divine attestation of orthodoxy. Middleton convinced him that unless the Patristic writers were wholly undeserving of credit, the gift of miracles continued in the Church during the fourth and fifth centuries; and he was unable to resist the conclusion that during that period many of the leading doctrines of Catholicism had passed into the Church. The writings of the Jesuit Parsons, and still more the writings of Bossuet, completed the work which Middleton had begun. Having arrived at this conclusion, Gibbon acted on it with characteristic honesty, and was received into the Church on the 8th of June, 1753.

The English universities were at this time purely Anglican bodies, and the conversion of Gibbon excluded him from Oxford. His father judiciously sent him to Lausanne to study with a Swiss pastor named Pavilliard, with whom he spent five happy and profitable years. The theological episode was soon terminated. Partly under the influence of his teacher, but much more through his own reading and reflections, he soon disentangled the purely intellectual ties that bound him to the Church of Rome; and on Christmas Day, 1754, he received the sacrament in the Protestant church of Lausanne.

His residence at Lausanne was very useful to him. He had access to books in abundance, and his tutor, who was a man of great good sense and amiability but of no remarkable capacity, very judiciously left his industrious pupil to pursue his studies in his own way. "Hiving wisdom with each studious year," as Byron so truly says, he speedily amassed a store of learning which has seldom been equalled. His insatiable love of knowledge, his rare capacity for concentrated, accurate, and fruitful study, guided by a singularly sure and masculine judgment, soon made him, in the true sense of the word, one of the best scholars of his time. His learning,

however, was not altogether of the kind that may be found in a great university professor. Though the classical languages became familiar to him, he never acquired or greatly valued the minute and finished scholarship which is the boast of the chief English schools; and careful students have observed that in following Greek books he must have very largely used the Latin translations. Perhaps in his capacity of historian this deficiency was rather an advantage than the reverse. It saved him from the exaggerated value of classical form, and from the neglect of the more corrupt literatures, to which English scholars have been often prone. Gibbon always valued books mainly for what they contained, and he had early learned the lesson which all good historians should learn: that some of his most valuable materials will be found in literatures that have no artistic merit; in writers who, without theory and almost without criticism, simply relate the facts which they have seen, and express in unsophisticated language the beliefs and impressions of their time.

Lausanne and not Oxford was the real birthplace of his intellect, and he returned from it almost a foreigner. French had become as familiar to him as his own tongue; and his first book, a somewhat superficial essay on the study of literature, was published in the French language. The noble contemporary French literature filled him with delight, and he found on the borders of the Lake of Geneva a highly cultivated society to which he was soon introduced, and which probably gave him more real pleasure than any in which he afterwards moved. With Voltaire himself he had some slight acquaintance, and he at one time looked on him with profound admiration; though fuller knowledge made him sensible of the flaws in that splendid intellect. I am here concerned with the life of Gibbon only in as far as it discloses the influences that contributed to his master work, and among these influences the foreign element holds a prominent place. There was little in Gibbon that was distinctively

English; his mind was essentially cosmopolitan. His tastes, ideals, and modes of thought and feeling turned instinctively to the Continent.

In one respect this foreign type was of great advantage to his work. Gibbon excels all other English historians in symmetry, proportion, perspective, and arrangement, which are also the preëminent and characteristic merits of the best French literature. We find in his writing nothing of the great miscalculations of space that were made by such writers as Macaulay and Buckle; nothing of the awkward repetitions, the confused arrangement, the semi-detached and disjointed episodes that mar the beauty of many other histories of no small merit. Vast and multifarious as are the subjects which he has treated, his work is a great whole, admirably woven in all its parts. On the other hand, his foreign taste may perhaps be seen in his neglect of the Saxon element, which is the most vigorous and homely element in English prose. Probably in no other English writer does the Latin element so entirely predominate. Gibbon never wrote an unmeaning and very seldom an obscure sentence; he could always paint with sustained and stately eloquence an illustrious character or a splendid scene: but he was wholly wanting in the grace of simplicity, and a monotony of glitter and of mannerism is the great defect of his style. He possessed, to a degree which even Tacitus and Bacon had hardly surpassed, the supreme literary gift of condensation, and it gives an admirable force and vividness to his narrative; but it is sometimes carried to excess. Not unfrequently it is attained by an excessive allusiveness, and a wide knowledge of the subject is needed to enable the reader to perceive the full import and meaning conveyed or hinted at by a mere turn of phrase. But though his style is artificial and pedantic, and greatly wanting in flexibility, it has a rare power of clinging to the memory, and it has profoundly influenced English prose. That excellent judge, Cardinal Newman, has said of Gibbon, "I seem to trace his vigorous

condensation and peculiar rhythm at every turn in the literature of the present day."

It is not necessary to relate here in any detail the later events of the life of Gibbon. There was his enlistment as captain in the Hampshire militia. It involved two and a half years of active service, extending from May, 1760, to December, 1762; and as Gibbon afterwards acknowledged, if it interrupted his studies and brought him into very uncongenial duties and societies, it at least greatly enlarged his acquaintance with English life, and also gave him a knowledge of the rudiments of military science, which was not without its use to the historian of so many battles. There was a long journey, lasting for two years and five months, in France and Italy, which greatly confirmed his foreign tendencies. In Paris he moved familiarly in some of the best French literary society; and in Rome, as he tells us in a well-known passage, while he sat "musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol while the barefooted friars were singing vespers in the Temple of Jupiter" (which is now the Church of the Ara Coeli), — on October 15, 1764, — he first conceived the idea of writing the history of the decline and fall of Rome.

There was also that very curious episode in his life, lasting from 1774 to 1782, — his appearance in the House of Commons. He had declined an offer of his father's to purchase a seat for him in 1760; and fourteen years later, when his father was dead, when his own circumstances were considerably contracted, he received and accepted at the hands of a family connection the offer of a seat. His Parliamentary career was entirely undistinguished, and he never even opened his mouth in debate, — a fact which was not forgotten when very recently another historian was candidate for a seat in Parliament. In truth, this somewhat shy and reserved scholar, with his fastidious taste, his eminently judicial mind, and his highly condensed and elaborate style, was singularly unfit for the rough work of Parliamentary discussion. No one can read his books without perceiving

that his English was not that of a debater; and he has candidly admitted that he entered Parliament without public spirit or serious interest in politics, and that he valued it chiefly as leading to an office which might restore the fortune which the extravagance of his father had greatly impaired. His only real public service was the composition in French of a reply to the French manifesto which was issued at the beginning of the war of 1778. He voted steadily and placidly as a Tory, and it is not probable that in doing so he did any violence to his opinions. Like Hume, he shrank with an instinctive dislike from all popular agitations, from all turbulence, passion, exaggeration, and enthusiasm; and a temperate and well-ordered despotism was evidently his ideal. He showed it in the well-known passage in which he extols the benevolent despotism of the Antonines as without exception the happiest period in the history of mankind, and in the unmixed horror with which he looked upon the French Revolution that broke up the old landmarks of Europe. For three years he held an office in the Board of Trade, which added considerably to his income without adding greatly to his labours, and he supported steadily the American policy of Lord North and the Coalition ministry of North and Fox; but the loss of his office and the retirement of North soon drove him from Parliament, and he shortly after took up his residence at Lausanne.

But before this time a considerable part of his great work had been accomplished. The first quarto volume of the "Decline and Fall" appeared in February, 1776. As is usually the case with historical works, it occupied a much longer period than its successors, and was the fruit of about ten years of labour. It passed rapidly through three editions, received the enthusiastic eulogy of Hume and Robertson, and was no doubt greatly assisted in its circulation by the storm of controversy that arose about his Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters. In April, 1781, two more volumes appeared, and the three concluding volumes were published

together on the 8th of May, 1788, being the fifty-first birthday of the author.

A work of such magnitude, dealing with so vast a variety of subjects, was certain to exhibit some flaws. The controversy at first turned mainly upon its religious tendency. The complete scepticism of the author, his aversion to the ecclesiastical type which dominated in the period of which he wrote, and his unalterable conviction that Christianity, by diverting the strength and enthusiasm of the Empire from civic into ascetic and ecclesiastical channels, was a main cause of the downfall of the Empire and of the triumph of barbarism, gave him a bias which it was impossible to overlook. On no other subject is his irony more bitter or his contempt so manifestly displayed. Few good critics will deny that the growth of the ascetic spirit had a large part in corroding and enfeebling the civic virtues of the Empire; but the part which it played was that of intensifying a disease that had already begun, and Gibbon, while exaggerating the amount of the evil, has very imperfectly described the great services rendered even by a monastic Church in laying the basis of another civilisation and in mitigating the calamities of the barbarian invasion. The causes he has given of the spread of Christianity in the Fifteenth Chapter were for the most part true causes, but there were others of which he was wholly insensible. The strong moral enthusiasms that transform the character and inspire or accelerate all great religious changes lay wholly beyond the sphere of his realisations. His language about the Christian martyrs is the most repulsive portion of his work; and his comparison of the sufferings caused by pagan and Christian persecutions is greatly vitiated by the fact that he only takes account of the number of deaths, and lays no stress on the profuse employment of atrocious tortures, which was one of the most distinct features of the pagan persecutions. At the same time, though Gibbon displays in this field a manifest and a distorting bias, he never, like some of his French contempo-

rarities, sinks into the mere partisan, awarding to one side unqualified eulogy and to the other unqualified contempt. Let the reader who doubts this examine and compare his masterly portraits of Julian and of Athanasius, and he will perceive how clearly the great historian could recognise weaknesses in the characters by which he was most attracted, and elements of true greatness in those by which he was most repelled. A modern writer, in treating of the history of religions, would have given a larger space to comparative religion, and to the gradual, unconscious, and spontaneous growth of myths in the twilight periods of the human mind. These, however, were subjects which were scarcely known in the days of Gibbon, and he cannot be blamed for not having discussed them.

Another class of objections which has been brought against him is that he is weak upon the philosophical side, and deals with history mainly as a mere chronicle of events, and not as a chain of causes and consequences, a series of problems to be solved, a gradual evolution which it is the task of the historian to explain. Coleridge, who detested Gibbon and spoke of him with gross injustice, has put this objection in the strongest form. He accuses him of having reduced history to a mere collection of splendid anecdotes; of noting nothing but what may produce an effect; of skipping from eminence to eminence without ever taking his readers through the valleys between; of having never made a single philosophical attempt to fathom the ultimate causes of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, which is the very subject of his history. That such charges are grossly exaggerated will be apparent to any one who will carefully read the Second and Third Chapters, describing the state and tendencies of the Empire under the Antonines; or the chapters devoted to the rise and character of the barbarians, to the spread of Christianity, to the influence of monasticism, to the jurisprudence of the republic, and of the Empire; nor would it be difficult to collect many acute and profound philosophical

remarks from other portions of the history. Still, it may be admitted that the philosophical side is not its strongest part. Social and economical changes are sometimes inadequately examined and explained, and we often desire fuller information about the manners and life of the masses of the people. As far as concerns the age of the Antonines, this want has been amply supplied by the great work of Friedländer.

History, like many other things in our generation, has fallen largely into the hands of specialists; and it is inevitable that men who have devoted their lives to a minute examination of short periods should be able to detect some deficiencies and errors in a writer who traversed a period of more than twelve hundred years. Many generations of scholars have arisen since Gibbon; many new sources of knowledge have become available, and archæology especially has thrown a flood of new light on some of the subjects he treated. Though his knowledge and his narrative are on the whole admirably sustained, there are periods which he knew less well and treated less fully than others. His account of the Crusades is generally acknowledged to be one of the most conspicuous of these, and within the last few years there has arisen a school of historians who protest against the low opinion of the Byzantine Empire which was held by Gibbon, and was almost universal among scholars till the present generation. That these writers have brought into relief certain merits of the Lower Empire which Gibbon had neglected, will not be denied; but it is perhaps too early to decide whether the reaction has not, like most reactions, been carried to extravagance, and whether in its general features the estimate of Gibbon is not nearer the truth than some of those which are now put forward to replace it.

Much must no doubt be added to the work of Gibbon in order to bring it up to the level of our present knowledge; but there is no sign that any single work is likely to supersede

it or to render it useless to the student; nor does its survival depend only or even mainly on its great literary qualities, which have made it one of the classics of the language. In some of these qualities Hume was the equal of Gibbon and in others his superior, and he brought to his history a more penetrating and philosophical intellect and an equally calm and unenthusiastic nature; but the study which Hume bestowed on his subject was so superficial and his statements were often so inaccurate, that his work is now never quoted as an authority. With Gibbon it is quite otherwise. His marvellous industry, his almost unrivalled accuracy of detail, his sincere love of truth, his rare discrimination and insight in weighing testimony and in judging character, have given him a secure place among the greatest historians of the world.

His life lasted only fifty-six years; he died in London on January 15, 1794. Gibbon's autobiography is one of the best specimens of self-portraiture in the language, reflecting with pellucid clearness both the life and character, the merits and defects, of its author. He was certainly neither a hero nor a saint; nor did he possess the moral and intellectual qualities that dominate in the great conflicts of life, sway the passions of men, appeal powerfully to the imagination, or dazzle and impress in social intercourse. He was a little slow, a little pompous, a little affected and pedantic. In the general type of his mind and character he bore much more resemblance to Hume, Adam Smith, or Reynolds, than to Johnson or Burke. A reserved scholar, who was rather proud of being a man of the world; a confirmed bachelor, much wedded to his comforts though caring nothing for luxury, he was eminently moderate in his ambitions, and there was not a trace of passion or enthusiasm in his nature. Such a man was not likely to inspire any strong devotion. But his temper was most kindly, equable, and contented; he was a steady friend, and he appears to have been always liked and honoured in the cultivated and uncontentious

society in which he delighted. His life was not a great one, but it was in all essentials blameless and happy. He found the work which was most congenial to him. He pursued it with admirable industry and with brilliant success, and he left behind him a book which is not likely to be forgotten while the English language endures.

Walter Luntz

JOHN BAGNELL BURY
INTRODUCTION TO

The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire
BY THE EDITOR

GIBBON is one of those few writers who hold as high a place in the history of literature as in the roll of great historians. He concerns us here as an historian; our business is to consider how far the view which he has presented of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire can be accepted as faithful to the facts, and in what respects it needs correction in the light of discoveries which have been made since he wrote. But the fact that his work, composed more than a hundred years ago, is still successful with the general circle of educated people, and has not gone the way of Hume and Robertson, whom we laud as "classics" and leave on the cold shelves, is due to the singularly happy union of the historian and the man of letters. Gibbon thus ranks with Thucydides and Tacitus, and is perhaps the clearest example that brilliance of style and accuracy of statement—in Livy's case conspicuously divorced—are perfectly compatible in an historian.

His position among men of letters depends both on the fact that he was an exponent of important ideas and on his style. The appreciation of his style devolves upon the history of literature; but it may be interesting to illustrate how much attention he paid to it, by alterations which he made in his text. The first volume was published, in quarto form, in 1776, and the second quarto edition of this volume, which appeared in 1782, exhibits a considerable number of

There are also cases, where something is added which, without changing the general sense, renders a statement fuller, more picturesque, or more vivid. Thus:—

	<i>First edition.</i>	<i>Second edition.</i>
P. 24.	A sandy desert skirted along the doubtful confine of Syria, from the Euphrates to the Red Sea.	A sandy desert, <i>alike destitute of wood and water</i> , skirts along the doubtful confine of Syria, from the Euphrates to the Red Sea.
P. 48.	The spirit of improvement had passed the Alps and been felt even in the woods of Britain.	The spirit of improvement had passed the Alps and been felt even in the woods of Britain, <i>which were gradually cleared away to open a free space for convenient and elegant habitations.</i>
P. 57.	The sciences of physic and astronomy were cultivated <i>with some degree of reputation</i> ; but if we except the inimitable Lucian, an age of indolence passed away without <i>producing</i> a single writer of genius, <i>who deserved the attention of posterity.</i>	The sciences of physic and astronomy were <i>successfully</i> cultivated by the Greeks; the observations of Ptolemy and the writings of Galen are studied by those who have improved their discoveries and corrected their errors; but if we except the inimitable Lucian, <i>this</i> age of indolence passed away without <i>having produced</i> a single writer of original genius, <i>or who excelled in the arts of elegant composition.</i>

Gibbon's autograph annotations to the first chapter of his work

It may be noticed in this connexion that at a later period Gibbon set to work to revise the second edition, but did not get further than p. 32 of the first volume.¹ His own copy with autograph marginal notes was exhibited last year, on the occasion of the Gibbon Centenary, by the

¹ It is stated that there are also unimportant annotations in vols. iv. and vi.

Royal Historical Society, and is to be seen in the British Museum. The corrections and annotations are as follows :—

“To describe the prosperous condition of their empire.” ^{P. 1 = 1 of this edition}
Read *times* for *empire*.

“And afterwards from the death of Marcus Antoninus.” The following note is entered : “Should I not have given the *history* of that fortunate period which was interposed between two iron ages? Should I not have deduced the decline of the Empire from the Civil Wars that ensued after the Fall of Nero, or even from the tyranny which succeeded the reign of Augustus? Alas! I should: but of what avail is this tardy knowledge? Where error is irreparable, repentance is useless.”

“To deduce the most important circumstances of its ^{P. 2 = 1} decline and fall: a revolution which will ever be remembered, and is still felt by the nations of the earth.” These words are erased and the following are substituted: “To prosecute the decline and fall of the empire of Rome: of whose language, religion and laws the impression will be long preserved in our own and the neighbouring countries of Europe”. To which an observation is appended: “*N.B.* Mr. Hume told me that, in correcting his history, he always laboured to reduce superlatives, and soften positives. Have Asia and Africa, from Japan to Morocco, any feeling or memory of the Roman Empire?”

On the words “rapid succession of triumphs,” note: “EXCURSION I. *on the succession of Roman triumphs*”.

On “bulwarks and boundaries,” note: “*Incertum metû* ^{P. 3 = 3} an per invidiam (Tacit. Annal. i. 11). Why must rational advice be imputed to a base or foolish motive? To what cause, error, malevolence, or flattery shall I ascribe the unworthy alternative? Was the historian dazzled by Trajan’s conquests?”

“On the immortality and transmigration of soul” (compare ^{P. 6 = 5}

footnote). Note: "Julian assigns this Theological cause, of whose power he himself might be conscious (*Cæsares*, p. 327). Yet I am not assured that the religion of Zamolxis subsisted in the time of Trajan; or that his Dacians were the same people with the Getae of Herodotus. The transmigration of the soul has been believed by many nations, warlike as the Celts, or pusillanimous like the Hindoos. When speculative opinion is kindled into practical enthusiasm, its operation will be determined by the praevious character of the man or the nation."

p. 7 = 6

"On their destroyers than on their benefactors." Note: "The first place in the temple of fame is due and is assigned to the successful heroes who had struggled with adversity; who, after signalizing their valour in the deliverance of their country, have displayed their wisdom and virtue in foundation or government of a flourishing state. Such men as Moses, Cyrus, Alfred, Gustavus Vasa, Henry IV. of France, &c."

"The thirst of military glory will ever be the vice of the most exalted [characters . . . but he] lamented with a sigh that his advanced age, &c." All included within the brackets is erased, and the following substituted: "the most exalted minds. Late generations and far distant climates may impute their calamities to the immortal author of the Iliad. The spirit of Alexander was inflamed by the praises of Achilles: and succeeding Heroes have been ambitious to tread in the footsteps of Alexander. Like him the Emperor Trajan aspired to the conquest of the East; but the Roman lamented with a sigh," &c.

p. 11 = 9

"A just preference was given to the climates of the north over those of the south." Note: "The distinction of North and South is real and intelligible; and our pursuit is terminated on either side by the poles of the Earth. But the difference of East and West is arbitrary and shifts round the globe. As the men of the North, not of the West, the

legions of Gaul and Germany were superior to the *South-Eastern* natives of Asia and Egypt. It is the triumph of cold over heat; which may, however, and has been surmounted by moral causes."

"A correspondent number of tribunes and centurions." P. 15 = 12

Note: "The composition of the Roman officers was very faulty.

1. It was late before a Tribune was fixed to each cohort. Six tribunes were chosen for the entire legion which two of them commanded by turns (Polyt. l. vi. p. 526, edit. Schweighaeuser), for the space of two months. 2. One long subordination from the Colonel to the Corporal was unknown. I cannot discover any intermediate ranks between the Tribune and the Centurion, the Centurion and the manipularis or private leginary [*sic*]. 3. As the tribunes were often without experience, the centurions were often without education, mere soldiers of fortune who had risen from the ranks (eo immitior quia toleraverat, Tacit. Annal. i. 20). A body equal to eight or nine of our batallions might be commanded by half a dozen young gentlemen and fifty or sixty old sergeants. Like the legions, our great ships of war may seem ill provided with officers: but in both cases the deficiency is corrected by strong principles of discipline and rigour."

"As in the instance of Horace and Agricola." These words are erased. Note: "quod mihi pareret legio Romana Tribuno (Horat. Serm. l. i. vi. 45), a worthy commander of three and twenty from the school of Athens! Augustus was indulgent to Roman birth, liberis Senatorum . . . militiam. auspicantes non tribunatum modo legionum sed et praefecturas alarum dedit (Sueton. c. 38)." P. 17, foot-note 53 = 14, footnote 55

"A league and a half above the surface of the sea." Note: "More correctly, according to Mr. Bouguer, 2500 toises (Buffon, Supplement, tom. v. p. 304). The height of Mont Blanc is now fixed to 2416 toises (Saussure, Voyage dans les Alpes, tom. i. p. 495): but the lowest ground from whence P. 32, foot-note 58 = 26, footnote 54

to be partly
explained by
his tempera-
ment

equipped with erudition, and of perfectly sober judgment, on cherished beliefs and revered institutions, must always excite the interest, by irritating the passions, of men. Gibbon's classical moderation of judgment, his temperate mood, was responsible, as well as foreign education and the influence of French thought, for his attitude to Christianity and to Mahometanism. He hated excess, and the immoderation of the multitude. He could suffer the tolerant piety of a learned abbé or "the fat slumbers of the Church"; but with the religious faith of a fanatical populace or the ardour of its demagogues his reason was unable to sympathize. In the spirit of Cicero or Tacitus he despised the superstitions of the vulgar, and regarded the unmeasured enthusiasm of the early Christians as many sober Churchmen regard the fanaticism of Islam. He dealt out the same measure to the opposite enthusiasm of Julian the Apostate.² His work was all the more effective, because he was never dogmatic himself. His irony should not be construed as insincerity, but rather as showing that he was profoundly—one might say, constitutionally—convinced of the truth of that sceptical conclusion which has been, in a different spirit, formulated precisely by the Bishop of Oxford; "there is no room for sweeping denunciations or trenchant criticisms in the dealings of a world whose falsehoods and veracities are separated by so very thin a barrier".

His reason-
able scepti-
cism

Milman's
libel

Thus Gibbon's attitude to religion, while it was conditioned by the intellectual atmosphere of Europe in that age, was also the expression of the man. When Dean Milman spoke of his "bold and disingenuous attack on Christianity,"³ he made one of those futile charges which it would be impossible to prove and impossible to disprove; such imputa-

² The influence of Gibbon's picture of Julian can be discerned in Ibsen's "Emperor and Galilaean".

³ In a footnote to the Autobiography.

tions as are characteristic of theologians in the heat of controversy and may be condoned to politicians in the heat of electioneering, but in an historical critic are merely an impertinence.

It has sometimes been remarked that those histories are most readable which are written to prove a thesis. The indictment of the Empire by Tacitus, the defence of Cæsarism by Mommsen, Grote's vindication of democracy, Droysen's advocacy of monarchy, might be cited as examples. All these writers intended to present the facts as they took place, but all wrote with prepossessions and opinions, in the light of which they interpreted the events of history. Arnold^{Arnold's view} deliberately advocated such partiality on the ground that "the past is reflected to us by the present and the partyman feels the present most". Another Oxford Regius Professor remarked that "without some infusion of spite it seems as if history could not be written". On the other side stands the formula of Ranke as to the true task of the historian: "Ich will bloss^{Ranke's view} sagen wie es eigentlich gewesen ist". The Greek History of Bishop Thirlwall, the English Constitutional History of Bishop Stubbs himself, were written in this spirit. But the most striking instances perhaps, because they tread with such light feet on the treacherous ashes of more recent history, are Ranke and Bishop Creighton. Thucydides is the most ancient example of this historical reserve. It cannot be said that Gibbon sat down to write with any ulterior purpose, but,^{Gibbon's prepossessions} as we have seen, he allowed his temperament to colour his history, and used it to prove a congenial thesis. But, while he put things in the light demanded by this thesis, he related his facts accurately. If we take into account the vast range of his work, his accuracy is amazing. He laboured^{and accuracy} under some disadvantages, which are set forth in his own Memoirs. He had not enjoyed that school and university training in the languages and literatures of Greece and

Imperfect
knowledge of
Greek

Rome which is probably the best preparation for historical research. His knowledge of Greek was imperfect; he was very far from having the "scrupulous ear of the well-flogged critic". He has committed errors of translation, and was capable of writing "Gregory of Nazianzen". But such slips are singularly few. Nor is he accustomed to take lightly quotations at second hand; like that famous passage of Eligius of Noyon—held up by Arnold as a warning—which Robertson and Hallam successively copied from Mosheim, where it had appeared in a garbled form, to prove exactly the opposite of its true meaning.

An emenda-
tion in
Gibbon's text

From one curious inaccuracy, which neither critics nor editors seem to have observed, he must I think be acquitted. In his account of the disturbances in Africa and Egypt in the reign of Diocletian, we meet the following passage (chap. xiii., p. 363):—

"Julian had assumed the purple at Carthage. Achilleus at Alexandria, and even the Blemmyes, renewed, or rather continued their incursions into the Upper Egypt."

Achilleus arose at this time (295-6 A.D.) as a tyrant at Alexandria; but that he made either at this date or at any previous date an incursion into the Upper Egypt, there is not a trace of evidence in our authorities. I am convinced however that this error was not originally due to the author, but merely a treacherous misprint, which was overlooked by him in correcting the proof sheets, and has also escaped the notice of his editors. By a slight change in punctuation we obtain a perfectly correct statement of the situation:—

"Julian had assumed the purple at Carthage, Achilleus at Alexandria; and even the Blemmyes renewed, or rather continued, their incursions into the Upper Egypt".

I have no doubts that this was the sentence originally meant and probably written by Gibbon, and have felt no scruple in extirpating the inveterate error from the text.⁴

Gibbon's diligent accuracy in the use of his materials cannot be over-praised, and it will not be diminished by giving the due credit to his French predecessor Tillemont. The *Histoire des Empereurs* and the *Mémoires ecclésiastiques*, laborious and exhaustive collections of material, were addressed to the special student and not to the general reader, but scholars may still consult them with profit. It is interesting to find Mommsen in his later years retracting one of his earlier judgments and reverting to a conclusion of Tillemont. In his recent edition⁵ of the *Laterculus* of Polemius Silvius, he writes thus:—

Gibbon's debt
to Tillemont

“L'auteur de la Notice—peritissimi Tillemontii verba sunt (hist. 5, 699)—vivoit en Occident et ne savoit pas trop l'état où estoit l'Orient; *ei invenis contradixi hodie subscribo*”.

It is one of Gibbon's merits that he made full use of Tillemont, “whose inimitable accuracy almost assumes the character of genius,” as far as Tillemont guided him, up to the reign of Anastasius I.; and it is only just to the mighty work of the Frenchman to impute to him a large share in the accuracy which the Englishman achieved. From the historical, though not from the literary, point of

⁴ In some other cases I have corrected the text in this volume. (1). p. 55, n. 109; Sumelpur for Jumelpur, see Appendix 9. (2). p. 259, l. 2 from top; the reading of the received text “public” is surely a printer's error, which escaped detection, for “republic,” which I have ventured to restore. (3). p. 279, l. 5 from foot, I have assumed an instance of “lipography”. (4). p. 328, n. 35, “Lycius” had been already corrected (see Smith's ed.) to “Lydius”. Probably Gibbon had his Zosimus open before him when he wrote this note, and his pen traced Lycius because Lycia happened to occur in the very next line of his authority. I have followed Sir William Smith's precedent in dealing freely with the punctuation, and in modernizing the spelling of a few words.

⁵ In the *Chronica Minora* (M. G. H.), vol. i., 512 sqq. See p. 533.

view, Gibbon, deserted by Tillemont, distinctly declines, though he is well sustained through the wars of Justinian by the clear narrative of Procopius.

His necessary
limitations

Recognizing that Gibbon was accurate, we do not acknowledge by implication that he was always right; for accuracy is relative to opportunities. The discovery of new materials, the researches of numerous scholars, in the course of a hundred years, have not only added to our knowledge of facts, but have modified and upset conclusions which Gibbon with his materials was justified in drawing. Compare a chapter or two of Mr. Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders* with the corresponding episode in Gibbon, and many minor points will appear in which correction has been needful. If Gibbon were alive and writing now, his history would be very different. Affected by the intellectual experiences of the past century he could not adopt quite the same historical attitude; and we should consequently lose the colouring of his brilliant attack on Christianity. Again, he would have found it an absolute necessity to learn what he insolently called that "barbarous idiom," the German language; and this might have affected his style as it would certainly have affected his matter. We dare not deplore Gibbon's limitations, for they were the conditions of his great achievement.

His grasp of
the unity of
history

Not the least important aspect of the Decline and Fall is its lesson in the unity of history, the favourite theme of Mr. Freeman. The title displays the cardinal fact that the Empire founded by Augustus fell in 1461; that all the changes which transformed the Europe of Marcus Aurelius into the Europe of Erasmus had not abolished the name and memory of the Empire. And whatever names of contempt—in harmony with his thesis—Gibbon might apply to the institution in the period of its later decline, such as the "Lower Empire," or "Greek Empire," his title rectified any false impressions that such language might

cause. On the continuity of the Roman Empire depended the unity of his work. By the emphasis laid on this fact he did the same kind of service to the study of history in England, that Mr. Bryce has done in his *Holy Roman Empire* by tracing the thread which connects the Europe of Francis the Second with the Europe of Charles the Great.

Gibbon read widely, and had a large general knowledge of history, which supplied him with many happy illustrations. It is worth pointing out that the gap in his knowledge of ancient history was the period of the Diadochi and Epigoni. If he had been familiar with that period, he would not have said that Diocletian was the first to give to the world the example of a resignation of sovereignty. He would have referred to the conspicuous case of Ptolemy Soter; Mr. Freeman would have added Lydiadas, the tyrant of Megalopolis. Of the earlier example of Asarhaddon Gibbon could not have known.

To pass from scope and spirit to method, Gibbon's historical sense kept him constantly right in dealing with his sources, but he can hardly be said to have treated them methodically. The growth of German erudition is one of the leading features of the intellectual history of the nineteenth century; and one of its most important contributions to historical method lies in the investigation of sources. German scholars have indeed pressed this "Quellenkunde" further than it can safely be pressed. A philologist, writing his doctoral dissertation, will bring plausible reasons to prove where exactly Diodorus ceased to "write out" Ephorus, whose work we do not possess, and began to write out somebody else, whose work is also lost to us. But, though the method lends itself to the multiplication of vain subtleties, it is absolutely indispensable for scientific historiography. It is in fact part of the science of evidence. The distinction of primary and derivative authorities might be used as a test.

New methods
of research

"Quellen-
kritik"

The untrained historian fails to recognize that nothing is added to the value of a statement of Widukind by its repetition by Thietmar or Ekkehard, and that a record in the Continuation of Theophanes gains no further credibility from the fact that it likewise occurs in Cedrenus, Zonaras or Glycas.

While evidence is more systematically arranged, greater care is bestowed on sifting and probing what our authorities say, and in distinguishing contemporary from later witnesses. Not a few important results have been derived from such methods ; they enable us to trace the growth of stories. The evidence against Faustina shrinks into nothing ; the existence of Pope Joan is exploded. It is irrelevant to condemn a statement of Zonaras as made by a "modern Greek". The question is, where did he get it ?⁶

The difficult questions connected with the authorship and compilation of the *Historia Augusta* have produced a chestful of German pamphlets, but they did not trouble Gibbon. The relationships of the later Greek chronicles and histories are more difficult and intricate even than the questions raised by the *Historia Augusta*, but he did not even formulate a prudent interrogation. Ferdinand Hirsch, twenty years ago, cleared new roads through this forest, in which George the Monk and the Logothete who continued him, Leo Grammaticus and Simeon Magister, John Scylitzes, George Cedrenus and Zonaras lived in promiscuous obscurity. Büttner-Wobst on one side, C. de Boor on the other, have been working effectually on the same lines, clearing up the haze which surrounds George the Monk—the time has gone by for calling him George Hamartolus. Another formidable problem, that of John Malalas—with his namesake John of

⁶ Gibbon had a notion of this, but did not apply it methodically. See in this vol., p. 415, note 59 : "but those modern Greeks had the opportunity of consulting many writers which have since been lost". And see, in general, his Preface to the fourth volume of the quarto ed.

Antioch, so hard to catch,—having been grappled with by Jeep, Sotiriadês and others, is now being more effectively treated by Patzig.

Criticism, too, has rejected some sources from which Gibbon drew without suspicion. In the interest of literature we may perhaps be glad that like Ockley he used with confidence the now discredited Al Wakidi. Before such maintained perfection of manner, to choose is hard; but the chapters on the origin of Mahometanism and its first triumphs against the Empire would alone be enough to win perpetual literary fame. Without Al Wakidi's romance they would not have been written; and the historian, compelled to regard Gibbon's description as he would a Life of Charles the Great based on the monk of St. Gall, must refer the inquirer after facts to Sprenger's Life of Mahomet and Weil's History of the Caliphs.⁷

In connexion with the use of materials, reference may be made to a mode of proceeding which Gibbon has sometimes adopted and which modern method condemns. It is not legitimate to blend the evidence of two different periods in order to paint a complete picture of an institution. Great caution, for example, is needed in using the Greek epics, of which the earliest and latest parts differ by a long interval, for the purpose of portraying a so-called Homeric or heroic age. A notice of Fredegarius will not be necessarily applicable to the age of the sons and grandsons of Chlodwig, and a custom which was familiar to Gregory or Venantius

⁷ In Mahometan history in general, it may be added, not only has advance been made by access to new literary oriental documents, but its foundations have been more surely grounded by numismatic researches, especially those of Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole. This scholar's recently published handbook containing tables and lists of the "Mohammadan" Dynasties is a guerdon for which students of history must be most deeply grateful. The special histories of Mahometan Sicily and Spain have been worked out by Amari and Dozy. For the Mongols we have the overwhelming results of Sir Henry Howorth's learning and devotion to his "vasty" subject.

may have become obsolete before the days of the last Merwings. It is instructive to compare Gibbon's description of the social and political institutions of our Teutonic forefathers with that of Bishop Stubbs. Gibbon blends together with dexterity the evidence of Cæsar and Tacitus, between whom a century had elapsed, and composes a single picture ; whereas Bishop Stubbs keeps the statements of the two Romans carefully apart, and by comparing them is able to show that in certain respects the Germans had developed in the interval. Gibbon's account of the military establishment of the Empire, in the first chapter of his work, is open to a like objection. He has blended, without due criticism, the evidence of Vegetius with that of earlier writers.⁸

Progress of
textual
criticism

In the study of sources, then, our advance has been great, while the labours of an historian have become more arduous. It leads us to another advance of the highest importance. To use historical documents with confidence, an assurance that the words of the writer have been correctly transmitted is manifestly indispensable. It generally happens that our texts have come down in several MSS., of different ages, and there are often various discrepancies. We have then to determine the relations of the MSS. to each other and their comparative values. To the pure philologist this is part of the alphabet of his profession ; but the pure historian takes time to realize it, and it was not realized in the age of Gibbon as it is to-day. Nothing forces upon the historian the necessity of having a sound text so impressively as the process of comparing different documents in order to determine whether one was dependent on another,—the process of investigating sources.

⁸ It may be said for Gibbon, however, that even Mommsen, in his volume on the Provinces, has adopted this practice of blending evidence of different dates. For the historical artist, it is very tempting, when the evidence for any particular period is scanty ; but in the eyes of the scientific historian it is indefensible.

In this respect we have now to be thankful for many blessings denied to Gibbon and—so recent is our progress—denied to Milman and Finlay. We have Mommsen's editions of ^{Improved Latin texts} *Jordanes* and the *Variae* of Cassiodorus, his *Chronica Minora* (still incomplete), including, for instance, *Idatius*, the *Prosper*, *Count Marcellinus*; we have *Peter's Historia Augusta*, *Gardthausen's Ammianus*, *Luetjohann's Sidonius Apollinaris*; *Du Chesne's Liber Pontificalis*; and a large number of critical texts of ecclesiastical writers might be mentioned.⁹ The Greek historians have been less fortunate. The Bonn ^{Defective} edition of the "Byzantine Writers," issued under the auspices of Niebuhr and Bekker in the early part of this century, was the most lamentably feeble production ever given to the world by German scholars of great reputation. It marked no advance on the older folio edition, except that it was cheaper, and that one or two new documents were included. But there is now a reasonable prospect that we shall by degrees have a complete series of trustworthy texts. De Boor showed the way by his ^{and improved Greek texts} splendid edition of *Theophanes* and his smaller texts of *Theophylactus Simocatta* and the *Patriarch Nicephorus*. *Mendelssohn's Zosimus*, and *Reifferscheid's Anna Comnena* stand beside them. *Haury* promises a *Procopius*, and we are expecting from *Seeger* a long desired *John Scylitzes*, the greater part of whose text, though existing in a MS. at Paris, has never been printed and can only be inferred by a comparison of the Latin translation of *Gabius* with the chronicle of *Cedrenus* who copied him with faithful servility.

The legends of the Saints, though properly outside the ^{The legendary Lives of the Saints} domain of the historian proper, often supply him with valuable help. For "Culturgeschichte" they are a direct source. *Finlay* observed that the *Acta Sanctorum* contain an un-

⁹ Especially the *Corpus Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*.

explored mine for the social life of the Eastern Empire. But before they can be confidently dealt with, trained criticism must do its will on the texts; the relations between the various versions of each legend must be defined and the tradition in each case made clear. The task is huge; the libraries of Europe and Hither Asia are full of these holy tales. But Usener has made a good beginning and Krumbacher has rendered the immense service of pointing out precisely what the problems are.¹⁰

New
Material.
Examples:
(1) Numis-
matics

Besides improved methods of dealing with the old material, much new material of various kinds has been discovered, since the work of Gibbon. To take one department, our coins have increased in number. It seems a pity that he who worked at his Spanheim with such diligence was not able to make use of Eckhel's great work on Imperial coinage which began to appear in 1792 and was completed in 1798. Since then we have had Cohen, and the special works of Saulcy and Sabatier. M. Schlumberger's splendid study of Byzantine sigillography must be mentioned in the same connexion.¹¹

Seals

(2) Constitu-
tional
history

The constitution and history of the Principate, and the provincial government of the early Emperors, have been

¹⁰ Usener, *Der heilige Theodosios*, 1890. Krumbacher, *Studien zu den Legenden des heiligen Theodosios*, 1892. It is worth while to state briefly what the chief problem is. The legends of the Saints were collected, rehandled, cleansed of casual heresy, and put into literary form in the tenth century (towards its close according to Vasilievski) by Symeon Metaphrastes. Most of our MSS. are derived from the edition of Symeon; but there are also extant, some, comparatively few, containing the original pre-Symeonic versions, which formed the chief literary recreation of ordinary men and women before the tenth century. The problem is to collect the materials for a critical edition of as many legends as have been preserved in their original form. When that is done, we shall have the data for fully appreciating the methods of Symeon. As for the text Krumbacher points out that what we want is a thoroughgoing study of the *Grammar of the MSS.*

¹¹ M. Schlumberger followed up this work by an admirable monograph on Nicephorus Phocas, luxuriously illustrated; and we are looking forward to the appearance of a companion work on Basil II.

placed on an entirely new basis by Mommsen and his school.¹² The *Römisches Staatsrecht* is a fabric for whose rearing was needed not only improved scholarship but an extensive collection of epigraphic material. The *Corpus of Latin Epigraphy* Inscriptions is the keystone of the work.

Hence Gibbon's first chapters are somewhat "out of date". But on the other hand his admirable description of the change from the Principate to absolute Monarchy, and the system of Diocletian and Constantine, is still most valuable. Here inscriptions are less illustrative, and he disposed of much the same material as we, especially the *Codex Theodosianus*. New light is badly wanted, and has not been to any extent forthcoming, on the respective contributions of Diocletian and Constantine to the organization of the new monarchy. As to the arrangement of the provinces we have indeed a Verona List of Provinces precious document in the *Verona List* (published by Mommsen), which, dating from 297 A.D., shows Diocletian's reorganization. The modifications which were made between this year and the beginning of the fifth century when the *Notitia Dignitatum* was drawn up, can be largely determined not only by lists in Rufus and Ammianus, but, as far as the eastern provinces are concerned, by the *Laterculus* of Polemius Silvius. Thus, partly by critical method applied to Polemius, partly by the discovery of a new document, we are enabled to rectify the list of Gibbon, who adopted the simple plan of ascribing to Diocletian and Constantine the detailed organization of the *Notitia*. Otherwise our knowledge of the changes of Diocletian has not been greatly augmented; but our clearer conception of the Principate and its steady development towards pure monarchy has reflected

¹² The first volume of Mr. Pelham's history of the Empire, which is expected shortly, will show, when compared with Merivale, how completely our knowledge of Roman institutions has been transformed within a very recent period.

light on Diocletian's system; and the tendencies of the third century, though still obscure at many points, have been made more distinct. The year of the Gordians is still as great a puzzle as ever; but the dates of Alexandrine coins with the tribunician years give us here, as elsewhere, limits of which Gibbon was ignorant. While speaking of the third century, I may add that Calpurnius Siculus, whom Gibbon claimed as a contemporary of Carinus, has been restored by modern criticism to the reign of Nero, and this error has vitiated some of Gibbon's pages.

The constitutional history of the Empire from Diocletian forward has still to be written systematically. Some noteworthy contributions to this subject have been made by Russian scholars.

(3) Law

Gibbon's forty-first chapter is still not only famous, but admired by jurists as a brief and brilliant exposition of the principles of Roman law. To say that it is worthy of the subject is the best tribute that can be paid to it. A series of foreign scholars of acute legal ability has elaborated the study of the science in the present century; I need only refer to such names as Savigny and Jhering. A critical edition of the *Corpus juris Romani* by Mommsen himself has been one of the chief contributions. The manuscript of Gaius is the new discovery to be recorded; and we can imagine with what interest Gibbon, were he restored to earth, would compare in Gneist's parallel columns the *Institutiones* with the elder treatise.

Gaius

Græco-Roman law

Ecloga

But whoever takes up Gibbon's theme now will not be content with an exposition of the Justinianean Law. He must go on to its later development in the subsequent centuries, in the company of Zachariä von Lingenthal and Heimbach. Such a study has been made possible and comparatively easy by the magnificent works of Zachariä; among whose achievements I may single out his restoration of

the *Ecloga*, which used to be ascribed to Leo VI., to its true author Leo III. ; a discovery which illuminated in a most welcome manner the Isaurian reformation. It is interesting to observe that the last work which engaged him even on his death-bed was an attempt to prove exactly the same thing for the military treatise known as the *Tactics of Leo VI.* Here too Zachariä thinks that Leo was the Isaurian, while the received view is that he was the “Philosopher”.

Having illustrated by examples the advantages open to an historian of the present day, which were not open to Gibbon, for dealing with Gibbon's theme,—improved and refined methods, a closer union of philology with history, and ampler material—we may go on to consider a general defect in his treatment of the Later Empire, and here too exhibit, by a few instances, progress made in particular departments.

Gibbon ended the first half of his work with the so-called fall of the Western Empire in 476 A.D.—a date which has been fixed out of regard for Italy and Rome, and should strictly be 480 A.D. in consideration of Julius Nepos. Thus the same space is devoted to the first three hundred years which is allowed to the remaining nine hundred and eighty. Nor does the inequality end here. More than a quarter of the second half of the work deals with the first two of these ten centuries. The mere statement of the fact shows that the history of the Empire from Heraclius to the last Grand Comnenus of Trebizond is merely a sketch with certain episodes more fully treated. The personal history and domestic policy of all the Emperors, from the son of Heraclius to Isaac Angelus, are compressed into one chapter. This mode of dealing with the subject is in harmony with the author's contemptuous attitude to the “Byzantine” or “Lower” Empire.

But Gibbon's account of the internal history of the Empire after Heraclius is not only superficial ; it gives an

Gibbon's
treatment of
the Later
Empire

False im-
pression as to
uniformity of
its history

entirely false impression of the facts. If the materials had been then as well sifted and studied as they are even to-day, he could not have failed to see that beneath the intrigues and crimes of the Palace there were deeper causes at work, and beyond the revolutions of the Capital City wider issues implied. The cause for which the Iconoclasts contended involved far more than an ecclesiastical rule or usage; it meant, and they realized, the regeneration of the Empire. Or, to take another instance: the key to the history of the tenth and eleventh centuries, is the struggle between the Imperial throne and the great landed interest of Asia Minor;¹³ the accession of Alexius Comnenus marked the final victory of the latter. Nor had Gibbon any conception of the great ability of most of the Emperors from Leo the Isaurian to Basil II., or, we might say, to Constantine the conqueror of Armenia. The designation of the story of the later Empire as a "uniform tale of weakness and misery"¹⁴ is one of the most untrue, and most effective, judgments ever uttered by a thoughtful historian. Before the outrage of 1204, the Empire was the bulwark of the West.¹⁵

and as to its
weakness

Reaction

Finlay's
History

Against Gibbon's point of view there has been a gradual reaction which may be said to have culminated within the last ten years. It was begun by Finlay, whose unprosperous speculations in Greece after the Revolution prompted him to seek for the causes of the insecurity of investments in land, and, leading him back to the year 146 B.C., involved him in

¹³ This has been best pointed out by C. Neumann.

¹⁴ Chap. xlviii. *ad init.*, where a full statement of his view of the later Empire will be found.

¹⁵ I need not repeat here what I have said elsewhere, and what many others have said (recently Mr. Frederic Harrison in two essays in his volume entitled *The Meaning of History*) as to the various services of the Empire to Europe. They are beginning to be generally recognized and they have been brought out in Mr. C. W. Oman's brief and skilful sketch of the "Byzantine Empire" (1892),

a history of the "Byzantine Empire" which embedded a history of Greece.¹⁶ The great value of Finlay's work lies not only in its impartiality and in his trained discernment of the commercial and financial facts underlying the superficial history of the chronicles, but in its full and trustworthy narration of the events. By the time that Mr. Tozer's edition appeared in 1876, it was being recognized that Gibbon's word on the later Empire was not the last. Meanwhile Hertzberg was going over the ground in Germany, and Gfrörer, whose ecclesiastical studies had taken him into those regions, had written a good deal of various value. Hirsch's *Byzantinische Studien* had just appeared, and Rambaud's *l'Empire grec au x^{me} siècle*. M. Sathas was bringing out his *Bibliotheca Græca mediæ ævi*—including two volumes of Psellus—and was beginning his *Documents inédits*. Professor Lambros was working at his Athens in the Twelfth Century and preparing his edition of the great Archbishop Akominatos. Hopf had collected a mass of new materials from the archives of southern cities. In England, Freeman was pointing out the true position of New Rome and her Emperors in the history of Europe.

These tendencies have increased in volume and velocity within the last twenty years. They may be said to have reached their culminating point in the publication of Professor Krumbacher's *History of Byzantine Literature*.¹⁷ The importance of this work, of vast scope and extraordinary accuracy, can only be fully understood by the specialist. It has already promoted and facilitated the progress of the study in an incalculable measure; and it was soon followed by the inaugura-

¹⁶ Since then a Greek scholar, K. Paparrigopulos, has covered the whole history of Greece from the earliest times to the present century, in his *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους*. The same gigantic task, but in a more popular form, has been undertaken and begun by Professor Lambros, but is not yet finished.

¹⁷ *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (565-1453), 1891.

tion of a journal, entirely devoted to works on "Byzantine" subjects, by the same scholar. The *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* would have been impossible twenty-five years ago and nothing shows more surely the turn of the tide. Professor Krumbacher's work seems likely to form as important an epoch as that of Ducange.

Russian
school of
Byzantine
students

Meanwhile in a part of Europe which deems itself to have received the torch from the Emperors as it has received their torch from the Patriarchs, and which has always had a special regard for the city of Constantine, some excellent work was being done. In Russia, Muralt edited the chronicle of George the monk and his Continuers, and compiled Byzantine Fasti. The Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction is the storehouse of a long series of most valuable articles dealing, from various sides, with the history of the later Empire, by those indefatigable workers Uspenski and Vasilievski. At length, in 1894, Krumbacher's lead has been followed, and the *Vizantiski Vremennik*, a Russian counterpart of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, has been started under the joint editorship of Vasilievski and Regel, and is clearly destined, with the help of Veselovski, Kondakov, Bieliaiev and the rest of a goodly fellowship, to make its mark.

Progress of
research
since Gibbon.
Examples:

After this general sketch of the new prospects of later Imperial history, it will be useful to show by some examples what sort of progress is being made, and what kind of work has to be done. I will first take some special points of interest connected with Justinian. My second example shall be the topography of Constantinople; and my third the large field of literature composed in colloquial Greek. Lastly, the capital defect of the second half of Gibbon's work, his inadequate treatment, or rather his neglect, of the Slavs, will serve to illustrate our historical progress.

New light has been cast, from more than one side, on the reign of Justinian where there are so many uncertain and interesting places. The first step that methodical history had to take was a thoroughgoing criticism of Procopius, and this was more than half done by Dahn in his elaborate monograph. The double problem of the "Secret History" has stimulated the curiosity of the historian and the critic. Was Procopius the author? and in any case, are the statements credible? Gibbon has inserted in his notes the worst bits of the scandals which far outdid the convivium quinquaginta meretricum described by Burchard, or the feast of Sophonius Tigellinus; and he did not hesitate to believe them. Their credibility is now generally questioned, but the historian of Cæsarea is a much more interesting figure if it can be shown that he was the author. From a careful comparison of the Secret History with the works of Procopian authorship, in point of style, Dahn concluded that Procopius wrote it. Ranke argued against this view and maintained that it was the work of a malcontent who had obtained possession of a private diary of Procopius, on which framework he constructed the scandalous chronicle, imitating successfully the Procopian style.¹⁸

The question has been placed on a new footing by Haury;¹⁹ and it is very interesting to find that the solution depends on the right determination of certain dates. The result is briefly as follows:—

Procopius was a malcontent who hated Justinian and all his works. He set himself the task of writing a history of his time, which, as the secretary of Belisarius, he had good opportunities of observing. He composed a narrative of the military events, in which he abstained from committing

¹⁸ I was seduced by this hypothesis of Ranke (Later Roman Empire, i. 363), but no longer believe in it.

¹⁹ Procopiana, 1891.

(1) Justinian.
(a) Procopius
and the
Secret
History

The discovery
of Haury

himself, so that it could be safely published in his own lifetime. Even here his critical attitude to the government is sometimes clear. He allows it to be read between the lines that he regarded the reconquest of Africa and Italy as calamities for those countries ; which thus came under an oppressor, to be stripped by his governors and tax gatherers. But the domestic administration was more dangerous ground, on which Procopius could not tread without raising a voice of bitter indignation and hatred. So he dealt with this in a book which was to be kept secret during his own life and bequeathed to friends who might be trusted to give it to the world at a suitable time. The greater part of the *Military History*, which treated in seven Books the Persian, Vandalic, and Gothic wars, was finished in 545 A.D., and perhaps read to a select circle of friends ; at a later time some additions were made, but no changes in what had been already written. The *Secret History*, as Haury has proved from internal evidence, was written in 550.²⁰ About three years later the *Military History* received an eighth Book, bringing the story down to the end of the Gothic war. Then the work came under the notice of Justinian, who saw that a great historian had arisen ; and Procopius, who had certainly not described the wars for the purpose of pleasing the Emperor, but had sailed as close to the wind as he dared, was called upon to undertake the disagreeable task of lauding the oppressor. An Imperial command was clearly the origin of the *De Aedificiis* (560 A.D.), in which the reluctant writer adopted the plan of making adulation so fulsome, that, except to Justinian's vanity, he might appear to be laughing in his

²⁰ One of the author's points is that Justinian was the real ruler during the nominal reign of Justin, who was an "ass". Hence he dates Justinian's administration (not of course his Imperial years) from 518. The consequence of this important discovery of Haury, which he has proved up to the hilt, is that the work was written in 550 (not, as before believed, in 559)—the thirty-second year of Justinian's administration.

sleeve. At the very beginning of the treatise he has a sly allusion to the explosives which were lying in his desk, unknown to the Imperial spies.

Such is the outline of the literary motives of Procopius as we must conceive them, now that we have a practical certainty that he, and no other, wrote the *Secret History*. For Haury's dates enable us, as he points out, to argue as follows: If Procopius did not write the book, it was obviously written by a forger, who wished it to pass as a Procopian work. But in 550 no forger could have had the close acquaintance with the *Military History* which is exhibited by the author of the *Anecdota*. And moreover the identity of the introduction of the eighth Book of the *Military History* with that of the *Secret History*, which was urged by Ranke as an objection to the genuineness of the latter work, now tells decisively in favour of it. For if Procopius composed it in 553, how could a forger, writing in 550, have anticipated it? And if the forger composed it in 550, how are we to explain its appearances in a later work of Procopius himself? These considerations put it beyond all reasonable doubt that Procopius was the author of the *Secret History*; for this assumption is the only one which supplies an intelligible explanation of the facts.

Another puzzle in connexion with Justinian lay in certain biographical details relating to that emperor and his family, which Alemanni, in his commentary on the *Secret History*, quoted on the authority of a *Life of Justinian* by a certain Abbot Theophilus, said to have been the Emperor's preceptor. Of these biographical notices, and of Justinian's preceptor Theophilus, we otherwise knew nothing; nor had any one, since Alemanni, seen the *Biography*. Gibbon and other historians accepted without question the statements quoted by Alemanni; though it would have been wiser to treat them with more reserve, until some data for criticizing them

(b) Theophilus' *Life of Justinian*

The discovery
of Mr. Bryce

were discovered. The puzzle of Alemanni's source, the Life of Theophilus, was solved by Mr. Bryce, who discovered in the library of the Barbarini palace at Rome the original text from which Alemanni drew his information.²¹ It professes to be an extract from a Slavonic work, containing the Life of Justinian up to the thirtieth year of his reign, composed by Bogomil, abbot of the monastery of St. Alexander in Dardania. This extract was translated by Marnavich, Canon of Sebenico (afterwards Bishop of Bosnia, 1631-1639), a friend of Alemanni, and some notes were appended by the same scholar. *Bogomil* is the Slavonic equivalent of the Greek *Theophilus*, which was accordingly adopted by Alemanni in his references. Mr. Bryce has shown clearly that this document, interesting as it is in illustrating how Slavonic legends had grown up round the name of Justinian, is worthless as history, and that there is no reason to suppose that such a person as the Dardanian Bogomil ever existed. We are indeed met by a new problem, which, however, is of no serious concern to the practical purposes of history. How did Marnavich obtain a copy of the original Life, from which he made the extract, and which he declares to be preserved in the library of the monks who profess the rule of St. Basil on Mount Athos? Does the original still exist, on Mount Athos or elsewhere? or did it ever exist?

The wars of Justinian²² in the west have been fully and admirably related by Mr. Hodgkin, with the exception of the obscure conquest of Spain, on which there is too little to be said and nothing further seems likely to come to light. In regard to the ecclesiastical policy of Justinian there is still a field for research.

²¹ The Life of Justinian by Theophilus, in the *English Historical Review*. Vasil'ev has given an account of Mr. Bryce's article in the *Vizantiski Vremennik*, i., 469 sqq.

²² The Persian and Lazic Wars have been related in detail in my *Later Roman Empire*, vol. i.

As for the study of the great work of Anthemius, which brings us to the general subject of Byzantine art, much has been done within the last half century. Gibbon had nothing to help him for the buildings of Constantinople that could compare with Adam's splendid work which he consulted for the buildings of Spalato. We have now Salzenberg's luxurious work, *Alt-christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel*, published just fifty years ago by the Prussian government, with plates which enable us to make a full study of the architecture of St. Sophia. A few months ago a complete and scholarly English study of this church by Messrs. Lethaby and Swainson appeared. Other churches, too, especially those at Ravenna, have received careful attention ; De Vogue's admirable work on the architecture of Syria is well known ; but Strzygovski has only too good reason for complaining that the study of Byzantine architecture, as a whole, has not yet properly begun. A large work on the churches of Greece, which two English scholars are preparing, ought to do much to further the cause which Strzygovski has at heart, and to which he has made valuable contributions himself.²³ More progress is perhaps being made in the study of miniature painting and iconography ; and in this field the work of the Russian student Kondakov is the most noteworthy.

The study of works of architecture in ancient cities, like Athens, Rome, or Constantinople, naturally entails a study of the topography of the town ; and in the case of Constantinople this study is equally important for the historian. Little progress of a satisfactory kind can be made until either Constantinople passes under a European government, or a complete change comes over the spirit of Turkish administration. The region of the Imperial Palace and the ground

²³ His new work on the reservoirs of Constantinople may be specially mentioned.

between the Hippodrome and St. Sophia must be excavated before certainty on the main points can be attained. Labarte's *a priori* reconstruction of the plan of the palace, on the basis of the Cerimonies of Constantine Porphyrogennetos and scattered notices in other Greek writers, was wonderfully ingenious and a certain part of it is manifestly right, though there is much which is not borne out by a more careful examination of the sources. The next step was taken by a Russian scholar Bieliaiev who has recently published a most valuable study on the Cerimonies,²⁴ in which he has tested the reconstruction of Labarte and shown us exactly where we are,—what we know, and what with our present materials we cannot possibly know. Between Labarte and Bieliaiev the whole problem was obscured by the unscholarly work of Paspâtês, the Greek antiquarian; whose sole merit was that he kept the subject before the world. As the acropolis is the scene of so many great events in the history which Gibbon recorded, it is well to warn the reader that our sources make it absolutely certain that the Hippodrome adjoined the Palace; there was no public space between them. The Augusteum did not lie, as Paspâtês asserted, between the Palace and the Hippodrome,²⁵ but between the north side of the Hippodrome and St. Sophia.

²⁴ Byzantina. Ocherki, materialy, i zamietki po Vizantiskim drevnostiam, 1891-3. I must not omit to mention Dr. Mordtmann's valuable *Esquisse topographique* (1892), and N. Destunis has made noteworthy contributions to the subject.

²⁵ With blameworthy indiscretion I accepted this false view of Paspâtês, in my *Later Roman Empire*, without having gone methodically into the sources. I was misled by the fame won by the supposed "topographical discoveries" of this diligent antiquarian and by his undeservedly high reputation; this, however, is no excuse, and unfortunately the error has vitiated my account of the Nika revolt. I have gone into the theory of Paspâtês in the *Scottish Review* (April, 1894), where he is treated too leniently. His misuse of authorities is simply astounding. I may take the opportunity of saying that I hope to rewrite the two volumes of my *Later Roman Empire* and correct, so far as I may be able, its many faults. A third volume, dealing with the ninth century, will, I hope, appear at a not too distant date.

On the trades and industries of the Imperial City, on the trade corporations and the minute control exercised over them by the government, new light has been thrown by M. Nicole's discovery and publication of the Prefect's Book, a code of regulations drawn up by Leo VI. The *demes* of Constantinople are a subject which needs investigation. They are certainly not to be regarded as Gibbon and his successors have regarded them, as mere circus parties. They must represent, as Uspenski points out in the opening number of the new *Vizantiski Vremennik*, organized divisions of the population.

A field in which the historian must wander to breathe the spirit and learn the manner of the mediæval Greek world is that of the romance, both prose and verse, written in the vulgar tongue. This field was closed to Gibbon, but the labours of many scholars, above all Legrand, have rendered it now easily accessible. Out of a large number of interesting things I may refer especially to two. One is the epic of Digenes Akritas, the Roland or Cid of the Later Empire, a poem of the tenth century, which illustrates the life of Armatoli and the border warfare against the Saracens in the Cilician mountains. The other is the Book of the Conquest of the Morea,²⁶ a mixture of fiction and fact, but invaluable for realizing the fascinating though complicated history of the "Latin" settlements in Greece. That history was set aside by Gibbon, with the phrase, "I shall not pursue the obscure and various dynasties that rose and fell on the continent or in the isles," though he deigns to give a page or two to Athens.²⁷ But it is a subject with unusual possibilities

The Book of
the Prefect

(3) "Vulgar-
griechische
Litteratur"

Digenes
Akritas

The Chronicle
of Morea

History of
Greece after
the Latin
Conquest

²⁶ The Greek and the French versions were published by Buchon, uncritically. A new edition of the Greek text is promised by Dr. John Schmitt.

²⁷ The history of mediæval Athens has been recorded at length in an attractive work by Gregorovius, the counterpart of his great history of mediæval Rome.

for picturesque treatment, and out of which, Gibbon, if he had apprehended the opportunity, and had possessed the materials, would have made a brilliant chapter. Since Finlay, who entered into this episode of Greek history with great fulness, the material has been largely increased by the researches of Hopf.²⁸

(4) The Slavs and their relations with the Later Empire

As I have already observed, it is perhaps on the Slavonic side of the history of the Empire that Gibbon is most conspicuously inadequate. Since he wrote, various causes have combined to increase our knowledge of Slavonic antiquity. The Slavs themselves have engaged in methodical investigation of their own past; and, since the entire or partial emancipations of the southern Slavs from Asiatic rule, a general interest in Slavonic things has grown up throughout Europe. Gibbon dismissed the history of the First Bulgarian Kingdom, from its foundation in the reign of Constantine Pogonatus to its overthrow by the second Basil, in two pages. To-day the author of a history of the Empire on the same scale would find two hundred a strict limit. Gibbon tells us nothing of the Slavonic missionaries, Cyril and Methodius, round whose names an extensive literature has been formed. It is only in recent years that the geography of the Illyrian peninsula has become an accessible subject of study.

Useful controversies :

(1) Slavs in Greece

The investigation of the history of the northern peoples who came under the influence of the Empire has been stimulated by controversy, and controversy has been animated and even embittered by national pride. The question of Slavonic settlements in Greece has been thoroughly ventilated,

²⁸ For a full account of *Vulgär-griechische Litteratur*, I may refer to Krumbacher's *Gesch. der Byz. Litt.* Here it is unnecessary to do more than indicate its existence and importance. I may add that the historian cannot neglect the development of the language, for which these romances (and other documents) furnish ample data. Here the Greeks themselves have an advantage, and scholars like Hatzidakês, Psicharês, and Jannarês are in this field doing work of the best kind.

because Fallmerayer excited the scholarship of Hellenes and Philhellenes to refute what they regarded as an insulting paradox.²⁹ So, too, the pride of the Roumanians was irritated by Roesler, who denied that they were descended from the inhabitants of Trajan's Dacia and described them as later immigrants of the thirteenth century. Pič arose against him; then Hermuzaki argued for an intermediate date. The best Hungarian scholar of the day joined the fray, on the other side; and the contention became bitter between Vlach and Magyar, the Roumanian pretensions to Siebenbürgen—"Dacia irredenta"—sharpening the lances of the foes. The Roumanians have not come out of their "question" as well as the Hellenes. Hungary too has its own question. Are the Magyars to be ethnically associated with the Finns or given over to the family of the Turks, whom as champions of Christendom they had opposed at Mohács and Varna? It was a matter of pride for the Hungarian to detach himself from the Turk; and the evidence is certainly on his side. Hunfalvy's conclusions have successfully defied the assaults of Vámbéry.³⁰ Again in Russia there has been a long and vigorous contest,—the so-called Norman or Varangian question. No doubt is felt now by the impartial judge as to the Scandinavian origin of the princes of Kiev, and that the making of Russia was due to Northmen or Varangians. Kunik and Pogodin were reinforced by Thomsen of Denmark; and the pure Slavism of Ilovaiski³¹

(2) Origin of the Roumanians

(3) Ugro-Finnic or Turkish origin of the Hungarians

(4) Origin of the Russian state; Normannic question

²⁹ Fallmerayer's thesis that there was no pure Hellenic blood in Greece was triumphantly refuted. No one denies that there was a large Slavonic element in the country parts, especially of the Peloponnesus.

³⁰ In a paper entitled, *The Coming of the Hungarians*, in the *Scottish Review* of July, 1892, I have discussed the questions connected with early Magyar history, and criticized Hunfalvy's *Magyarország Ethnographiája* (1876) and Vámbéry's *A magyarok eredete* (1882). One of the best works dealing with the subject has been written by a Slav (C. Grot).

³¹ Ilovaiski's work *Istorija Rossii*, vol. i. (Kiev period), is, though his main thesis is a mistake, most instructive.

and Gedeonov, though its champions were certainly able, is a lost cause.

Progress in
Slavonic
archæology
and history

From such collisions sparks have flown and illuminated dark corners. For the Slavs the road was first cleared by Safarik. The development of the comparative philology of the Indo-Germanic tongues has had its effect; the Slavonic languages have been brought into line, chiefly by the life-work of Miklosich; and the science is being developed by such scholars as Jagič and Leskien. The several countries of the Balkan lands have their archæologists and archæological journals; and the difficulty which now meets the historian is not the absence but the plenitude of philological and historical literature.

The early
history of
the Magyars

A word may be added about the Hungarians, who have not been so successful with their early history as the Slavs. Until the appearance of Hunfalvy, their methods were antediluvian, and their temper credulous. The special work of Jászay, and the first chapters of Szalay's great History of Hungary, showed no advance on Katóna and Pray, who were consulted by Gibbon. All believed in the Anonymous Scribe of King Béla; Jászay simply transcribed him. Then Roesler came and dispelled the illusion. Our main sources now are Constantine Porphyrogenetos, and the earlier Asiatic traveller Ibn Dasta, who has been rendered accessible by Chwolson.³² The linguistic researches of Ahlquist, Hunfalvy and others into Vogul, Ostjak and the rest of the Ugro-Finnic kindred, must be taken into account by the critic who is dealing with those main sources. The Chazars, to whom the Hungarians were once subject, the Patzinaks, who drove the Magyars from "Lebedia" to "Atelkuzu" and

³² Chwolson, *Izviestiia o Chozarach, Burtasach, Bolgarach, Madiarach, Slavaniach, i Rusach.*

from "Atelkuzu" to Pannonia, and other peoples of the same kind, have profited by these investigations.

The foregoing instances will serve to give a general idea of the respects in which Gibbon's history might be described as behind date. To follow out all the highways and byways of progress would mean the usurpation of at least a volume by the editor. What more has to be said, must be said briefly in notes and appendices. That Gibbon is behind date in many details, and in some departments of importance, simply signifies that we and our fathers have not lived in an absolutely incompetent world. But in the main things he is still our master, above and beyond "date". It is needless to dwell on the obvious qualities which secure to him immunity from the common lot of historical writers,—such as the bold and certain measure of his progress through the ages; his accurate vision, and his tact in managing perspective; his discreet reserves of judgment and timely scepticism; the immortal affectation of his unique manner. By virtue of these superiorities he can defy the danger with which the activity of successors must always threaten the worthies of the past. But there is another point which was touched on in an earlier page and to which here, in a different connexion, we may briefly revert. It is well to realize that the greatest history of modern times was written by one in whom a distrust of enthusiasm was deeply rooted.³³ This cynicism was not inconsistent with partiality, with definite prepossessions, with a certain spite. In fact it supplied the antipathy which the artist infused when he mixed his most effective colours. The conviction that enthusiasm is inconsistent with intellectual balance was engrained in his mental constitu-

³³ And who regarded history as "little more than the register of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind" (see below, p. 77).

tion, and confirmed by study and experience. It might be reasonably maintained that zeal for men or causes is an historian's marring, and that "reserve sympathy"—the principle of Thucydides—is the first lesson he has to learn. But without venturing on any generalization we must consider Gibbon's zealous distrust of zeal as an essential and most suggestive characteristic of the "Decline and Fall".

INTRODUCTION

BY THE EDITOR

GIBBON is one of those few writers who hold as high a place in the history of literature as in the roll of great historians. He concerns us here as an historian; our business is to consider how far the view which he has presented of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire can be accepted as faithful to the facts, and in what respects it needs correction in the light of discoveries which have been made since he wrote. But the fact that his work, composed more than a hundred years ago, is still successful with the general circle of educated people, and has not gone the way of Hume and Robertson, whom we laud as "classics" and leave on the cold shelves, is due to the singularly happy union of the historian and the man of letters. Gibbon thus ranks with Thucydides and Tacitus, and is perhaps the clearest example that brilliance of style and accuracy of statement — in Livy's case conspicuously divorced — are perfectly compatible in an historian.

His position among men of letters depends both on the fact that he was an exponent of important ideas and on his style. The appreciation of his style devolves upon the history of literature; but it may be interesting to illustrate how much attention he paid to it, by alterations which he made in his text. The first volume was published, in quarto form, in 1776, and the second quarto edition of this volume, which appeared in 1782, exhibits a considerable number of variants. Having carefully collated the two editions throughout the first fourteen chapters, I have observed that, in most

cases, the changes were made for the sake not of correcting misstatements of fact, but of improving the turn of a sentence, rearranging the dactyls and cretics, or securing greater accuracy of expression. Some instances may be interesting.

	<i>First edition</i>	<i>Second edition</i>
P. 2.	Instead of exposing his person and his legions to the arrows of the Parthians, <i>he satisfied himself with the restitution of the standards and prisoners which were taken in the defeat of Crassus.</i>	Instead of exposing his person and his legions to the arrows of the Parthians <i>he obtained, by an honourable treaty, the restitution of the standards and prisoners which had been taken in the defeat of Crassus.</i>
P. 12.	The peasant or mechanic, imbibed the useful prejudice . . . that, although the prowess of a private soldier, <i>might escape the notice of fame, it would be in his power to confer glory or disgrace on the company, the legion, or even the army, to whose honours he was associated.</i>	The peasant, or mechanic imbibed the useful prejudice . . . that although the prowess of a private soldier <i>must often</i> escape the notice of fame, his own behaviour might sometimes confer glory or disgrace on the company, the legion, or even the army, to whose honours he was associated.
P. 67.	The olive, in the western world, <i>was the companion as well as the symbol of peace.</i>	The olive, in the western world, <i>followed the progress of peace of which it was considered as the symbol.</i>
P. 75.	The <i>general</i> definition of a monarchy seems to be that of a state, &c.	The <i>obvious</i> definition of a monarchy seems to be that of a state, &c.
P. 77.	The present greatness of the Roman state, the corruption of manners, and the licence of the soldiers <i>added new weight to the advocates of monarchy.</i>	The present greatness of the Roman state, the corruption of manners, and the licence of the soldiers <i>supplied new arguments to the advocates of monarchy.</i>
P. 79.	<i>On the most important occasions,</i> peace and war were seriously debated in the senate.	<i>The most important resolutions of</i> peace and war were seriously debated in the senate.

*First edition**Second edition*

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|---------|---|---|
| P. 89. | However the latter [<i>i.e.</i> the name Cæsar], was diffused by adoption and female alliance, Nero was the last prince who could <i>claim so noble an extraction.</i> | However the latter was diffused by adoption and female alliance, Nero was the last prince who could <i>allege any hereditary claim to the honours of the Julian line.</i> |
| P. 93. | Which . . . had <i>just finished</i> the conquest of Judæa. | Which . . . had <i>recently achieved</i> the conquest of Judæa. |
| P. 136. | To ascend a throne <i>streaming</i> with the blood of so near a relation. | To ascend a throne <i>polluted</i> with the <i>recent</i> blood of so near a relation. |
| P. 141. | Severus, who <i>had sufficient greatness of mind to adopt</i> several useful institutions from a vanquished enemy. | Severus, who <i>afterwards displayed the greatness of his mind by adopting</i> several useful institutions from a vanquished enemy. |

These are a few specimens of the numerous cases in which alterations have been made for the purpose of improving the language. Sometimes, in the new edition, statements are couched in a less positive form. For example: —

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| P. 11. | The legions themselves <i>consisted</i> of Roman citizens. | The legions themselves <i>were supposed to consist</i> of Roman citizens. |
| P. 99. | And he even condescended to give lessons of philosophy in a more public manner than <i>suited</i> the modesty of a sage or the dignity of an emperor. | And he even condescended to give lessons of philosophy in a more public manner than <i>was perhaps consistent with</i> the modesty of a sage or the dignity of an emperor. |

There are also cases, where something is added which, without changing the general sense, renders a statement fuller, more picturesque, or more vivid. Thus: —

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|--------|--|---|
| P. 31. | A sandy desert skirted along the doubtful confine of Syria, from the Euphrates to the Red Sea. | A sandy desert, <i>alike destitute of wood and water</i> , skirts along the doubtful confine of Syria, from the Euphrates to the Red Sea. |
|--------|--|---|

	<i>First edition</i>	<i>Second edition</i>
P. 61.	The spirit of improvement had passed the Alps and been felt even in the woods of Britain.	The spirit of improvement had passed the Alps and been felt even in the woods of Britain, <i>which were gradually leared away to open a free space for convenient and elegant habitations.</i>
P. 72.	The sciences of physic and astronomy were cultivated <i>with some degree of reputation</i> ; but if we except the inimitable Lucian, <i>an</i> age of indolence passed away without <i>producing</i> a single writer of genius, <i>who deserved the attention of posterity.</i>	The sciences of physic and astronomy were <i>successfully</i> cultivated by the <i>Greeks</i> ; the <i>observations of Ptolemy and the writings of Galen</i> are studied by those who have improved their discoveries and corrected their errors; but if we except the inimitable Lucian, <i>this</i> age of indolence passed away without <i>having produced</i> a single writer of original genius, or who excelled in the arts of elegant composition.

It may be noticed in this connection that at a later period Gibbon set to work to revise the second edition, but did not get further than p. 32 of the first volume.¹ His own copy with autograph marginal notes was exhibited last year, on the occasion of the Gibbon Centenary, by the Royal Historical Society, and is to be seen in the British Museum. The corrections and annotations are as follows:—

(P. I = I of this edition.) “To describe the prosperous condition of their empire.” Read *times* for *empire*.

“And afterwards from the death of Marcus Antoninus.” The following note is entered: “Should I not have given the *history* of that fortunate period which was interposed between two iron ages? Should I not have deduced the decline of the Empire from the Civil Wars that ensued after the Fall of Nero, or even from the tyranny which succeeded the reign of

¹ It is stated that there are also unimportant annotations in vols. iv. and vi.

Augustus? Alas! I should: but of what avail is this tardy knowledge? Where error is irreparable, repentance is useless."

(P. 2=1.) "To deduce the most important circumstances of its decline and fall: a revolution which will ever be remembered, and is still felt by the nations of the earth." These words are erased and the following are substituted: "To prosecute the decline and fall of the empire of Rome: of whose language, religion and laws the impression will be long preserved in our own and the neighbouring countries of Europe." To which an observation is appended: "N.B. Mr. Hume told me that, in correcting his history, he always laboured to reduce superlatives, and soften positives. Have Asia and Africa, from Japan to Morocco, any feeling or memory of the Roman Empire?"

(P. 2=2.) On the words "rapid succession of triumphs," note: "EXCURSION I. *on the succession of Roman triumphs.*"

(P. 3=3.) On "bulwarks and boundaries," note: "Incertum metû an per invidiam (Tacit. Annal. i. 11). Why must rational advice be imputed to a base or foolish motive? To what cause, error, malevolence, or flattery shall I ascribe the unworthy alternative? Was the historian dazzled by Trajan's conquests?"

(P. 6=6.) "On the immortality and transmigration of soul" (compare footnote). Note: "Julian assigns this Theological cause, of whose power he himself might be conscious (*Cæsares*, p. 327). Yet I am not assured that the religion of Zamolxis subsisted in the time of Trajan; or that his Dacians were the same people with the Getae of Herodotus. The transmigration of the soul has been believed by many nations, warlike as the Celts, or pusillanimous like the Hindoos. When speculative opinion is kindled into practical enthusiasm, its operation will be determined by the previous character of the man or the nation."

(P. 7=7.) "On their destroyers than on their benefactors." Note: "The first place in the temple of fame is

due and is assigned to the successful heroes who had struggled with adversity; who, after signalling their valour in the deliverance of their country, have displayed their wisdom and virtue in foundation or government of a flourishing state. Such men as Moses, Cyrus, Alfred, Gustavus Vasa, Henry IV. of France, &c."

"The thirst of military glory will ever be the vice of the most exalted [characters . . . but he] lamented with a sigh that his advanced age, &c." All included within the brackets is erased, and the following substituted: "the most exalted minds. Late generations and far distant climates may impute their calamities to the immortal author of the Iliad. The spirit of Alexander was inflamed by the praises of Achilles: and succeeding Heroes have been ambitious to tread in the footsteps of Alexander. Like him the Emperor Trajan aspired to the conquest of the East; but the Roman lamented with a sigh," &c.

(P. 11 = 12.) "A just preference was given to the climates of the north over those of the south." Note: "The distinction of North and South is real and intelligible; and our pursuit is terminated on either side by the poles of the Earth. But the difference of East and West is arbitrary and shifts round the globe. As the men of the North, not of the West, the legions of Gaul and Germany were superior to the *South-Eastern* natives of Asia and Egypt. It is the triumph of cold over heat; which may, however, and has been surmounted by moral causes."

(P. 15 = 15.) "A correspondent number of tribunes and centurions." Note: "The composition of the Roman officers was very faulty. 1. It was late before a Tribune was fixed to each cohort. Six tribunes were chosen from the entire legion, which two of them commanded by turns (Polyb. l. vi. p. 526, edit. Schweighaeuser), for the space of two months. 2. One long subordination from the Colonel to the Corporal was unknown. I cannot discover any intermediate ranks between the Tribune and the Centurion, the Centurion and the ma-

nipularis or private leginary [*sic*]. 3. As the tribunes were often without experience, the centurions were often without education, mere soldiers of fortune who had risen from the ranks (*eo immitior quia toleraverat*, Tacit. Annal. i. 20). A body equal to eight or nine of our battalions might be commanded by half a dozen young gentlemen and fifty or sixty old sergeants. Like the legions, our great ships of war may seem ill provided with officers: but in both cases the deficiency is corrected by strong principles of discipline and rigour."

(P. 17, footnote 53=18, footnote 55.) "As in the instance of Horace and Agricola." These words are erased. Note: "*quod mihi pareret legio Romana Tribuno* (Horat. Serm. l. i. vi. 45), a worthy commander of three and twenty from the school of Athens! Augustus was indulgent to Roman birth, *liberis Senatorum . . . militiam. auspicantes non tribunatum modo legionum sed et praefecturas alarum dedit* (Sueton. c. 38)."

(P. 32, footnote 86=33, footnote 94.) "A league and a half above the surface of the sea." Note: "More correctly, according to Mr. Bouguer, 2500 toises (Buffon, Supplement, tom. v. p. 304). The height of Mont Blanc is now fixed to 2416 toises (Saussure, Voyage dans les Alpes, tom. i. p. 495): but the lowest ground from whence it can be seen is itself greatly elevated above the level of the sea. He who sails by the isle of Teneriff, contemplates the entire Pike, from the foot to the summit."

But Gibbon has his place in literature not only as the stylist, who never lays aside his toga when he takes up his pen, but as the expounder of a large and striking idea in a sphere of intense interest to mankind, and as a powerful representative of certain tendencies of his age. The guiding idea or "moral" of his history is briefly stated in his epigram: "I have described the triumph of barbarism and religion." In other words, the historical development of

human societies, since the second century after Christ, was a retrogression (according to ordinary views of "progress"), for which Christianity was mainly to blame. This conclusion of Gibbon tended in the same direction as the theories of Rousseau; only, while Rousseau dated the decline from the day when men left Arcadia, Gibbon's era was the death of Marcus Aurelius.

We are thus taken into a region of speculation where every traveller must make his own chart. But to attempt to deny a general truth in Gibbon's point of view is vain; and it is feeble to deprecate his sneer. We may spare more sympathy than he for the warriors and the churchmen; but all that has since been added to his knowledge of facts has neither reversed nor blunted the point of the "Decline and Fall." Optimism of temperament may shut the eyes; faith, wedded to some "one increasing purpose" which it shrinks from grasping, may divert from the path of facts. But for an inquirer not blinded by religious prepossessions, or misled by comfortable sophistries, Gibbon really expounded one of the chief data with which the philosophy of history has to reckon. How are we to define progress? how recognise retrogression? What is the end in relation to which such words have their meaning, and is there a law which will explain "the triumph of barbarism and religion" as a necessary moment in a reasonable process towards that end, whatever it may be? Answers have been given since Gibbon's day, engaging to the intellect, but always making some demand on the faith — answers for which he would have the same smile as for Leo's Dogmatic Epistle. There is certainly some reason for thinking these questions insoluble. We may say at least that the meaning of the philosophy of history is misapprehended until it is recognised that its function is not to solve problems but to transform them.

But, though the moral of Gibbon's work has not lost its meaning yet, it is otherwise with the particular treatment of Christian theology and Christian institutions. Our point

of view has altered, and, if Gibbon were writing now, the tone of his "candid and rational inquiry" would certainly be different. His manner would not be that of sometimes open, sometimes transparently veiled, dislike; he would rather assume an attitude of detachment. He would be affected by that merely historical point of view, which is a note of the present century and its larger tolerances; and more than half disarmed by that wide diffusion of unobtrusive scepticism among educated people, which seems to render offensive warfare superfluous. The man of letters admires the fine edge of subtle sarcasm, wielded by Gibbon with such skill and effect; while the historian is interested in an historical standpoint of the last century. Neither the historian nor the man of letters will any longer subscribe, without a thousand reserves, to the theological chapters of the "Decline and Fall," and no discreet inquirer would go there for his ecclesiastical history. Yet we need not hide the fact that Gibbon's success has in a large measure been due to his scorn for the Church; which, most emphatically expressed in the theological chapters, has, as one might say, spiced his book. The attack of a man, equipped with erudition, and of perfectly sober judgment, on cherished beliefs and revered institutions, must always excite the interest, by irritating the passions, of men. Gibbon's classical moderation of judgment, his temperate mood, was responsible, as well as foreign education and the influence of French thought, for his attitude to Christianity and to Mahometanism. He hated excess, and the immoderation of the multitude. He could suffer the tolerant piety of a learned abbé or "the fat slumbers of the Church"; but with the religious faith of a fanatical populace or the ardour of its demagogues his reason was unable to sympathise. In the spirit of Cicero or Tacitus he despised the superstitions of the vulgar, and regarded the unmeasured enthusiasm of the early Christians as many sober Churchmen regard the fanaticism of Islam. He dealt out the same measure to the

opposite enthusiasm of Julian the Apostate.² His work was all the more effective, because he was never dogmatic himself. His irony should not be construed as insincerity, but rather as showing that he was profoundly — one might say, constitutionally — convinced of the truth of that sceptical conclusion which has been, in a different spirit, formulated precisely by the Bishop of Oxford; “there is no room for sweeping denunciations or trenchant criticisms in the dealings of a world whose falsehoods and veracities are separated by so very thin a barrier.”

Thus Gibbon's attitude to religion, while it was conditioned by the intellectual atmosphere of Europe in that age, was also the expression of the man. When Dean Milman spoke of his “bold and disingenuous attack on Christianity,”³ he made one of those futile charges which it would be impossible to prove and impossible to disprove; such imputations as are characteristic of theologians in the heat of controversy and may be condoned to politicians in the heat of electioneering, but in an historical critic are merely an impertinence.

It has sometimes been remarked that those histories are most readable which are written to prove a thesis. The indictment of the Empire by Tacitus, the defence of Cæsarism by Mommsen, Grote's vindication of democracy, Droysen's advocacy of monarchy, might be cited as examples. All these writers intended to present the facts as they took place, but all wrote with prepossessions and opinions, in the light of which they interpreted the events of history. Arnold deliberately advocated such partiality on the ground that “the past is reflected to us by the present and the partyman feels the present most.” Another Oxford Regius Professor remarked that “without some infusion of spite it seems as if history could not be written.” On the other side stands the

² The influence of Gibbon's picture of Julian can be discerned in Ibsen's “Emperor and Galilean.”

³ In a footnote to the Autobiography.

formula of Ranke as to the true task of the historian: "Ich will bloss sagen wie es eigentlich gewesen ist." The Greek History of Bishop Thirlwall, the English Constitutional History of Bishop Stubbs himself, were written in this spirit. But the most striking instances perhaps, because they tread with such light feet on the treacherous ashes of more recent history, are Ranke and Bishop Creighton. Thucydides is the most ancient example of this historical reserve. It cannot be said that Gibbon sat down to write with any ulterior purpose, but, as we have seen, he allowed his temperament to colour his history, and used it to prove a congenial thesis. But, while he put things in the light demanded by this thesis, he related his facts accurately. If we take into account the vast range of his work, his accuracy is amazing. He laboured under some disadvantages, which are set forth in his own Memoirs. He had not enjoyed that school and university training in the languages and literatures of Greece and Rome which is probably the best preparation for historical research. His knowledge of Greek was imperfect; he was very far from having the "scrupulous ear of the well-flogged critic." He has committed errors of translation, and was capable of writing "Gregory of Nazianzen." But such slips are singularly few. Nor is he accustomed to take lightly quotations at second hand; like that famous passage of Eligius of Noyon — held up by Arnold as a warning — which Robertson and Hallam successively copied from Mosheim, where it had appeared in a garbled form, to prove exactly the opposite of its true meaning.

From one curious inaccuracy, which neither critics nor editors seem to have observed, he must I think be acquitted. In his account of the disturbances in Africa and Egypt in the reign of Diocletian, we meet the following passage (vol. ii. chap. xiii. p. 160): —

"Julian had assumed the purple at Carthage. Achilleus at Alexandria, and even the Blemmyes, renewed, or

rather continued their incursions into the Upper Egypt."

Achilleus arose at this time (295-6 A.D.) as a tyrant at Alexandria; but that he made either at this date or at any previous date an incursion into the Upper Egypt, there is not a trace of evidence in our authorities. I am convinced however that this error was not originally due to the author, but merely a treacherous misprint, which was overlooked by him in correcting the proof sheets, and has also escaped the notice of his editors. By a slight change in punctuation we obtain a perfectly correct statement of the situation:—

"Julian had assumed the purple at Carthage, Achilleus at Alexandria; and even the Blemmyes renewed, or rather continued, their incursions into the Upper Egypt."

I have no doubts that this was the sentence originally meant and probably written by Gibbon, and have felt no scruple in extirpating the inveterate error from the text.⁴

Gibbon's diligent accuracy in the use of his materials cannot be over-praised, and it will not be diminished by giving the due credit to his French predecessor Tillemont. The *Histoire des Empereurs* and the *Mémoires ecclésiastiques*, laborious and exhaustive collections of material, were addressed to the special student and not to the general reader, but scholars may still consult them with profit. It is interesting to find Mommsen in his later years retracting one of his earlier judgments and reverting to a conclusion of

⁴ In some other cases I have corrected the text in this and the following volume. (1) vol. i. p. 69, n. 109; Sumelpur for Jumelpur, see Appendix 9. (2) vol. ii. p. 29, l. 8 from top; the reading of the received text "public" is surely a printer's error, which escaped detection, for "republic," which I have ventured to restore. (3) vol. ii. p. 55, l. 6 from foot, I have assumed an instance of "lipography." (4) vol. ii. n. 35, "Lycius" had been already corrected (see Smith's ed.) to "Lydius." Probably Gibbon had his Zosimus open before him when he wrote this note, and his pen traced Lycius

Tillemont. In his recent edition⁶ of the *Laterculus* of Polemius Silvius, he writes thus: —

“L’auteur de la Notice — peritissimi Tillemontii verba sunt (hist. 5, 699) — vivoit en Occident et ne savoit pas trop l’état où estoit l’Orient; *ei iuvenis contradixi hodie subscribo.*”

It is one of Gibbon’s merits that he made full use of Tillemont, “whose inimitable accuracy almost assumes the character of genius,” as far as Tillemont guided him, up to the reign of Anastasius I.; and it is only just to the mighty work of the Frenchman to impute to him a large share in the accuracy which the Englishman achieved. From the historical, though not from the literary, point of view, Gibbon, deserted by Tillemont, distinctly declines, though he is well sustained through the wars of Justinian by the clear narrative of Procopius.

Recognising that Gibbon was accurate, we do not acknowledge by implication that he was always right; for accuracy is relative to opportunities. The discovery of new materials, the researches of numerous scholars, in the course of a hundred years, have not only added to our knowledge of facts, but have modified and upset conclusions which Gibbon with his materials was justified in drawing. Compare a chapter or two of Mr. Hodgkin’s *Italy and her Invaders* with the corresponding episode in Gibbon, and many minor points will appear in which correction has been needful. If Gibbon were alive and writing now, his history would be very different. Affected by the intellectual experiences of the past century he could not adopt quite the same historical attitude; and we should consequently lose the colouring of his brilliant attack on Chris-

because Lycia happened to occur in the very next line of his authority. I have followed Sir William Smith’s precedent in dealing freely with the punctuation, and in modernising the spelling of a few words.

⁶ In the *Chronica Minora* (M.G.H.), vol. i. 512 sqq. See vol. ii. p. 360.

tianity. Again, he would have found it an absolute necessity to learn what he insolently called that "barbarous idiom," the German language; and this might have affected his style as it would certainly have affected his matter. We dare not deplore Gibbon's limitations, for they were the conditions of his great achievement.

Not the least important aspect of the *Decline and Fall* is its lesson in the unity of history, the favourite theme of Mr. Freeman. The title displays the cardinal fact that the Empire founded by Augustus fell in 1461; that all the changes which transformed the Europe of Marcus Aurelius into the Europe of Erasmus had not abolished the name and memory of the Empire. And whatever names of contempt — in harmony with his thesis — Gibbon might apply to the institution in the period of its later decline, such as the "Lower Empire," or "Greek Empire," his title rectified any false impressions that such language might cause. On the continuity of the Roman Empire depended the unity of his work. By the emphasis laid on this fact he did the same kind of service to the study of history in England, that Mr. Bryce has done in his *Holy Roman Empire* by tracing the thread which connects the Europe of Francis the Second with the Europe of Charles the Great.

Gibbon read widely, and had a large general knowledge of history, which supplied him with many happy illustrations. It is worth pointing out that the gap in his knowledge of ancient history was the period of the Diadochi and Epigoni. If he had been familiar with that period, he would not have said that Diocletian was the first to give to the world the example of a resignation of sovereignty. He would have referred to the conspicuous case of Ptolemy Soter; Mr. Freeman would have added Lydiadas, the tyrant of Megalopolis. Of the earlier example of Asarhaddon Gibbon could not have known.

To pass from scope and spirit to method, Gibbon's historical sense kept him constantly right in dealing with his

sources, but he can hardly be said to have treated them methodically. The growth of German erudition is one of the leading features of the intellectual history of the nineteenth century; and one of its most important contributions to historical method lies in the investigation of sources. German scholars have indeed pressed this "Quellenkunde" further than it can safely be pressed. A philologist, writing his doctoral dissertation, will bring plausible reasons to prove where exactly Diodorus ceased to "write out" Ephorus, whose work we do not possess, and began to write out somebody else, whose work is also lost to us. But, though the method lends itself to the multiplication of vain subtleties, it is absolutely indispensable for scientific historiography. It is in fact part of the science of evidence. The distinction of primary and derivative authorities might be used as a test. The untrained historian fails to recognise that nothing is added to the value of a statement of Widukind by its repetition by Thietmar or Ekkehard, and that a record in the Continuation of Theophanes gains no further credibility from the fact that it likewise occurs in Cedrenus, Zonaras or Glycas.

While evidence is more systematically arranged, greater care is bestowed on sifting and probing what our authorities say, and in distinguishing contemporary from later witnesses. Not a few important results have been derived from such methods; they enable us to trace the growth of stories. The evidence against Faustina shrinks into nothing; the existence of Pope Joan is exploded. It is irrelevant to condemn a statement of Zonaras as made by a "modern Greek." The question is, where did he get it? *

The difficult questions connected with the authorship and compilation of the *Historia Augusta* have produced a chestful of German pamphlets, but they did not trouble Gibbon.

* Gibbon had a notion of this, but did not apply it methodically. See in vol. ii. p. 227, note 59: "but those modern Greeks had the opportunity of consulting many writers which have since been lost." And see, in general, his Preface to the fourth volume of the quarto ed.

The relationships of the later Greek chronicles and histories are more difficult and intricate even than the questions raised by the *Historia Augusta*, but he did not even formulate a prudent interrogation. Ferdinand Hirsch, twenty years ago, cleared new roads through this forest, in which George the Monk and the Logothete who continued him, Leo Grammaticus and Simeon Magister, John Scylitzes, George Cedrenus and Zonaras, lived in promiscuous obscurity. Büttner-Wobst on one side, C. de Boor on the other, have been working effectually on the same lines, clearing up the haze which surrounds George the Monk — the time has gone by for calling him George Hamartolus. Another formidable problem, that of John Malalas — with his namesake John of Antioch, so hard to catch, — having been grappled with by Jeep, Sotiriadēs and others, is now being more effectively treated by Patzig.

Criticism, too, has rejected some sources from which Gibbon drew without suspicion. In the interest of literature we may perhaps be glad that like Ockley he used with confidence the now discredited Al Wakidi. Before such maintained perfection of manner, to choose is hard; but the chapter on the origin of Mahometanism and its first triumphs against the Empire would alone be enough to win perpetual literary fame. Without Al Wakidi's romance they would not have been written; and the historian, compelled to regard Gibbon's description as he would a *Life of Charles the Great* based on the monk of St. Gall, must refer the inquirer after facts to Sprenger's *Life of Mahomet* and Weil's *History of the Caliphs*.⁷

In connection with the use of materials, reference may be

⁷ In Mahometan history in general, it may be added, not only has advance been made by access to new literary oriental documents, but its foundations have been more surely grounded by numismatic researches, especially those of Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole. This scholar's recently published handbook containing tables and lists of the "Mohammadan" Dynasties is a guerdon for which students of history must be most deeply grateful. The special histories

made to a mode of proceeding which Gibbon has sometimes adopted and which modern method condemns. It is not legitimate to blend the evidence of two different periods in order to paint a complete picture of an institution. Great caution, for example, is needed in using the Greek epics, of which the earliest and latest parts differ by a long interval, for the purpose of portraying a so-called Homeric or heroic age. A notice of Fredegarius will not be necessarily applicable to the age of the sons and grandsons of Chlodwig, and a custom which was familiar to Gregory or Venantius may have become obsolete before the days of the last Merwings. It is instructive to compare Gibbon's description of the social and political institutions of our Teutonic forefathers with that of Bishop Stubbs. Gibbon blends together with dexterity the evidence of Cæsar and Tacitus, between whom a century had elapsed, and composes a single picture; whereas Bishop Stubbs keeps the statements of the two Romans carefully apart, and by comparing them is able to show that in certain respects the Germans had developed in the interval. Gibbon's account of the military establishment of the Empire, in the first chapter of his work, is open to a like objection. He has blended, without due criticism, the evidence of Vegetius with that of earlier writers.⁸

In the study of sources, then, our advance has been great, while the labours of an historian have become more arduous. It leads us to another advance of the highest importance. To use historical documents with confidence, an assurance that the words of the writer have been correctly transmitted is manifestly indispensable. It generally happens that our

of Mahometan Sicily and Spain have been worked out by Amari and Dozy. For the Mongols we have the overwhelming results of Sir Henry Howorth's learning and devotion to his "vasty" subject.

⁸ It may be said for Gibbon, however, that even Mommsen, in his volume on the Provinces, has adopted this practice of blending evidence of different dates. For the historical artist, it is very tempting, when the evidence for any particular period is scanty; but in the eyes of the scientific historian it is indefensible.

texts have come down in several MSS., of different ages, and there are often various discrepancies. We have then to determine the relations of the MSS. to each other and their comparative values. To the pure philologist this is part of the alphabet of his profession; but the pure historian takes time to realise it, and it was not realised in the age of Gibbon as it is to-day. Nothing forces upon the historian the necessity of having a sound text so impressively as the process of comparing different documents in order to determine whether one was dependent on another, — the process of investigating sources. In this respect we have now to be thankful for many blessings denied to Gibbon and — so recent is our progress — denied to Milman and Finlay. We have Mommsen's editions of Jordanes and the *Variae* of Cassiodorus, his *Chronica Minora* (still incomplete), including, for instance, Idatius, the *Prosper*, Count Marcellinus; we have Peter's *Historia Augusta*, Gardthausen's *Ammianus*, Luetjohann's *Sidonius Apollinaris*; Duchesne's *Liber Pontificalis*; and a large number of critical texts of ecclesiastical writers might be mentioned.⁹ The Greek historians have been less fortunate. The Bonn edition of the "Byzantine Writers," issued under the auspices of Niebuhr and Bekker in the early part of this century, was the most lamentably feeble production ever given to the world by German scholars of great reputation. It marked no advance on the older folio edition, except that it was cheaper, and that one or two new documents were included. But there is now a reasonable prospect that we shall by degrees have a complete series of trustworthy texts. De Boor showed the way by his splendid edition of Theophanes and his smaller texts of Theophylactus Simocatta and the Patriarch Nicephorus. Mendelssohn's *Zosimus*, and Reifferscheid's *Anna Comnena* stand beside them. Haury promises a *Procopius*, and we are expecting from Seger a long-desired *John Scylitzes*, the greater part of whose text, though

⁹ Especially the *Corpus Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*.

existing in a MS. at Paris, has never been printed and can only be inferred by a comparison of the Latin translation of Gabius with the chronicle of Cedrenus, who copied him with faithful servility.

The legends of the Saints, though properly outside the domain of the historian proper, often supply him with valuable help. For "Culturgeschichte" they are a direct source. Finlay observed that the *Acta Sanctorum* contain an unexplored mine for the social life of the Eastern Empire. But before they can be confidently dealt with, trained criticism must do its will on the texts; the relations between the various versions of each legend must be defined and the tradition in each case made clear. The task is huge; the libraries of Europe and Hither Asia are full of these holy tales. But Usener has made a good beginning and Krumbacher has rendered the immense service of pointing out precisely what the problems are.¹⁰

Besides improved methods of dealing with the old material, much new material of various kinds has been discovered, since the work of Gibbon. To take one department, our coins have increased in number. It seems a pity that he who worked at his Spanheim with such diligence was not able to make use of Eckhel's great work on Imperial coinage which began to appear in 1792 and was completed in 1798. Since then we have had Cohen, and the special works of Saulcy

¹⁰ Usener, *Der heilige Theodosios*, 1890. Krumbacher, *Studien zu den Legenden des heiligen Theodosios*, 1892. It is worth while to state briefly what the chief problem is. The legends of the saints were collected, re-handled, cleansed of casual heresy, and put into literary form in the tenth century (towards its close according to Vasilievski) by Symeon Metaphrastes. Most of our MSS. are derived from the edition of Symeon; but there are also extant, some, comparatively few, containing the original pre-Symeonic versions, which formed the chief literary recreation of ordinary men and women before the tenth century. The problem is to collect the materials for a critical edition of as many legends as have been preserved in their original form. When that is done, we shall have the data for fully appreciating the methods of Symeon. As for the text Krumbacher points out that what we want is a thoroughgoing study of the *Grammar of the MSS.*

and Sabatier. M. Schlumberger's splendid study of Byzantine sigillography must be mentioned in the same connection.¹¹

The constitution and history of the Principate, and the provincial government of the early Emperors, have been placed on an entirely new basis by Mommsen and his school.¹² The *Römisches Staatsrecht* is a fabric for whose rearing was needed not only improved scholarship but an extensive collection of epigraphic material. The *Corpus of Latin Inscriptions* is the keystone of the work.

Hence Gibbon's first chapters are somewhat "out of date." But on the other hand his admirable description of the change from the Principate to absolute Monarchy, and the system of Diocletian and Constantine, is still most valuable. Here inscriptions are less illustrative, and he disposed of much the same material as we, especially the *Codex Theodosianus*. New light is badly wanted, and has not been to any extent forthcoming, on the respective contributions of Diocletian and Constantine to the organisation of the new monarchy. As to the arrangement of the provinces we have indeed a precious document in the Verona List (published by Mommsen), which, dating from 297 A.D., shows Diocletian's reorganisation. The modifications which were made between this year and the beginning of the fifth century when the *Notitia Dignitatum* was drawn up, can be largely determined not only by lists in Rufus and Ammianus, but, as far as the Eastern provinces are concerned, by the *Laterculus of Polemius Silvius*. Thus, partly by critical method applied to Polemius, partly by the discovery of a new document, we are enabled to rectify the list of Gibbon, who adopted the

¹¹ M. Schlumberger followed up this work by an admirable monograph on Nicephorus Phocas, luxuriously illustrated; and we are looking forward to the appearance of a companion work on Basil II.

¹² The first volume of Mr. Pelham's history of the Empire, which is expected shortly, will show, when compared with Merivale, how completely our knowledge of Roman institutions has been transformed within a very recent period.

simple plan of ascribing to Diocletian and Constantine the detailed organisation of the Notitia. Otherwise our knowledge of the changes of Diocletian has not been greatly augmented; but our clearer conception of the Principate and its steady development towards pure monarchy has reflected light on Diocletian's system; and the tendencies of the third century, though still obscure at many points, have been made more distinct. The year of the Gordians is still as great a puzzle as ever; but the dates of Alexandrine coins with the tribunician years give us here, as elsewhere, limits of which Gibbon was ignorant. While speaking of the third century, I may add that Calpurnius Siculus, whom Gibbon claimed as a contemporary of Carinus, has been restored by modern criticism to the reign of Nero, and this error has vitiated some of Gibbon's pages.

The constitutional history of the Empire from Diocletian forward has still to be written systematically. Some noteworthy contributions to this subject have been made by Russian scholars.

Gibbon's forty-fourth chapter is still not only famous, but admired by jurists as a brief and brilliant exposition of the principles of Roman law. To say that it is worthy of the subject is the best tribute that can be paid to it. A series of foreign scholars of acute legal ability has elaborated the study of the science in the present century; I need only refer to such names as Savigny and Jhering. A critical edition of the *Corpus juris Romani* by Mommsen himself has been one of the chief contributions. The manuscript of Gaius is the new discovery to be recorded; and we can imagine with what interest Gibbon, were he restored to earth, would compare in Gneist's parallel columns the *Institutiones* with the elder treatise.

But whoever takes up Gibbon's theme now will not be content with an exposition of the Justinianean Law. He must go on to its later development in the subsequent centuries, in the company of Zachariä von Lingenthal and Heim-

bach. Such a study has been made possible and comparatively easy by the magnificent works of Zachariä, among whose achievements I may single out his restoration of the *Ecloga*, which used to be ascribed to Leo VI., to its true author Leo III.; a discovery which illuminated in a most welcome manner the Isaurian reformation. It is interesting to observe that the last work which engaged him even on his death-bed was an attempt to prove exactly the same thing for the military treatise known as the *Tactics* of Leo VI. Here too Zachariä thinks that Leo was the Isaurian, while the received view is that he was the "Philosopher."

Having illustrated by examples the advantages open to an historian of the present day, which were not open to Gibbon, for dealing with Gibbon's theme, — improved and refined methods, a closer union of philology with history, and ampler material, — we may go on to consider a general defect in his treatment of the Later Empire, and here too exhibit, by a few instances, progress made in particular departments.

Gibbon ended the first half of his work with the so-called fall of the Western Empire in 476 A.D. — a date which has been fixed out of regard for Italy and Rome, and should strictly be 480 A.D. in consideration of Julius Nepos. Thus the same space is devoted to the first three hundred years which is allowed to the remaining nine hundred and eighty. Nor does the inequality end here. More than a quarter of the second half of the work deals with the first two of these ten centuries. The mere statement of the fact shows that the history of the Empire from Heraclius to the last Grand Comnenus of Trebizond is merely a sketch with certain episodes more fully treated. The personal history and domestic policy of all the Emperors, from the son of Heraclius to Isaac Angelus, are compressed into one chapter. This mode of dealing with the subject is in harmony with the author's contemptuous attitude to the "Byzantine" or "Lower" Empire.

But Gibbon's account of the internal history of the Empire after Heraclius is not only superficial: it gives an entirely false impression of the facts. If the materials had been then as well sifted and studied as they are even to-day, he could not have failed to see that beneath the intrigues and crimes of the Palace there were deeper causes at work, and beyond the revolutions of the Capital City wider issues implied. The cause for which the Iconoclasts contended involved far more than an ecclesiastical rule or usage: it meant, and they realised, the regeneration of the Empire. Or, to take another instance: the key to the history of the tenth and eleventh centuries is the struggle between the Imperial throne and the great landed interest of Asia Minor;¹³ the accession of Alexius Comnenus marked the final victory of the latter. Nor had Gibbon any conception of the great ability of most of the Emperors from Leo the Isaurian to Basil II., or, we might say, to Constantine the conqueror of Armenia. (The designation of the story of the later Empire as a "uniform tale of weakness and misery"¹⁴ is one of the most untrue, and most effective, judgments ever uttered by a thoughtful historian. Before the outrage of 1204, the Empire was the bulwark of the West.¹⁵

Against Gibbon's point of view there has been a gradual reaction which may be said to have culminated within the last ten years. It was begun by Finlay, whose unprosperous speculations in Greece after the Revolution prompted him to seek for the causes of the insecurity of investments in land, and, leading him back to the year 146 B.C., involved him in

¹³ This has been best pointed out by C. Neumann.

¹⁴ Chap. xlviii. *ad init.*, where a full statement of his view of the later Empire will be found.

¹⁵ I need not repeat here what I have said elsewhere, and what many others have said (recently Mr. Frederic Harrison in two essays in his volume entitled *The Meaning of History*), as to the various services of the Empire to Europe. They are beginning to be generally recognised and they have been brought out in Mr. C. W. Oman's brief and skilful sketch of the "Byzantine Empire" (1892).

a history of the "Byzantine Empire" which embedded a history of Greece.¹⁶ The great value of Finlay's work lies not only in its impartiality and in his trained discernment of the commercial and financial facts underlying the superficial history of the chronicles, but in its full and trustworthy narration of the events. By the time that Mr. Tozer's edition appeared in 1876, it was being recognised that Gibbon's word on the later Empire was not the last. Meanwhile Hertzberg was going over the ground in Germany, and Gfrörer, whose ecclesiastical studies had taken him into those regions, had written a good deal of various value. Hirsch's *Byzantinische Studien* had just appeared, and Rambaud's *l'Empire grec au x^{me} siècle*. M. Sathas was bringing out his *Bibliotheca Græca mediæ ævi* — including two volumes of Psellus — and was beginning his *Documents inédits*. Professor Lambros was working at his Athens in the Twelfth Century and preparing his editio princeps of the great Archbishop Akominatos. Hopf had collected a mass of new materials from the archives of southern cities. In England, Freeman was pointing out the true position of New Rome and her Emperors in the history of Europe.

These tendencies have increased in volume and velocity within the last twenty years. They may be said to have reached their culminating point in the publication of Professor Krumbacher's *History of Byzantine Literature*.¹⁷ The importance of this work, of vast scope and extraordinary accuracy, can only be fully understood by the specialist. It has already promoted and facilitated the progress of the study in an incalculable measure; and it was soon followed by the inauguration of a journal, entirely devoted to works on "Byzantine" subjects, by the same scholar. The *Byzan-*

¹⁶ Since then a Greek scholar, K. Paparrigopoulos, has covered the whole history of Greece from the earliest times to the present century, in his *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους*. The same gigantic task, but in a more popular form, has been undertaken and begun by Professor Lambros, but is not yet finished.

¹⁷ *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur (565-1453)*, 1891.

tinische Zeitschrift would have been impossible twenty-five years ago, and nothing shows more surely the turn of the tide. Professor Krumbacher's work seems likely to form as important an epoch as that of Ducange.

Meanwhile in a part of Europe which deems itself to have received the torch from the Emperors as it has received their torch from the Patriarchs, and which has always had a special regard for the city of Constantine, some excellent work was being done. In Russia, Muralt edited the chronicle of George the monk and his Continuers, and compiled Byzantine Fasti. The Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction is the storehouse of a long series of most valuable articles dealing, from various sides, with the history of the later Empire, by those indefatigable workers Uspenski and Vasilievski. At length, in 1894, Krumbacher's lead has been followed, and the *Vizantiski Vremennik*, a Russian counterpart of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, has been started under the joint editorship of Vasilievski and Regel, and is clearly destined, with the help of Veselovski, Kondakov, Bieliaiev and the rest of a goodly fellowship, to make its mark.

After this general sketch of the new prospects of later Imperial history, it will be useful to show by some examples what sort of progress is being made, and what kind of work has to be done. I will first take some special points of interest connected with Justinian. My second example shall be the topography of Constantinople; and my third the large field of literature composed in colloquial Greek. Lastly, the capital defect of the second half of Gibbon's work, his inadequate treatment, or rather his neglect, of the Slavs, will serve to illustrate our historical progress.

New light has been cast, from more than one side, on the reign of Justinian where there are so many uncertain and interesting places. The first step that methodical history had to take was a thoroughgoing criticism of Procopius, and

this was more than half done by Dahn in his elaborate monograph. The double problem of the "Secret History" has stimulated the curiosity of the historian and the critic. Was Procopius the author? and in any case, are the statements credible? Gibbon has inserted in his notes the worst bits of the scandals which far outdid the *convivium quinquaginta meretricum* described by Burchard, or the feast of Sophonius Tigellinus; and he did not hesitate to believe them. Their credibility is now generally questioned, but the historian of Cæsarea is a much more interesting figure if it can be shown that he was the author. From a careful comparison of the Secret History with the works of Procopian authorship, in point of style, Dahn concluded that Procopius wrote it. Ranke argued against this view and maintained that it was the work of a malcontent who had obtained possession of a private diary of Procopius, on which framework he constructed the scandalous chronicle, imitating successfully the Procopian style.¹⁸

The question has been placed on a new footing by Haury;¹⁹ and it is very interesting to find that the solution depends on the right determination of certain dates. The result is briefly as follows:—

Procopius was a malcontent who hated Justinian and all his works. He set himself the task of writing a history of his time, which, as the secretary of Belisarius, he had good opportunities of observing. He composed a narrative of the military events, in which he abstained from committing himself, so that it could be safely published in his own lifetime. Even here his critical attitude to the government is sometimes clear. He allows it to be read between the lines that he regarded the reconquest of Africa and Italy as calamities for those countries; which thus came under an

¹⁸ I was seduced by this hypothesis of Ranke (*Later Roman Empire*, i. 363), but no longer believe in it.

¹⁹ *Procopiana*, 1891.

oppressor, to be stripped by his governors and tax gatherers. But the domestic administration was more dangerous ground, on which Procopius could not tread without raising a voice of bitter indignation and hatred. So he dealt with this in a book which was to be kept secret during his own life and bequeathed to friends who might be trusted to give it to the world at a suitable time. The greater part of the *Military History*, which treated in seven Books the Persian, Vandalic, and Gothic wars, was finished in 545 A.D., and perhaps read to a select circle of friends; at a later time some additions were made, but no changes in what had been already written. The *Secret History*, as Haury has proved from internal evidence, was written in 550.²⁰ About three years later the *Military History* received an eighth Book, bringing the story down to the end of the Gothic war. Then the work came under the notice of Justinian, who saw that a great historian had arisen; and Procopius, who had certainly not described the wars for the purpose of pleasing the Emperor, but had sailed as close to the wind as he dared, was called upon to undertake the disagreeable task of lauding the oppressor. An Imperial command was clearly the origin of the *De Ædificiis* (560 A.D.), in which the reluctant writer adopted the plan of making adulation so fulsome, that, except to Justinian's vanity, he might appear to be laughing in his sleeve. At the very beginning of the treatise he has a sly allusion to the explosives which were lying in his desk, unknown to the Imperial spies.

Such is the outline of the literary motives of Procopius as we must conceive them, now that we have a practical certainty that he, and no other, wrote the *Secret History*. For Haury's

²⁰ One of the author's points is that Justinian was the real ruler during the nominal reign of Justin, who was an "ass." Hence he dates Justinian's administration (not of course his Imperial years) from 518. The consequence of this important discovery of Haury, which he has proved up to the hilt, is that the work was written in 550 (not, as before believed, in 559)—the thirty-second year of Justinian's administration.

dates enable us, as he points out, to argue as follows: If Procopius did not write the book, it was obviously written by a forger, who wished it to pass as a Procopian work. But in 550 no forger could have had the close acquaintance with the Military History which is exhibited by the author of the *Anecdota*. And moreover the identity of the introduction of the eighth Book of the Military History with that of the Secret History, which was urged by Ranke as an objection to the genuineness of the latter work, now tells decisively in favour of it. For if Procopius composed it in 553, how could a forger, writing in 550, have anticipated it? And if the forger composed it in 550, how are we to explain its appearance in a later work of Procopius himself? These considerations put it beyond all reasonable doubt that Procopius was the author of the Secret History; for this assumption is the only one which supplies an intelligible explanation of the facts.

Another puzzle in connection with Justinian lay in certain biographical details relating to that emperor and his family; which Alemanni, in his commentary on the Secret History, quoted on the authority of a Life of Justinian by a certain Abbot Theophilus, said to have been the Emperor's preceptor. Of these biographical notices, and of Justinian's preceptor Theophilus, we otherwise knew nothing; nor had any one, since Alemanni, seen the Biography. Gibbon and other historians accepted without question the statements quoted by Alemanni; though it would have been wiser to treat them with more reserve, until some data for criticising them were discovered. The puzzle of Alemanni's source, the Life of Theophilus, was solved by Mr. Bryce, who discovered in the library of the Barberini palace at Rome the original text from which Alemanni drew his information.²¹

²¹ The Life of Justinian by Theophilus, in the *English Historical Review*. Vasil'ev has given an account of Mr. Bryce's article in the *Visantiski Vremennik*, i. 469 sqq.

It professes to be an extract from a Slavonic work, containing the Life of Justinian up to the thirtieth year of his reign, composed by Bogomil, abbot of the monastery of St. Alexander in Dardania. This extract was translated by Marnavich, Canon of Sebenico (afterwards Bishop of Bosnia, 1631-1639), a friend of Alemanni, and some notes were appended by the same scholar. *Bogomil* is the Slavonic equivalent of the Greek *Theophilus*, which was accordingly adopted by Alemanni in his references. Mr. Bryce has shown clearly that this document, interesting as it is in illustrating how Slavonic legends had grown up round the name of Justinian, is worthless as history, and that there is no reason to suppose that such a person as the Dardanian Bogomil ever existed. We are indeed met by a new problem, which, however, is of no serious concern to the practical purposes of history. How did Marnavich obtain a copy of the original Life, from which he made the extract, and which he declares to be preserved in the library of the monks who profess the rule of St. Basil on Mount Athos? Does the original still exist, on Mount Athos or elsewhere? or did it ever exist?

The wars of Justinian²³ in the west have been fully and admirably related by Mr. Hodgkin, with the exception of the obscure conquest of Spain, on which there is too little to be said and nothing further seems likely to come to light. In regard to the ecclesiastical policy of Justinian there is still a field for research.

As for the study of the great work of Anthemius, which brings us to the general subject of Byzantine art, much has been done within the last half century. Gibbon had nothing to help him for the buildings of Constantinople that could compare with Adam's splendid work which he consulted for the buildings of Spalato. We have now Salzenberg's luxurious work, *Alt-christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel*,

²³ The Persian and Lazic wars have been related in detail in my *Later Roman Empire*, vol. i.

published just fifty years ago by the Prussian government, with plates which enable us to make a full study of the architecture of St. Sophia. A few months ago a complete and scholarly English study of this church by Messrs. Lethaby and Swainson appeared. Other churches, too, especially those at Ravenna, have received careful attention; De Vogüé's admirable work on the architecture of Syria is well known; but Strzygovski has only too good reason for complaining that the study of Byzantine architecture, as a whole, has not yet properly begun. A large work on the churches of Greece, which two English scholars are preparing, ought to do much to further the cause which Strzygovski has at heart, and to which he has made valuable contributions himself.²⁸ More progress is perhaps being made in the study of miniature painting and iconography; and in this field the work of the Russian student Kondakov is the most noteworthy.

The study of works of architecture in ancient cities, like Athens, Rome, or Constantinople, naturally entails a study of the topography of the town; and in the case of Constantinople this study is equally important for the historian. Little progress of a satisfactory kind can be made until either Constantinople passes under a European government, or a complete change comes over the spirit of Turkish administration. The region of the Imperial Palace and the ground between the Hippodrome and St. Sophia must be excavated before certainty on the main points can be attained. Labarte's *a priori* reconstruction of the plan of the palace, on the basis of the Cerimonies of Constantine Porphyrogennetos and scattered notices in other Greek writers, was wonderfully ingenious and a certain part of it is manifestly right, though there is much which is not borne out by a more careful examination of the sources. The next step was taken by a

²⁸ His new work on the reservoirs of Constantinople may be specially mentioned.

Russian scholar Bieliaiev who has recently published a most valuable study on the Cerimonies,²⁴ in which he has tested the reconstruction of Labarte and shown us exactly where we are, — what we know, and what with our present materials we cannot possibly know. Between Labarte and Bieliaiev the whole problem was obscured by the unscholarly work of Paspatès, the Greek antiquarian; whose sole merit was that he kept the subject before the world. As the acropolis is the scene of so many great events in the history which Gibbon recorded, it is well to warn the reader that our sources make it absolutely certain that the Hippodrome adjoined the Palace; there was no public space between them. The Augusteum did not lie, as Paspatès asserted, between the Palace and the Hippodrome,²⁵ but between the north side of the Hippodrome and St. Sophia.

On the trades and industries of the Imperial City, on the trade corporations and the minute control exercised over them by the government, new light has been thrown by M. Nicole's discovery and publication of the Prefect's Book, a code of regulations drawn up by Leo VI. The *demes* of Constantinople are a subject which needs investigation. They are certainly not to be regarded as Gibbon and his successors have regarded them, as mere circus parties. They must represent, as Uspenski points out in the opening number

²⁴ Byzantina. Ocherki, materialy, i. zamietki po Vizantiskim drevnostiam. 1891-3. I must not omit to mention Dr. Mordtmann's valuable *Esquisse topographique* (1892), and N. Destunis has made noteworthy contributions to the subject.

²⁵ With blameworthy indiscretion I accepted this false view of Paspatès, in my *Later Roman Empire*, without having gone methodically into the sources. I was misled by the fame won by the supposed "topographical discoveries" of this diligent antiquarian and by his undeservedly high reputation; this, however, is no excuse, and unfortunately the error has vitiated my account of the Nika revolt. I have gone into the theory of Paspatès in the *Scottish Review* (April, 1894), where he is treated too leniently. His misuse of authorities is simply astounding. I may take the opportunity of saying that I hope to rewrite the two volumes of my *Later Roman Empire* and correct, so far as I may be able, its many faults. A third volume, dealing with the ninth century, will, I hope, appear at a not too distant date.

of the new *Vizantiski Vremennik*, organised divisions of the population.

A field in which the historian must wander to breathe the spirit and learn the manner of the mediæval Greek world is that of the romance, both prose and verse, written in the vulgar tongue. This field was closed to Gibbon, but the labours of many scholars, above all Legrand, have rendered it now easily accessible. Out of a large number of interesting things I may refer especially to two. One is the epic of Digenes Akritas, the Roland or Cid of the Later Empire, a poem of the tenth century, which illustrates the life of Armatoli and the border warfare against the Šaracens in the Cilician mountains. The other is the Book of the Conquest of the Morea,²⁶ a mixture of fiction and fact, but invaluable for realising the fascinating though complicated history of the "Latin" settlements in Greece. That history was set aside by Gibbon, with the phrase, "I shall not pursue the obscure and various dynasties that rose and fell on the continent or in the isles," though he deigns to give a page or two to Athens.²⁷ But it is a subject with unusual possibilities for picturesque treatment, and out of which, Gibbon, if he had apprehended the opportunity, and had possessed the materials, would have made a brilliant chapter. Since Finlay, who entered into this episode of Greek history with great fulness, the material has been largely increased by the researches of Hopf.²⁸

²⁶ The Greek and the French versions were published by Buchon, uncritically. A new edition of the Greek text is promised by Dr. John Schmitt.

²⁷ The history of mediæval Athens has been recorded at length in an attractive work by Gregorovius, the counterpart of his great history of mediæval Rome.

²⁸ For a full account of *Vulgär-griechische Litteratur*, I may refer to Krumbacher's *Gesch. der Byz. Litt.* Here it is unnecessary to do more than indicate its existence and importance. I may add that the historian cannot neglect the development of the language, for which these romances (and other documents) furnish ample data. Here the Greeks themselves have an advantage, and scholars like Hatzidakēs, Psicharēs, and Jannarēs are in this field doing work of the best kind.

As I have already observed, it is perhaps on the Slavonic side of the history of the Empire that Gibbon is most conspicuously inadequate. Since he wrote, various causes have combined to increase our knowledge of Slavonic antiquity. The Slavs themselves have engaged in methodical investigation of their own past; and, since the entire or partial emancipations of the southern Slavs from Asiatic rule, a general interest in Slavonic things has grown up throughout Europe. Gibbon dismissed the history of the First Bulgarian Kingdom, from its foundation in the reign of Constantine Pogonatus to its overthrow by the second Basil, in two pages. To-day the author of a history of the Empire on the same scale would find two hundred a strict limit. Gibbon tells us nothing of the Slavonic missionaries, Cyril and Methodius, round whose names an extensive literature has been formed. It is only in recent years that the geography of the Illyrian peninsula has become an accessible subject of study.

The investigation of the history of the northern peoples who came under the influence of the Empire has been stimulated by controversy, and controversy has been animated and even embittered by national pride. The question of Slavonic settlements in Greece has been thoroughly ventilated, because Fallmerayer excited the scholarship of Hellenes and Philhellenes to refute what they regarded as an insulting paradox.²⁹ So, too, the pride of the Roumanians was irritated by Roesler, who denied that they were descended from the inhabitants of Trajan's Dacia and described them as later immigrants of the thirteenth century. Pič arose against him; then Hermuzaki argued for an intermediate date. The best Hungarian scholar of the day joined the fray, on the other side; and the contention became bitter between

²⁹ Fallmerayer's thesis that there was no pure Hellenic blood in Greece was triumphantly refuted. No one denies that there was a large Slavonic element in the country parts, especially of the Peloponnesus.

Vlach and Magyar, the Roumanian pretensions to Siebenbürgen — “Dacia irredenta” — sharpening the lances of the foes. The Roumanians have not come out of their “question” as well as the Hellenes. Hungary too has its own question. Are the Magyars to be ethically associated with the Finns or given over to the family of the Turks, whom as champions of Christendom they had opposed at Mohács and Varna? It was a matter of pride for the Hungarian to detach himself from the Turk; and the evidence is certainly on his side. Hunfalvy’s conclusions have successfully defied the assaults of Vámbéry.⁸⁰ Again in Russia there has been a long and vigorous contest, — the so-called Norman or Varangian question. No doubt is felt now by the impartial judge as to the Scandinavian origin of the princes of Kiev, and that the making of Russia was due to Northmen or Varangians. Kunik and Pogodin were reinforced by Thomsen of Denmark; and the pure Slavism of Ilovaiski⁸¹ and Gedeonov, though its champions were certainly able, is a lost cause.

From such collisions sparks have flown and illuminated dark corners. For the Slavs the road was first cleared by Šafarik. The development of the comparative philology of the Indo-Germanic tongues has had its effect; the Slavonic languages have been brought into line, chiefly by the life-work of Miklosich; and the science is being developed by such scholars as Jagič and Leskien. The several countries of the Balkan lands have their archæologists and archæological journals; and the difficulty which now meets the historian is not the absence but the plenitude of philological and historical literature.

⁸⁰ In a paper entitled, *The Coming of the Hungarians*, in the *Scottish Review* of July, 1892, I have discussed the questions connected with early Magyar history, and criticised Hunfalvy’s *Magyarország Ethnographiája* (1876) and Vámbéry’s *A magyarok eredete* (1882). One of the best works dealing with the subject has been written by a Slav (C. Grot).

⁸¹ Ilovaiski’s work *Istoriija Rossii*, vol. i. (Kiev period), is, though his main thesis is a mistake, most instructive.

A word may be added about the Hungarians, who have not been so successful with their early history as the Slavs. Until the appearance of Hunfalvy, their methods were ante-diluvian, and their temper credulous. The special work of Jászay, and the first chapters of Szalay's great History of Hungary, showed no advance on Katóna and Pray, who were consulted by Gibbon. All believed in the Anonymous Scribe of King Béla; Jászay simply transcribed him. Then Roesler came and dispelled the illusion. Our main sources now are Constantine Porphyrogenetos, and the earlier Asiatic traveller Ibn Dasta, who has been rendered accessible by Chwolson.²² The linguistic researches of Ahlquist, Hunfalvy and others into Vogul, Ostjak and the rest of the Ugro-Finnic kindred, must be taken into account by the critic who is dealing with those main sources. The Chazars, to whom the Hungarians were once subject, the Patzinaks, who drove the Magyars from "Lebedia" to "Atelkuzu" and from "Atelkuzu" to Pannonia, and other peoples of the same kind, have profited by these investigations.

The foregoing instances will serve to give a general idea of the respects in which Gibbon's history might be described as behind date. To follow out all the highways and byways of progress would mean the usurpation of at least a volume by the editor. What more has to be said, must be said briefly in notes and appendices. That Gibbon is behind date in many details, and in some departments of importance, simply signifies that we and our fathers have not lived in an absolutely incompetent world. But in the main things he is still our master, above and beyond "date." It is needless to dwell on the obvious qualities which secure to him immunity from the common lot of historical writers, — such as the bold and certain measure of his progress through the ages; his accurate

²² Chwolson, *Izviestiia o Chozarach, Burtasach, Bolgarach, Madiarach, Slavaniach, i Rusach.*

vision, and his tact in managing perspective; his discreet reserves of judgment and timely scepticism; the immortal affectation of his unique manner. By virtue of these superiorities he can defy the danger with which the activity of successors must always threaten the worthies of the past. But there is another point which was touched on in an earlier page and to which here, in a different connection, we may briefly revert. It is well to realise that the greatest history of modern times was written by one in whom a distrust of enthusiasm was deeply rooted.²² This cynicism was not inconsistent with partiality, with definite prepossessions, with a certain spite. In fact it supplied the antipathy which the artist infused when he mixed his most effective colours. The conviction that enthusiasm is inconsistent with intellectual balance was engrained in his mental constitution, and confirmed by study and experience. It might be reasonably maintained that zeal for men or causes is an historian's marring, and that "reserve sympathy" — the principle of Thucydides — is the first lesson he has to learn. But without venturing on any generalisation we must consider Gibbon's zealous distrust of zeal as an essential and most suggestive characteristic of the "Decline and Fall."

²² And who regarded history as "little more than the register of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind" (see below, p. 98).

PREFATORY NOTE

FOR this edition of the *Decline and Fall* the Notes and Appendices which I added to my former edition (1896-1900) will be revised, and the Maps improved.

In the first volume more changes have been made than will be necessary in its successors. While the Introduction has been abridged, a large number of new Notes have been inserted, and the Appendix has been expanded, and in many parts rewritten.

The illustrations, which are a new feature, have been selected and procured by Mr. O. M. Dalton, of the British Museum.

J. B. B.

CAMBRIDGE

INTRODUCTION

BY THE EDITOR

GIBBON is one of those few writers who hold as high a place in the history of literature as in the roll of great historians. He concerns us here as an historian; our business is to consider how far the view which he has presented of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire can be accepted as faithful to the facts, and in what respects it needs correction in the light of discoveries which have been made since he wrote. But the fact that his work, composed more than a hundred years ago, is still successful with the general circle of educated people, and has not gone the way of Hume and Robertson, whom we laud as "classics" and leave on the cold shelves, is due to the singularly happy union of the historian and the man of letters. Gibbon thus ranks with Thucydides and Tacitus, and is perhaps the clearest example that brilliance of style and accuracy of statement are perfectly compatible in an historian.

But Gibbon has his place in literature not only as the stylist, who never lays aside his toga when he takes up his pen, but as the expounder of a large and striking idea in a sphere of intense interest to mankind, and as a powerful representative of certain tendencies of his age. The guiding idea or "moral" of his history is briefly stated in his epigram: "I have described the triumph of barbarism and religion". In other words, the historical development of human societies, since the second century after Christ, was a retrogression (according to ordinary views of "progress"), for which Christianity was mainly to blame.

The moral
of the
Decline
and Fall

Its contri-
bution to
the Philo-
sophy of
History

We are thus taken into a region of speculation where every traveller must make his own chart. But to attempt to deny a general truth in Gibbon's point of view is vain; and it is feeble to deprecate his sneer. We may spare more sympathy than he for the warriors and the churchmen; but all that has since been added to his knowledge of facts has neither reversed nor blunted the point of the "Decline and Fall". For an inquirer not blinded by religious prepossessions, or misled by comfortable sophistries, Gibbon really expounded one of the chief data with which the philosophy of history has to reckon.

How are we to define progress? how recognize retrogression? Is there an end in relation to which such words have their meaning, and is there a law which will explain "the triumph of barbarism and religion" as a necessary moment in a reasonable process towards that end, whatever it may be? Some answers have been given since Gibbon's day, for which he would have the same smile as for Leo's Dogmatic Epistle.

His grasp
of the unity
of history

Not the least important aspect of the Decline and Fall is its lesson in the continuity of history, the favourite theme of Mr. Freeman. The title displays the cardinal fact that the Empire founded by Augustus fell in 1461; that all the changes which transformed the Europe of Marcus Aurelius into the Europe of Erasmus had not abolished the name and memory of the Empire. And whatever names of contempt—in harmony with his thesis—Gibbon might apply to the institution in the period of its later decline, such as the "Lower Empire," or "Greek Empire," his title rectified any false impressions that such language might cause. On the continuity of the Roman Empire depended the unity of his work. By the emphasis laid on this fact he did the same kind of service to the study of history in England, that Mr. Bryce has done in his *Holy Roman Empire* by tracing the thread which connects the Europe of Francis the Second with the Europe of Charles the Great.

It has sometimes been remarked that those histories are

Most readable which are written to prove a thesis. The indictment of the Empire by Tacitus, the defence of Cæsarism by Mommsen, Grote's vindication of democracy, Droysen's advocacy of monarchy, might be cited as examples. All these writers intended to present the facts as they took place, but all wrote with prepossessions and opinions, in the light of which they interpreted the events of history. Arnold deliberately advocated such partiality on the ground that "the past is reflected to us by the present and the partyman feels the present most". Another Oxford Regius Professor remarked that "without some infusion of spite it seems as if history could not be written". On the other side stands the formula of Ranke as to the true task of the historian: "Ich will bloss sagen wie es eigentlich gewesen ist". It cannot be said that Gibbon sat down to write with any ulterior purpose, but fortunately he allowed his temperament to colour his history, and used it to prove a congenial thesis. But, while he put things in the light demanded by this thesis, he related his facts accurately. If we take into account the vast range of his work, his accuracy is amazing. He laboured under some disadvantages, which are set forth in his own Memoirs. He had not enjoyed that school and university training in the languages and literatures of Greece and Rome which is probably the best preparation for historical research. His knowledge of Greek was imperfect; he was very far from having the "scrupulous ear of the well-flogged critic". He has committed errors of translation, and was capable of writing "Gregory of Nazianzen". But such slips are singularly few.

Uterior
purposes
and "party
spirit" in
the writing
of history

Arnold's
view

Bishop
Stubbs

Ranke's
view

Gibbon's
accuracy

Imperfect
knowledge
of Greek

Gibbon's diligent accuracy in the use of his materials cannot be over-praised, and it will not be diminished by giving the due credit to his French predecessor Tillemont. The *Histoire des Empereurs* and the *Mémoires ecclésiastiques*, laborious and exhaustive collections of material, were addressed to the special student and not to the general reader, but scholars may still consult them with profit. It is interesting to find Mommsen

Gibbon's
debt to
Tillemont

in his later years retracting one of his earlier judgments and reverting to a conclusion of Tillemont. In his recent edition¹ of the *Laterculus* of Polemius Silvius, he writes thus:—

“L’auteur de la Notice—peritissimi Tillemontii verba sunt (hist. 5, 699)—vivoit en Occident et ne savoit pas trop l’état où estoit l’Orient ; *ei iuvenis contradixi hodie subscribo*”.

It is one of Gibbon’s merits that he made full use of Tillemont, “whose inimitable accuracy almost assumes the character of genius,” as far as Tillemont guided him, up to the reign of Anastasius I. ; and it is only just to the work of the Frenchman to impute to him a large share in the accuracy which the Englishman achieved. From the historical, though not from the literary, point of view, Gibbon, deserted by Tillemont, distinctly declines, though he is well sustained through the wars of Justinian by the clear narrative of Procopius. Recognizing that he was accurate, we do not acknowledge by implication that he was always right ; for accuracy is relative to opportunities. The discovery of new materials, the researches of numerous scholars, in the course of a hundred years, have not only added to our knowledge of facts, but have modified and upset conclusions which Gibbon with his materials was justified in drawing.

His
necessary
limitations

New
methods of
research

“Quellen-
kritik”

Gibbon’s historical sense kept him constantly right in dealing with his sources, but he can hardly be said to have treated them methodically. The growth of German erudition was one of the leading features of the intellectual history of the nineteenth century ; and one of its most important contributions to historical method lies in the investigation of sources. Some German scholars have indeed pressed this “Quellenkritik” further than it can safely be pressed. A philologist, writing his doctoral dissertation, will bring plausible reasons to prove where exactly Diodorus ceased to “write out” Ephorus, whose work we do not possess, and began to write out somebody else,

¹ In the *Chronica Minora* (M. G. H.), vol. i. 512 *sqq.*

whose work is also lost to us. But, though the method lends itself to the multiplication of vain subtleties, it is absolutely indispensable for scientific historiography. It is in fact part of the science of evidence. The distinction of primary and derivative authorities might be used as a test. The untrained historian fails to recognize that nothing is added to the value of a statement of Widukind by its repetition by Thietmar or Ekkehard, and that a record in the Continuation of Theophanes gains no further credibility from the fact that it likewise occurs in Cedrenus, Zonaras, or Glycas. On the other hand, it is irrelevant to condemn a statement of Zonaras as made by a "modern Greek". The question is, where did he get it?²

The difficult questions connected with the authorship and compilation of the *Historia Augusta* have produced a chestful of German pamphlets, but they did not trouble Gibbon. The relationships of the later Greek chronicles and histories are more difficult and intricate even than the questions raised by the *Historia Augusta*, but he did not even formulate a prudent interrogation. Ferdinand Hirsch, thirty years ago, cleared new roads through this forest, in which George the Monk and the Logothete who continued him, Leo Grammaticus and Simeon Magister, John Scylitzes, George Cedrenus, and Zonaras lived in promiscuous obscurity.

Criticism, too, has rejected some sources from which Gibbon drew without suspicion. In the interest of literature we may perhaps be glad that like Ockley he used with confidence the now discredited Al Wakidi. Before such maintained perfection of manner, to choose is hard; but the chapters on the origin of Mahometanism and its first triumphs against the Empire would alone be enough to win perpetual literary fame. Without Al Wakidi's romance they would not have been written.

Example of
use of
untrust-
worthy
sources

² Gibbon had a notion of this, but did not apply it methodically. See in this vol., p. 448, note 60: "but those modern Greeks had the opportunity of consulting many writers which have since been lost". And see, in general, his Preface to the fourth volume of the quarto ed.

Progress of
textual
criticism

In the study of sources, then, our advance has been great, while the labours of an historian have become more arduous. It leads us to another advance of the highest importance. To use historical documents with confidence, an assurance that the words of the writer have been correctly transmitted is manifestly indispensable. It generally happens that our texts have come down in several MSS., of different ages, and there are often various discrepancies. We have then to determine the relations of the MSS. to each other and their comparative values. To the pure philologist this is part of the alphabet of his profession; but the pure historian takes time to realise it, and it was not realised in the age of Gibbon as it is to-day. Nothing forces upon the historian the necessity of having a sound text so impressively as the process of comparing different documents in order to determine whether one was dependent on another,—the process of investigating sources. In this respect we have now to be thankful for many blessings denied to Gibbon and—so recent is our progress—denied to Milman

Improved
Latin texts

and Finlay. We have Mommsen's editions of Jordanes and the *Variae* of Cassiodorus, his *Chronica Minora*, including, for instance, Idatius, Prosper, Count Marcellinus, Isidore; we have Peter's *Historia Augusta*, Gardthausen's Ammianus, Birt's Claudian, Luetjohann's Sidonius Apollinaris; Duchesne's *Liber Pontificalis*; and a large number of critical texts of ecclesiastical writers might be mentioned. The Greek historians are also being re-edited. The Bonn edition of the "Byzantine Writers," issued under the auspices of Niebuhr and Bekker in the early part of the nineteenth century, was the most lamentably feeble production ever given to the world by German scholars of great reputation. It marked no advance on the older folio edition, except that it was cheaper, and that one or two new documents were included. But there is now a reasonable prospect that we shall by degrees have a complete series of trustworthy texts. De Boor showed the way by his splendid edition of Theophanes and his smaller texts of Theo-

Improved
Greek texts

phylactus Simocatta and the Patriarch Nicephorus, to which his indefatigable industry has since added an edition of George the Monk. Then we have Mendelssohn's Zosimus, Büttner-Wobst's edition of the latter part of Zonaras, Bidez and Parmentier's Evagrius, Reifferscheid's Anna Comnena, Heisenberg's George Acropolites, Förster's Libanius and Haury's Procopius (neither yet completed), to mention only some of the most important.

Besides improved methods of dealing with the old material, much new material of various kinds has been discovered, since the work of Gibbon. To take one department, our coins have increased in number. It seems a pity that he who worked at his Spanheim with such diligence was not able to make use of Eckhel's great work on Imperial coinage which began to appear in 1792 and was completed in 1798. Since then we have had Cohen, and the special works of Saulcy and Sabatier. M. Schlumberger's study of Byzantine sigillography may be mentioned in the same connexion.

The constitution and institutions of the Principate, and the provincial government of the early Emperors, have been placed on an entirely new basis by Mommsen and his school. The *Römisches Staatsrecht* is a fabric for whose rearing was needed not only improved scholarship but an extensive collection of epigraphic material. The *Corpus of Latin Inscriptions* is the keystone of the work.

Hence Gibbon's first chapters are somewhat "out of date". But on the other hand his admirable description of the change from the Principate to absolute Monarchy, and of the system of Diocletian and Constantine, is still most valuable. Here inscriptions are less illustrative, and he disposed of much the same material as we, especially the *Codex Theodosianus*. New light is wanted, and has not been to any extent forthcoming, on the respective contributions of Diocletian and Constantine to the organization of the new monarchy. As to the arrangement of the provinces we have indeed a precious document in

New
Material.
Examples:
Numis-
matics

Seals

Constitutional
history

Epigraphy

Verona
List of
Provinces

the Verona List (published by Mommsen), which, dating from 297 A.D., shows Diocletian's reorganization. The modifications which were made between this year and the beginning of the fifth century when the *Notitia Dignitatum* was drawn up, can largely be determined not only by lists in Rufus and Ammianus, but, as far as the eastern provinces are concerned, by the *Laterculus* of Polemius Silvius. Thus, partly by critical method applied to Polemius, partly by the discovery of a new document, we are enabled to rectify the list of Gibbon, who adopted the simple plan of ascribing to Diocletian and Constantine the detailed organization of the *Notitia*. Otherwise our knowledge of the changes of Diocletian has not been greatly augmented; but our clearer conception of the Principate and its steady development towards pure monarchy has reflected light on Diocletian's system; and the tendencies of the third century, though still obscure at many points, have been made more distinct. The constitutional and administrative history of the Empire from Diocletian forward has still to be written systematically.

Law Gibbon's forty-fourth chapter is still not only famous, but admired by jurists as a brief and brilliant exposition of the principles of Roman law. To say that it is worthy of the subject is the best tribute that can be paid to it. A series of foreign scholars of acute legal ability has elaborated the study of the science in the present century. The manuscript of Gaius

Gaius is the new discovery to be recorded; and we can imagine with what interest Gibbon, were he restored to earth, would compare in Gneist's parallel columns the *Institutions* with the elder treatise.

But whoever takes up Gibbon's theme now will not be content with an exposition of the Justinianean Law. He must go on to its later development in the subsequent centuries, in the company of Zachariä von Lingenthal and Heimbach. Such a study has been made possible and comparatively easy by the

Græco-Roman law works of Zachariä; among whose achievements I may single

Eclogæ

out his restoration of the *Ecloga*, which used to be ascribed to Leo VI., to its true author Leo III.; a discovery which illuminated in a most welcome manner the Isaurian reformation.

Not a few entirely new texts, of considerable importance as historical sources, have been printed during the nineteenth century. Among these may be mentioned the treatise *De magistratibus* of John Lydus, the History of Psellus, the Memoir of Cecaumenus, the history of the Ottoman conquest by Critobulus.³ Fresh light has also been thrown on many periods by Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, and Ethiopic sources, drawn from the obscurity of their MSS., such as Zacharias of Mytilene, John of Ephesus, Sebaeos, John of Nikiu, Tabari. I may specially refer to the Book of the Conquest of the Morea, ^{The Chronicle of Morea} first published by Buchon, and recently edited critically by Schmitt. It is a mixture of fiction and fact, but invaluable for realising the fascinating though complicated history of the "Latin" settlements in Greece. That history was set aside by Gibbon, with the phrase, "I shall not pursue the obscure and various dynasties that rose and fell on the continent or in the isles," though he deigns to give a page or two to Athens.⁴ ^{History of Greece after the Latin Conquest} But it is a subject with unusual possibilities for picturesque treatment, and out of which, Gibbon, if he had apprehended the opportunity, and had possessed the materials, would have made a brilliant chapter. Since Finlay, who entered into this episode of Greek history with great fulness, the material has been largely increased by the researches of Hopf.

Having illustrated by examples the advantages open to an historian of the present day, which were not open to Gibbon, for dealing with Gibbon's theme,—improved and refined methods, a closer union of philology with history, and ampler material—we may go on to consider a general defect in his treatment of

³ Some of the new texts which have been published are important for the help they give in determining the relations of our sources, though they supply no new information, e.g., the chronicle of Theodosius of Melitene published by Tafel.

⁴ The history of mediæval Athens has been recorded at length in an attractive work by Gregorovius, the counterpart of his great history of mediæval Rome.

the Later Empire, and here too exhibit, by a few instances, progress made in particular departments.

Gibbon's
treatment
of the
later Em-
pire

Gibbon ended the first half of his work with the so-called fall of the Western Empire in 476 A.D.—a date which has been fixed out of regard for Italy and Rome, and should strictly be 480 A.D. in consideration of Julius Nepos. Thus the same space is devoted to the first three hundred years which is allowed to the remaining nine hundred and eighty. Nor does the inequality end here. More than a quarter of the second half of the work deals with the first two of these ten centuries. The mere statement of the fact shows that the history of the Empire from Heraclius to the last Grand Comnenus of Trebizond is merely a sketch with certain episodes more fully treated. The personal history and domestic policy of all the Emperors, from the son of Heraclius to Isaac Angelus, are compressed into one chapter. This mode of dealing with the subject is in harmony with the author's contemptuous attitude to the "Byzantine" or "Lower" Empire.

false im-
pression as
to the
uniform-
ity of its
history

But Gibbon's account of the internal history of the Empire after Heraclius is not only superficial; it gives an entirely false impression of the facts. If the materials had been then as well sifted and studied as they are even to-day, he could not have failed to see that beneath the intrigues and crimes of the Palace there were deeper causes at work, and beyond the revolutions of the Capital City wider issues implied. Nor had he any conception of the great ability of most of the Emperors from Leo the Isaurian to Basil II., or, we might say, to Constantine the conqueror of Armenia. The designation of the story of the later Empire as a "uniform tale of weakness and misery"⁵ is one of the most untrue, and most effective, judgments ever uttered by a thoughtful historian. Before the outrage of 1204, the Empire was the bulwark of the West.

as to
weak-
ness

reaction

Against Gibbon's point of view there has been a gradual reaction which may be said to have culminated during the last

⁵ Chap. xlviii. *ad init.*, where a full statement of his view of the later Empire will be found.

twenty years of the nineteenth century. It was begun by ^{Finlay's History} Finlay, whose unprosperous speculations in Greece after the Revolution prompted him to seek for the causes of the insecurity of investments in land, and, leading him back to the year 146 B.C., involved him in a history of the "Byzantine Empire" which embedded a history of Greece.⁶ The great value of Finlay's work lies not only in its impartiality and in his trained discernment of the commercial and financial facts underlying the superficial history of the chronicles, but in its full and trustworthy narration of the events. By the time that Mr. Tozer's edition of Finlay appeared in 1876, it was being recognized that Gibbon's word on the later Empire was not the last. Meanwhile Hertzberg was going over the ground in Germany, ^{Other re-} and Gfrörer, whose ecclesiastical studies had taken him into ^{searches} those regions, had written a good deal of various value. Hirsch's *Byzantinische Studien* had just appeared, and Rambaud's admirable monograph *l'Empire grec au x^{me} siècle*. M. Sathas was bringing out his *Bibliotheca Græca medii ævi*—including two volumes of Psellus—and was beginning his *Documents inédits*. Professor Lambros was working at his Athens in the Twelfth Century and preparing his *editio princeps* of the great Archbishop Akominatos. Hopf had collected a mass of new materials from the archives of southern cities. In England, Freeman was pointing out the true position of New Rome and her Emperors in the history of Europe.

These tendencies have since increased in volume and velocity. It may be said that the subject entered on a new stage through the publication of Professor Krumbacher's *History of Byzantine Literature*.⁷ The importance of this work, of vast ^{Krum-} scope and extraordinary accuracy, can only be fully understood ^{bacher} by the specialist. It has already promoted and facilitated the progress of the study in an incalculable measure; and it was

⁶ Since then a Greek scholar, K. Paparrigopoulos, has covered the whole history of Greece from the earliest times to the present century, in his *ἱστορία τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους*.

⁷ *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur (565-1453)*, 1891; second greatly enlarged edition (with co-operation of Ehrhard and Gelzer), 1897.

soon followed by the inauguration of a journal, entirely devoted to works on "Byzantine" subjects, by the same scholar. The *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* would have been impossible thirty-five years ago and nothing showed more surely the turn of the tide. Professor Krumbacher's work seems likely to form as important an epoch as that of Ducange. It may be added that designs have been framed for a Corpus of Greek Inscriptions of the Christian period, and for a collection of Greek Acts and Charters of the Middle Ages.⁸

Russian
school of
Byzantine
students

Meanwhile in a part of Europe which deems itself to have received the torch from the Emperors as it has received their torch from the Patriarchs, and which has always had a special regard for the city of Constantine, some excellent work was being done. In Russia, Muralt edited the chronicle of George the Monk and his Continuers, and compiled Byzantine Fasti. The Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction is the storehouse of a long series of most valuable articles dealing, from various sides, with the history of the later Empire, by those indefatigable workers Vasilievski and Uspenski. In 1894, Krumbacher's lead was followed, and the *Vizantiiski Vremennik*, a Russian counterpart of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, was started under the joint editorship of Vasilievski and Regel. Much good work has also been done by the Russian Archaeological Institute of Constantinople.

The topo-
graphy of
Constanti-
nople

The study of works of architecture in ancient cities, like Athens, Rome, or Constantinople, naturally entails a study of the topography of the town; and in the case of Constantinople this study is equally important for the historian. Little progress of a satisfactory kind can be made until either Constantinople passes under a European government, or a complete change comes over the spirit of Turkish administration. The region of the Imperial Palace and the ground between the Hippodrome and St. Sophia must be excavated before certainty

⁸ At present we have the valuable but inadequate *Acta et diplomata* of Miklosich and Müller.

on the main points can be attained. Labarte's *a priori* reconstruction of the plan of the palace, on the basis of the Ceremonies of Constantine Porphyrogennetos and scattered notices in other Greek writers, was wonderfully ingenious and a certain part of it is manifestly right, though there is much which is not borne out by a more careful examination of the sources. The next step was taken by a Russian scholar Bieliaev who has recently published a most valuable study on the Cerimonies,⁹ in which he has tested the reconstruction of Labarte and shown us exactly where we are,—what we know, and what with our present materials we cannot possibly know. Between Labarte and Bieliaev the whole problem was obscured by the diligent unscholarly work of Paspâtês, an enthusiastic Greek antiquarian; whose chief merit was that he kept the subject before the world. The general topography of the city has been illuminated by Mordtmann's valuable *Esquisse topographique* (1902), and the special topography of the walls, gates, and adjacent quarters by the admirable work of Professor van Millingen.

On the Slavonic side of the history of the Empire Gibbon is most conspicuously inadequate. Since he wrote, various causes have combined to increase our knowledge of Slavonic antiquity. The Slavs themselves have engaged in methodical investigation of their own past; and, since the entire or partial emancipations of the southern Slavs from Asiatic rule, a general interest in Slavonic civilisation has grown up throughout Europe. Gibbon dismissed the history of the First Bulgarian Kingdom, from its foundation in the reign of Constantine Pogonatus to its overthrow by the second Basil, in two pages. To-day the author of a history of the Empire on the same scale would find two hundred a strict limit. Gibbon tells us nothing of the Slavonic missionaries, Cyril and Methodius, round whose names an extensive literature has been formed. It is only in comparatively recent years that the geography of

The Slavs
and their
relations
with the
Later
Empire

⁹ *Byzantina, Ocherki, materialy, i zamietki po Vizantiskim drevnostiam*, 1901-3.

the Illyrian peninsula has become an accessible subject of study.

Useful controversies:

(1) Slavs in Greece

(2) Origin of the Roumanians

(3) Ugro-Finnic or Turkish origin of the Hungarians

(4) Origin of the Russian state; Normannic question

The investigation of the history of the northern peoples who came under the influence of the Empire has been stimulated by controversy, and controversy has been animated and even embittered by national pride. The question of Slavonic settlements in Greece has been thoroughly ventilated, because Fallmerayer excited the scholarship of Hellenes and Philhellenes to refute what they regarded as an insulting paradox.¹⁰ So, too, the pride of the Roumanians was irritated by Roesler, who denied that they were descended from the inhabitants of Trajan's Dacia and described them as later immigrants of the thirteenth century. Hungary too has its own question. Are the Magyars to be ethnically associated with the Finns or given over to the family of the Turks, whom as champions of Christendom they had opposed at Mohács and Varna? It was a matter of pride for the Hungarian to detach himself from the Turk; and the evidence is certainly on his side. Hunfalvy's conclusions have successfully defied the assaults of Vámbéry.¹¹ Again in Russia there has been a long and vigorous contest,—the so-called Norman or Varangian question. No doubt is felt now by the impartial judge as to the Scandinavian origin of the princes of Kiev, and that the making of Russia was due to Northmen or Varangians. Kunik and Pogodin were reinforced by Thomsen of Denmark; and the pure Slavism of Ilovaïski¹² and Gedeonov, though its champions were certainly able, is a lost cause.

Progress in Slavonic archæology and history

From such collisions sparks have flown and illuminated

¹⁰ Fallmerayer's thesis that there is no pure Hellenic blood in Greece was triumphantly refuted. But his antagonists, on their side, have gone much too far. It cannot be denied that there was a large Slavonic element in the country parts, especially of the Peloponnesus.

¹¹ In a paper entitled, *The Coming of the Hungarians*, in the *Scottish Review* of July, 1892, I have discussed the questions connected with early Magyar history, and criticized Hunfalvy's *Magyarország Ethnographiája* (1876) and Vámbéry's *A magyarok eredete* (1882). One of the best works dealing with the subject has been written by a Slav (C. Grot).

¹² Ilovaïski's work *Istoriia Rossii*, vol. i. (Kiev period), is, though his main thesis as to the origins is a mistake, most instructive.

dark corners. For the Slavs the road was first cleared by Šafarik. The development of the comparative philology of the Indo-Germanic tongues has had its effect; the Slavonic languages have been brought into line, chiefly by the lifework of Miklosich; and a special journal for Slavonic studies, edited by Jagić, has existed for many years. The several countries of the Balkan lands have their archæologists and archæological journals; and the difficulty which now meets the historian is not the absence but the plenitude of philological and historical literature.

The foregoing instances will serve to give a general idea of the respects in which Gibbon's history might be described as behind date. To follow out all the highways and byways of progress would mean the usurpation of at least a volume by the editor. What more has to be said, must be said briefly in notes and appendices. That Gibbon is behind date in many details, and in some departments of importance, simply signifies that we and our fathers have not lived in an absolutely incompetent world. But in the main things he is still our master, above and beyond "date". / It is needless to dwell on the obvious qualities which secure to him immunity from the common lot of historical writers,—such as the bold and certain measure of his progress through the ages; his accurate vision, and his tact in managing perspective; his discreet reserves of judgment and timely scepticism; the immortal affectation of his unique manner. By virtue of these superiorities he can defy the danger with which the activity of successors must always threaten the worthies of the past. But there is another point which was touched on in an earlier page and to which here, in a different connexion, we may briefly revert. It is well to realise that the greatest history of modern times was written by one in whom a distrust of enthusiasm was deeply rooted.¹³ This cynicism was

¹³ And who regarded history as "little more than the register of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind" (see below, p. 84).

not inconsistent with partiality, with definite prepossessions, with a certain spite. In fact it supplied the antipathy which the artist infused when he mixed his most effective colours. The conviction that enthusiasm is inconsistent with intellectual balance was engrained in his mental constitution, and confirmed by study and experience. It might be reasonably maintained that zeal for men or causes is an historian's marring, and that "reserve sympathy" is the first lesson he has to learn. But without venturing on any generalisation we must consider Gibbon's zealous distrust of zeal as an essential and most suggestive characteristic of the "Decline and Fall".

APPENDIX

(By Editor)

	PAGE
1. Authorities :—	
Cassius Dio	477
Continuator of Dion	478
Herodian	478
Dexippus	478
Historia Augusta	478
Anonymous Continuation of Suetonius	480
Marius Maximus	480
Imperial Chronicle	480
The Panegyrists (Eumenius, Nazarius, &c.)	481
Eutropius	482
Victor	482
Chronographer of 354	482
Rufus	482
Lactantius	482
Inscriptions	484
Coins	484
Modern Works	484
2. The Conquests of Trajan, and Policy of Hadrian	485
3. The Roman Army	486
4. The Roman Navy	487
5. The Provinces of the Roman Empire in 180 A.D.	488
6. Changes in South-Eastern Europe since Gibbon wrote	490
7. Colonies and Municipia, Ius Latinum	490
8. The Mine of Soumelpour	491
9. The Constitution of the Roman Empire	491
10. The Constitutional Significance of the Principate of Septimius Severus	492
11. Chronology of 288 A.D.	493
12. Authorities for Oriental Affairs	494
13. The Zend Avesta	494
14. The origin of the Goths, and the Gothic History of Jordanes	495
15. Visigoths and Ostrogoths	497
16. The Defeat of Valerian and the date of Cyriades	497
17. The pretenders in the reign of Gallienus, known as the Thirty Tyrants	497
18. The Walls of Aurelian	500
19. Palmyra and the War of Aurelian	501
20. Corrector Italiae	502
21. Probus and the Limes	502
22. German campaigns of Diocletian, Maximian, and Constantius	503
23. Diocletian's Edict De Pretiis Rerum Venalium	503
24. The Arch of Constantine	504
25. Population of the Greek and the Roman World	505
26. The Roumanians and the Evacuation of Dacia	505
27. Gibbon's revision of his First Volume	506

MAP

The Roman Empire c. 180 A.D.	To face Title Page
-------------------------------------	--------------------

xiv CONTENTS OF THE SECOND VOLUME

APPENDIX

(By Editor)

	PAGE
1. Authorities :—	
Eusebius	559
Anonymus Valesii (fragment 1)	560
[Anonymi Monodia]	560
Praxagoras	561
Julian	561
Libanius	562
Themistius	562
Nazarius	562
Claudius Mamertinus	562
Ammianus Marcellinus	562
Eunapius	564
Zosimus	565
Consular Fasti	565
Philostorgius	565
Socrates	566
Sozomen	566
Theodoret	566
Modern works	566
2. Origin of Gnosticism	567
3. World-eras	568
4. Early Church Institutions	568
5. The Rescript of Antoninus concerning the Christians	569
6. Exile of Marcellus and Eusebius, bishops of Rome	569
7. Persecutions of the Christians in the first and second centuries	570
8. Augusteum and Forum of Constantine	573
9. The New Monarchy	575
10. Dioceses and Provinces	576
11. The organisation of the army under the new system	584
12. Protectores and Domestici	585
13. The tragedy of Fausta and Crispus	586
14. Divisions of the Empire, A.D. 293 to 378	587
15. The Sarmatians	590
16. Battle of Singara	591
17. Sources and Chronology of Armenian History under Trdat and his successors	591
18. Constantine and Christianity	593
19. Ecclesiastical Geography	596
20. Legend of the finding of the true cross	596
21. St. George	596
22. The churches of Constantine at Jerusalem	597
23. The Tigris and Euphrates	597

MAPS AND PLANS

Plan of Constantinople (based on the maps of Mordtmann and Van Millingen)	To face page 159
The Roman Empire under Diocletian, A.D. 297	182
Germania (to illustrate Julian's Campaigns)	293
Mesopotamia (to illustrate the March of Julian and Retreat of Jovian)	517

APPENDIX

(*By Editor*)

	PAGE
1. Authorities :—	
Libanius	509
Themistius	509
Synesius	510
Palladius	510
Olympiodorus	511
Priscus	511
Symmachus	511
Ausonius	512
Paulinus of Nola	512
Paulinus of Pella	512
Claudian	513
Prudentius	514
Merobaudes	514
Prosper Tiro	516
Chronica Gallica	516
Narratio de imperatoribus domus Valentinianae et Theodosianae ...	517
Chronica Italica : Anonymus Valesii	517
Fasti Vindobonenses	517
Continuation of Prosper	517
Barbarus of Scaliger	517
Agnellus	517
Historia Miscella	517
Orosius	518
Salvian	518
Rufinus	518
Regesta Pontificum Romanorum	519
Jordanes	519
Codex Theodosianus	519
Coins	519
Modern Works	519
2. Picts and Scots... ..	520
3. The Death of Count Theodosius	521
4. Merobaudes	521
5. List of Kings of Persia	521
6. The Origin of the Huns	522
7. Chronology of the pacification of the Goths... ..	523
8. Theology in the market-places of Constantinople	523
9. Did Theodosius I. visit Rome in A.D. 394 ?	524
10. The Libraries of Alexandria	524
11. Some Inscriptions on Stilicho	524

xiv CONTENTS OF THE THIRD VOLUME

	PAGE
12. The two Eastern expeditions of Stilicho and his Illyric policy	525
13. Alaric in Greece	527
14. Alaric's first invasion of Italy	527
15. Radagaisus	529
16. The Second Carausius	531
17. The Tyrant Constantine	531
18. The death of Maximus	532
19. Septimania	532
20. Rate of travelling by sea	532
21. The "Egyptian" of Synesius... ..	532
22. Armenian affairs	534
23. The magistri militum in the fourth and fifth centuries	534
24. Procopian legends	536
25. The Battle of Maurica, commonly called the Battle of Châlons	537
26. The foundation of Venice	538

MAPS

Europe, illustrating the movements of the Goths and Vandals	<i>To face page</i>	254
Europe c. 450 A.D., illustrating the invasions of the Huns	" " "	472

APPENDIX

(*By Editor*)

	PAGE
I. Authorities :—	
Candidus	543
(Pamprepius, Capito, Palchus)	543
Malchus	544
Eustathius of Epiphania	544
Procopius of Gaza	544
Hesychius of Miletus	544
Theodorus Lector	544
John the Lydian	544
Peter the Patrician	545
Procopius of Caesarea	545
Agathias	550
Menander	550
Johannes Malalas	550
Johannes of Antioch	552
Josua Stylites	553
Chronicle of Edessa	553
Zacharias of Mytilene	553
Sidonius Apollinaris	553
Eugippius	554
Anonymus Valesii, II.	554
Ennodius	554
Cassiodorus	555
Corippus	556
Marcellinus	556
Victor Tonnennensis	557
John of Biclarum	557
Maximus of Caesar Augusta	557
Marius of Aventicum	557
Isidorus of Hispalis	557
Gregory of Tours	558
Codex Justinianus and Novellae	558
Coins	558
Modern Works	559
2. Odovacar's grant to Pierius	560
3. The sources for the origin of Monasticism in Egypt	560
4. Ulfilas and the Gothic alphabet	561
5. Gibbon on the House of Bourbon	562
6. Family policy of Theodoric	563
7. The relation of the Ostrogothic kingdom to the Roman Empire	562
8. Dietrich of Bern	566
9. An inscription of Theodoric	566
10. Justinian's position in Justin's reign	567
11. The Demes of Constantinople	567

xvi CONTENTS OF THE FOURTH VOLUME

	PAGE
12. The Nika riot	568
13. Routes and Commerce between the Empire and China	569
14. Justinian's Coinage	571
15. Oracles in Procopius	572
16. Unogundurs, Kutrigurs, Utigurs ; Tetraxite Goths	573
17. The Turks	575
18. The Axumites and Himyarites	576
19. The War in Africa after the death of Solomon	579
20. The Exarchs	580
21. The Comet of A.D. 531	581
22. Roman Law in the East	581
23. Supplementary notes to Volumes I., II., III. and IV.	582

MAP AND PLAN

PART OF CONSTANTINOPLE ILLUSTRATING THE NIKAI RIOT	237
MAP OF ITALY	329

APPENDIX

(By Editor)

	PAGE
1. Authorities:—	
Menander	525
Theophanes of Byzantium	525
Johannes of Epiphania	525
John of Ephesus	525
Evagrius	526
Theophylactus Simocattes	526
Chronicon Paschale	526
George Pisides	527
Theodore (Relation concerning the Avar siege of Constantinople)	527
'Ακθίστος ὕμνος	527
Acta Anastasii Persae	528
Sebaeos	528
Maximus	528
Anastasius of Sinai	529
John of Damascus	529
Nicephorus the Patriarch	530
Theophanes	530
Theodore of Studion	531
Vitae Sanctorum	532
Scriptor Incertus de Leone Armenio	532
George the Monk	533
Symeon Magister; the Continuation of George the Monk; Leo Grammaticus; Theodosius of Melitene, &c.	533
Pseudo-Symeon	534
Genesius	534
Sicilian Chronicle	534
Theognostus	534
Theodosius (on the Siege of Syracuse)	534
Scriptores post Theophanem (Theophanes Continuatus)	534
John Cameniates	535
Vita Euthymii	535
Nicolaus Mysticus... ..	535
Vita Theophani	535
Leo Diaconus	535
Constantine Psellus	535
Cecaumenus	536
Michael Attaleiates	536
Nicephorus Bryennius	537
Anna Comnena	537
John Cinnamus	538
Nicetas Acominatus	538
John Seylitzes	538

xiv CONTENTS OF THE FIFTH VOLUME

	PAGE
George Cedrenus	539
John Zonaras	539
Synopsis Sathas	539
Constantine Manasses	539
Michael Glycas	540
Liber Pontificalis	540
Gregory the Great	540
Paul the Deacon	541
Origo gentis Langobardorum	541
Fredegarius	542
Koran	542
Mohammad ibn Ishāk	543
Wākidi	543
Tabari	543-4
Pseudo-Wākidi	544
Balādhuri	545
Yakūbi	545
Ibn Kutaiba	545
Ibn Abd-al-Hakam	545
Masūdi	545
Eutychius	545
John of Nikiu	545
Dionysius of Tell Mahrē : Pseudo-Dionysius ; Chronicle of A.D. 846	546
Michael of Melitene	546
Bar-Hebraeus	546
Agapius of Manbidj	547
Papyri	547
Modern Works	547
2. The Avar Conquest	548
3. Geography of Italy in the Lombard Period, and Chronology of the Lombard Conquest	549
4. The Armeniac Provinces of Justinian and Maurice	550
5. The Race of Heraclius and Nicetas	551
6. Persian Kings from Chosroes I. to Yezdegerd III.	551
7. The Inscription of Si-ngan-fu	551
8. The letter of Nicetius to Justinian	554
9. Periods of the later Empire A.D. 610 to A.D. 1204	554
10. A chronological question of the Eighth Century	556
11. Graeco-Roman Law	556
12. The Land Question	561
13. Interest, Credit, and Commerce (the Rhodian Code)	565
14. The letters of Gregory II. to the Emperor Leo III.	566
15. The Iconoclastic Edicts of Leo III.	567
16. Some questions connected with the Rise of the Papal power in the Eighth Century	568
17. Gold in Arabia	570
18. The Sabians	570
19. Two Treaties of Mohammad	570
20. Chronology of the Saracen Conquest of Syria and Egypt... ..	571

MAP

Western Asia	88
---------------------	----

APPENDIX

(*By Editor*)

1. Authorities :—	PAGE
Photius	539
Leo VI.	540
Constantine Porphyrogenetos	540
George Codinus	541
Eustathius	541
George Acropolites	541
George Pachymeres	542
Nicephorus Gregoras	542
Cantacuzenus	542
Nicephorus Blemmydes	543
Theodore Lascaris II.	543
Chronicle of Morea	543
Pseudo-Nestor	543
Amatus (Aimé)	545
Leo Ostiensis	545
Annales Baresnes, &c.	546
Hugo Falcandus	546
Romuald of Salerno	546
Gesta Francorum	546
Tudebod	547
Historia Belli Sacri	547
Raymond of Agiles	547
Fulcher of Chartres	547
Guibert	547
Baldric	547
Robert the Monk	548
Fulco	548
Radulf of Caen	548
Albert of Aachen	548
Ekkehard	549
Osafro	549
Itinerarium regis Ricardi	549
Ralph of Coggeshall	549
Chronicon Terrae Sanctae	550
William of Tyre	550
Continuation of William of Tyre	550
Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani	550
Villehardouin	550
Robert de Clary	551
Devastatio Constantinopolitana	551
Ramon Muntaner	551
Imād ad-Dīn	552

	PAGE
Bahā ad-Dīn	552
Ibn al-Athīr	552
Kamāl ad-Dīn	552
Abd ar-Rahmān	553
Jalāl ad-Dīn	553
Abū 'l-Fidā... ..	553
Haitum	553
Samuel of Ani	553
Matthew of Edessa	553
Coins	554
Modern Works	554
2. Saracen Coinage	555
3. The Themes of the Roman Empire	556
4. Constantine Porphyrogennetos on the Administration of the Empire	558
5. The Byzantine Navy	560
6. The Paulician Heresy	562
7. The Slavs in the Peloponnesus	566
8. Early History of the Bulgarians	567
9. List of Ancient Bulgarian princes	568
10. Old Bulgarian Inscriptions	569
11. The Northern limits of the First Bulgarian Kingdom	569
12. The Conversion of the Slavs	570
13. The Hungarians	572
14. Origin of Russia	574
15. The Waterfalls of the Dnieper	575
16. The Assises of Jerusalem	576
17. The Acciajoli	577
18. The Island Dynasties after the Latin Conquest	579

MAPS

Map of Southern Italy and Sicily in the Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh Centuries	To face page	183
Map Illustrating the Crusades	" " "	306

APPENDIX

(By the Editor)

1. Authorities :—	PAGE
Laonicus Chalcondyles	839
Ducas	839
George Phrantzes	839
Critobulus	840
John Cananus, John Anagnostes	840
Ekthesis Chronike	840
Anonymous Dirge on Tamurlane	840
Rashid ad-Din	840
Juvaini	840
Juzjāni	840
Memoirs of Timūr	841
Haidar	841
Chinese Annals	841
Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty	842
Ssanang Ssetsen	842
Modern Works	842
2. The Mongol Invasion of Europe, A.D. 1241	842
3. Sources for the Siege of Constantinople, A.D. 1453	844

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS OF GIBBON'S WORKS, BY

H. M. BEATTY, LL.D.	348
INDEX	365
LIST OF ERRATA, ETC. IN VOLS. I-VII.	537

MAP AND PLAN

The Ottoman Empire, c. A.D. 1400	<i>To face page</i> 35
Ancient Rome	" " " 313

APPENDIX

ADDITIONAL NOTES BY THE EDITOR

1. AUTHORITIES

[For Historiography, both Latin and Greek, during the first four centuries of the Empire, see H. Peter's valuable work, *Die geschichtliche Litteratur über die römische Kaiserzeit bis Theodosius I. und ihre Quellen*, 2 vols., 1897.]

CASSIUS DIO COCCEIANUS belonged to a good family of the Bithynian town of Nicæa. His father was a Roman senator who had been governor of Cilicia and of Dalmatia, and he himself achieved a more distinguished career. He entered the senate in the reign of Commodus; was *consul suffectus* before the death of Severus (see lxxvi. 16, 4); was with Caracalla in the East in 216 A.D.; under Maorinus, was created *curator ad corrigendum statum civitatum* over Pergamum and Smyrna (lxxix. 7); under Alexander Severus, was proconsul of Africa, and afterwards governor of Dalmatia, and of Upper Pannonia (lxxx. 1). In 229 he was ordinary consul. After that year he retired from public life, on account of an ailment of his feet (lxxx. 5).

He first wrote two small publicistic works, 1, on the thesis that Septimius Severus was a favourite of the gods, and 2, an account of public events from the death of Commodus to the entry of Septimius into Rome (see lxxii. 3). Having received encouragement from Septimius, whose personality and early acts made a profound impression on Dio, he conceived the idea of writing a Roman history from the earliest time to his own day. During the intervals between his public employments he used to retire to Capua and devote his leisure to this enterprise. The work is entitled *Ῥωμαϊκὰ*, and he incorporated in it his early tracts (see lxxii. 23; lxxiv. 3). He spent ten years in collecting material, and twelve in writing (c. 194-216 A.D.); see lxxvi. 2 and lxxviii. 10, 1. Afterwards he carried it down to the death of Alexander, 222; and added a slight sketch of events up to 229, the year of his consulship. In its complete form, it consisted of eighty Books, and fell into three parts: I. to Augustus, II. to death of Marcus, III. to end. Books xxii.-xxv. were lost at an early period, but we know that i.-xxi. and xxxvi.-lxxx. were extant, almost in their entirety, up to the twelfth century. Only xxxvi.-lx. (covering 68 B.C.-60 A.D.) and some fragments of lxxviii. and lxxix. are preserved in Mas. in their original form. But Zonaras made large use of i.-xxi. and xlii.-lxxx. in Books vii.-xii. of his Epitome; and we have a considerable number of fragments, preserved in the *Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis*, and the *Excerpta de legationibus* (compilations made for Constantine VII. in the tenth century). For the last twenty Books we have the abridgment by Xiphilin (eleventh century). For the reign of Antoninus Pius, however, even Xiphilin deserts us; there seems to have been a lacuna in his copy (Bk. lxx.).

For the history of the early Empire we have few contemporary literary sources, and thus the continuous narrative of Dio is of inestimable value. Living before the Principate had passed away, and having had personal experience of affairs of state, he had a grasp of constitutional matters which was quite impossible for later writers; though in describing the institutions of Augustus he falls into the error of making statements which applied to his own age but not to the beginning of the Principate. He affected to be an Attic stylist and aspired

to write like Thucydides. His battle descriptions are purely rhetorical. His arrangement is annalistic. He discriminates the consular years, and notes the regnal years and days; but the annals often overlap, and within the year he arranges not by order of time but by subject. Hence chronological errors may occur in the epitomes of Xiphilin and Zonaras.

Dio began as an admirer of Severus, but he was disappointed by later acts of that Emperor. It has been shown by Paul Meyer (*De Mæcenatis oratione a Dione ficta*, 1891) that Dio has expressed, in the advice to Augustus which he attributes to Mæcenæ in Bk. lii., his own views of reform: centralisation in the hands of the Emperor, reduction of the power of the prætorian prefect. He disapproved of Alexander's experiments with dyarchy.

[Dindorf's text of Dio's History is being re-edited by J. Melber; but the best edition is that of Boissevain, 1895. For Dio's life see *Prosopographia imperii Romani*, i. 313 *sqq.*; and Schwartz's excellent article, Cassius Dio, in Pauly's *Realencyclopädie*. For a characteristic of his historiography, and tendencies, see Peter, *Die geschichtliche Litteratur über die römische Kaiserzeit*, ii. 84 *sqq.*; and *op. Wachsmuth, Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte*, 596 *sqq.*]

The history of Dio was continued by an ANONYMOUS author, of whose work we have some fragments (collected in vol. iv. of Müller's *Fragmenta Hist. Græc.*, p. 191 *sqq.*), and know something further through the fact that it was a main source of Zonaras when he had no longer Dio to follow. C. de Boor has shown it to be probable that the author is identical with Peter the Patrician, who lived in the sixth century and was a distinguished minister of Justinian (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, i. p. 13 *sqq.*).

HERODIAN was of Syrian birth, and, like Dio, was employed in the civil service, but in far humbler grades. If he had ever risen to the higher magistracies, if he had ever held the exalted position of a provincial governor, he would certainly have mentioned his success; the general expression which he employs, "Imperial and public offices" (i. 2), shows sufficiently that he had no career. The title of his work was "Histories of the Empire after Marcus," and embraced in eight Books the reigns from the accession of Commodus to that of Gordian III. His own comments on the events which he relates are tedious; and the importance of his book rests on the circumstance that he was an honest contemporary; he is simply a rhetorician and has none of the higher qualities of an historian. (See Peter, *op. cit.*, 101-6.)

HERENNIUS DEXIPPUS, son of Ptolemæus, belonged to the priestly family of the Kérykes at Athens. In his native city he filled the offices of basileus, archon eponymos, and agonothetes of the Panathenæa. His services on the occasion of the Gothic inroad are mentioned in the text. He wrote three works: τὰ μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον, Χρονικά, and Ξευθικά. The second, the Chronicle, came down to 269-70, and its completion was the occasion of the erection of a statue to him by his children. His Scythica, dealing with the Gothic troubles, came down to Aurelian's reign, and was doubtless used by Cassiodorus. It is probable that a considerable number of notices in Syncellus and Zonaras are derived through intermediaries (perhaps through the Anonymous Continuation of Dio, see above) from Dexippus. Schwartz finds Dexippus in Zonaras, 140, 1-4 = Syncellus, i. 715, 11-14 (cp. Syncell., 717, 15-; 716, 15-; 717, 22; 705, 16-; 706, 1). Zosimus did not use Dexippus directly, but his valuable notices of the Gothic invasions go back indirectly to Dexippus. His account of the reign of Claudius is perhaps also based on the Chronicle. It has been shown that there is a good deal of Dexippus in the Lives of the Gordians, Maximus and Balbinus, and Valerian, in the *Historia Augusta*. See Schwartz's article on Dexippos in Pauly's *Realencyclopädie*. *Op. Peter, op. cit.*, ii. 161-2; and for the episode of the Goths at Athens, Wachsmuth, *Gesch. der Stadt Athen*, i. 706 *sqq.* [The fragments are published in Müller, *F. H. G.*, iii. 666 *sqq.*; Dindorf, *Hist. Gr. Min.*, i. 165 *sqq.*]

The HISTORIA AUGUSTA is a collection of Imperial biographies in which six several authors, who lived and wrote in the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine, had a hand. The composition of the work, and the partition of the Lives among the authors, have proved a very difficult subject of investigation, and widely

different views have been held. The fullest and most satisfactory study is that of Ch. Lécirvain, *Études sur l'Histoire Auguste*, 1904. He has finally disposed of the theories of Dessau (who proposed to ascribe the whole work to a single author writing in the time of Theodosius the Great, *Hermes*, 24, 337 *sqq.*, 27, 561 *sqq.*), Seeck (who, adopting Dessau's main hypothesis, would place the composition after 410 A.D.¹), and Mommsen (who, rejecting Dessau's view and admitting the origin of the collection in the time of Diocletian-Constantine, regards the work as rehandled and interpolated in the time of Theodosius the Great²). The results of Lécirvain's careful examination may be summarised as follows. (The Lives are numbered as in H. Peter's edition, 1884.)

PRINCIPAL BIOGRAPHIES

- Spartianus* (under Diocletian: before May 305) wrote the series from Hadrian to Macrinus (i., iii., iv., vii.-x., xiii., xv.).
Lampridius (under Constantine) wrote the Lives of Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus (xvii., xviii.).
Trebellius Pollio (under Diocletian, between 298 and 304) wrote the series from the Valerians to Claudius II. (xxii.-xxv.).
Flavius Vopiscus (professedly continuing Vopiscus) wrote the series from Aurelian to Carinus (xxvi.-xxx., of which xxvi. and xxvii. were written in 305-6).
Capitolinus (under Constantine, probably not earlier than 325 A.D.) was the author of the *Maximins*, the *Gordians*, and *Maximus et Balbinus* (xix.-xxi.).

SECONDARY BIOGRAPHIES

- Spartian* wrote *Aelius Verus* (ii.), *Verus and Pescennius Niger* (v. and xi.; much re-edited by *Capitolinus*).
Vulcacius Gallicanus (under Diocletian) wrote *Avidius Cassius* (vi.; much altered, and added to, by *Capitolinus*).
Capitolinus wrote *Clodius Albinus*, *Geta*, and *Diadumenus* (xii., xiv., xvi.; xvi. perhaps based on a Life by *Lampridius*).

Capitolinus (so already Peter and Mommsen) was the editor and arranger of the whole collection in its present form. It is probable that originally the collection was intended to continue Suetonius, and that the Lives of Nerva and Trajan are lost. The archetype of our *Mss.* seems to have been mutilated, for there is a lacuna extending from the end of *Maximus et Balbinus* into *Valeriani duo*, so that the Lives of Philip, Decius, and Gallus are lost. These were doubtless the work of Pollio (see xxvi. 2, 1). *Capitolinus* wrote his three Lives (xix.-xxi.) to connect the two earlier series (*Spartian* and *Lampridius*), which ended with Alexander, with the later series (*Pollio* and *Vopiscus*), which began with Philip. His editorial work further consisted in co-ordination (by removing some contradictions, and supplying a few cross-references), and probably the introduction of references to "the present day" (*hodie*). But he also added a considerable quantity of new historical matter in some Lives of the *Spartian* series, and in the Life of Alexander, whereas he added hardly anything to Pollio or Vopiscus.

There is a marked difference between the series compiled by *Spartian*, and the biographies of Pollio and his imitator Vopiscus. They are all alike uncritical rhetoricians; but *Spartian*, while he uses his sources unintelligently, is honest and does not seek to deceive his readers. Pollio and Vopiscus perpetrated a most successful fraud by fabricating documents on an extensive scale. It was a recognised convention of ancient historiography that writers should put speeches of their own composition in the mouths of historical personages; but it was quite another thing to invent official documents, *senatus consulta*, Imperial edicts, and official letters, and profess to have derived them from public archives. *Capitolinus* adopted the practice of Pollio and Vopiscus, on whose methods he

¹ Die Entstehungszeit der *Historia Augusta*, in *Neue Jahrb. f. Philologie u. Pädagogik*, 1890, 609 *sqq.*

² *Hermes*, 25, 228 *sqq.*

modelled his own. One hundred and fifty-four documents have been counted in the *Historia Augusta*.³ Peter and Lécrivain practically agree in their conclusion that of all these the only genuine ones are the proceedings of the Senate in *Commodus*, 18-20; the acclamations of the Senate and answers of Alexander in *Alexander*, 6-12; the speech of Alexander, *ib.* 56; to which Lécrivain adds the acclamations of the Senate in *Macrinus*, 2. As there are no documents in *Heliogabalus* and as two of those which occur in *Alexander* are genuine, the probability is that the first compiler of their Lives, Lampridius, is not responsible for the fictitious speeches of Alexander which occur in this biography. Lécrivain distributes the documents in *Avidius Cassius* between Vulcacius and Capitolinus; but this is very uncertain.

The fabricators seem also to have invented the names of imaginary authors, to support their statements. Lécrivain rejects nineteen as apocryphal (p. 400).⁴

When the work of the compilers themselves has been eliminated, the historical kernel which remains has a high value, and a great, perhaps the greater, part of our knowledge of the Emperors whose reigns the collection covers is derived from it. The writers drew their information from important historical works which are now lost: Marius Maximus, Dexippus, a nameless continuer of Suetonius, and what has been called the *Imperial Chronicle*.

From the analysis of Lécrivain it would appear that Spartian's main source was what he calls the *Anonymous Continuation of Suetonius*, an excellent, accurate, and impartial work, written perhaps about the time of Alexander. Its author used the Memoirs of Hadrian and of Severus (Lécrivain, 191-2). The character of this lost work has recently been studied by E. Kornemann, *Kaiser Hadrian und der letzte grosse Historiker von Rom*, 1905. Spartian used Marius Maximus (whose identity with the statesman who was prefect of Rome in 217, consul in 223, &c., is questioned by Lécrivain) as a secondary source. Marius⁵ in his Imperial biographies imitated Suetonius in his love of gossip and anecdotes, and seems to have collected his material from memoirs, pamphlets, and ephemeral literature (Lécrivain, 198). To him Lécrivain ascribes the Lives of Heliogabalus and Alexander which formed the basis of the biographies of Lampridius.

The chief source of the Lives by Capitolinus was Herodian; and, as we possess Herodian, these Lives are the least important for history. But he also used the *Chronicle* of Dexippus and the *Imperial Chronicle*. The existence of the latter work was discovered by Enmann⁶ who gave it this name; he identified it as a common source used independently by Eutropius and Victor, and showed that it embraced the period from Augustus to the accession of Diocletian. Lécrivain has shown that this chronicle was used by Capitolinus (who introduced extracts from it into Spartian's Lives), Pollio, and Vopiscus; and that this explains all those resemblances with Victor and Eutropius, from which Dessau and Mommsen argued that the composition, or a redaction, of the *Historia Augusta* must have been subsequent to these writers.

This work was the chief source of Pollio for the *Thirty Tyrants*, while the *Chronicle* of Dexippus was the chief source for *Claudius*. The *Imperial Chronicle* was the main guide of Vopiscus; but for *Aurelian* he also used Dexippus and a Greek writer (perhaps Theoclius; Lécrivain, 366). Another Greek source appears in his *Probus*.

A special word may be said about the tendency of Trebellius Pollio. He has been convicted of unfairness in his presentation of the personality of Gallienus. When Gibbon says (chap. x. note 156) that the character of that unfortunate

³ This is Lécrivain's enumeration (p. 51), but he breaks up some that belong closely together; e.g., he counts the proceedings of the Senate in *Vita Commodi* as two. Peter calculates the number as "nearly 130".

⁴ It is a question whether Junius Cordus, cited in Lives by Capitolinus, is apocryphal. His existence is denied by Mommsen, but is accepted by Peter and Lécrivain (307-9).

⁵ For Marius see Müller's essay in Büdinger's *Untersuchungen zur röm. Kaisergeschichte*, vol. i.; Plew, *Marius Maximus als direkte u. indirekte Quelle der Script. hist. Aug.* 1878.

⁶ Eine verlorene Geschichte der römischen Kaiser, in *Philologus*, iv. (Suppl. Band), 1884, 337 sqq.

prince has been fairly transmitted to us, on the ground that "the historians who wrote before the elevation of the family of Constantine, could not have the most remote interest to misrepresent the character of Gallienus," he overlooks the internal evidence in the *Biographies of Pollio* which proves that this writer was actuated by the wish to glorify Constantius indirectly by a glorification of Claudius. He had thus a distinct motive for disparaging the abilities and actions of Gallienus. For, by portraying that monarch as incapable of ruling and utterly incompetent to cope with the dangers which beset the Empire, he was enabled to suggest a contrast between the contemptible prince and his brilliant successor. Through such a contrast the achievements of Claudius seemed more striking. (Recently F. Rothkegel in a treatise on *Die Regierung des Gallienus*, 1894, has endeavoured to do justice to Gallienus, and show that he was not so bad or incompetent as he has been made out.)

There is a considerable literature on the *Historia Augusta*. Besides works already referred to, the following may be mentioned: Peter, *Die Scriptores historię Augustę, sechs litterar-geschichtliche Untersuchungen*, 1890; Gemoll, *Die Script. hist. Aug.*, 1886; Heer, *Der historische Wert der Vita Commodi*, in *Philologus*, ix. (Suppl. Band) 1 *sqq.*; Klebs, articles in *Rheinisches Museum*, xliii., 1888, xlv., 1890, xlvii., 1892; Wölfflin, *Die Script. hist. Aug.*, in *Sitzungsberichte of the Bavarian Academy, phil.-hist. Classe*, 1891, 405 *sqq.*

When the *Historia Augusta* deserts us, our sources, whether Greek or Latin, are either late or scrappy. We can extract some historical facts from a number of contemporary PANEGYRICAL ORATIONS, mostly of uncertain authorship, composed for special occasions under Maximian and his successors. These will be best consulted in the xii. *Panegyrici Latini* edited by Bährens. No. 2 in praise of Maximian was composed at Trier in 289 A.D. for 21st April, the birthday of Roma. No. 3, stated in the Mss. to be by the same author, is a *genethliacus* for Maximian's birthday in 291. No. 4 is the plea of EUMENIUS of Augustodunum *pro restaurandis scholis* pronounced in the end of 297 before the *præses* of Lugdunensis prima. No. 5 is a panegyric on Constantius, delivered in the spring of the same year at Trier in the Emperor's presence. No. 6 extols Maximian and Constantine, on the occasion of the marriage of Constantine with Fausta, Maximian's daughter, 307. No. 7 is a panegyric on Constantine, delivered at Trier, shortly after the death of Maximian, 310. No. 8 is a speech of thanksgiving to Constantine for benefits which he bestowed upon Autun, 311. No. 9 is a eulogy of Constantine pronounced at Trier, early in 313, and contains a brief account of his victorious Italian expedition against Maxentius. No. 10 bears the name of NAZARIUS, and is likewise a panegyric of Constantine, dating from the fifteenth year of his reign, 321. (On Eumenius cp. Brandt, *Eumenius von Augustodunum, &c.*, 1882.)

Of these orations, the authorship of only two is certain. The Mss. attest Nazarius as the author of 10; and in the case of 4 Eumenius supplies his own name. The Mss. also state in the lemma of 3 that this speech and 2 were the composition *eiusdem magister memet*, where the most probable emendation of *memet* is *memoriae* (not *Mamertini*, a conjecture which is the only ground for ascribing them to Claudius Mamertinus, under whose name they appear in the edition of Bährens). The close connexion which evidently exists between the two speeches bears out their common authorship, and the orator of 8 refers (in § 5) to a former eulogy which he delivered on Maximian, and which is clearly 2. Seeck would ascribe them to Eumenius (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbuch*, 1888, 713), but this may be contested.

On the other hand there is much to be said for the view that 5, 7, and 8 are by Eumenius. They point to a close connexion with Augustodunum, and the author seems (like Eumenius) to have been a *magister memoriae*. Both the personal indications, and the style, are consistent with this authorship. There are no such indications in the case of 6, which Seeck also ascribes to Eumenius, and similarity of style is not sufficient evidence in the case of works of the kind. See Seeck, *op. cit.*

Brandt, *op. cit.*, attributes all the anonymous orations to different authors. Sachs, *De quattuor panegyricis qui ab Eumenio scripti esse dicuntur*, 1885, admits only 8 (in addition to 4) as Eumenian.

SEXTUS AURELIUS VICTOR was appointed (Ammianus tells us, xxi. 10, 6) governor of the Second Pannonia by the Emperor Julian in 361; and at a later period became Prefect of the City. Inscriptions confirm both statements (see C. I. L. 6, 1186, and Orelli-Henzen, 8715). He was of African birth (see his *Cæs.* 20, 6), and a pagan. Some think that the work known as *Cæsares* was composed in its present form by Victor himself; but in the two Mss. (Bruxell. and Oxon.) the title is *Aurelii Victoris historiae abbreviatæ*, and Th. Opitz (*Quæstiones de Sex. Aurelio Victore*, in the *Acta Societ. Philol. Lips.* ii. 2) holds that it is an abridgment of a larger work—an opinion which is shared by Wölfflin and others. One of the chief sources was the *Imperial Chronicle*, noticed above under the *Historia Augusta*. (A convenient critical edition has been brought out by F. Pichlmayer, 1892.) The Epitome (*libellus de vita et moribus imperatorum brevatus ex libris Sex. Aurelii Victoris a Cæsare Aug. usque ad Theodosium*) seems dependent on the *Cæsares* as far as Domitian, but afterwards differs completely.

EUTROPIUS held the office of *magister memoriae* at the court of Valens (365-378 A.D.), to whom he dedicated his Short Roman History (*Breviarium ab urbe condita*). He had taken part, as he tells us, in the fatal expedition of Julian, 363 A.D. (x. 16, 1). His handbook, which comes down to the death of Jovian, was a success, and had the honour of being translated into Greek about 380 A.D. by the Syrian Paeianus, a pupil of Libanius. It contrasts favourably with other books of the kind, both in matter and in style. His chief sources were Suetonius, the *Imperial Chronicle*, and the work of the unknown author who is generally designated as the "CHRONOGRAPHER OF 354". (Pirogof, *De Eutropii brevarii indole et fontibus*, 1878. Large critical ed. by Droysen, 1876; critical text by Rühl, 1887.)

The work of the "Chronographer of 354," unknown to Gibbon, was published and commented on by Mommsen in the *Abhandlungen der sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissensch.* in 1850, and has been since published by the same editor in vol. i. of the *Chronica Minora* in the *M. H. G.* It contains a number of various lists, including *Fasti Consulares* up to 354, the *præfecti urbis* of Rome from 258 to 354, the bishops of Rome up to Liberius (352). The Mss. contain later additions, especially the so-called *Chronicon Cuspiniani* (published by Cuspinianus in 1552 along with the *Chronicle of Cassiodorus*), which is a source of value for the reigns of Leo and Zeno and the first years of Anastasius.

Another historical epitome dedicated to Valens was that of (Rufus) **FESTUS**, who seems also to have been a *magister memoriae*. The time at which his *Breviarium* was composed can be precisely fixed to 369 A.D. by his reference to "this great victory over the Goths" (c. 29) gained by Valens in that year and by the fact that he is ignorant of the province of Valentia, which was formed in the same year. Festus also used the *Imperial Chronicle*. He has some valuable notices for the history of the fourth century. (The name "Rufus" appears only in inferior Mss., see Wagener's *Jahresbericht* on Eutropius in *Philologus*, 42, p. 521. Some writers speak of Rufus Festus, on the strength of a guess of Mommsen, *Hermes*, 16, p. 605, that the author of the *Breviarium* is identical with the Rufus Festus Avienus of C. I. L. vi. 108.)

L. CAELIUS LACTANTIUS FIRMIANUS lived at Nicomedia under Diocletian and Constantine, and taught rhetoric. In the later years of his life he had the honour of acting as the tutor of Constantine's son, Crispus. Our chief authority for his life is Jerome; op. esp. *De Viris Illust.*, 80. His works were mainly theological, and the chief of them is the *Divine Institutions* in seven Books. But the most important for the historian is the treatise *De Mortibus Persecutorum*,—concerning the manners of death which befel the persecutors of Christianity from Nero to Maximin. It was composed in 314-315 A.D. Its authorship has been a matter of dispute. It was ascribed to Lactantius in the fourth century (see below), and hence it seems reasonable to assume that L. Cæcilius (the name of the author in the unique Ms. found at Moissac and now in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*) is a mistake for L. Cælius, the name of Firmianus Lactantius. The attribution was ably defended by Ebert, and is now generally accepted. But the arguments of Ebert (*Ueber den Verfasser des Buches de M. P.*, *Ber. der sächs. Ges. der Wissensch., phil.-hist. Cl.*, 1870) have been assailed with force by Brandt,

the greatest living authority on Lactantius, in his essay Ueber die Entstehungsverhältnisse der Prosaschr. des Lact. und des Buches de M. P. (Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad., vol. cxxv., Abh. vi. 1892).

(1) There is a serious chronological argument, which in itself (if the facts were correct) would be almost conclusive (first urged by P. Meyer in *Quæst. Lactant. particula prima*, 1878). The author of the *Mortes* was an eye-witness of the persecutions at Nicomedia, where he wrote after the middle of 313 A.D. (cp. xii. 2; xiii. 1; xxxv. 4; xlviii. 1; and xlviii. 18; xlix.; lii. 4). But the *Divine Institutions*, which was finished before 310 (Brandt has shown, p. 12 *sqq.*, that it was almost certainly completed in 307-8), though begun at Nicomedia, was finished at Trier, whither Lactantius must have gone before 310. Therefore, the writer who describes as an eye-witness the persecutions after 310 cannot have been Lactantius.

(2) There are peculiarities in style in the *Mortes* which cannot be explained by the nature of the subject; e.g., "more or less strong vulgarisms, Græcisms, &c., where Lactantius writes correctly" (p. 58, e.g., *misereri* with dat., *idolum*, &c.).

(3) Advocates of the Lactantian authorship appeal to numerous passages which are verbally identical with, or echoes of, passages of Lactantius. But Brandt urges that these must be the work of an inferior imitator, and are in fact a strong argument against the Lactantian authorship. Especially instructive is a comparison of *Mort.* xxxviii. 1 (which Ebert is forced to regard as an interpolation) with *Div. Inst.* vi. 23, § 10-12.

(4) Brandt also insists that the author of the *Mortes* (whose want of *bona fides* is glaringly exhibited in his exaggerated descriptions of Maximin's lust, e.g., or the cruelty of Galerius; xxxviii. 4; xxi. 5) stands on a lower ethical level than the Lactantius whom we know from his undoubted writings.

(5) The weak argument which rests on the fact that the *Mortes* is dedicated to "Donatus confessor," and that Lactantius inscribed his *De Ira Dei* to Donatus, is turned by Brandt into an argument on the other side. While the mere identity of a most common name proves nothing, what we know of the two Donati forbids the identification. The Donatus of the *Mort.* was imprisoned in 305 (cf. 16; 35), and underwent the stress of the persecution; but the only thing that Lactantius has to say to his Donatus is to warn him against trusting the authority of philosophers. There is not a hint in the *De Ira Dei* that the person addressed was undergoing imprisonment, which, whether the *De Ira Dei* was prior to 311 (as Brandt has tried to show) or subsequent (as Ebert held), is an argument against the identification of the two Donati.

On the other hand the *Mortes* was ascribed to Lactantius in the course of the fourth century, for Jerome had a copy in 393 A.D., on which doubtless the name of Lactantius was inscribed; *De Vir. Ill.* c. 80, *habemus* (I possess) *eius—de persecutione librum unum*. And Brandt has corroborated this view of Jerome's statement by showing that the person who (c. 370 or not many years later) interpolated the *Divine Institutions* with the addresses to the Emperors (see Brandt, *die Kaiseranreden*, Sitzungsber. der W. Ak. 119, 1889), made use of the *Mortes*, supposing it to be Lactantian. This false ascription of the treatise, the work perhaps of a pupil of Lactantius, to Lactantius himself is accounted for by Brandt by the hypothesis that it was published anonymously, and the public, anxious to discover the authorship, were led by the Lactantianisms and the Nicomedian origin to fix on the well-known writer of the *Divine Institutions*. *L. Cæcilius* would be, on this hypothesis, probably a mistake for *L. Cælius* (i.e. Lactantius), and not the name of the true author.

As for the date (discussed by Görres in *Philologus*, xxxvi. p. 597 *sqq.*, 1877), Brandt narrows it down to a short period between the end of 314 A.D. and the middle of 315 (p. 111). The *Epitome* of the *Divine Institutions* (its Lactantian authorship has been vindicated, p. 2-10) was used in the *Mortes*, and was written between the middle of 313 A.D. and the conclusion of the *Mortes*. Seeck (who accepts from Idatius 316 as date of Diocletian's death) makes the limits 317 and 321.

On Brandt's arguments I would observe that all except (1) have little cogency. (4) is especially weak; we have a much more glaring example of such inconsistency in the case of Procopius the historian. In regard to (1), Seeck

urges (Gesch. des Unterg. der ant. Welt, p. 428) Jerome's statement that L. taught Crispus as Caesar, i.e. after 317 A.D.; Constantine would not before his conversion (312, at earliest) have chosen a Christian preceptor for his son; in 308 Crispus was not more than two years old. There seems indeed to be no reason for supposing that L. went to Trier much before 317; therefore he could be in Nicomedia in 313; and the chief argument against the Lactantian authorship of the *Mortales* breaks down. It may be added that no argument, except one favourable to the identification, can be based on the difference between the names in the Mss.—Cælius and Cæcilius,—in view of the fact that *L. Cæcilius Firmianus* is found in a Numidian inscription (C. I. L. 8, 7241); and Lactantius belonged to the African Diocese (Seeck, *ib.* 426).

On the life of Lactantius see Brandt, Ueber das Leben des L., Sitzungsber. der W. Akad., cxx., 1890.

Other authorities which, though referred to in the present volume, are more concerned with the history of subsequent events, such as Ammianus Marcellinus, the Anonymous known as Anon. Valesianus, Eusebius, Zosimus, will be noticed in the Appendix to vol. ii.

INSCRIPTIONS. The *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, edited by Mommsen, with many collaborators, is in 15 volumes (some of which have been augmented by Supplements). Of these vol. i. contains the *antiquissimæ ad C. Cæsaris mortem*, and vol. xiv. those of *Latium antiquum*. The others are: ii. Spain (Suppl.); iii. Asia; the Greek provinces of Europe; Illyricum (2 Suppls.); iv. Wall inscriptions of Pompeii, Herculaneum, &c.; v. Cis-Alpine Gaul; vi. Urbs Roma; vii. Britain; viii. Africa (3 Suppls.); ix. Calabria Apulia Samnium Sabini Picenum; x. Bruttii Lucania Campania Sicily Sardinia; xi. Æmilia Umbria Etruria; xii. Gallia Narbonensis; xiii. Tres Galliæ et duæ Germaniæ; xv. Urbs Roma (lateres, sigilla, tituli picti, and all that come under the title of *instrumentum domesticum*).

The *Ephemeris Epigraphica* (1872 *sqq.*), of which only 8 vols. appeared, contains inscriptions (with commentaries) afterwards included, or to be included, in the *Corpus*. Small collections, but useful for reference, are those of Orelli and Henzen, *Inscriptionum latinarum selectarum amplissima collectio*, 3 vols. 1828-56, and G. Wilmanns, *Exempla inscriptionum latinarum*, 2 vols. 1873.

The Greek inscriptions of the Western provinces have been collected by Kaibel, *Inscriptiones Græcæ Siciliae et Italiae* (to which are appended the not numerous titles of Gaul, Spain, Britain, and Germany), 1890. For the Eastern provinces we have the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum* of Boeckh; the Berlin *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*; Letronne, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Égypte*, 2 vols. 1842-8; Lebas, Philippe, and Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure—pendant les années 1843 et 1844, 1847*; but there are many others scattered in various periodicals and publications; there is no complete collection.

Cagnat's *Année épigraphique* (revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine), 1888 *sqq.*, records the new inscriptions discovered from year to year.

COINS. Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum veterum*, in 8 vols., appeared in 1792-8, some years too late for Gibbon. Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire romain*, 7 vols. ed. 2, 1880-92.

MODERN WORKS. For general history: Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, Band v., *Die Provinzen von Cäsar bis Diocletian* (also in Eng. trans., in 2 vols.). Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit* (from Augustus to Theodosius I.), 2 vols. 1883-7. Duruy, *Histoire des Romains*, 1883 (6 vols.). Th. Bernhardt, *Geschichte Roms von Valerian bis zum Tode Diocletians*, 1867. Seeck, *Geschichte der Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 2 vols. 1895-1902. Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, vol. 3, 1883.

For the general administration (including the military system): Marquardt, *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer* (vols. iv.-vi.); Schiller and Voigt, *Die römischen Staats- Kriegs- und Privataltertümer*, 1887 (in Ivan Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-wissenschaft*); W. T. Arnold, *The Roman system of provincial administration to the accession of Constantine the Great*, 1879.

For manners, social life, &c., under the early Empire: Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von Augustus bis zum Ausgange der Antonine*, 3 vols. 1889-90; Marquardt, *op. cit.*, vol. vii. (2nd ed. by Mau, 1886); Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, 1904; G. Grupp, *Kulturgeschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, 2 vols. 1903-4.

For literature and historiography (besides Peter's work, see beginning of this Appendix): Wachsmuth, *Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte*, 1896; Leo, *Die griechisch-römische Biographie*, 1901; Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*; Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, Part 3 (Hadrian to Constantine), 1896; Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur bis auf die Zeit Justinians*, ed. 2, 1890.

Monographs (others have been cited in the notes): Hundertmark, *De imperatore Pertinace*, 1883; Höfner, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers L. Septimius Severus*; A. de Cauleneer, *Essai sur la vie et le règne de Septime Sévère*, 1874; Wirth, *Questiones Severianæ*, 1888; Fuchs, *Geschichte des Kaisers L. Septimius Severus*, 1884; Drexler, *Caracallas Zug nach dem Orient und der letzte Partherkrieg* (214-7), 1880; Schneider, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Caracallas*, 1890; E. Callegari, *Imprese militari e morte di Alessandro Severo* (Padua), 1897; J. Löhrer, *De C. Julio Vero Maximino*, 1883; J. Müller, *De M. Antonio Gordiano*, 1883; Rothkegel, *Die Regierung des Kaisers Gallienus von 253 bis 268 n. Chr.*, 1894; A. Düncker, *Claudius Gothicus*, 1868; Homo, *De Claudio Gothico Romanorum imperatore*, 1903; Homo, *Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Aurélien*, 1904; Lépaule, *Étude historique sur M. Aurelius Probus*, 1884; Preuss, *Kaiser Diocletian und seine Zeit*, 1868; Vogel, *Der Kaiser Diokletian*, 1857; Hunziker, *Zur Regierung des Kaisers Diocletianus und seiner Nachfolger* (303-313), 1868; E. Sadée, *De Imperatorum Romanorum III. p. Chr. sæculi temporibus constituendis*, 1891; A. Holländer, *Die Kriege der Alamannen mit den Römern im III. en Jahrh. v. Chr.*, 1874; Rappaport, *Die Einfälle der Goten in das römische Reich bis auf Constantin*, 1899; Sievers, *Studien zur Geschichte der römischen Kaiser*, 1870; Büdinger's *Untersuchungen zur römischen Kaisergeschichte*, 3 vols., 1868-70, contains a number of monographs by various authors. The valuable articles on Emperors and others in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie* (in progress), must also be mentioned.

AUXILIARY WORKS. Fynes-Clinton, *Fasti Romani* (from death of Augustus to death of Justin II., but with Appendix in vol. ii. coming down to death of Heraclius), 2 vols. 1845; Goyau, *Chronologie de l'Empire romain* (from 81 B.C. to 396 A.D.), 1891; Klein, *Fasti consulares inde a Cæsaris nece usque ad imperium Diocletiani*, 1881; Klebs, Dessau, and De Rohden, *Prosopographia imperii Romani Sæc. I., II., III.* (in 3 parts), 1897-8; Darenberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, d'après les textes et les monuments* (in progress); E. de Ruggiero, *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità Romane* (vol. I., A-B, 1895); Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (3rd ed.); Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*; Bunbury, *History of ancient Geography among the Greeks and Romans from the Earliest ages till the fall of the Roman Empire*, 2 vols. 1879; Smith and Grove, *Atlas of Ancient Geography*, 1875; Kiepert, *Atlas antiquus*; Sieglin, *Atlas antiquus*; Droysen, *Historischer Handatlas*. (Note also the maps in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.)

2. THE CONQUESTS OF TRAJAN, AND POLICY OF HADRIAN— (Pp. 6, 7)

The first Dacian war of Trajan lasted during 101 and 102 A.D. and Trajan celebrated his triumph at the end of the latter year, taking the title of Dacicus. The second war began two years later, and was concluded in 107 by the disensions of the barbarians and the suicide of Decebalus. Our only contemporary sources for these wars are monumental,—the sculptures on the Pillar of Trajan and some inscriptions. Unfortunately Trajan's own work on the war has perished. Aroas and Froehner published in a splendid form photographic reproductions of the scenes on the column of Trajan, Paris, 1872-1874. But this has

been superseded by C. Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Traianssäule* (with historical commentary), 1896. Further interpretation and criticism on the work of Cichorius will be found in Petersen, *Traians Dakische Kriege*, 1899, 1902. The remains of the trophy erected by Trajan in Lower Moesia have been published by G. Tocilescu (in conjunction with Benndorf and Niemann): *Das Monument von Adamklesi Tropaeum Traiani*. See also Studniczka, *Tropaeum Traiani*, in *Abh. of Saxon Gesellschaft der Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.*, 22, 1904. C. Cichorius, *Die römischen Denkmäler in der Dobrukscha*, 1904. (See also Jung, *Römer und Romanen in den Donauländern*, 1887; a paper of Xénopol in the *Revue Historique*, 1886; and an interesting Hungarian monograph by Király on *Sarmizegetusa, Dacia fôvárosa*, 1891.)

Trajan's Dacia must be carefully distinguished from *Dacia ripensis* south of the Danube, a province formed at a much later date. The capital of northern Dacia was Sarmizegetusa, a Dacian town, which was founded anew after Trajan's conquest under the name of Ulpia Trajana. The traveller in Siebenbürgen may now trace the remains of this historic site at Vârhely, as the Hungarians have named it. H. Schiller lays stress on one important result of the Dacian war: "The military centre of gravity of the Empire" was transferred from the Rhine to the Danube (*Gesch. der röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. 554).

Gibbon omits to mention as a third "exception," besides Britain and Dacia, the acquisition of new territory in the north of Arabia (east of Palestine), and the organisation of a province of "Arabia" by Cornelius Palma (106 A.D.). This change was accomplished peacefully; the two important towns of Petra and Bostra had been already Roman for a considerable time. The chief value of the province lay in the fact that the caravans from the East on their way to Egypt passed through it. There are remarkable ruins at Petra which testify to its importance.

Hadrian, as Gibbon explains, narrowed the boundaries of the Empire in the East (it may be disputed whether he was right in resigning Great Armenia); but he was diligent in making strong the defences of what he retained. The Euphrates was a sufficient protection in itself; but in other quarters Hadrian found work to do, and did it. He built forts on the northern frontier of Dacia; he completed the rampart which defended the exposed corner between the Danube and Rhine; and he built the wall in Britain, from the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway.

It has been said that under no Emperor was the Roman army in better condition than under Hadrian. Dio Cassius regarded him as the founder of what might be almost called a new military system, and from his time the character of the army becomes more and more "cosmopolitan" (Schiller, i. 609).

(De la Berge, *Essai sur le règne de Trajan*, 1877; article by Dierauer in *Büdingers Untersuchungen*, vol. i. [see above, list at end of App. 1]; J. Dürr, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, 1881; Schurz, *De mutationibus in imperio Rom. ordinando ab imp. Hadriano factis*, 1883; Plew, *Quellenuntersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrian*, 1890; Gregorovius, *The Emperor Hadrian*, transl. by Mary E. Robinson, 1898; Schulz, *Leben des Kaisers Hadrian*, 1904; Kornemann, *Kaiser Hadrian und der letzte grosse Historiker von Rom*, 1905; W. Weber, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, 1906.)

3. THE ROMAN ARMY—(P. 13)

In his account of the army Gibbon closely followed Vegetius, whose statements must be received with caution. Attention may be called to a few points.

(a) The legion contained ten cohorts; and the cohort, which had its own standard (*signum*), six centuries. Each century was commanded by a centurion. Under the early Empire, each legion was commanded by a *tribunus militum Augusti* (under the republic, *trib. mil. a populo*), who, however, was subject to the authority of a higher officer, the *legatus legionis*, who was supreme commander of both the legion and the auxiliary troops associated with it. In later times (as we learn from Vegetius) the sphere of the tribune was reduced to the cohort. The number of soldiers in a legion was elastic, and varied at different times. It is generally reckoned at six thousand foot, and one hundred and twenty horsemen (four *turmae*).

(b) The *auxilia* included all the standing troops, except the legions, the volunteers (*cohortes Italicae civium Romanorum voluntariorum*), and of course the prætorian guards. They were divided into cohorts, and were under the command of the *legati*. Cavalry and infantry were often combined, and constituted a *cohors equitata*. Each cohort (like the legionary cohort) had its standard, and consisted of six or ten centuries, according to its size, which might be five hundred or a thousand men. To be distinguished from the *auxilia* are a provincial militia, which appear in certain provinces (such as Rætia, Britain, Dacia). They were not imperial, and were supported by provincial funds (Mommson, *Die röm. Provinzialmilizen*, *Hermes*, xxii. 4).

(c) The use of "artillery" on a large scale was due to Greek influence. It played an important part in the Macedonian army. The fixed number of engines mentioned in the text (ten *onagri* and fifty-five *carroballistae*) was perhaps introduced in the time of Vespasian. Vegetius, ii. 25; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* 5, 6, 3.

(d) As for the distribution of the troops, Gibbon arrived at his statement by combining what Tacitus tells of the reign of Tiberius, and what Dion Cassius tells of the reign of Alexander Severus; always a doubtful method of procedure, and in this case demonstrably leading to erroneous results. Under Tiberius in 23 A.D. there were four legions in Upper Germany, four in Lower Germany, three in Spain, two in Egypt, four in Syria, two in Pannonia, two in Dalmatia, two in Moesia, two temporarily removed from Pannonia to Africa. New legions were created by Claudius, Nero, Domitian, &c.; on the other hand, some of the old legions disappeared, or their names were changed. Three new legions (i., ii., and iii. Parthica) were instituted by Septimius Severus. Each legion had a special name. The history of the legions is very difficult. Pfitzner's attempt to trace it as a whole was premature (*Gesch. der röm. Legionen von Augustus bis Hadrian*, 1881), and since his work investigation has become more special. Thus we have Jünemann, *De leg. Romanorum prima adiutrice*, 1894; Gündel, *De leg. II. adiutrice*, 1895; Benchel, *De leg. Romanorum I. Italica*, 1903; Ritterling, *De leg. Rom. X. gemina*, 1835, and *Zur röm. Legionsgeschichte am Rhein*, in *Westdeutsche Zeitsch.* 12, 1893; Filow, *Die Legionen der Provinz Moesia*, 1906 (*Beiheft to Klio*). Cp. also v. Domaszewski, *Die Dislocation des röm. Heeres in J. 66 n. Chr.*, in *Rhein. Mus.* 47, 1892. Henderson, *The Roman legions in Britain*, in *Eng. Hist. Review*, 18, 1903, 1 *sqq.*

(e) The *cohortes urbanae* had their headquarters in the *Forum Suarium* (Pig-market) at Rome. They were at first four in number, of one thousand men each, until the time of Claudius, who seems to have increased the number to six; Vespasian perhaps added another. Some of these regiments were sometimes stationed elsewhere; for example, at Lyons, Ostia, Puteoli.

(Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* ii.², 1884; Mommson, *Die Conscriptionsordnung der römischen Kaiserzeit*, in *Hermes* 19, 1884; Seeck, *Die Zusammensetzung der Kaiserlegionen*, in *Rh. Mus.* 48, 1893; the articles *Dilectus* in *Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopädie*; the articles *Exercitus* and *Legio* in *Darenberg et Saglio, Dictionnaire*; art. *Exercitus* in *Smith's Dict. of Antiquities*; Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst*, Part 1, 1900; Part 2, 1901; A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres*, in *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, 14, 1895; Lindenschmitt, *Tracht und Bewaffnung des römischen Heeres*, 1882; Cagnat, *De municipalibus et provincialibus militiis in imp. Rom.*, 1880.)

4. THE ROMAN NAVY—(P. 20)

The fleets of Ravenna and Misenum were called the *classes prætorias*, a fitting name, as they were the naval guards of the Emperor so long as he resided at Old Rome.

The fleet at (1) Forum Julium was discontinued soon after the time of Augustus. The other lesser naval stations under the Empire were (2) Seleucia, for the *classis Syriaca*; (3) Alexandria, for the *classis Augusta Alexandreae*; (4) the Island of Carpathos; (5) at the beginning of the fifth century, Aquileia, for the *classis Venetum*. Besides these there were (6) the *classis Pontica*, stationed in the Euxine or in the Propontis, and (7) the *classis Britannica*, both mentioned in the author's text. There were also fleets on the three great rivers of the Empire; (8) the *classis Germanica* on the Rhine; (9) the *classis Pannonica* and

Mossica on the Danube; and (10) a fleet on the Euphrates (mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 8, 9).

[V. Chapot, *La flotte de Misène, son histoire, son recrutement, son régime administratif*, 1896; Fiebiger's article, *Classis*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*.]

5. THE PROVINCES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN 180 A.D.

For a general view of the provinces, the chief work is Mommsen's brilliant volume, *Die Provinzen von Cäsar bis Diocletian* (translated into English in two vols.). For the general organisation, see Marquardt, *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer* (Staatsverwaltung, vol. i.).

1. Sicilia, the first Roman province, 241 B.C. It became a *senatorial* province in 27 B.C.

2. Sardinia and Corsica, 231 B.C. *Senatorial* in 27 B.C., but became *imperial* in 6 A.D. Again *senatorial* under Nero; once more *imperial* under Vespasian, and governed by a *procurator et praeses*. (Given to senate again by M. Aurelius, but resumed by Commodus.)

3. Hispania citerior, or Tarraconensis, 197 B.C.; *imperial*. (Divided into 3 dioceses, each under a leg. Augusti.)

4. Baetica, *senatorial*.
5. Lusitania, *imperial*. { These formed one province under the Republic, Hispania ulterior (197 B.C.), which was divided soon after the foundation of the Empire (27 B.C.).

6. Gallia Narbonensis, after 121 B.C. (At first, *imperial*, after) 22 B.C. *senatorial*.

7. Aquitania, 27 B.C.
8. Lugdunensis, 27 B.C.
9. Belgica, 27 B.C. { Called collectively *tres Galliae*, at first under one imperial governor; after 17 A.D. each had its own imperial governor.

Novempopuli, a province cut off from Aquitania by Trajan.

10. Germania superior, 17 A.D. (?)
11. Germania inferior, 17 A.D. (?) { The civil administration of these frontier districts was united with that of Belgica. The military commanders were consular legati.

12. Alpes Maritimæ, 14 B.C. made an *imperial* province, governed by a (prefect, afterwards a) *procurator*.

13. Alpes Cottiae, under Nero, *imperial* (under a *procurator et praeses*).

14. Alpes Poeninae (or A. Poeninae et Graiae); in second century became an *imperial* province (under a *procurator*).

15. Britannia, 43 A.D., *imperial*.

16. Rætia, 15 B.C., *imperial* (under a *procurator*); but after Marcus Aurelius governed by the *legatus pro prætore* of the legion *Concordia*.

17. Noricum, 15 B.C., *imperial*, under a *procurator*. After Marcus, under the general of the legion *Pia*. (Dion Cassius, lv. 24, 4.)

18. Pannonia superior.
19. Pannonia inferior.
20. Dalmatia, or Illyricum. { After its conquest Pannonia was added to the province of Illyria (44 B.C.), *imperial*; which was broken up into Pannonia and Dalmatia 10-14 A.D.; Dalmatia under a consular *legatus*. Pannonia was broken up by Trajan (102-107 A.D.) into the two Pannoniae, each under a consular *legatus* (at least under Marcus).

21. Moesia superior.
22. Moesia inferior. { Moesia, 9 A.D., an *imperial* province, was broken up into the two Moesias by Domitian under consular legati.

23. Dacia Porolissensis.
24. Dacia Apulensis.
25. Dacia Maluensis. { Dacia, 107 A.D., was at first one province (*imperial*). Hadrian broke it up into two (superior and inferior). Marcus made a new triple division (not later than 168 A.D., not earlier than 158 A.D.), and placed the provinces under consular legati.

26. Thracia, 46 A.D., *imperial* (at first under a *procurator*, but from Trajan forward) under a *legatus*.

27. Macedonia, 146 B.C.; *senatorial* in 27 B.C.; from Tiberius to Claudius, *imperial* and united with Achaia; after Claudius, *senatorial*.

28. Achaia. } Included in Macedonia, 146 B.C.; together formed a senatorial province, 27 B.C.; after having been united with Macedonia (15 and 44 A.D.), restored to the senate, and declared free by Nero, it was made *senatorial* by Vespasian. This Emperor probably separated Epirus (including Acarnania), *imperial*, under a procurator.
29. Epirus. }
30. Asia, 133 B.C.; *senatorial* 27 B.C. (under a consular).
31. Bithynia and Pontus, 74 and 65 B.C.; senatorial 27 B.C., became under Hadrian *imperial*.
32. Galatia (including Pontus Polemoniacus) 25 B.C. *imperial*; united twice and twice severed from Cappadocia; finally separated by Trajan and placed under a praetorian legatus.
33. Cappadocia (including Lesser Armenia) 17 A.D. *imperial*; (procuratorial till Vespasian, 70 A.D., gave it a consular legatus).
34. Lycia and Pamphylia, 43 A.D.; after various changes definitely constituted as *imperial* by Vespasian, 74 A.D., but transferred to the *senate* by Hadrian.
35. Cilicia, 102 B.C. At one time apparently united with Syria, but independent since Vespasian. From Hadrian (including Trachea) *imperial* under legatus; Severus transferred Isauria and Lycaonia from Galatia to Cilicia.
36. Cyprus, 58 B.C.; at first united with Cilicia; 22 B.C., became an independent *senatorial* province.
37. Syria, 64 B.C.; *imperial* under consular legatus, 27 B.C.
38. Syria Palaestina (= Judaea), separated from Syria 70 A.D., *imperial* under legatus.
39. Arabia, 106 A.D., *imperial*.
40. Aegyptus, 30 B.C., *imperial* domain under *praefectus Aegypti*.
41. Crete and Cyrene, at first one province (67 B.C. and 74 B.C. respectively); united 27 B.C. as a *senatorial* province (under a praetor).
42. Africa, 146 B.C., *senatorial* under a consular proconsul; seems to have included Numidia from 25 B.C.
43. Mauretania Caesariensis. } 40 A.D., *imperial* (under procurators).
44. Mauretania Tingitana. }

It is important to note some changes that were made between the death of Marcus and the accession of Diocletian. (1) The diocese of Asturia et Gallaecia was cut off as a separate *imperial* province from Tarraconensis (216 or 217 A.D.); (2) Britannia was divided by Septimius Severus (197 A.D.) into Brit. superior and Brit. inferior (each probably under a *praeses*); (3) Septimius made Numidia a separate province (under a legatus till Aurelian, afterwards under a *praeses*); (4) Syria was divided by the same Emperor (198 A.D.) into Syria Coele (Magna) and Syr. Phoenice; (5) Arabia was divided in the third century into Arabia Bostræa and Arabia Petrea, corresponding to the two chief towns of the province; (6) Mesopotamia (made a province by Trajan, and resigned by Hadrian) was restored by Lucius Verus; (7) For Dacia, see above, p. 316.

It may be useful to enumerate some works dealing with special provinces. *Sicily*: Dareste, *De forma et condicione Siciliæ provinciae Romanae*, 1850; Holm, *Geschichte Siciliens im Alterthum*, vol. 8, 1896. *Spain*: Dettelsen's papers on the geography of Baetica and Tarraconensis, in *Philologus*, 80, 265 *sqq.* and 32, 60 *sqq.*; Hübner, *Römische Herrschaft in Westeuropa*, 1898, 167 *sqq.* *Gaul*: Desjardins, *Géographie de l'ancienne Gaule*, 2 vols., 1869; Hirschfeld, *Gallische Studien*, 1883; Jullian, *Gallia*, ed. 2, 1901; Herzog, *Galliae Narbonensis provinciae Romanae historia*, 1869. *Germany*: Hettner, *Zur Kultur von Germanien und Gallia Belgica*, in *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, ii. 1 *sqq.*; Riess, *Das rheinische Germanien in der Römerzeit*. *Alpes*: Vallentin, *Les Alpes Cottiennes et Graies*, 1883; Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, vol. 1. *Britain*: Hübner, *Römische Herrschaft in Westeuropa*, 8 *sqq.*; Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain* (Proceedings of British Academy, vol. ii.), 1906; Haverfield's chapters in the volumes of the *Victoria County Histories* (in progress); E. Conybeare, *Roman Britain*, 1903; (for the wall of Hadrian) Bruce, *The Roman Wall*, ed. 3, 1867. *Raetia*: Planta, *Das alte Raetien*, 1872. *Noricum and Pannonia*: Kämmerl, *Die*

Anfänge deutschen Lebens in Oesterreich; Aschbach, Ueber die römischen Militärstationen im Ufer-Norikum, 1861; Jung, Römer und Romanen in den Donauländern, ed. 2, 1887. *Dalmatia, Illyricum*: Cons, La province romaine de Dalmatie, 1882; Zippel, Die römische Herrschaft in Illyrien, 1877. (Cp. above, p. 25, note 85.) *Moesia*: von Domaszewski, Die Entwicklung der Provinz Moesia, in Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher, vol. 1 (1891), and Die Grenzen von Moesia sup. und der illyrische Grenzzoll, in Arch.-epigr. Mittheilungen, 13 (1890). *Dacia*: Jung, Fasten der Provinz Dacia, 1894 (and cp. above, Appendix 2). *Thrace*: Kalopathakes, De Thracia provincia Romana, 1893. *Greece*: Brunet de Presle and Blanchet, La Grèce depuis la conquête des Romains, 1860; Hertzberg, Geschichte Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer, 3 vols. 1866-75; Petit de Julleville, Histoire de la Grèce sous la domination romaine, 1875; Finlay, History of Greece, vol. 1, 1876. *Asia*: Waddington, Fastes des provinces asiatiques; Ramsay, The Cities and Bishoppers of Phrygia, 2 vols. 1895-7. *Bithynia* and *Pontus*: Schoenemann, De Bithynia et Ponto, 1855. *Galatia*: Perrot, De Galatia provincia, 1867. *Pamphylia*, Lanckoronski, Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens, 1890. [For Asia Minor generally, see also Lebas-Waddington (referred to in Appendix 1 under Inscriptions) and Ramsay, Historical Geography of Asia Minor, 1890.] *Syria, Palestine, Arabia*: Bormann, De Syriae provinciae Romanæ partibus, 1865; Rohden, De Palaestina et Arabia provinciis Romanis, 1885; Guérin, Description géographique, historique, et archéologique de la Palestine, 1868-80. *Egypt*: Letronne, Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte, 1823; Milne, A history of Egypt under Roman rule, 1898; Lumbroso, L'Egitto dei Greci et dei Romani, 1895. *Africa*: see above, pp. 28, 29, note.

6. CHANGES IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE SINCE GIBBON WROTE—(P. 25)

Gibbon's account of the political geography of the Illyrian lands brings home to us the changes which have taken place within the last century. When he wrote, Servia and Bulgaria were "united in Turkish slavery"; Greece herself was under the same bondage as well as Moldavia, Walachia and Bosnia; the Dalmatian coast was a province of the Venetian State. Since then (1) the Turkish realm in Europe has been happily reduced, and (2) Austria has advanced at the expense of Venice. (1) Now Greece and Servia are each a kingdom, wholly independent of the Turk; Bulgaria is a free principality, only formally dependent on the Sultan. Moldavia and Walachia form the independent kingdom of Roumania. Even a portion of Thrace, south of the Balkans, known as Eastern Roumelia has been annexed to Bulgaria. Macedonia and the greatest part of Epirus are still Turkish. (2) All the Dalmatian coast, including Ragusa, belongs to Austria, but Antivari and Dulcigno belong to the independent Slavonic principality of Tzernagora or Montenegro (which was founded in the middle of the fifteenth century, preserved its independence against the Turks with varying success ever since, and in our own time played a conspicuous part in the events of 1876 to 1878, which so effectually checked the power of the Turk). Austria also acquired (by the treaty of Berlin, 1878) the protectorate of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

7. COLONIES AND MUNICIPIA, IUS LATINUM—(P. 40)

The distinction between colonies and municipal towns, and the history of *ius Latinum*, are explained briefly in the following passage of the Student's Roman Empire, pp. 76, 77.

"It is to be observed that these communities were either *colonias* or *municipia*. In the course of Italian history the word *municipium* had completely changed its meaning. Originally it was applied to a community possessing *ius Latinum*, and also to the *civitas sine suffragio*, and thus it was a term of contrast to those communities which possessed full Roman citizenship. But when in the course of time the *civitates sine suffragio* received political rights and the Roman states received full Roman citizenship, and thus the *municipium* proper disappeared from Italy, the word was still applied to those communities of Roman citizens which had originally been either Latin *municipia* or independent federate states. And it also, of course, continued to be applied to cities outside Italy

which possessed *ius Latinum*. It is clear that originally *municipium* and *colonia* were not incompatible ideas. For a colony founded with *ius Latinum* was both a *municipium* and a *colonia*. But a certain opposition arose between them, and became stronger when *municipium* came to be used in a new sense. *Municipium* is only used of communities which existed as independent states before they received Roman citizenship, whether by the deduction of a colony or not. *Colonia* is generally confined to those communities which were settled for the first time as Roman cities, and were never states before. Thus *municipium* involves a reference to previous autonomy.

"Besides Roman cities, there were also Latin cities in the provinces. Originally there were two kinds of *ius Latinum*, one better and the other inferior. The old Latin colonies possessed the better kind. The inferior kind was known as the *ius* of Ariminum, and it alone was extended to provincial communities. When Italy received Roman citizenship after the Social war, the better kind of *ius Latinum* vanished for ever, and the lesser kind only existed outside Italy. The most important privilege which distinguished the Latin from peregrine communities was that the member of a Latin city had a prospect of obtaining full Roman citizenship by holding magistracies in his own community. The Latin communities are of course autonomous and are not controlled by the provincial governor; but like Roman communities they have to pay tribute for their land, which is the property of the Roman people, unless they possess immunity or *ius Italicum* as well as *ius Latinum*."

For a full list of the *Coloniae* see the admirable article of Kornemann, *Coloniae*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*.

(Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des römischen Reichs*, 1864-5; W. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche*, 1899; Marquardt, *Handb. d. röm. Alt.*, vol. iv.; Mommsen, *Die Stadtrechte der latin. Gemeinden Salpensa und Malaca*, in *Abh. of the Saxon Ges. der Wiss.*, 3, 368 *sqq.*; Mommsen, *Lex Coloniae Genetivæ Urbanorum sive Ursonis data a. u. c. DCCX.*, in *Ephem. Epigr.* 2 and 3 (see *O. I. L.* ii., Suppl. 5439); Liebenam, *Curator rei-publicæ*, in *Philologus*, 56, 290 *sqq.*, 1897; Chénon, *Étude historique sur le defensor civitatis*, in *Nouvelle revue historique du droit français et étranger*, 13, 547 *sqq.*, 1889; W. Henze, *De civitatibus liberis quæ fuerint in provinciis populi Romani*, 1892; Kornemann, *De civibus Romanis in provinciis imperii consistentibus*, 1891.

On Italy: Jullian, *Les transformations politiques de l'Italie sous les empereurs romains*, 43 av. J. Chr.—330 après J. Chr. 1884.)

8. THE MINE OF SOUMELPOUR—(P. 60)

In an appendix to the second volume of his translation of Tavernier's *Travels in India*, Mr. V. Ball has pointed out (p. 457), that the diamond mine of Soumelpour on the Gouel is not to be identified, as hitherto, with Sambulpur on the Mahanadi, but is the same as "Semah or Semulpur on the Koel, in the Sub-Division of Palāmau".

In the original and in all subsequent editions of Gibbon the name was spelt "Jumelpur". Mr. Ball rightly remarks that this is merely a misprint; and it is corrected in the text.

9. THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE—(CHAPTER III.)

The constitutional history of Rome (both Republican and Imperial) has been set on a new basis since Gibbon. The impulse was given by Niebuhr; and this branch of history has progressed hand in hand with the study of inscriptions on stone and metal. No one has done so much for the subject as Mommsen, whose *Römisches Staatsrecht* (3 vols.) occupies the same position for Roman constitutional history as the work of Bishop Stubbs for English.

For a short account of the Imperial constitution I may refer English readers to Mr. Pelham's article on the Principate in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, and to the Student's Roman Empire, chaps. ii. and iii. Here it will be enough to draw attention to a few important points in which Gibbon's statements need correction or call for precision.

(1) P. 66.—“Prince of the Senate.”

The view that the name *princeps* meant *princeps senatus* is incorrect. *Princeps*, the general, non-official designation of the emperors, meant “first of the Roman citizens” (*princeps civium Romanorum* or *civitatis*), and had nothing to do with the Senate. In an interesting paper in the *Columbia Law Review*, Dec. 1904, 523 *sqq.*, Professor Munroe Smith has shown that the nearest equivalent to *princeps* (as used of men like Sulla, Crassus, Cæsar, in the last century of the Republic) is “boss”.

Ib.—“He was elected censor.”

The censorship of Augustus was only temporary; it was not considered one of the necessary prerogatives of the princeps, for that, as Gibbon says, would have meant the destruction of the independence of the senate. It must be remembered that in the *theory* of the principate the independence of the senate was carefully guarded, though practically the influence of the princeps was predominant. Augustus discharged the functions of censor repeatedly; not, however, under that name, but as *præfectus morum*. Gibbon is wrong in stating that the censorship was one of the Imperial prerogatives. He was followed in this by Merivale.

(3) P. 69.—“Lieutenants of the Emperor.”

The provinces fell into two classes according as consulars or prætorians were admitted to the post of governor. But this distinction must not be confounded with that of the titles *pro consule* and *pro prætore*, which were borne by the governors of senatorial and imperial provinces respectively. The representative of the emperor could not be *pro consule*, as his position depended on the proconsular imperium of the emperor himself. A *vir consularis* might be *pro prætore*. The full title of the Imperial lieutenant was *legatus Augusti pro prætore*.

In the dependent kingdoms were placed *procuratores*, of equestrian rank.

(4) P. 71.—“Consular and tribunitian powers.”

Gibbon's statements here require correction, though the question of the exact constitution of the power of the princeps is still a matter of debate.

Augustus at first intended to found the principate as a continuation of the proconsular imperium with the consulate, and he held the consulate from 27 to 23 B.C. But then he changed his mind, as this arrangement gave rise to some difficulties, and replaced the consular power by the tribunitian power, which had been conferred on him for life in 36 B.C., after his victory over Sextus Pompeius. Thus the principate depended on the association of the proconsular with the tribunitian power; and Augustus dated the years of his reign from 23, not from 27 B.C. After this he filled the consulship only in those years in which he instituted a census.

(5) P. 72.—“Supreme pontiff.”

He became Pontiff in 12 B.C. Besides being Pont. Max. Augustus belonged to the other sacerdotal colleges. He was *augur*, *septemvir*, *quindecimvir*.

(The Principate is treated in vol. ii., Part 2 (3rd. ed. 1887) of Mommsen's *Staatsrecht* which forms the first 3 vols. of Mommsen and Marquardt's *Handbuch der röm. Alterthümer*. The 2nd vol. of E. Herzog's *Geschichte und System der römischen Staatsverfassung* treats the same subject, in Part 1 (1887) in connexion with the general history, in Part 2 from the systematic point of view. Older works are: Willems, *Le droit public romain ou les institutions politiques de Rome depuis l'origine de la ville jusqu'à Justinien*, 5th ed., 1883; Mispoulet, *Les institutions politiques des Romains*, 2 vols. 1882-3. Karlowa's *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. i., 1885, deals with *Staatsrecht*, and is valuable. The account of the organisation of the Principate by Gardthausen in his great monograph, *Augustus und seine Zeit, Erster Theil, zweiter Band* (1896), must not be overlooked.)

10. THE CONSTITUTIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PRINCIPATE OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS—(Pp. 182-187)

The name of Septimius Severus marks an important stage in the development of the Principate of Augustus into the absolute monarchy of Diocletian. If he had been followed by emperors as strong and far-sighted as himself, the goal would have been reached sooner; and, moreover, the tendencies of his policy

would have been clearer to us. But the administration of his immediate successors was arbitrary; and the reaction under Alexander threw things back. Severus had no Tiberius or Constantine to follow him; and like Augustus he committed the error of founding a dynasty. His example was a warning to Diocletian.

The records of his reign show that he took little account of the senate, and made much of the army. This has been brought out by Gibbon. But it would be a mistake to call his rule a military despotism. He did not apply military methods to civil affairs. He was more than a mere soldier-emperor; he was a considerable statesman.

His influence on constitutional history concerns three important points. (1) He furthered in a very marked way the tendency, already manifest early in the second century, to remove the line of distinction between Italy and the provinces. (a) He recruited the Prætorian guards, hitherto Italians, from the legionaries, and so from the provinces. (b) He encroached on the privileges of Italy by quartering one of three new legions, which he created, in a camp on Mount Alba near Rome. (c) He assumed the proconsular title in Italy. (d) By the bestowal of *ius Italicum* he elevated a great many provincial cities (in Dacia, Africa, and Syria) to a level with Italy. (2) He increased the importance of the Prætorian Prefect. We can now see this post undergoing a curious change from a military into a civil office. Held by Papinian, it seemed to be the summit in the career not of a soldier but of a jurist. Under Alexander it was opened to senators. (3) The financial policy of Severus in keeping the *res privata* of the princeps distinct from his *fiscus*,—crown property as distinguished from state revenue (cp. p. 109, note 52).

There is no doubt that the tendency to give effect to the *maius imperium* of the princeps in controlling the governors of the senatorial provinces and the republican magistrates (consuls) was confirmed and furthered under Severus. For example, governors of senatorial provinces are brought before his court, Hist. Aug. x. 4, 8. The *maius imperium*, used with reserve by the earlier emperors, was one of the chief constitutional instruments by which the princeps ousted the senate from the government and converted the "dyarchy" into a monarchy.

Note.—In regard to the præfecture of the Prætorian guards, the rule that it should be held by two colleagues was generally observed from Augustus to Diocletian. We can quote cases of (1) *two* præfects under Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius, Claudius, Nero, Otho, Vitellius, Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Pius, Marcus, Commodus, Julianus, Severus, Caracalla, Elagabalus, Macrinus, Alexander Gordian; (2) of *one* præfect under Augustus (Seius Strabo), Tiberius (Sejanus, Macro), Claudius and Nero (Burrus), Galba, Vespasian (Clemens, Titus), Pius, Alexander (Ulpian), Probus; (3) of *three* præfects under Commodus, Julianus, Alexander (Ulpian as superior colleague and two others). A work by Borghesi on the Prætorian Prefects (completed, mainly by E. Cuq) has been published as vol. x. of his collected works, in two parts, 1897. It contains a list of the præfects (with the evidence) both before and after Constantine. See further, Mommsen's article, Die diocletianische Reichspræfectur, in Hermes, 36, 201-17.

11. CHRONOLOGY OF 238 A.D.—(P. 189)

The chronological difficulties of the year 238, which exercised Tillemont, Clinton, Eckhel (vii. 293 sqq.) and Borghesi, have been recently discussed with care by O. Seeck in a paper in the Rheinisches Museum, xli. (p. 161 sqq.) 1886, by J. Löhner in his monograph de Julio Vero Maximino, by Rappaport, Die Einfälle der Goten in das römische Reich, and by Sommer in a Göttingen programme of 1888.

Seeck would fix 17th June as the date of Maximin's death (reading *iiii. menses* instead of *iiii. menses* in the Chronicle of 854, where the length of Maximin's reign is given as three years, four months, and two days; it began 17th March, 235), and would place the beginning of the siege of Aquileia in May. From the same Chronicle he determines 24th March as the latest possible date for the elevation of the Gordians.

Sommer (approved by L. Schmidt, *Gesch. der deutschen Stämme*, i. 1, p. 58) dates the proclamation of the Gordians at the beginning of February, that of Maximus and Balbinus about 1st March, Maximin's death before the middle of May, the death of Maximus and Balbinus and elevation of Gordian III. at the beginning of June. The inscription C. I. L. iii. 4820 proves that Gordian III. was Augustus before 24th June. It seems probable that Capitolinus (*Hist. Aug.* 23, 2) confused the partial solar eclipse of 2nd April, 238, with the total of 12th April, 237 (cp. Schmidt, *loc. cit.*).

12. AUTHORITIES FOR ORIENTAL AFFAIRS—(CHAPTER VIII.)

The Armenian writers: Moses of Chorene, *History of Armenia*; Agathangelus, *History of the Reign of Tiridates and the Preaching of Gregory Illuminator* (Müller, *F. H. G.* v. 2; transl. by V. Langlois); Faustus of Byzantium, *Historical Library* (*ib.*). The credibility of Moses of Chorene is examined in an important article by Gutschmid in the *Berichte der kön. sächs. Gesellschaft d. Wissensch.*, 1876. A. Carrière recently attempted to show (*Nouvelles Sources de Moïse de Khoren*, 1893) that the work of Moses belongs not to the latter half of the fifth, but to the beginning of the eighth century, but Conybeare has shown that his arguments are untenable, and that the work belongs to the fifth (*Byz. Zeitschrift* 10, 489 *sqq.*, 1901).

Agathias, the Greek historian, who wrote at the end of the sixth century, made a special study of Sassanid history, and, through a friend, derived information from Persian documents. His digression on the origin of the new Persian kingdom (bk. ii. 26, 27) is important.

Rawlinson's *Sixth and Seventh Oriental Monarchies* treat of the Parthian and new Persian periods respectively. Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans von Alexander dem Grossen bis zum Untergang der Arsaciden*, 1888. Justi, *Geschichte Persiens*. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden*, 1879; *Aufsätze zur persischen Geschichte*, 1887. Schneiderwirth, *Die Parther*, 1874. Drexler, *Caracallas Zug nach dem Orient*, 1880.

13. THE ZEND AVESTA—(P. 214 *sqq.*)

The first European translation of the Avesta was made by Anquetil du Perron, and appeared (in 3 vols.) in 1771, just in time for Gibbon to make use of. The appearance of this work aroused a storm of controversy, chiefly in England, and it is interesting to observe that Gibbon was among those who accepted the Avesta as genuine documents of the Zoroastrian religion. It is unnecessary to say that in the present century their antiquity has been abundantly confirmed.

The Avesta is a liturgical collection of fragments from older texts, and is (as M. Darmesteter remarks) more like a prayer-book than a Bible. It consists of two parts, of which the first (1) contains the *Vendidad*, the *Visperad*, and the *Yasna*. The *Vendidad* (a corruption of *vidavō-dātem* = "antidemoniac law") consists of religious laws and legendary tales; the *Visperad*, of litanies for sacrifice; and the *Yasna*, of litanies also, and five hymns in an older dialect than the rest of the work. The second part (2) is the *Small Avesta*, a collection of short prayers.

Two questions arise: (a) When was the Avesta compiled? (b) What is the origin of the older texts which supplied the material?

(a) It is generally supposed that the Avesta was first collected under the Sassanids. But it is stated in a Pahlavi authority that the collection was begun under the Arsacids (having been ordered by King Valkash or Vologeses) and completed under the Sassanid Shapur II. in the fourth century (A.D. 309-380). If this is true, we must modify the usual view of the revival of Mazdeism by Ardeshr the first Sassanid, and regard his religious movement as merely the thorough realisation of an idea derived from the Parthian princes. M. Darmesteter concludes his discussion of the question thus (Introduction to his translation of the *Zend Avesta*, p. xxxv.): "It can be fairly admitted, that even in the time and at the court of the Philhellenic Parthians a Zoroastrian movement may have originated, and that there came a time when they perceived that a national

religion is a part of national life. It was the merit of the Sassanids that they saw the drift of this idea which they had the good fortune to carry out." It would be vain to attempt to determine which of the four or five kings named Vologeses originated the collection. The completion under Shapur II. is an established fact.

(b) As to the older texts from which the Avesta was put together, Darmesteter concludes that "the original texts of the Avesta were not written by the Persians. . . . They were written in Media by the priests of Ragha and Atropatene in the language of Media, and they exhibit the ideas of the sacerdotal class under the Achaemenian dynasty."

There is a Parsi tradition that of twenty-one original books the Vendidad is the sole remaining one. But Zend scholars seem uncertain as to how far this tradition is to be accepted. For the original religion of Ahura-mazda, as it existed under the Achaemenians, our sources are (1) the inscriptions of Darius and his successors, and (2) Herodotus and other Greek writers.

Those who wish to know more of the Avesta and the Zoroastrian religion may be sent to M. Darmesteter's translation of the Vendidad (vol. iv. of the "Sacred Books of the East") and his admirable Introduction, from which the summary in this note is derived. This translation has superseded those of Spiegel and De Harlez; but it must be observed that the students of the sacred books of the Persians constantly disagree in a very marked way, in translation as well as in interpretation.

14. THE ORIGIN OF THE GOTH; AND THE GOTHIC HISTORY OF JORDANES—(P. 258 *seq.*)

The earliest mention of the Goths of which we have any record occurred in the work of Pytheas of Massilia, who lived towards the end of the fourth century B.C. and is famous as the first explorer of the North. His good faith has been called in question by some ancient writers, but the moderns take a more favourable view of his work, so far as it is known from the references of such writers as Strabo and Pliny. (See Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Alterthumskunde*, I.) His notice of the Goths is cited by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvii. 2: *Pytheas Guttonibus¹ Germaniae genti accoli aestuarium Oceani Mentonomon nomine spatio stadiorum sex milia; ab hoc diei navigatione insulam abesse Abalum.* The names *Abalum* and *Mentonomon* are mysterious. Matthias (Ueber Pytheas von Massilia und die ältesten Nachrichten von den Germanen, in 2 parts, 1901-2) identifies Mentonomon with the mouth of the Ems. According to another view, it is the mouth of the Elbe (Varges, *Der deutsche Handel von der Urzeit bis zur Entstehung des Frankenreichs*, 1903). In any case there is good ground for the existence of Goths on the shores of the North Sea in the fourth century B.C., though they may have been an offshoot, distinct from the ancestors of the historical Goths, who are undoubtedly to be identified with the Guttones or Gotones of the times of Pliny and Tacitus (*Pliny, Nat. Hist.* iv. 14; *Tacitus, Germ.* 43). These Gotones² lived on the Vistula.

Our chief source for the early history of the Goths is the *Getica* (or *de origine actibusque Getarum*) of Jordanes (whom it was formerly usual to call *Jornandes*, a name which appears only in inferior Mss.). Jordanes (a Christian name suggesting the river Jordan) was a native of Lower Moesia, and lived in the sixth century in the reign of Justinian. It is not quite certain to what nationality he belonged; but it is less probable that he was a genuine Goth or even a Teuton than that he was of Alanic descent. A certain Candac had led a mixed body of barbarians, Scyri, Sadagarii, and Alans (see *Get.* l. 265), into Lower Moesia and Scythia; they had settled in the land, assimilated themselves to the surrounding Goths, and adopted the Gothic name, more illustrious than

¹ Dettelsen (*Hermes*, 32, 191-201) adopts the reading *guionibus* (from the Bamberg Ms.), and explains *Inguaconibus* (see Pliny, *N. H.* iv. 97), and refers *aestuarium* Oc. to the North German coast to Jutland.

² In their own language the Goths were called Gutans or Gutōs, and these forms seem to explain Guttones and the later Gothic. It has been suggested that the *th* (*Þérðoi*, and in Ptolemy *Γέρθρες*) is an echo of Gut-thiuda, "the Gothic people". See Schmidt, *Gench. der deutschen Stämme*, p. 50.

their own. The grandfather of Jordanes had been a notary of Candac, and Jordanes himself was secretary of Candac's nephew Gunthigis. This connexion of the family of Jordanes with a family which was certainly not Gothic, combined with the name of his father Alanoviimuthes, leads us to conclude that Jordanes was an Alan;³ and this was quite consistent with his being an ardent "Goth". The small Alanic settlement of Moesia merged itself in the Gothic people, just as the larger Alanic population of Spain merged itself in the Vandalic nation. Beginning life as a scribe, Jordanes ended it as a monk (*Getica*, l. 266), perhaps as a bishop; it has been proposed to identify him with a bishop of Croton who lived at the same time and bore the same name (*Mansi*, ix. 60).

Jordanes wrote his *Getica* in the year 551. It was unnecessary for him to say that he had no literary training (*agrammatus*); this fact is written large all over his work. He states that his book was the result of a three days' study of the Gothic History of Cassiodorus the learned minister of Theodoric. The fact is that the *Getica* is simply an abridgment of the larger work of Cassiodorus (in twelve books); and modern critics (Usener, Hodgkin) not unreasonably question the "three days" of Jordanes. Thus, when we are dealing with Jordanes, we are really, in most cases, dealing with Cassiodorus; and the spirit, the tendency, of Cassiodorus is faithfully reflected in Jordanes. To praise the Gothic race, and especially the Amal line to which Theodoric belonged, was the aim of that monarch's minister; Jordanes writes in the same spirit and echoes the antipathy to the Vandals which was expressed by Cassiodorus. There are, however, also certain original elements in the *Getica*. There is a significant contrast between the knowledge of the geography of the eastern provinces of the Balkan peninsula and the ignorance of the rest of the empire, which are displayed in this treatise. The stress laid on the Gothic *foederati* may be attributed rather to the Moesian subject than to the minister of the independent Ostrogothic kingdom.

One of the features of the lost work of Cassiodorus was the manufacture of an ancient history for the Goths by the identifications of that race with the Getae and with the Scythians. It is indeed possible to hold that the Getae were Goths who had migrated southward at a remote period. The second identification was suggested by the geographical comprehensiveness of the term Scythia, which embraced all the peoples of the North before they appeared on the scene of history. These reconstructions are eagerly adopted by Jordanes.

It may be well doubted whether Jordanes consulted on his own account another writer on Gothic history, Ablavius (cp. Gibbon, chap. x. note 5), who is merely a name to us. He cites him with praise (iv. 28 and elsewhere); but there is little doubt that the laudatory references are derived from Cassiodorus. On the other hand it may be supposed that Jordanes, living among Goths, counting himself as a Goth, had some independent knowledge of old Gothic legends and songs to which he refers as mentioned by Ablavius (*ib.*, quem ad modum et in priscis eorum carminibus pene storico ritu, &c.). The emigration of the Goths from Scandzia, the island of the far north, their coming to the land of Oium, and battle with the *Spali*, are a genuine Gothic tradition; and stand on quite a different footing from the Getic and Scythian discoveries of Cassiodorus. Oium is supposed to be the marsh district on the Pripet, and the *Spali* to have lived between the Dnieper and Don. See Schmidt, *Gesch. der deutschen Stämme*, p. 53.

The other work of Jordanes, a summary of Roman history (entitled *de summa temporum vel origine actibusque gentis Romanorum*, usually cited as *Romana*), written partly before, partly after, the *Getica*, does not concern us here. An account of the sources of both works will be found in Mommsen's exhaustive *Prooemium* to his edition in the *Monumenta Germaniæ historica* (1882), from which for this brief notice a few leading points are selected. The reader may also be referred to the clear summary and judicious discussion of Mr. Hodgkin in the introduction and appendix to the first chapter of his *Italy and her Invaders*.

Some other points in connexion with Jordanes will call for notice when we come to his own time.

³There are internal confirmations of this conclusion,—signs of a special interest taken by Jordanes in the Alans; see *Getica*, xv. 83, xxiv. 126-7, xlii. 226. See Mommsen, *Prooemium* to his edition, p. x.

15. VISIGOTHS AND OSTROGOTHS—(P. 262)

We find the Gothic race severed into the nations of Ostrogoths and Visigoths in the third century A.D. We cannot say precisely when they divided, but the split must have been subsequent to their arrival on the shores of the Euxine; for on the Vistula they formed a single *civitas*.

Without going into the question as to the date of the eponymous king Ostrogotha (whose name seems to conceal a real person), who was mentioned by Ablavius and was contemporary with the Emperor Philip according to Cassiodorus (Jordanes, *Getica*, 82 and 90), we may call attention to the passage in *Hist. Aug.* xxv. 6, 2—Pollio's Life of Claudius—where Dexippus was probably the source. Here, as invaders of the Empire are enumerated:—

*Scytharum diuersi populi, Peuci, Grutungii Austrogoti,
Tervingi Visi, Gipedes, Celtæ etiam et Eruli.*

The form *Vesi* for *Visi*, = Visigoths, occurs twice in Sidonius Apollinaris (*Pan.* in *Avit.* 456; *Pan.* in *Maïor*, 458). *Greuthungi* and *Thervingi* occur as names of Gothic peoples in Mamertinus, Eutropius, Ammianus, and Claudian. In Claudian, the *Greuthungi* are closely associated with the Ostrogoths; and it is the generally accepted view that *Greutungi* and *Tervingi* are alternative names for Ostrogoths and Visigoths respectively. It is suggested by Schmidt (*op. cit.*, 57) that these names arose after the occupation of Dacia by the Visigoths (about 256 A.D.); *Tervingi* meaning the people of the forests, and *Greutungi* inhabitants of the sand steppes.

It is doubtful whether Ostrogothi and Visigothi originally meant East Goths and West Goths, as explained by Jordanes (*Get.* 82) and generally believed. It is difficult, for instance, to account for the absence of *t* in *Visi*(gothi). See Streitberg, in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, iv. 300 *seq.*, 1894; Schmidt, *loc. cit.* Whatever be the derivation, the names have nothing to do with an ancient geographical division in Scandinavia, as Gibbon thought. If it had a geographical meaning, it expressed the relative positions of the two branches after the settlement on the Pontus.

16. THE DEFEAT OF VALERIAN, AND THE DATE OF CYRIADES—(Pp. 290, 291)

Valerian set out in 257, held a council of war in Byzantium at the beginning of 258 (*Hist. Aug.* xxvi. 13). Thence he proceeded to Cappadocia. The north coasts of Asia Minor were suffering at this time from the invasions of the Germans, and it has been conjectured that there may have been an understanding between the European and Asiatic enemies of the Empire (as sometimes in later ages; as once before in the days of Decebalus), and that Valerian aimed at preventing a junction of Persians and Goths. *Vict. Parthica* on coins in 259 A.D. point to a victory perhaps near Edessa. Where Valerian was captured is uncertain. Cedrenus says in *Cæsarea* (i. p. 454); the anonymous Continuator of Dion suggests the neighbourhood of Samosata. The date is uncertain too. There is no trace of Valerian after 260 A.D. Inscriptions and sculptures on the rocks of Nakahi Rustan have been supposed to commemorate the Persian victory.

Gibbon in his "probable series of events" has distinctly gone wrong. Two things are certain: (1) Sapor was twice at Antioch, and (2) Cyriades fell before Valerian. The first visit of the Persian monarch to Antioch was in the summer of 256, whither he was accompanied by Cyriades (also called Mariades, see Müller, *F. H. G.* iv. p. 192), whom he had set up in that city as a Persian vassal. Antioch was won back in the same year or in 257; Cyriades was torn to pieces by the inhabitants, and the Persians were massacred. See Ammian, *xxiii.* 5; *Hist. Aug.* xxiv. 2. The second visit of Sapor to Antioch was after the capture of Valerian. See *Aur. Victor, Cæsar.* 83, 8.

17. THE PRETENDERS IN THE REIGN OF GALLIENUS, KNOWN AS THE THIRTY TYRANTS—(P. 296)

Fati publici fuit, says Trebellius Pollio who recorded the deeds of the tyrants in the Augustan History, *ut Gallieni tempore quicumque potuit ad im-*

perium prosiliret. Gibbon recognized that the significance of these shadow-emperors was only "collective"; they all vanished rapidly; the emperor's power always proved superior. Their simultaneous appearance illustrates vividly the general disintegration of the Empire, and the tendency to decentralisation.

It may be well, however, to add a few details, chiefly references, to the succinct account of Gibbon. We may take them in the order of his list.

(1) Cyriades. See p. 291. and Appendix 16.

(2) Macrianus. The generals Macrianus and Balista caused the two sons of the former, T. Fulvius Junius Macrianus and T. Fulvius Junius Quietus, to be proclaimed emperors (261 A.D.; see Hist. Aug. Vita Gall. 1, 2). It is a question whether Macrianus their father (he to whom Gibbon imputed the blame of Valerian's disaster) assumed the purple also. There cannot be much doubt that he did not. We have (a) the negative evidence that no coins which can be certainly ascribed to him and not to his son are forthcoming; (b) the story of his refusal in Hist. Aug. xxiv. 7-11; and (c) the positive statement of Zonaras, xii. 24. Against this we have to place the apparent statement in Hist. Aug. xxiii. 1, 2-4 ("apparent," because the passage is mutilated), and the clear statement in xxiv. 12, 12, which is glaringly inconsistent with the immediately preceding narrative. Macrianus is described as refusing the empire on the ground of old age and bodily weakness, and casting the burden on his sons. Balista, who had offered him the empire, agrees; and then the narrative proceeds: "Macrianus promises (clearly in the name of his sons) a double donation to the soldiers and hurls threats against Gallienus; accordingly he was made emperor along with Macrianus and Quietus his two sons," as if this were the logical outcome of the proceedings.

(3) Balista. He has even less claim than the elder Macrianus to a place among the tyrants; throughout he held the post of prætorian prefect. Hist. Aug. xxiv. 12, 4, and 18.

(4) Odaenathus. The ground for placing Odaenathus among the tyrants seems to be that he assumed the title of king (Hist. Aug. xxiv. 15, 2) and that he had great power in the East. But a tyrant means one who rebels against the true emperor and usurps the Imperial title. Odaenathus never rebelled against Gallienus and never usurped the title Augustus (*Σεβαστός*) or the title Cæsar. He supported the interests of Gallienus in the East and overthrew the real tyranny which was set up by Macrianus. For his services Gallienus rewarded him by the title of *αὐτοκράτωρ* or *imperator*, an unusual title to confer, but not necessarily involving Imperial dignity. (This title is enough to account for the statement in Hist. Aug. xxiii. 12, 1.) As a king he held the same position that, for instance, Agrippa held under Claudius. An inscription of a statue which two of his generals erected in his honour in 271 A.D. has been preserved (de Vogüé, Syrie centrale, p. 28) and there he is entitled king of kings. This, as Schiller says (i. 838), should be decisive.

(5) Zenobia. What applies to Odaenathus applies to Zenobia as far as the reign of Gallienus is concerned. She received the title *Σεβαστή* in Egypt, but not till after 271 and doubtless with the permission of Claudius.

(6) Postumus. (See note 86, p. 276.) M. Cassianus Latinus Postumus made his residence at Trier, was acknowledged in Spain and Britain, and seems to have taken effective measures for the tranquillity and security of Gaul. In 262 he celebrated his *quingennalia* (Eckhel, vii. 438). His coinage is superior to that of the lawful emperors of the time; it did not pass current in Italy, and the Imperial money was excluded from Gaul (Mommesen, Röm. Münzwesen, 815). It is important to observe that Postumus was faithful to the idea of Rome. He was not in any sense a successor of Sacrovir, Vindex, and Clodius; he had no thought of an anti-Roman *imperium Galliarum*. There is a careful article on Postumus (*sub* Cassianus) in Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopädie, by Stein.

(7) Lollianus. This is the form of the name in our Mss. of his Life in the Historia Augusta (xxiv. 5); his true name, Cornelius Ulpianus Laelianus, is preserved on coins (Cohen, v. 60). In a military mutiny (268 A.D., in his fifth consulship) Postumus was slain and Laelianus elevated. The new tyrant marched against the Germans, who had taken advantage of this struggle (*subita*

irruptiones Germanorum) to invade the empire and destroy the forts which Postumus during the year of his rule had erected on the frontier; but he was slain by his soldiers,—it is said, because he was too energetic, *quod in labore nimis esset* (Hist. Aug. xxiv. 5). Victorinus, who succeeded him, had probably something to do with his death.

(8) Victorinus. In 265 A.D. Gallienus sent Aureolus to assert his authority in Gaul against Postumus. In the course of the war, an Imperial commander M. Piauvonius Victorinus deserted to the tyrant, who welcomed him and created him Cæsar. Victorinus obtained supreme power after the death of Laelianus. He reigned but a few months; his death is noticed by Gibbon in chap. xi.

Victoria or Victorina. The mother of Victorinus (see chap. xi.). Her coins are condemned as spurious (Cohen, 5, 75).

(9) Marius. M. Aurelius Marius; Eckhel, vii. 454. According to Hist. Aug. xxiv. 8, 1, he reigned only three days after the death of Victorinus. Perhaps he survived Victorinus by three days, but there can be no doubt that he arose as a tyrant, at an earlier date, perhaps immediately after the death of Postumus. If he had reigned only three days, it is unlikely we should have his coins. Compare Schiller, i. 856.

(10) Tetricus. (See chap. xi.)

(11) Ingenuus. His tyranny was set up in Pannonia and Moesia in the same year as that of Postumus in Gaul (268 A.D.). He was defeated by Aureolus at *Mursa*—the scene of the defeat of a more famous tyrant in later times—and slain, at his own request, by his shield-bearer.

(12) Regillianus. A Dacian, who held the post of *dux* of Illyricum; his true name was Regalianus, preserved on coins and in one Ms. of the *Historia Augusta*. He had won victories against the Sarmatians, and his name, in its corrupt form, lent itself to the declension of *rex*: "rex, regis, regi, Regi-lianus" (Hist. Aug. xxiv. 10, 5). But his reign lasted only for a moment. His elevation was probably due to disaffection produced by the hard measures adopted by Gallienus in Pannonia when he suppressed the revolt of Ingenuus.

(13) Aureolus. (See chap. xi.)

(14) Saturninus. Of him we know nothing. See Hist. Aug. xxiv. 23, and xxiii. 9, 1.

(15) Trebellianus. See Hist. Aug. xxiv. 26; beyond what is stated there we know nothing. *Palatium in arce Isaurias constituit*. He was slain by an Egyptian, brother of the man who slew Æmilianus, tyrant in Egypt (see below).

(16) Piso. It is probably a mistake to include Piso among the tyrants. He belonged to the party of Macrianus (see above), who in 261 sent him to Greece to overpower the governor Valens. But a curious thing happened. Piso, who had come in the name of a tyrant, supported the cause of the lawful emperor Gallienus (see Hist. Aug. xxiv. 21, 4), while Valens, who represented the cause of Gallienus, revolted, and became a tyrant himself. Both Piso and Valens were slain by their soldiers;—the news of Piso's death had reached Rome by the 25th June (Hist. Aug. *ib.* 3).

(17) Valens. See last paragraph.

(18) Æmilianus. He threatened to starve the empire, which depended for corn on Egypt. There are no genuine coins of this tyrant.

(19) Celsus. Elevated by the proconsul of Africa and the *dux limitis Libyci*. Hist. Aug. xxiv. 29.

Of these nineteen Macrianus, Balista, Odaenathus, Zenobia, and Piso have no claim to be regarded as tyrants. But the places of Macrianus the father and Balista may be filled by Macrianus the son and Quietus, and that of Odaenathus by his son Waballath (see below, App. 19). Thus the number nineteen is reduced to seventeen.

(20) Felicitissimus, master of the mint, should perhaps be added. Hist. Aug. xxvi. 38, 2, 4; Aur. Vict. Cæs. 35, 6; Schiller, i. 868.

It is worth noting that Pollio, who, as Gibbon says, "expresses the most minute anxiety to complete the number" of the thirty tyrants, and as we have seen includes some who were certainly not tyrants, should omit two names of rebels which are mentioned by Zosimus. In i. 38 (ed. Mendelssohn) this historian says: *ἰν τοῖς 31 παρατάκτοις αὐτῶν* (Gallienus) *Μιμαρὸς τε τοῦ Μουραερίου καὶ*

Ἀυρίλου καὶ Ἀντωνίνου καὶ ἑτέρων πλείονων. Aurelius we know; ἑτέροις πλείονας we know; but who were Memor and Antoninus? Are they mentioned by Pollio under other names or did they not reach the length of an Imperial title? Of Antoninus, it would seem, we hear nowhere else, but of Memor we have a notice, in a fragment of the Anonymous Continuer of Dio Cassius (Müller, F. H. G. iv. p. 193), frag. 4, where the mention of a Theodotus recalls him who put to death Æmilianus and makes us think of Egypt. (In the old Stephanian text of Zosimus Κέκροτος is read instead of Μέμορος; but the unknown Ms. used by Stephanus seems to have been worthless.)

18. THE WALLS OF AURELIAN—(P. 322)

[Lanciani, *Le mura di Aureliano e di Probo*, in *Bull. Archeol. Com.*, 1892, p. 87 *sqq.*, and *Ruins and Excavations of ancient Rome*, 1897, p. 68 *sqq.*; Middleton, *Remains of ancient Rome*, 1892, ii. 372 *sqq.*; Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, 1878, i. 1, 340 *sqq.*; Homo, *L'Empereur Aurélien*, 214 *sqq.* (with map).

On the Pomerium: Mommsen, *Der Begriff des Pomeriums*, in *Hermes*, x. 40 *sqq.* (1896); Detlefsen, *Das Pomerium Roms und die Grenzen Italiens*, *ib.* xxi. 497 *sqq.* (1886); Huelsen, *Das Pomerium Roms in der Kaiserzeit*, *ib.* xxii. 615 *sqq.* (1887); Merlin, *À propos de l'Extension du Pomerium par Vespasien*, in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, of the École française de Rome, xxi. 97 *sqq.* (1901).

See also Huelsen, *Der Umfang der Stadt Rom zur Zeit des Plinius*, in *Römische Mittheilungen*, xii. 148 *sqq.* (1897).]

When Aurelian began the fortification of Rome by a new line of walls (and of 271 A.D.), which Probus completed, the city had three distinct limits, the Pomerium, the Wall of Servius, and the circumference of the Fourteen Regions.

The line of the Pomerium of ancient Rome had not been entirely followed by the Wall of Servius, which included the Aventine; and the Aventine lay outside the pomerial limit throughout the age of the Republic and till the time of Claudius. Augustus did not extend the boundary of the Pomerium, but Claudius, censor in 47 A.D., marked a new limit for it: to the south, by taking in the Aventine and the region round Monte Testaccio, and by extending it on the south of Mons Caelius; to the north, towards the Campus Martius, and beyond the Colline Gate near the Via Salaria. These extensions are proved by pomerial cippi or boundary stones which have been discovered (C. I. L. vi. 31537, a—e; cp. Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* 13, 14). Vespasian, censor 73 A.D., extended it farther both to the north and to the south, and also beyond the Tiber (C. I. L. vi. 31538, a, b; Marucchi, *Bull. arch. Com.*, 1899, 270 *sqq.*). Further extensions were carried out by Trajan and Hadrian; two cippi of Hadrian have been found in the Campus Martius (*ib.* 31539, a, b). It is to be observed that the law that no bodies should be buried inside the Pomerium (Law of xii. Tables, x. fr. 1) was strictly maintained under the Empire (the burial of Trajan in the city was an exception). Cp. *Cod. Just.* iii. 44, 12 (law of Diocletian and Maximian, 290 A.D.).

Meanwhile Augustus had for administration purposes delimited the line of the Fourteen Regions, corresponding to the actual inhabited city which had far outgrown the Servian enclosure in every direction. This line was entirely distinct from, and larger than, the Pomerium in its final dimensions under Hadrian.

The barbarian invasions which terrified Italy showed that the Danube frontier and the Alps could no longer be considered a sufficient fortification for Rome, and Aurelian had to repeat the work of Servius but on a larger scale. The new fortification must protect the city as it actually was, that is the Fourteen Regions, but on the other hand in tracing the line of the new wall the Emperor had also to take into account considerations of strategy, and the work had to be done quickly. Thus Aurelian's Wall did not correspond to the line of the Fourteen Regions exactly, though it approximated to it. It crossed the Tiber and enclosed part, but rather the lesser part, of the Transiberine or Fourteenth Region; and bits of some of the other Regions were also left outside.

Aurelian took advantage of the river for the purpose of defence; but this part of his wall, between the Pons Aurelius and the Porta Flaminia, has entirely

disappeared. The expense of expropriation was naturally great; it has been reckoned as more than seven million francs (Lanciani, Ruins and Excavations, 68). Existing buildings were utilised as far as possible. For instance, the Praetorian Camp formed part of the *enceinte*, and the Aqueducts (Marcia-Tepula-Julia, Claudia, and Anio Novus) south of the Porta Tiburtina, were used by closing the arches. There have been found, for instance, tombs in the wall close to the Porta Salaria; a house of the first century, near the Porta Nomentana; the gate of a villa of the first century, near the Porta Ardeatina. There are proofs that Aurelian made a special point of not destroying ancient monuments.

The total length of the walls has been found to be nearly 19 kilometres. There were sixteen gates east of the Tiber, and three in the Transtiberine region.

It is to be noted that the existing walls represent Aurelian's, as extensively restored by Honorius, and constantly repaired since then. The gates and the Transtiberine Walls, as they stand, are Honorian, and likewise most of the towers. The towers which belong to Aurelian's construction are all square. (For the Honorian restoration, see C. I. L., vi. 1188-1190; Claudian, *De sexto cons.* Hon., 529 *sqq.*; the *Descriptio Murorum* edited by Jordan, *Topographie*, ii. 578 *sqq.*)

We can infer from Hist. Aug. xxvi. 21, 10, that Aurelian extended the limits of the Pomerium to the new fortification, when he returned to Rome in 274 A.D.

19. PALMYRA AND THE WAR OF AURELIAN—(P. 327)

The importance of Palmyra, lying in an oasis halfway between Damascus and the Euphrates, was its position as headquarters of the caravan trade. In the first century it belonged to the Empire; under Hadrian it received the name *Hadriana Palmyra*; but it occupied a unique position, resembling that of a client state, the explanation of which Mommsen finds in the arrangements for the protection of the frontier against the Parthians,—the responsibility for defence south of Zeugma being assigned to Palmyra. Its singular position is illustrated by the official use of the Syriac language—in other parts of the Empire only Latin and Greek were permitted. (Compare Mommsen, *Röm. Geschichte*, v. 422 *sqq.*) In addition to the municipal officers, there was, in the third century, a governor of senatorial rank who was appointed by Rome from the most distinguished Palmyrene family; described as *ἑταρχος Παλμυρηνῶν*, "prince of the Palmyrenes" (Waddington, *Voyage arch.* iii. 2602), and by the Greek equivalents of the Roman titles *clarissimus* and *consularis*.

Septimius Odaenathus held this position, which had been held by his father and his brother before him, in 258 A.D. In 260 he assumed the title of king and defeated Sapor. Having declined to throw in his fortunes with Macrianus, he was recognised as king by Gallienus, who gave him the command of the Eastern forces with the title of a *dux*—doubtless *στρατηγὸς Πωμάλων* (Zonaras, xii. 23). In 262-4 he made war on Persia, reconquered Mesopotamia, penetrated to Ctesiphon, and received from Gallienus the title *Imperator* (not Augustus); in 266-7 he was killed by his nephew.

His son Waballath, an infant, succeeded to his father's position as King of Palmyra, but not to his Roman titles and office, which were of course personal, and were not conferred on Waballath by Gallienus. But practically his mother Zenobia retained the power which her husband had exercised over the Eastern provinces, and secured them by defeating Heraclian, the general of Gallienus. This state of things continued throughout the reign of Claudius; Palmyra did not disown, and Claudius did not insist on, his authority; and there was no open breach till 269 when Zenobia conquered Egypt and Asia Minor. But still Waballath did not assume the Imperial title. Then when Zenobia attacked Bithynia in 270, Aurelian was forced to take account of what was happening. He met the situation for the moment by concluding a convention, he gave to Waballath the titles which his father had borne: *vir consularis rex imperator dux Romanorum*, as we learn from coins, which form an important source for Palmyrene history. Coins were struck in commemoration of this convention, with the heads of Aurelian and Waballath, and the legend *Αὐρηλιανὸς καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρος* (a Greek rendering of Waballath's name). The agreement recognised, and limited, the actual state of things. Zenobia bore the titles *βασιλισσα* and *σεβαστή* (*Augusta*); see above, p. 498.

Aurelian was engaged in 270-1 A.D. with the defence of the Danube and Italy. When, in the course of 271, Zenobia invited a rupture by the proclamation of her son as Emperor, Aurelian's successes had left him free to meet the crisis. [We have Imperator) C(æsar) Vhabalathus Aug(ustus) on coins. Aurelian's image disappeared from the Syrian and Alexandrian coins.] Gibbon wrongly placed the Emperor's Eastern campaigns after his war with Tetricus. The chronology, according to the most recent investigation, is as follows:—

Aurelian left Rome in the last months of 271, and reached Byzantium in January, 272, having driven back an invasion of Goths from Moesia on his way. The first capture of Palmyra followed in spring 272. Then he returned to Europe (taking with him Zenobia, her son, and the prisoners whom he spared) to repel an invasion of the Carpi from the Balkan peninsula (summer). During his absence Palmyra with Alexandria revolted and he was forced to return. A certain Antiochus was proclaimed King of Palmyra (Zosimus, i. 60; cp. E. Kalinka, *Inschriften aus Syrien*, 11 and 12); and Egypt was in the hands of Firmus, who possibly acknowledged Antiochus. Palmyra was reduced at the end of 272 and Egypt recovered at the beginning of 273. Then Aurelian hastened to Gaul, and subdued Tetricus in the autumn. See Homo, *L'Empereur Aurélien*, p. 84 *sqq.*

[A. von Sallet, *Die Fürsten von Palmyra unter Gallienus, Claudius und Aurelian*, 1866; De Vogüé, *Syrie centrale*.]

20. CORRECTOR ITALIÆ—(P. 335)

As Gibbon notices, two statements are made in the *Historia Augusta* as to the honourable provision which Aurelian made for Tetricus. In the *Life of Tetricus* (xxiv. 24, 5) we read: *correctorem totius Italiæ fecit, id est, Campaniæ, Samni, Lucaniæ, Brittiorum [Bruttii], Apuliæ, Calabriæ, Etruriæ atque Umbræ, Picensi et Flaminis omnisque annonariæ regionis*; but in the *Life of Aurelian* (xxvi. 39, 1) *Tetricum triumphatum correctorem Lucaniæ fecit* (so Aurel. Victor, &c.). Both statements cannot be true, and Mommsen (*Ephem. epig.* i. 140) has proved that the first is to be accepted and the second rejected.

We find the idea of a governor of Italy in the famous advice to Augustus which Dion Cassius (52, 21) puts in the mouth of Maecenas. It is suggested that Italy beyond a circuit of a hundred miles from Rome should be governed like the provinces. But as early as 214 we find C. Suetrius Sabinus, a consular, as *electus ad corrigendum statum Italiæ* (C. I. L. x. 5398) and at a later period Pomponius Bassus *ἐπανορθωτὴς πάσης Ἰταλίας*. See further Mommsen, *loc. cit.*, and *Staatsrecht*, ii. 1086.

Thus we find that correctors of all Italy were occasionally appointed, during the third century. Therefore, Mommsen argues convincingly (and it is a good instance of the application of a principle of historical criticism), the notice that Tetricus was *corrector Italiæ* is the true one. For a later writer to whom correctors of Lucania were perfectly familiar would never have changed a *corrector Lucaniæ* into a *corrector Italiæ*.

21. PROBUS AND THE LIMES GERMANICUS—(P. 357)

The statement of Gibbon that Probus "constructed a stone wall of a considerable height, and strengthened it by towers at convenient distances," is not warranted by the evidence, which consists entirely of two remarks in his *Life in the Hist. Aug.*:—

(1) c. 13. *contra urbes Romanas et castra in solo barbarico posuit atque illic milites collocavit.*

(2) c. 14. *sed visum est id non posse fieri nisi si limes Romanus extendetur et fieret Germania tota provincia.* (*id* refers to the command of Probus, that the German dependent tribes should not fight themselves, but, when attacked, seek the aid of the Roman army.)

It will be observed that the only statement of fact is in the first passage, from which we learn that Probus constructed and garrisoned some forts on soil which was then barbarian. The second passage states no fact, but ventilates a, perhaps wild, hypothesis. What Probus seems to have done was to reoccupy and re-establish the *Limes Germanicus* south of the river Main. The whole of this *limes* had been lost in the invasions in the reign of Gallienus.

It is also to be noticed that the actual Wall, constructed long before the time of Probus, was not a regular wall of hewn stone, and that its length between the points that Gibbon roughly marks was more than 300 (not "near 200") miles.

It may be added that the limes (both the trans-Rhenane and the trans-Danubian) was due chiefly to Domitian and Hadrian.

The limes is now being systematically explored and surveyed by the Reichs-Limes-Kommission. The results of their investigation are published under the title *Der Obergermanisch-raetische Limes des Römerreichs*, ed. by O. von Sarwey and F. Hettner, which appears in parts. Interim reports appear in a special journal, the *Limesblatt*, and yearly records are published in the *Archaeologische Anzeiger*.

(Compare Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, 140 *sqq.*; V. Sarwey, *Römische Strassen im Limesgebiet*, in the *Westdeutsche Ztschr.*, 18, 1899; Herzog, *Kritische Bemerkungen zu der Chronologie des limes*, in the *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 106, 1900; Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst*, 2, 159.)

22. GERMAN CAMPAIGNS OF DIOCLETIAN, MAXIMIAN AND CONSTANTIUS (A.D. 285-299)—(P. 890)

(1) There was a campaign in spring 285, against German invaders of the Danubian regions, in consequence of which Diocletian assumed the title of *Germanicus Maximus*. Cp. Corp. Insc. Lat. vi. 1116.

(2) In 286 the Alamanni (who, pushed by the Burgundians, had left their old abodes on the Main and established themselves along the banks of the Rhine, within the *limes*, from Mainz to Lake Constance) and Burgundians invaded Gaul. Maximian was at Mainz, in June (Frag. Vat. 271). The Heruli and Chaibones also approached the frontier, but their host was destroyed by Maximian [287, Seeck], who allowed plague and famine to work havoc among the Alamannic invaders. See Pan. Max. 11 and Genethl. Max. 17.

(3) At the beginning of 287 [288, Seeck] marauding expeditions had to be repelled and Maximian won back some territory beyond the Rhine. Pan. Max. 6, 10.

(4) 291; war with the Franks, of whom large numbers were settled in lands of the Nervii and round Trier. Cp. Incert. Pan. Constant. Cæs. 21, and Genethl. Max. 7.

(5) 293, summer; Constantius, having taken Gesoriacum, invades the land of the Franks, and, returning victorious, settles a large number as *coloni* in Gaul. It has been conjectured (Schiller, ii. 182) that the regions of the Lower Meuse and Rhine were now once more incorporated in the Empire as the province of *Germania Secunda*, which is mentioned in the List of provinces found at Verona (see Introduction, p. xv.).

(6) After the recovery of Britain, Constantius busied himself with the fortification of the Rhine frontier. In 298 the victories of Langres and Windisch (Vindonissa) were won over the Alamanni.

(7) In 299 Constantius invaded the land of the Alamanni; Incert. Pan. Constantio Cæs. 2, 3.

For the determination of the chronology see Mommsen's study in the *Abhandlungen of the Berlin Academy*, 1860; Seeck, *Gesch. des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, i. pp. 418-4.

23. DIOCLETIAN'S EDICT DE PRETIIS RERUM VENALIUM—(P. 406)

The most celebrated work of Diocletian in the field of political economy was the edict (referred to by Lactantius in *De Mort. persecutorum*, 7; partial copies of it have been discovered since Gibbon wrote, in the form of inscriptions) fixing maximum prices for provisions and wages, 301 A.D. See Corp. Insc. Lat. iii. 801 *sqq.* and *ib.* Suppl. p. 1910 *sqq.* It had been found that, notwithstanding plenteous harvests, prices and wages went up. The soldiers especially suffered, and, unable to purchase their provisions from their pay, were obliged to draw upon their savings. It is thought by Mommsen that the law was not universally applied, but only in the Eastern provinces which were ruled by Diocletian; it is probable that it was enforced only for a few years. For a full discussion see Mommsen's

paper in the *Berichte der kön. sächsischen Ges. d. Wissensch., phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1851. For list of fragments, see Mommsen, *Hermes* 25, 1890, 17 *sqq.* This does not include a large fragment, containing much new matter, found at Megalopolis, in the excavation of the British School at Athens, and published by W. Loring in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xi. 1890, 299 *sqq.* Another important fragment, found at Algira in Achaea, is published in the *Ἐφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική*, 1899, p. 147 (it furnishes data for prices of wheat and barley). The text of the edict is published in a convenient form by Mommsen, with notes by Blümner, 1893.

The monetary reforms of Diocletian, though they were not permanent, have some interest in connexion with this edict. He coined a new aureus of 60 to a pound of gold; he restored the denarius of silver; and introduced some new copper coins. The relative value of silver to gold seems to have been determined at 14·27 to 1. See Finlay, *Hist. of Greece*, vol. 1, App. 1.

24. THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE—(P. 457)

Over the central arch of the Triumphal Arch which the senate and people of Rome dedicated to Constantine in 315 A.D., to commemorate the victory over Maxentius, is the following inscription (C. I. L. vi. 1139):—

Imp. Caes. Fl. Constantino Maximo P. F. Augusto S.P.Q.R. quod instinctu divinitatis mentis magnitudine cum exercitu suo tam de tyranno quam de omni eius factione uno tempore iustis rempublicam ultus est armis arcum triumphis insignem dicavit.

Inside the arch are, on either side, the words *liberatori urbis* and *fundatori quietis*.

The view of the antiquaries, whom Gibbon follows, in supposing that the sculptures of this monument were transferred from the Arch of Trajan, has prevailed till recently, but Mr. H. Stuart Jones (*Notes on Roman Historical Sculptures*, in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, iii. 1896, 229 *sqq.*) seems to have established that, while the reliefs on the south face of the arch "underwent no restoration or alteration in ancient times, but were simply transferred by Constantine's order from one monument to another," the reliefs on the northern face have suffered alteration. A careful examination revealed that here two Imperial portrait types occur alternately. The hunting scenes present a portrait of Constantine himself, and the head has been substituted for that of another Emperor. The sacrificial scenes represent an Emperor, whom Mr. Stuart Jones has given convincing reasons for identifying with Claudius Gothicus, to whom Constantine after Maximian's death in 310 affiliated his father Constantius. This discovery throws a very interesting light on the official legend, first referred to by Eumenius (in *Paneg.* 7). The heads of both Constantine and Claudius are encircled by the nimbus. It follows that the arch had already been appropriated by Claudius, and that Constantine allowed the portrait of the alleged founder of his dynasty to remain in two of the medallions. Mr. Stuart Jones makes it probable that Claudius transferred the medallions from the *templum gentis Flaviae* built by Domitian on the Quirinal, or from some other Flavian monument. The eight medallions, originally from corresponding pairs, were disarranged in their new distribution on the north and south fronts of the arch; but Mr. Stuart Jones is able to point out the principle of this distribution: on the south front the Emperors of the early Flavian dynasty are represented in the unrestored medallions, while on the northern the new *gens Flavia* is represented by its supposed founder Claudius and by Constantine. In regard to the date of the medallions he argues for the reign of Domitian.

The eight panels on the north and south faces of the attic of the arch have been shown by Petersen to date from the time of Marcus Aurelius, and to belong to a series¹ representing scenes from his wars on the Danube. For a full account of them, and a criticism of von Domaszewski's interpretation of them, see Stuart Jones, *op. cit.*, 252 *sqq.* (v. Domaszewski's paper in *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, v., and *Die Marcussäule*).

¹Three other panels of the series are extant in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. Doubtless there were once twelve altogether, and probably they decorated a triumphal arch of Aurelius, which Mr. Stuart Jones thinks was close to the Church of S. Martina (in which the three panels were preserved till 1525); *op. cit.*, 252-3.

25. POPULATION OF THE GREEK AND THE ROMAN WORLD—(Pp. 37, 46, 52, 54)

The chief critical work, containing all the material, on this subject is Julius Beloch's *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt*, 1886. He does full justice to the importance of Hume's famous Essay on the Populousness of Ancient Nations.

Beloch reaches the following rough estimates:—

Attica, 432 A.D. : free population, 120,000 to 140,000 (p. 73) ; slaves, 100,000 (p. 97).

Athens, 432 A.D. : 30,000 citizens of every age and both sexes ; 20,000 to 25,000 metics ; 60,000 slaves (pp. 100-1).

Italy (exclusive of Cisalpine Gaul), first century B.C. : 4,000,000, including slaves (p. 418).

Rome, three first centuries A.D. : 800,000 (p. 412).¹

Egypt, first century A.D. : 5,000,000 ? (p. 258).

Roman Empire, under Augustus : 50,000,000 to 60,000,000 (p. 502).

The principles and method followed by Beloch have been challenged by O. Seeck in the *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik* (iii. Folge), vol. 13 (1897), p. 161 *sqq.*, and E. Kornemann in the same periodical criticises his treatment of the Roman census statistics (14, 291 *sqq.*). Beloch replied to Seeck in vol. 13, and was supported by E. Meyer, 15, 59 *sqq.* Seeck thinks that the number given by Josephus (B. J. 2, 385) for the whole population of Egypt, exclusive of Alexandria (7,500,000), is probably right, and that 2,000,000 is not an impossible figure for the population of Rome in the time of Augustus.

Beloch is now inclined to increase his figure for the total population of the Roman Empire in the time of Augustus, thinking that the population of Gaul was larger than he had supposed (*Rheinisches Museum*, 54, 1899). Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst*, ii. p. 170, estimates the total population at 60,000,000 to 65,000,000 at most.

26. THE ROUMANIANS AND THE EVACUATION OF DACIA—(P. 317)

The evacuation of trans-Danubian Dacia is connected with the controversy as to the origin of the modern Roumanians. There is, on one side, the theory (popular in Roumania) that they are the direct descendants of the Roman population of Trajan's Dacia (the most able representatives of this view have been Xenopol and Jung) ; while, on the other side, Roesler made out a case for supposing that the province of Dacia was entirely abandoned, and that the modern Roumanians owe their origin to an emigration from the south to the north of the Danube in the thirteenth century. The truth probably lies between the two theories. There is no doubt about a late transmigration, but on the other hand it is probable that the evacuation of Dacia was not so complete as Roesler thought.

The texts are as follows:—

Hist. Aug. xxvi. 39, 7 : sublato exercitu et provincialibus : . . . abductos ex ea populos in Moesia collocavit.

Rufus Festus, 8 : translatis inde Romanis.

Eutropius, 9, 15, 1 : abductos Romanos ex urbibus et agris Daciae in media Moesia collocavit.

Jordanes, Rom. 217 : euocatis exinde legionibus.

Syncellus, i. p. 722 : ἀρδρας τε καὶ γυναικας εἰς τὸ μεσσητρικὸν τῆς Μωσίας ὀρέσσας.

[It is to be observed that the passages of Hist. Aug. and Eutropius are derived from a common source (namely, the *Imperial Chronicle* ; see above, p. 480), as the contexts show.]

It is evident from these texts that it was not a question of the mere withdrawal of the army ; the civil population—though not necessarily all—also left the dominion of the Goths. The improbability of the inference that the whole

¹ Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, ii., 300-1, discusses the increase of Roman citizens in the early Empire, and observes that it is not inconsistent with the decline of population in Italy.

Daco-Roman population, especially the rural portion, left the country, has been the main argument for the theory of continuity, but some positive indications have been found which point to the existence of a Roman population there in the Hungarian period before the thirteenth century. (1) The old Russian Chronicle (Nestor) states (*sub a.* 898; Leger, *Chronique de Nestor*, p. 19) that the Hungarians "crossing the great mountains which have been since named the mountains of the Hungarians, fought against the Vlokhs [*i.e.* Walachians] and Slavs who lived in these countries". The simple and obvious implication is that there were Walachians, *i.e.* Roumanians, in the ninth century in Transilvania. (2) The mention of a Walachian Duke, Ramunc, in the *Nibelungenlied*, is taken to prove that in the twelfth century there were Roumans north of the Danube. (3) A Hungarian document of the thirteenth century quotes an older document, Hungarian *Gesta*, to the effect that Hungary, at the time of its conquest, was known as *pascua Romanorum* (Endlicher, *Monumenta Arpadiana*, p. 248; *cp.* p. 96). (4) Some other documents cited by Xénopol, *Histoire des Roumains*, i. pp. 152-3.

The probable conclusion seems to be that there existed throughout the Middle Ages a Daco-Roman people in Transilvania, speaking their Roman tongue, and that it was reinforced in the thirteenth century by emigrants from the Balkan peninsula.

Literature: Roesler, *Römânische Studien*, 1871; Jung, *Römer und Rumänen in den Donauländern*, 1877; *Die romanischen Landschaften des römischen Reichs*, 1881; Pið, *Ueber die Abstammung der Rumänen*, 1880; Hurmuzaki, *Fragmente zur Geschichte der Rumänen*, vol. i., 1878; Hunfalvy, *Die Rumänen und ihre Ansprüche*, 1883; Xénopol, *Histoire des Roumains*, vol. i., 1896; Tamm, *Ueber den Ursprung der Rumänen*, 1891; De Martonne, *La Valachie*, 1902; E. Fischer, *Die Herkunft der Rumänen*, 1904; Sturdza, *La terre et la race roumaines depuis leurs origines jusqu'à nos jours*, 1904.

27. GIBBON'S REVISION OF HIS FIRST VOLUME

The first volume of the *Decline and Fall* was published, in quarto form, in 1776, and the second quarto edition of this volume, which appeared in 1782, exhibits a considerable number of variants. A careful collation of the two editions throughout the first fourteen chapters shows that, in most cases, the changes were made for the sake not of correcting mis-statements of fact, but of improving the turn of a sentence, or securing greater accuracy of expression. Some instances may be interesting.

	<i>First edition.</i>	<i>Second edition.</i>
P. 2.	Instead of exposing his person and his legions to the arrows of the Parthians, he <i>satisfied himself with</i> the restitution of the standards and prisoners which <i>were</i> taken in the defeat of Crassus.	Instead of exposing his person and his legions to the arrows of the Parthians he <i>obtained, by an honourable treaty</i> , the restitution of the standards and prisoners which <i>had been</i> taken in the defeat of Crassus.
P. 11.	The peasant or mechanic, imbibed the useful prejudice . . . that, although the prowess of a private soldier, <i>might</i> escape the notice of fame, <i>it would be in his power</i> to confer glory or disgrace on the company, the legion, or even the army, to whose honours he was associated.	The peasant, or mechanic imbibed the useful prejudice . . . that although the prowess of a private soldier <i>must often</i> escape the notice of fame, his own behaviour might sometimes confer glory or disgrace on the company, the legion, or even the army, to whose honours he was associated.

	<i>First edition.</i>	<i>Second edition.</i>
P. 57.	The olive, in the western world, <i>was the companion as well as the symbol of peace.</i>	The olive, in the western world, <i>followed the progress of peace of which it was considered as the symbol.</i>
P. 65.	The <i>general</i> definition of a monarchy seems to be that of a state, &c.	The <i>obvious</i> definition of a monarchy seems to be that of a state, &c.
P. 68.	<i>On the most important occasions,</i> peace and war were seriously debated in the senate.	<i>The most important resolutions of</i> peace and war were seriously debated in the senate.
P. 67.	The present greatness of the Roman state, the corruption of manners, and the licence of the soldiers, <i>added new weight</i> to the advocates of monarchy.	The present greatness of the Roman state, the corruption of manners, and the licence of the soldiers <i>supplied new arguments</i> to the advocates of monarchy.
P. 77.	However the latter [i.e. the name Cæsar] was diffused by adoption and female alliance, Nero was the last prince who could <i>claim so noble an extraction.</i>	However the latter was diffused by adoption and female alliance, Nero was the last prince who could <i>allege any hereditary claim to the honours of the Julian line.</i>
P. 81.	Which . . . had <i>just finished</i> the conquest of Judæa.	Which . . . had <i>recently achieved</i> the conquest of Judæa.
P. 116.	To ascend a throne <i>streaming</i> with the blood of so near a relation.	To ascend a throne <i>poluted</i> with the <i>recent</i> blood of so near a relation.
P. 120.	Severus, who <i>had sufficient greatness of mind to adopt</i> several useful institutions from a vanquished enemy.	Severus, who <i>afterwards displayed the greatness of his mind by adopting</i> several useful institutions from a vanquished enemy.

These are a few specimens of the numerous cases in which alterations have been made for the purpose of improving the language. Sometimes, in the new edition, statements are couched in a less positive form. For example :—

P. 10.	The legions themselves <i>consisted</i> of Roman citizens.	The legions themselves <i>were supposed to consist</i> of Roman citizens.
P. 85.	And he even condescended to give lessons of philosophy in a more public manner than <i>suited</i> the modesty of a sage or the dignity of an emperor.	And he even condescended to give lessons of philosophy in a more public manner than <i>was perhaps consistent with</i> the modesty of a sage or the dignity of an emperor.

There are also cases, where something is added which, without changing the general sense, renders a statement fuller, more picturesque, or more vivid. Thus :—

	<i>First edition.</i>	<i>Second edition.</i>
P. 27.	A sandy desert skirted along the doubtful confine of Syria, from the Euphrates to the Red Sea.	A sandy desert, <i>alike destitute of wood and water</i> , skirts along the doubtful confine of Syria, from the Euphrates to the Red Sea.
P. 53.	The spirit of improvement had passed the Alps and been felt even in the woods of Britain.	The spirit of improvement had passed the Alps and been felt even in the woods of Britain, <i>which were gradually cleared away to open a free space for convenient and elegant habitations.</i>
P. 62.	The sciences of physic and astronomy were cultivated <i>with some degree of reputation</i> ; but if we except the inimitable Lucian, <i>an</i> age of indolence passed away without <i>producing</i> a single writer of genius, <i>who deserved the attention of posterity.</i>	The sciences of physic and astronomy were <i>successfully</i> cultivated <i>by the Greeks</i> ; <i>the observations of Ptolemy and the writings of Galen are studied by those who have improved their discoveries and corrected their errors</i> ; but if we except the inimitable Lucian, <i>this</i> age of indolence passed away without <i>having</i> produced a single writer of original genius, or <i>who excelled in the arts of elegant composition.</i>

It is interesting to observe that at a later period Gibbon set to work to revise the second edition, but did not get further than p. 32 of the first volume.¹ His own copy with autograph marginal notes was exhibited in 1896, on the occasion of the Gibbon Centenary, by the Royal Historical Society, and is to be seen in the British Museum. The corrections and annotations are as follows :—

P. 1 = 1 of this edition. "To describe the prosperous condition of their empire." Read *times* for *empire*.

"And afterwards from the death of Marcus Antoninus." The following note is entered: "Should I not have given the *history* of that fortunate period which was interposed between two iron ages? Should I not have deduced the decline of the Empire from the Civil Wars that ensued after the Fall of Nero, or even from the tyranny which succeeded the reign of Augustus? Alas! I should: but of what avail is this tardy knowledge? Where error is irreparable, repentance is useless."

P. 2 = 1. "To deduce the most important circumstances of its decline and fall: a revolution which will ever be remembered, and is still felt by the nations of the earth." These words are erased and the following are substituted: "To prosecute the decline and fall of the empire of Rome: of whose language, religion and laws the impression will be long preserved in our own and the neighbouring countries of Europe". To which an observation is appended: "N.B. Mr. Hume told me that, in correcting his history, he always laboured to reduce superlatives, and soften positives. Have Asia and Africa, from Japan to Morocco, any feeling or memory of the Roman Empire?"

On the words "rapid succession of triumphs," note: "EXCURSION I. on the succession of Roman triumphs".

¹ It is stated that there are also unimportant annotations in vols. iv. and vi.

P. 3 = 3. On "bulwarks and boundaries," note: "Incertum metâ an per invidiam (Tacit. Annal. i. 11). Why must rational advice be imputed to a base or foolish motive? To what cause, error, malevolence, or flattery shall I ascribe the unworthy alternative? Was the historian dazzled by Trajan's conquests?"

P. 6 = 6. "On the immortality and transmigration of soul" (compare footnote). Note: "Julian assigns this Theological cause, of whose power he himself might be conscious (*Cæsares*, p. 327). Yet I am not assured that the religion of Zamolxis subsisted in the time of Trajan; or that his Dacians were the same people with the Getae of Herodotus. The transmigration of the soul has been believed by many nations, warlike as the Celts, or pusillanimous like the Hindoos. When speculative opinion is kindled into practical enthusiasm, its operation will be determined by the prævious character of the man or the nation."

P. 7 = 6. "On their destroyers than on their benefactors." Note: "The first place in the temple of fame is due and is assigned to the successful heroes who had struggled with adversity; who, after signalizing their valour in the deliverance of their country, have displayed their wisdom and virtue in foundation or government of a flourishing state. Such men as Moses, Cyrus, Alfred, Gustavus Vasa, Henry IV. of France, &c."

"The thirst of military glory will ever be the vice of the most exalted [characters . . . but he] lamented with a sigh that his advanced age, &c." All included within the brackets is erased, and the following substituted: "the most exalted minds. Late generations and far distant climates may impute their calamities to the immortal author of the *Iliad*. The spirit of Alexander was inflamed by the praises of Achilles: and succeeding Heroes have been ambitious to tread in the footsteps of Alexander. Like him the Emperor Trajan aspired to the conquest of the East; but the Roman lamented with a sigh," &c.

P. 11 = 10. "A just preference was given to the climates of the north over those of the south." Note: "The distinction of North and South is real and intelligible; and our pursuit is terminated on either side by the poles of the Earth. But the difference of East and West is arbitrary and shifts round the globe. As the men of the North, not of the West, the legions of Gaul and Germany were superior to the South-Eastern natives of Asia and Egypt. It is the triumph of cold over heat; which may, however, and has been surmounted by moral causes."

P. 15 = 13. "A correspondent number of tribunes and centurions." Note: "The composition of the Roman officers was very faulty. 1. It was late before a Tribune was fixed to each cohort. Six tribunes were chosen for the entire legion which two of them commanded by turns (Polyb. i. vi. p. 526, edit. Schweighæuser) for the space of two months. 2. One long subordination from the Colonel to the Corporal was unknown. I cannot discover any intermediate ranks between the Tribune and the Centurion, the Centurion and the manipularis or private leginary [sic]. 3. As the tribunes were often without experience, the centurions were often without education, mere soldiers of fortune who had risen from the ranks (eo imitior quia toleraverat, Tacit. Annal. i. 20). A body equal to eight or nine of our battalions might be commanded by half a dozen young gentlemen and fifty or sixty old sergeants. Like the legions, our great ships of war may seem ill provided with officers: but in both cases the deficiency is corrected by strong principles of discipline and rigour."

P. 17, footnote 53 = 15, footnote 55. "As in the instance of Horace and *Agrioola*." These words are erased. Note: "quod mihi pareret legio Romana Tribuno (Horat. Serm. i. i. vi. 45), a worthy commander of three and twenty from the school of Athens! Augustus was indulgent to Roman birth, liberis Senatorum . . . militiam auspiciantes non tribunatum modo legionum sed et præfecturas alarum dedit (Sueton. c. 38)."

P. 32, footnote 86 = 28, footnote 93. "A league and a half above the surface of the sea." Note: "More correctly, according to Mr. Bouguer, 2500 toises (Buffon, Supplement, tom. v. p. 304). The height of Mont Blanc is now fixed to 2416 toises (Beaussure, Voyage dans les Alpes, tom. i. p. 495); but the lowest ground from whence it can be seen is itself greatly elevated above the level of the sea. He who sails by the isle of Teneriff, contemplates the entire Pike, from the foot to the summit."

APPENDIX

ADDITIONAL NOTES BY THE EDITOR

1. AUTHORITIES

The guiding idea of the historical works of EUSEBIUS of Cæsarea (270-340 A.D.) is the establishment of a Christian empire for which Constantine was the chosen instrument. The Ecclesiastical History, in ten Books, composed 325 A.D., relates the history of the Church from the earliest time to the final victory of Constantine over Licinius. About ten years later he wrote his *De Vita Constantini* in four Books, which is not a regular biography, but a memoir to illustrate the side of Constantine's career which interested the Church. In 337 he wrote his Panegyric on Constantine (*τριακοστιαερηικός*), of which cc. 1-10 are the oration which he delivered in the palace, on the occasion of the tricennial jubilee of Constantine. The *De Vita Constantini* contains a number of edicts and letters of Constantine, which some critics regard as inventions of Eusebius. Seeck declines to make any use of the documents contained in it, and his judgment on the work is: "Nichts hat dem Andenken des grossen Kaisers mehr geschadet als das Lügenbuch des Eusebios". Heikel, however, in his edition, has successfully defended the genuineness of the documents. For a characteristic of the *Vita* see Ranke's suggestive essay in his *Weltgeschichte*, ii. 2, 249 *sqq.* See also P. Meyer, *De Vita Constantini Eusebiana*, 1883; V. Schultze, *Quellenuntersuchungen zur Vita Constantini des Eusebios*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xiv. 503 *sqq.*, 1894; Amedeo Crivellucci, *Della fede storica di Eusebio nella vita di Costantino*, 1888 (Livorno); F. Görres, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, xx. 215 *sqq.*, xxi. 35 *sqq.*, xxxiii. 124 *sqq.*; O. Seeck, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 18, 321 *sqq.*, 1897. Editions: The historical writings of Eusebius were edited by Heinichen in three volumes (vol. iii. contains a commentary), 1868-70. The complete works are being published by the Kirchenväter-commission of the Berlin Academy. Vol. i. (1902) contains the *De Vita* and the Panegyric, edited by Heikel.¹ Vol. ii. (1903) contains the Ecclesiastical History edited by E. Schwartz, with the Latin translation of Rufinus, edited by Mommsen. Books i. to iv. of the Ecclesiastical History have been edited by E. Grapin with French translation (the text is that of Schwartz), 1905. The Syriac version of the History has been edited by W. Wright and N. McLean, 1898, and has been translated into German by E. Nestle, 1901. Books vi. and vii. are wanting in the Syriac version; but a version of that version exists in Armenian, and these two Books have been translated from the Armenian into German by E. Preuschen, in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, N.F., vii. 8, 1902.

To understand the chronological work of Eusebius, we must glance at the "Chronographies" of Sextus Julius Africanus, who flourished in the early part of the third century and wrote his chronological work between 212 and 221 A.D. All that is known about him and his work will be found in the invaluable study of H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie* (1880). He is the founder of Byzantine chronography. His system is determined by the Jewish idea of a world-epoch of 6000 years; and he divides this into two parts at

¹ Also the spurious Address of Constantine to the Synod. Heikel shows that it is posterior to the *De Vita Constantini*, that it is almost certainly not from the pen of Eusebius, that it is perhaps later than A.D. 450.

the death of Phalek. He is concerned to prove that the Incarnation took place in the year 5500 (= 2 B.C.); after which there are 500 years of waiting till the end of the world and the beginning of the millennium or the World-Sabbath. The date of Moses was fixed at 1020 years before the first olympiad by Justus of Tiberias, and this view, to which the apologist Justin gave currency, is maintained by Africanus, who puts Moses in 3707-8 and the first olympiad = first year of Ahaz in 4727-8. A contemporary of Africanus, Hippolytus of Rome, also wrote a chronicle of the world, which Gelzer (ii. 23) designates as a very feeble performance, in erudition far inferior to that of Africanus.

The Chronicle of Eusebius, translated into Latin by Jerome, threw that of Africanus into the background. Gelzer (ii. 42 *sqq.*) gives him the credit which he deserves for his excellent critical discussion of the number of years between the Exodus and the building of Solomon's temple. Here we have a contradiction between St. Paul and the Book of Judges on one hand, and the Books of Kings on the other. Eusebius does not hesitate to criticize the inspired numbers with masterly ability, just as if they occurred in profane documents, and rejects the statement of the Apostle Paul. "In later patristic literature we find nothing similar. The Greek Church was perfectly speechless at the boldness which treated the chronological sketch of the apostle like that of a profane author" (Gelzer, ii. 47).

Again the historical instinct of Eusebius is shown in the choice of his era. While Africanus began with Adam, this instinct taught Eusebius that all Hebrew events before Abraham were "prehistoric," and so he dated events by the years of Abraham, whom he places in 2017 B.C., whereas the date of Africanus was 2900. But this was little compared with his boldness in rejecting the received date of Moses, whom he placed in 1512 B.C. instead of 1795 B.C.

The Chronicle (in two books, entitled *πρωταρχὴ ἱστορία* or *χρονικὰ συγγράμματα*) has not been preserved in its original form, with the exception of a few fragments. We have Jerome's Latin translation of the *χρονικὸν καλόνες* (Book ii.). The whole work has been preserved in an Armenian version, and of this a Latin translation is accessible in A. Schöne's edition, *Eusebii Chronicorum libri duo*, vol. i., 1875; vol. ii., 1866. On Jerome's version see Schöne, *Die Weltchronik des Eusebius in ihrer Bearbeitung durch Hieronymus*, 1900.

Two historical fragments, one covering A.D. 293-387, the other A.D. 474-526, first printed by H. Valois at the end of his edition of Ammian (from a Ms. belonging to J. Sirmond, which afterwards passed into the Philipps collection, and was translated in 1887 from Cheltenham to Berlin), are generally described under the name ANONYMUS VALESII. This title is misleading, by its suggestion that the two fragments belong to the same work, whereas they have nothing to do with each other; but it is still convenient to refer to them under the old title. Though they have nothing to do with Ammianus, Gardthausen, following the example of Valois, printed them at the end of his edition. The authoritative edition is now Mommsen's in the *Chronica Minora* (M. G. H.); the first which concerns us here, being printed under the title *Origo Constantini imperatoris* in vol. i. p. 7-11 (1891).

The unknown author of this fragment wrote in the fourth century, and Mommsen designates him as "optimi et Ammiano neque ætate neque auctoritate inferioris" and adds that he probably wrote "ante tempora absolute Christiana". Several passages (e.g., 20, 33, 34), which are redolent of the Christian clerical style, are shown to be interpolations derived from Orosius (Mommsen, pref. p. 6; cp. W. Ohnesorge, *Der Anonymus Valesii de Constantino*, p. 88 *sqq.*, 1885, who has some good remarks on the author's geographical knowledge, and the probability that he wrote in Italy).

[The ANONYMI MONODIA (first published by Morelli in 1691) was supposed to be (in accordance with its title in the Palatine Ms.) a funeral oration on Constantine, the eldest son of Constantine the Great; and on this supposition Gibbon made important use of it (p. 224, n. 26; cp. p. 245, n. 71). But it is only necessary to read it carefully to see that the inscription is false, and that it cannot refer to the younger Constantine. This was proved by Wesseling, who made it probable that the subject of the oration was Theodore Palæologus. As the argument of Gibbon as to Fausta's survival was recently repeated by such a

capable scholar as Victor Schultze, with an appeal to the *Monodia* (Brieger's *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengeschichte*, viii. p. 541; apparently he had not read the document), it may be worth while to state briefly the chief decisive points. (I cite from the most recent edition: Anon. *Græci oratio funebris*, by C. E. Frotscher, 1856.) (1) The very first words are quite impossible in an orator of the fourth century: Ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ποτὲ λείψανα δυστυχῆ. (2) The subject of the laudation died of a plague (p. 14); Constantine according to our authorities was killed by violence. (3) ἐπὶ τοῦτοις ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πρὸς ἡμᾶς πάλιν ἀγγέλου (p. 16) does not apply to Constantine, nor yet (4) the statement (p. 26) that he sent ambassadors to Iberia (whether Spanish or Caucasian) to get him a wife.]

It is much to be regretted that the history of Constantine the Great, in two books, written by a young Athenian named PRAXAGORAS at the age of twenty-two, is only known to us by a brief quotation in Photius, cod. 62, p. 20, ed. Bekk. (= F. H. G. iv. p. 2). Photius does not give his date. Müller says he wrote at end of Constantine's reign, or under Constantius, *ut videtur*, but does not give reasons. In accepting this date as probably right I am guided by the following consideration. Praxagoras (Photius tells us) was a pagan (Ἕλληνας τὴν θρησκείαν), and yet he praised Constantine very highly, setting him above all his predecessors who held the Imperial dignity. It is extremely improbable that a pagan living in the second half of the fourth century—a contemporary of Julian and Eunapius—or in the fifth, would have adopted this attitude. Hostility to Constantine's memory is a note of Julian and all the pagans who came after him. Peter thinks the work was composed before A.D. 330 (*Geschichtliche Litteratur*, i. 442).

JULIAN has been treated so fully in the text that only bibliographical points need be noted here. My references throughout are to the critical text of Hertlein (Gibbon used that of Spanheim, 1696), which includes the extant works, except (1) the treatise *contra Christianos*, which has been ingeniously reconstituted from the citations of Cyril and edited by C. J. Neumann, 1880; and (2) six letters which A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus discovered in a Ms. at the *μονὴ τῆς Θεοτόκου* in the island of Chalce near Constantinople. These are published in the *Rheinisches Museum*, 42 (1887), p. 15 *sqq.*, in the *Maurogordateios Bibliothek* and elsewhere [number 1, to his uncle Julian, 2, to the priestess Theodora (cp. Hertl. Ep. 5), 3, to Theodorus, high priest, 4, to Priscus, 5, to Maximin, 6, probably to a priestess]. Three of these [1, 2, 3] are considered of doubtful authenticity by Schwarz in his valuable *Julianstudien*, Philol. li. p. 623 *sqq.* (1892), where he tries to discriminate in the extant correspondence of Julian, what is genuine, spurious, and doubtful. He condemns letters 8, 18, 19, 24, 25, 34, 40, 41, 53, 54, 60, 61, 66, 67, 72, 73, 75. Doubts are attached to 28, 32, 57, 68. Letter 27 is mainly genuine, but is tainted by an interpolation, § 9-21. (Schwarz also disproves Cumont's conjecture that a number of the letters are the work of Julian the Sophist, p. 626 *sqq.*) Julian wrote a special work on his Alamannic campaign, not extant now, which was used by Ammianus and Libanius (see below under Ammianus). The *Cohortatio ad Græcos*, which had been falsely ascribed to Justin, has been shown by J. Asmus to be a contemporary polemical tract against Julian (acc. to J. Dräseke, *Apollinarios von Laodicea*, 1891, p. 86 *sqq.*, identical with the treatise of Apollinarius on Truth, mentioned by Sozomen, v. 18). It was used by Gregory Nazianzene in his *Invectives*. See *Zeitsch. für wissenschaftl. Theologie*, xxxviii. 115 *sqq.*, 1895. The *Therapeutic* of Theodoret seems to have been directed against Julian's "Rhetor-edict" and his work against the Galileans; see J. Asmus, *Byz. Zeitsch.* 3, p. 116 *sqq.* [Modern works: J. F. Mücke, *Flavius Cl. Julianus*, 1866-8. Rendall, *The Emperor Julian*, 1878. Naville, *Julien l'Apostat et sa philosophie du polythéisme*, 1877. Miss Gardner, *Julian the Philosopher*, 1895. P. Allard, *Julien L'Apostat*, 3 vols., 1900-3. G. Negri, *L'imperatore Giuliano l'Apostata*, 1901 (Eng. translation by the Duchess Litta-Visconti-Arese, 2 vols., 1905). Sievers (in his *Studien*), *Julians Perserkrieg*. Rode, *Geschichte der Reaction Kaiser J. gegen die christliche Kirche*, 1877. Schwarz, *de vita et scriptis Juliani imperatoris*, 1888. F. Cumont, *Sur l'authenticité de quelques lettres de Julian*, 1889. Wiegand, *Die Alamannenschlacht von Strassburg* (in *Heft 3 of Beitr. zur Landes und Volkeskunde von Elsass-Lothr.*, 1887).

Koch, Leyden Dissertation on Julian's Gallic campaigns, 1890. Reinhardt, Der Tod des Kaisers Julian, 1891, and Der Perserkrieg des K. J., 1892. W. Koch, Kaiser Julian der Abtrünnige (331-361), 1899. R. Asmus, Julians Brief an Oreibasios, in Philologus 61, 577 sqq., 1902. Klimek, Zur Würdigung der Handschriften und zur Textkritik Julians, 1888. Bidez and Cumont, Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien, 1898. See also G. Boissier's La fin du paganisme; Petit de Julleville's L'Ecole d'Athènes au ive siècle après Jésus Christ. On Julian legends see R. Förster, Kaiser Julian in der Dichtung alter und neuer Zeit, in Studien zur vergleichenden Litteraturgeschichte, 5, 1 sqq., 1905.]

Of the life and works of LIBANIUS (314—c. 395 A.D.) a full account will be found in the standard monograph of Sievers, Das Leben des Libanius (1868), which is full of valuable research for the general history of the time. Reiske's edition of the Orations and Declamations appeared too late (1784-1797, 4 volumes) for Gibbon to use. The Letters were edited by Wolf in 1738. 1607 letters are preserved, of which Sievers gives a full dated index (p. 297 sqq.). Four hundred letters professing to be Latin translations from originals of Libanius have been proved by R. Förster to be forgeries (F. Zambeccari und die Briefe des Libanius, 1876; cp. Sievers, *ib.* Beil. T. T.). A new edition of the works of Libanius, which has long been a serious want, has been undertaken by R. Förster. Three volumes (1903-6) have appeared, and contain 50 Orations. Reiske's enumeration has been in some cases changed. The dates of the Speeches of Libanius, which concern us in the present volume, are probably as follows (Reiske's numbering):—

- (1) Βασιλικός (lx.) = c. 348 A.D. (349 A.D., Tillemont).
- (2) Μονφθία ἐπὶ Νικομηδείᾳ (lxii.) = c. 358 A.D. (after 24th August).
- (3) Ἀντιοχικός (xi.) = 360 A.D.
- (4) Προσφωνητικός Ἰουλιανῷ (xiii.) = July 362 A.D.
- (5) ὑπὲρ Ἀριστοφάνους (xiv.) = 362 A.D. (intercession for a friend who had been exiled).
- (6) Μονφθία ἐπὶ τῷ ἐν Δάφνῃ νεῷ (lxi.) = 362 A.D. (after 23rd October).
- (7) εἰς Ἰουλιανὸν ὑπατον (xii.) = 1st January 363 A.D.
- (8) πρεσβευτικός πρὸς Ἰουλιανόν (xv.)
- (9) πρὸς Ἀντ. περὶ τῆς βασ. ὑργῆς (xvi.) } = after March 363 A.D.
- (10) Μονφθία ἐπὶ Ἰουλιανῷ (xvii.) = 365 A.D.
- (11) Ἐπιτάφιος ἐπὶ Ἰουλιανῷ (xviii.) = 365 A.D.
- (12) ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰουλιανοῦ τιμωρίας (xxiii.) = 379 A.D.

Of the orations of THEMISTIOS (a younger contemporary and friend of Libanius) those which concern this volume are the Panegyrics of Constantius: i. A.D. 347; ii. A.D. 355; iii. (Πρεσβευτικός) and iv., delivered in the senate at Constantinople A.D. 357. The subject of i. is *φιλανθρωπία*, which Christ (Gr. Litteratur, p. 672) designates as the Schlagwort of Themistius,—a pagan whose tolerance stands out in contrast with the temper of men like Libanius and Eunapius. (Ed. Dindorf, 1832; E. Baret, de Themistio sophista et apud imperatores oratore, Paris, 1858.)

The Latin panegyric of NAZARIUS on Constantine (see above, p. 322) and the speech of thanksgiving of CLAUDIUS MAMERTINUS to Julian are printed in Baehrens' xii. Panegy. Lat., as x. and xi.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, born c. 380, belonged to a good Antiochene family (Amm. xix. 8, 6), and was thus a *Græcus* (xxx. 16), though he wrote his history in Latin, which had become a second mother-tongue. His good birth and connexions gained him admission to the corps of the *domestici* (see below, App. 12). His military service probably lasted somewhat more than ten years. We find him at Nisibis in 358 under Ursicinus (xiv. 9, 1). Next year he is in the west; we catch him on the way to Milan (*ib.* 11, 5); and he goes with other *protectores*, *domestici* and *tribuni* (*scholarum*?) on a mission to Köln (xv. 5, 2, and xviii. 8, 11). But in 357 he returns to the east, to the scene of the Persian war (xvi. 10, 21), and Gibbon notices his escape from Amida. He went through Julian's campaign and probably retired from military service soon after the conclusion of the war by Jovian's treaty (cp. Büdinger, Ammianus Marcellinus und die Eigenart seines Geschichtswerkes, 1895).

His *Res Gestæ* in thirty-one books was intended as a continuation of Tacitus,

and began with Nerva (xxxi. 16). "The first thirteen books, a superficial epitome of 257 years, are now lost; the last eighteen, which contain no more than twenty-five years, still preserve the copious and authentic history of his own times" (Gibbon, ch. xxvi. n. 113). Book xiv. begins with the acts of the Cæsar Gallus in 353 A.D., and book xxxi. ends with the battle of Hadrianople in 378 A.D. The work seems to have been finished early in the last decade of the century, and he won by it a considerable reputation at Rome (cp. Libanius, Epp. ed. Wolf, Ep. to Amm. Marc. pp. 132 sqq.). Characteristic are his imitations of Tacitus and Sallust, and his contempt for the scandal-mongering popular history of Marius Maximus. The impartiality of Ammianus is appreciated by Gibbon, and generally recognized. For the Persian wars his account is not only that of a contemporary but of an eye-witness. As to his sources for Julian's German wars, see below. He was a pagan, but was not unjust to Christianity, of which he speaks with respect, and, though an admirer of Julian, shows by a very strong expression his disapprobation of that Emperor's measure which prohibited Christians from teaching (xxii. 10, 7). For his view of Christianity cp. xxi. 16, 18 (quoted by Gibbon) and xxii. 11, 5 (*nihil nisi iustum suadet et lena*). His remarkable phrase about the founder of Christianity was unknown until A. von Gutschmid brilliantly restored a corrupt passage, xxii. 16, 22:—

Ex his fontibus [sc. Egyptian sources] per sublimia gradiens sermonum amplitudine Iouis æmulus non uisa Aegypto militauit sapientia gloriosa.

The name of the wise man, thus described, has disappeared from the Mss., and Valesius proposed to substitute *Platon* for *non*. But Gutschmid saw that the reference is to Jesus, and that the abbreviated name *ihs* had fallen out accidentally after *his*. Thus *ex his Iesus fontibus* now appears in Gardthausen's text. (*Non u. Aegypto* is not verbally true, according to the account of Matthew, but it is in any case true in spirit.) Ammianus was doubtless thinking of the doctrine of the Logos in the fourth Gospel.

In connexion with this passage I may hazard a conjecture. I think that when Ammianus went out of his way to connect Jesus with Egypt, he had in mind a letter of Julian to the Alexandrians (Ep. li.), where the Emperor reproaches them for the prevalence of the Galilean superstition in their cities. The general theme of the letter is: What is Alexandria to Jesus or Jesus to Alexandria? The Ptolemies, he says (p. 557, l. 7, ed. Hertl.), *ὅτι τοῖς Ἰησοῦ λόγοις ἠβήσαν αὐτὴν οὐδὲ τῇ τῶν ἐχθιστῶν Γαλιλαίων διδασκαλίᾳ τὴν οἰκονομίαν αὐτῇ ταύτην ὅρ' ἥς νῦν ἐστὶν εὐδαίμων ἐξεργάσαντο*. Again (p. 558, l. 7), *ὅν δὲ ὅτε ὑμεῖς ὅτε οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἐοράκασιν Ἰησοῦν οἰετὲ χρῆναι θεὸν λόγον ὑπάρχειν*. I suggest that Ammianus's words are a criticism on Julian's argument, and that *non uisa Aegypto* was suggested by the sentence last quoted.

The attitude of Ammianus to internal ecclesiastical history has been well brought out by Büdinger (*op. cit.* p. 15 sqq.). He declines to enter into the details of Christian controversies; his idea is that the Christians fight among themselves like wild beasts.—His ideas of morality are high and strict; he believes in progress and the enlightenment of his own age, cp. xviii. 7, 7. He has a high ideal of the imperial authority. He shows towards the Germans a certain bitterness which is never apparent in his treatment of the oriental nations. That he was in a certain measure superstitious, notwithstanding his enlightenment, has been brought out by Büdinger.

One sharp criticism of Gibbon on Ammianus (see p. 421, n. 6) is due, as Mr. Hodgkin has pointed out to me, to a misunderstanding. Ammianus means in the passage in question that the troops were not to reach Persia, but to muster in Italy, at the beginning of spring.

A reference must be made to the friendship of Ammian with his fellow-citizen and fellow-pagan Libanius. Their correspondence seems to have begun (not very cordially perhaps) about 359: Libanius, ep. 141, ed. Wolf; and a very interesting letter (cited above) is extant (date 390-1) in which the rhetor admonishes Ammianus to go on with his historical work. In ep. 232 he refers to *ὁ καλὸς Ἀμμιανός*. In other letters addressed to Ammianus or Marcellinus there is nothing to identify the writer's correspondent.

Much has been written on the subject of the sources of Ammianus: Gard-

thausen, *Die geographischen Quellen Ammians*, 1879 (and *Coniectanea Ammianea*, 1869); Hertz, *Aulus Gellius und Ammianus Marcellinus* (*Hermes* 8, 1874); A. Sudhaus, *de ratione quæ intercedat inter Zosimi et Ammiani de bello a Juliano imperatore cum Persis gesto relationes*, 1870; Hugo Michael, *de A. M. studiis Ciceronianis*, 1874, die verlorenen Bücher des Ammianus M., 1880. In *Hermes* 25, 1889, E. von Borries, *Die Quellen zu den Feldzügen Julians des Abtrünnigen gegen die Germanen* (p. 173 *sqq.*), elaborately and ingeniously discusses the question of the relations between the sources for Julian's German campaigns (*vis.*, Ammian, Libanius' *Epitaphios*, and Zosimus).

L. Mendelssohn (in Preface to his edition of Zosimus; see below) has shown that the agreements between Ammianus and Zosimus in the account of the Persian expedition of Julian depend on a common use of Magnus of Carrhæ (cp. Müller, *Frag. Hist. Græc.* iv. 4; Zosimus, 3, 22, 4; Ammian, 24, 4, 23).

New light has been thrown on the chronology and sources of Ammian by O. Seeck, in *Hermes* 41, 481 *sqq.* (1906). He points out that annalistic arrangement of events is not followed consistently or throughout by Ammianus. In the last portion, from the end of book xxvi. there is no annalistic distribution. Up to A.D. 366 the author hardly ever omits to designate the consuls of the year; from 367 to 378, they are mentioned in only three cases out of the twelve. Seeck concludes that Ammian had not himself deliberately selected the annalistic form; and that the annalistic features of his work depend on the nature of his chief sources as far as the year 366. He shows that these sources were two in number, one of which adopted the Thucydidean division of the year into summer and winter, while the other was based simply on the consular year. Seeck makes it highly probable that the first, which was Latin and pagan, is identical with the *Annales* of Virius Nicomachus Flavianus, dedicated to the Emperor Theodosius not earlier than A.D. 388 (*C. I. L.*, 6, 1782, 1783); and he has given plausible reasons for supposing that the second, which was Greek and Christian, was the work of Eutychianus of Cappadocia, a soldier who served in the Persian expedition and wrote a chronicle. If Eutychianus had been carried captive into Persia, he might have witnessed and described the (partial) eclipse of the sun on 28th August, 360, which was not visible in the Roman Empire, but is noticed (with manifest exaggeration) by Ammian, xx. 3, 1. Some remarkable chronological errors in Ammian are pointed out by Seeck, *ibid.*, 485-86.

Ammian also used the writings of Julian, including his last work on the Alamannic campaign (see above in the account of Julian).

Borries shows that there were no "Commentaries" of Julian such as Hecker assumes in "Zur Geschichte des Kaisers Julian," 1876 (cp. *Die Alamannenschlacht bei Strassburg*, in *Jahrb. für class. Philol.*, 1879, p. 59-80).

Gardthausen's edition of Ammianus (1874) is the best.

On Ammian's geographical knowledge see Mommsen, *Hermes* 16, 1881.

EUNAPIUS of Sardis was born about 347, and survived 414 A.D. For the facts which are known about his life see Müller, *Frag. Hist. Græc.* iv. p. 7-8. He wrote (1) a continuation of the Chronicle of Dexippus, which ended in 270 A.D. and brought it down to the death of Theodosius I., in 395 A.D. Then (2) he composed (c. 405 A.D.) his *Lives* of [23] Philosophers and Sophists, a work which is preserved (ed. Boissonade, in Didot series, 1849), and is valuable as a history of the fourth century renaissance of sophistic. (3) About ten years later, he took up his history again and continued it to 404 A.D.,—probably intending to make the death of Arcadius (408) his terminus. Of the history we have only fragments (edited by Müller, *F. H. G.* iv.); but we have further knowledge of it through the fact that it was the main source of Zosimus. It was characterized by all the weaknesses of contemporary rhetoric. For the history of events from Diocletian forward Eunapius' narrative and the *Epitome* of Victor seem to have been drawn from a common source, but I agree with Mendelssohn in deciding, in opposition to Opitz and Jeep, that this source was not Ammianus. For the campaigns of Julian, Eunapius used the *Memoirs* of Oribasius. Like Libanius, he was a firm adherent of the old religion, and an enthusiastic admirer of Julian. Compare Peter, *Die geschichtliche Litteratur über die römische Kaiserzeit* (1897), vol. 2, 163-4.

For Magnus of Carrhæ and Eutychianus who wrote accounts of the Persian campaign of Julian, see Müller, *F. H. G.* iv. 4-6, and Mendelssohn's Preface to Zosimus, p. xxxix. *sqq.*

ZOSIMUS, count and *ex-advocatus fasci*, is not to be identified with either of his two contemporary namesakes, the grammarian of Ascalon or the sophist of Gaza. That he lived part of his life at Constantinople has been inferred from his accurate description of the city, ii. c. 90 *sqq.* Like Eunapius he was devoted to paganism, and hostile to the Christian Emperors. He survived the year A.D. 501, as (in 2, 38) he refers to an event in that year. See a note by Mommsen, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 12, 533 (1903).

Introducing his work by expressing his belief in a guiding providence in history, and appealing to the work of Polybius in which the wonderful career of Rome was unfolded, Zosimus proceeds to give a rapid sketch of Imperial history up to the death of Claudius (i. 1-46), and then begins, with the accession of Aurelian, a fuller narrative, coming down to the siege of Rome by Alaric in 410. The author clearly intended to continue his work to a later date; if the sixth book, of which there are only thirteen chapters, had reached the average length of the first five, it would probably have ended with the death of Honorius. Between books i. and ii. there is a great gap, corresponding to the reigns of Carus, Carinus and Diocletian. We may conjecture that book ii. began with the accession of Diocletian.

The important question of the sources of Zosimus has been acutely investigated by Mendelssohn (see Preface and Notes to his edition). His results are briefly: (1) For chaps. 1-46, Zosimus used a lost source, in which the account of the Gothic invasions was drawn from the *Scythica* of Dexippus, but the *Chronica* of that writer was not consulted. The hypothesis of an indirect use of the same source will explain the remarkable agreements between Zonaras and Zosimus; and the identification of the source is bound up with the perplexed question of the *fontes* of Zonaras. But see further: F. Graebner, *Eine Zosimusquelle*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 14, 87 *sqq.*, 1905. (2) For the main body of the work Zosimus has chiefly relied on Eunapius, as can be shown from the Eunapiian fragments. Besides oracles, and one or two passages of small importance, which he has taken from other sources, Mendelssohn makes it probable that the digression on the secular games at beginning of book ii. was derived from Phlegon's treatise on Roman Feasts; and explains the agreements between Zosimus and Ammianus in the account of Julian's Persian expedition by a common use of Magnus of Carrhæ (cp. Zosimus' own words, iii. 2, 4, where he promises to tell of Julian *μάλιστα ὅσα τοῖς ἄλλοις παραλείψθαι δοκεῖ*—doubtless an allusion to Eunapius). (3) For the last years, 407-410 A.D., he uses Olympiodorus, whom he mentions. It is important here to consult Sozomen, who used the same source.

There is an elaborate and admirable "characteristic" of Zosimus as an historian in the *Analekten* to the fourth part of Ranke's *Weltgeschichte* (Abth. 2, p. 264 *sqq.*). See also Peter, *op. cit.*, ii. 164 *sqq.*

THE CONSULAR FASTI of Idatius or, correctly, Hydatius, the Spaniard, consist of three parts: (1) from the first consuls to the foundation of Constantinople, 330 A.D., (2) from A.D. 330 to 395, (3) from A.D. 395 to 468. Parts i. and ii. are an epitome of a chronicle which has been more fully preserved in a Greek form in the *CHRONICON PASCHALE*. (Mommsen has printed the two versions side by side in *Chronica Minora*, i. p. 208 *sqq.*) The second part was written at Constantinople "*quæ etiam in chronicis urbanis hereditatem quodammodo Romæ veteris sibi vindicavit*". We must suppose that a copy reached Spain towards the end of the fourth century, and was continued by Idatius concurrently with his continuation of the *Chronicle* of Jerome, along with which it has come down (see Mommsen, l. c. p. 201. Also C. Frick, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vol. i. 283 *sqq.*). In the second part, Idatius seems to have added some notices from the *CHRONICLE* of Jerome (composed c. 380 A.D.).

Of the four Greek ecclesiastical historians who wrote in the first half of the fifth century, the earliest, PHILOSTORGIUS (born before 365 (?); flor. c. 380-412 A.D.),

is the most interesting, as an Arian. Unluckily his "Ecclesiastical History" (which beginning with Constantine ended in 425 A.D.) is only known by the epitome of it made by Photius in the ninth century; it can be proved that at the beginning of the fourteenth century Nicephorus Xanthopoulos had only this epitome and not the complete work before him. (For the problem as to how far the epitome differs from the original, the study of J. R. Asmus, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, v. 90 *sqq.*, 1895, is suggestive.) The sources of Philostorgius, Socrates and Sozomen have been elaborately studied by L. Jeep in *Quæstiones Fridericianæ*, 1881, and *Quellenuntersuchungen zu den griechischen Kirchenhistorikern*, 1884. He concludes that Philostorgius made use of Eunapius, and, for the late years of his work, Olympiodorus (see below, vol. iii. Appendix 1).

Some fragments of another Arian historian (name unknown) are preserved (as Mr. Gwatkin showed in his *Studies of Arianism*, ed. 2, 1900) in the *Chronicon Paschale*. P. Batiffol has tried to show that this writer was a source of Philostorgius and Theodoret (*Römische Quartalschrift*, 9, p. 57 *sqq.*, 1895).

SOCRATES (orthodox; native of Constantinople) brought down his *History* to 489 A.D. (cp. vii. 48), in which year (or 440) he can be shown to have completed his work. His sources (referred to by himself) are: Eusebius; Rufinus (cp. ii. 1); Athanasius; three Collections of Letters, of (a) Arius, (b) Constantine against Arius, (c) Alexander of Alexandria (cp. i. 6); Sabinus (Bishop of Thracian Heraclea, and adherent of the heresy of Macedonius), who compiled a Collection of the Acts of the Synods, beginning with Nicæa (*συναγωγή τῶν συνοδικῶν*), doubtless filling in the historical connexion, and adding comments from his own point of view. Besides these, Socrates certainly made use of the Constantinopolitan Chronicle (see above); and Jeep has tried to show that he used Philostorgius and Olympiodorus. For the relations of Socrates and Rufinus see Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, p. 93 *sqq.*

SOZOMEN, a contemporary of Socrates and likewise orthodox (probably native of Palestine), proposed to trace the history of the Church from A.D. 324 to 489 (where Socrates ended; see Soz.'s dedication); but the work as we have it ends in 425, the last books apparently having been lost (cp. Jeep, *Quellenuntersuchungen*, p. 140). He used Socrates, but also went to the sources of Socrates; in the last book he abandons Socrates for Olympiodorus. Cp. Sarrasin, *de Theodoro Lectore* (in Gelzer und Götz, *Diss. Jenenses*, vol. 1, 1881).

THEODORET (orthodox) wrote his work (which comes down to 429 A.D.) between 441 and 449 A.D. It has very little value, adding almost nothing to Socrates and Sozomen. The sources have been fully investigated by A. Guldenpenning, *Die Kirchengeschichte des Theodoret von Kyrrhos*, 1889. Besides Athanasius, Arius, Eustathius of Antioch, he used (according to Guldenpenning) Socrates and Sozomen, and perhaps Philostorgius; also Ephraem Syrus and the Gregories of Nazianzus and Nyssa. The most elaborate work on Theodoret is in Russian, by N. Glubokovski, 1890.

Besides these, two other Ecclesiastical Histories in Greek were composed about the same time, which are now lost and never attained the same popularity, those of (1) Philip Sidetes; cp. Soz. vii. 26-7; and Harnack, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, I., i. 179 *sqq.*; and (2) Hesychius of Jerusalem, cp. Fabricius, *Bib. Gr.* vii. 548 *sqq.* All six began their histories about the same place,—where Eusebius ended. Cp. Harnack's *Sokrates u. Sozomenos*, in the *Encyclopædie* of Herzog u. Plitt; he calls attention to the differences between western and eastern Ecclesiastical historians in motive, aim and scope.

MODERN WORKS (compare works which include this period in vol. i., Appendix 1). Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, vol. iv., 1883. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, vols. i., ii., 1895, 1901.

Ecclesiastical History. Robertson, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. i., 1875. Neander, *Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche*, vols. i.-iii., 1838-4 (English translation in Bohn's Library). Gieseler,

Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, 6 vols. 1881-57. Hefele, Conciliengeschichte, vol. i., ed. 2, 1878 (also English translation, 1871). Harnack, Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte, 1886; Geschichte der althristlichen litteratur: Part 1, Die Ueberlieferung und der Bestand, 1893; Part 2, Die Chronologie, vol. i., 1896; vol. ii., 1904. Bardenhewer, Geschichte der altkirchlichen Litteratur, vol. ii. (from end of the second century to the beginning of the fourth), 1908 (vol. i. dealing with the earlier writers from end of apostolic age, 1902). On special countries: Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, 2 vols., 1894, 1900. Albanès, *Gallia Christiana novissima*, 2 vols., 1895, 1899. Morcelli, *Africa Christiana*, 3 vols., 1816-17. Leclercq, *L'Afrique chrétienne*, 2 vols., 1904. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à l'invasion arabe*, vol. i., 1901. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*. See also articles in the Dictionary of Christian Biography, and the Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, of Herzog and Plitt (3rd ed. by A. Hauck, 1896, etc.). For other books on special subjects see below under 2, 4, 7, 18, 19.

Monographs. On Constantine: A. Burckhardt, *Die Zeit Constantins des Grossen*, ed. 2, 1880; J. B. Firth, *Constantine the Great*, 1905; Benjamin's article, *Constantinus I.*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopädie*. On Constantinus II. Seeck's long and full article, annalistically arranged, in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.* On Julian and his reign, see above, pp. 561-2.

Decline of Paganism. E. v. Lasaulx, *Der Untergang des Hellenismus*, 1854; V. Schultze, *Geschichte des Untergangs des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*, 2 vols., 1887, 1892; G. Boissier, *La fin du paganisme*, ed. 2, 1894. These supersede the older works of Beugnot and Ohasel.

2. ORIGIN OF Gnosticism—(P. 18)

Hilgenfeld has developed his view as to the rise of Gnosticism in his highly important work on early heresies, *Die Ketzergeschichte des Urochristenthums*. His position is that Gnosticism was founded (as Irenæus said) by the Samaritan, Simon the Magian, at the beginning of the Apostolic epoch, and thus arose strictly outside Christianity, but yet within its atmosphere. Then it became in a way Christian, and deeply affected Christianity, both by breaking down Jewish Christianity, and by calling forth a combined opposition which led to the formation of a united Catholic Church. Hilgenfeld repeats and defends his theory in his *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, vol. xxxiii. 1890, p. 1 *sqq.*, against the different view put forward in Harnack's *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, vol. i., 1st edition, p. 178 *sqq.* Harnack holds that Gnosticism arose from pre-Christian syncretistic religious theories (a "Religionsmischung") which existed in Syria and especially Samaria, and aimed at a universal religion. The Gnostics he describes as "the theologians of the first century" (p. 163); they took up Christianity at once as a universal religion and opposed it sharply to Judaism and other religions. In Gnosticism, he says (following Overbeck), is represented "die acute Verweltlichung" (Hellenisation) of Christianity,—a result which was only obtained by a gradual process in Catholic Christianity.

Harnack points out well (p. 172) that Gnosticism was accompanied by a number of other sects, only partially related, which on one hand shade off into Hellenism, on the other into ordinary Christianity; e.g. Carpocratians and Encratites respectively. He deals at length with the peculiar position of Marcion, p. 197 *sqq.* [Cp. articles on Gnosticism and Marcion, in the Dictionary of Christian Biography.]

Harnack has since made a valuable contribution to the study of Gnosticism by his work "*Ueber das gnostische Buch Pistis Sophia*" (1891). He shows that this treatise (for which see above, p. 15, n. 34), of which he gives an elaborate exegesis was earlier than A.D. 302, and fixes it to the second half of the third century (p. 94 *sqq.*). He shows that it was written in Egypt, but does not represent Valentinian doctrines (as had been supposed) but rather Ophite, if we use this elastic word to connote a whole group of Syrian gnostic heresies (Ophites, Nicolaites, Sethites, Kainites, &c.). He goes on to develop an attractive theory

that the Pistis Sophia is identical with a treatise mentioned by Epiphanius (De Hær. xxvi.) under the title of the Small Questions of Mary, as a work that issued from this Gnostic group, and he even tries to establish that it represents in particular the views of the Sethites.

A long and important study on Gnostic works preserved in Coptic (the Books of Jeu: Coptic text and German translation) by C. Schmidt, in Gebhardt u. Harnack, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, viii. 1 and 2, deserves special mention. Both Pistis Sophia and the Books of Jeu have appeared in a German translation by C. Schmidt, 1905.

3. WORLD-ERAS—(P. 25)

The system of Africanus (see above, p. 560) which established 5500 years between the creation of the world and the incarnation (*σάρκωσις*: not the nativity, *ἐνανθρώπησις*) of Christ was adopted by many subsequent chroniclers: e.g. by Hippolytus, by Sulpicius Severus, by Eutychius. It was also accepted by Eusebius, but in his chronicle (see above, p. 560) he reckoned events from Abraham, 2017 A.D. On this system A.M. 5500 was concurrent with our 2 B.C.

The other most important eras were:—

(1) The "Byzantine" or "Roman" era (adopted in the *Chronicon Paschale*) = A.M. 5507 (incarnation, 21st March). As this year was identified with 1 B.C., and as the Byzantines made Sept. 1 the first day of the year, we must, in order to reduce a date A.M. to a date A.D., subtract 5509 for the months Sept. to Dec. and 5508 from Jan. to Aug. Thus A.M. 5958 = A.D. 449 Sept. 1—450 Aug. 31.

(2) The "Antiochene" era (used by John Malalas) = A.M. 5967; but concurrent with 8-2 B.C. The rule for reducing to a date A.D. is: subtract 5970. Thus A.M. 6370 (- 5970) = A.D. 400-1. Op. Gelzer, *Sex. Julius Africanus*, ii. 132.

(3) The "Ecclesiastical" era of Annianus (adopted by George Syncellus and Theophanes) was A.M. 5501. (The year 5500 ended on 24th March, 5501 began 25th March, day of the Incarnation. The same day of the month (1st Nisan) was the day of the Creation and the Crucifixion.) This year was concurrent with 9 A.D. Therefore to reduce A.M. in Theophanes to A.D. we must subtract (5501 - 9 =) 5492. Thus A.M. 6000 (- 5492) = A.D. 508.

Annianus (finished his work 412) owed much to his elder contemporary Panodorus (c. 395-408)—as has been shown by Unger, op. Gelzer, *op. cit.* ii. 191—and both were the main foundations of the chronicle of Syncellus. Panodorus invented an era which found little favour. He placed Christ's birth in A.M. 5493.

4. EARLY CHURCH INSTITUTIONS—(P. 44)

There is a considerable German literature on early Christian institutions, from Baur's *Der Ursprung des Episkopats*, 1838, to the present day. Of recent works, E. Löning's *Die Gemeindeverfassung des Urchristenthums*, 1889, and Dobschütz, *Die urchristlichen Gemeinden*, 1902, deserve special mention. Important contributions have been made to the subject in England by Bishop Lightfoot and by Dr. Hatch; the latter in *The Organization of the Early Christian Churches* (translated into German and edited by Harnack), 1880, doing good service by pointing out resemblances with the organization of religious communities in the contemporary pagan world. The large literature relating to the Ignatian Letters is also directly concerned with the origin of episcopacy. The subject has been treated from a wider point of view by M. Réville in his *Les origines de l'épiscopat*, vol. i., 1894, a work which throws light on many points. A very brief summary of his results (though they are by no means incontestable) in regard to the episcopate will be appropriate.

He throws aside the *πρωτον ψευδος* of many of his predecessors, "le funeste préjugé de l'unité du christianisme primitif," the idea that in the early church the institutions found in one community existed in all the others. Thus for Paul's time the evidence of the Pauline epistles proves that there were episcopi at

Philippi, but does not give the slightest reason to assume such in Galatia. The episcopal functions were originally administrative and financial [and liturgical]; and were distinct from the presbyteral functions, though often exercised by presbyters; the deacons were assistants of the episcopi. Thus the current view that bishop and presbyter were originally synonymous terms is, according to Réville, erroneous; it is only true in so far as the duties of instruction came to devolve on the bishops as well as the presbyters. (1) In the earliest documents we find a plurality of bishops (and this was still the case at Corinth, when the Epistle of Clement was written); (2) in the last years of the first century a single bishop is becoming the rule in the churches of Asia Minor (cp. Pastoral Epistles); (3) the third stage is the monarchical bishop, the ideal which Ignatius extolled in his Letters (which are certainly genuine) as the true remedy for the disorders and divisions of the Eastern Churches, but which (the monarchical, as distinguished from the "uninominal") was not yet (in the second decade of the second century), as his letters prove, a reality. For the organization of the Christian community in Palestine, consult the articles of Hilgenfeld in his *Zeitschrift*, vol. 33, 1890, p. 98 *sqq.*, and 228 *sqq.*

It may still be maintained that neither M. Réville nor any one else has satisfactorily explained how *bishop* and *presbyter* came to be used interchangeably at any time, as in Acts xx. 28, and the 1st chap. of Titus.

See also T. M. Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries*, 1902; W. Lowrie, *The Church and its Organization in primitive and Catholic times* (New York), 1903. On the development in Gaul see Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, 1894. See, too, Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, 819 *sqq.*

5. THE RESCRIPT OF ANTONINUS CONCERNING THE CHRISTIANS —(P. 100)

The authenticity of this edict has not yet been finally determined. It has come down to us in three forms: (1) in Eusebius, H. E. iv. 18, (2) in Rufinus H. E. iv. 13, which is merely a free rendering of the Greek text in Eusebius, and does not rest on a Latin original, (3) in a fourteenth century Ms. of Justin. Harnack, who has thoroughly discussed the whole question (in his *Texte und Untersuchungen*, xiii. 4, 1895), has shown satisfactorily that the version in Justin is not independent, but is taken from Eusebius with certain "tendenziös" changes. The most striking difference between the Justin version and the Eusebian (Rufinus) is in the title: in the former the edict is attributed to Titus, in the latter to Marcus. But the context in Eusebius shows that he regarded the edict as issuing from Titus; and so it would seem, as Harnack suggests, that he found the incorrect title in his source and did not venture to omit or alter it, while he assumed it to be wrong. But in any case, the title is a clumsy forgery, for Marcus is described as *Ἀρμένιος* (he did not possess the true title *Ἀρμενικὸς* so early as 161), and the name of Lucius Verus his colleague does not appear. In regard to the authenticity of the rescript as Eusebius gives it, Harnack points out that he had a Greek, not a Latin (as in other cases, iv. 9; vii. 13; viii. 17), copy before him, and that this cannot have been the original. The comparison between the behaviour of Christians and pagans to the advantage of the former is clearly a Christian interpolation. Harnack attempts to restore the original Greek form of the rescript, in whose authenticity he believes (though he owns that certainty cannot be attained). The rescript was an answer to a petition of the *κοινὸν* of Asia, and Harnack thinks that the copy used by Eusebius was preserved (and interpolated) in Christian circles.

The difference between the rescripts of Hadrian and Antoninus was that the former protected the Christians against calumnious accusation; the latter against the accusation of atheism in general.

6. EXILE OF MARCELLUS AND EUSEBIUS, BISHOPS OF ROME— (P. 139)

Most interesting traces of the early Bishops of Rome have been found in the Catacombs. We owe them to the activity of Bishop Damasus in subterranean

Rome. The subject can be studied in English, in the "Roma Sotteranea" of Messrs. Northcote and Brownlow (2 vols., 1879), an excellent compilation from the researches of the Cavaliere di Rossi.

Marcellus and Marcellinus were "different persons". Marcellinus is mentioned in the inscription of the Deacon Severus found in the Catacomb of St. Callixtus (*op. cit.* i. 350). Both Marcellus and Marcellinus were buried not in this cemetery but in that of St. Priscilla (*ib.* 304).

Eusebius, the successor of Marcellus, was like him severe to the "Lapsed," and like him banished. This is shown by the following inscription, found in the Catacomb of St. Callixtus,—the fellow of that relating to Marcellus quoted in Gibbon's note (p. 139).

Heraclius vetuit lapsos peccata dolere;
Eusebius miseros docuit sua crimina fieri.
scinditur in partes populus gliscente furore;
seditio caedes bellum discordia lites;
extemplo pariter pulsi feritate tyranni,
integra cum rector servaret foedera pacis,
pertulit exilium domino sub iudice laetus,
litore Trinacrio mundum vitamque reliquit.

The author of these epitaphs had a limited vocabulary. But they throw light on the divisions in the Roman Church at the time, and on the interference of Maxentius, in the interests of order,—which won for him in later times the name of a persecutor.

For the early Christian inscriptions of Rome see I. B. de Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae, septimo saeculo antiquiores*, 2 vols., 1861, 1888.

7. PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHRISTIANS IN THE FIRST AND SECOND CENTURIES, A.D.—(C. XVI.)

A considerable literature has sprung up in recent years regarding the attitude of the Roman government to Christianity from Nero to Marcus Aurelius. Th. Keim, *Rom und das Christenthum*, ed. Ziegler, 1881; K. J. Neumann, *der römische Staat und die allgemeine Kirche*, vol. i., 1890; Th. Mommsen, *der Religionsfrevel nach römischem Recht*, in Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1890; W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 1898; E. G. Hardy, *Christianity and the Roman Government*, 1894; A. Harnack, *Christenverfolgungen*, in *Protestantische Realencyklopädie*, iii.; A. Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, 342 *sqq.*, 1902 (a second ed. of this work, in 2 vols., appeared in 1906); A. Linsenmayer, *Die Bekämpfung des Christentums durch den römischen Staat bis zum Tode des Kaisers Julians* (363), 1905; P. Allard, *Le Christianisme et l'empire romain*, 1898; Weis, *Christenverfolgungen*, 1899; Conrat, *Die Christenverfolgungen im römischen Reiche vom Standpunkte der Juristen*, 1897; Le Blant, *Les persécuteurs et les martyrs aux premiers siècles de notre ère*, 1893.

From a review of the practical policy of the Roman state towards foreign cults Mr. Hardy concludes that they were tolerated in so far as they did not (1) injure the national religion, (2) encourage gross immoralities, (3) seem likely to lead to political disaffection (p. 35-6). Various considerations led to the toleration of Judaism, and Mr. Hardy points out that its toleration would by no means logically lead to that of Christianity, a religion "claiming to overstep all limits of nationality" (p. 37). The contact between the state and the Christians at Rome in 64 A.D., on the occasion of the conflagration, was accidental. The charge of incendiarism broke down at the trials, but it was converted into a charge of *odium generis humani* (a brief summary of the anti-socialism and other characteristics of Christianity). It was for this that they were punished; and Suetonius does not bring their punishment into connexion with the fire, which was the occasion, not the ground, of their condemnation (Ner. 16: *afflicti suppliciis Christiani genus hominum superstitionis novæ ac maleficæ*). Hardy contends strongly that in the Neronian persecution the Christians were condemned as Christians, not on any special charge.

This charge *odium generis humani*, for the use of which the Neronian episode set a precedent, did not come under *maiestas* or the formula of any regular *questio*. According to Mommsen, whose view in this respect Hardy accepts, it was a matter for police regulation, to be dealt with by virtue of the *coercitio* vested in magistrates. In Rome, such cases would come under the jurisdiction of the prefect of the city (Tac. Ann. vi. 11); and the provincial governor was empowered to deal with them by his instructions to maintain the peace and tranquillity of his province, "which he will find no difficulty in effecting, if he be careful *ut malis hominibus provincia careat eosque conquirat*" (e.g., *sacrilegi, latrones, &c.*). Ramsay holds that a new principle was introduced into the State policy towards Christians between 65 and 95 A.D., namely, that whereas under Nero they were attacked by charges of special and definite crimes (incendiarism), under the Flavians Christianity itself became a punishable offence. But if Hardy is right as to the Neronian persecution, this change in attitude would disappear. "As soon as the Christians were once convicted of an *odium generis humani*, they were potentially outlaws and brigands and could be treated by the police administration as such, whether in Rome or the provinces" (p. 82). That the distinction between Judaism and Christianity had been clearly recognized in the East as early as 70 A.D., is proved by the speech of Titus in Sulpicius Severus, ii. 80 (taken from a lost book of Tacitus, as we may with some confidence assume); one of the advantages of the destruction of Jerusalem will be, that prince is reported to say, the extirpation of the Jewish and the Christian religion. We need not infer, as Hardy points out, that Titus had special designs against the Christians: "the persecution of the Christians was a standing one like that of brigands" (Mommsen).

"With Roman citizens," however, "of standing and importance a more definite charge was necessary, and this we find from Dio Cassius was primarily *ἀθεότης*, i.e., not so much *sacrilegium* as a refusal to worship the national gods of the state" (p. 88). This was applied in the case of Flavius Clemens, cousin of Domitian, who was executed, and his wife Domitilla, who was banished, 95 A.D. The reign of Domitian introduced no new principle, but a very convenient test—e.g., the observance of the imperial cult—for discovering whether a person suspected of the crime of Christianity (a crime, that is, in the eyes of the police administration, not of the law) was justly suspected.

Nor does the Bithynian persecution introduce (according to Hardy) any new principle. The letter of Trajan to Pliny is described (p. 117) as "the decision of a practical statesman who declined on the one hand to be led into severe repressive measures against a body which was only remotely and theoretically dangerous to the state, while he, on the other, refused to give up on humanitarian grounds the claim of the state to absolute obedience on the part of all its subjects". It is in no sense an edict of proscription or of toleration, but it is "an index of the imperial policy" (p. 122).¹ As to Hadrian's rescript to Minucius Fundanus (whose genuineness is by no means above suspicion), Hardy considers (143) that it "was intended, as indeed it naturally would be, for the special circumstances of Asia: it does not in any way, as I interpret it, rescind the decision of Trajan that the *nomen* was a crime, but to avoid any miscarriage of justice . . . it lays down more stringent conditions for the proof of punishable crime". Under M. Antoninus and his successor things remained theoretically the same. In the reign of the former there were some persecutions,—Ptolemæus and Lucius were executed at Rome (Justin Apol. ii. 2) and (according to Waddington's date) Polycarp at Smyrna. The remarkable point in the persecutions of Aurelius is that they take place in the western as well as the eastern provinces, and not so much their extent or the number of victims (p. 147). In general tenor these conclusions agree with the view of Mommsen and Ramsay that there were no laws against the Christians. I cannot see that this has been made out, for the second century at least, though it may be true of the Flavian period. It does not appear that the explicit statement of Sulpicius Severus in ii. 29, *post etiam datis legibus religio vetabatur* (referring to the whole period after Nero), is

¹ It is to be observed that the condemnation of Christians in Bithynia had nothing to do with the general laws or special regulations against collegia.

definitely disproved. Some of W. T. Arnold's criticisms (*English Historical Review*, 1895, p. 546 *sqq.*) are very much to the point.

In general, we may conclude with Harnack, that when once Christianity had been clearly distinguished from Judaism by the law and the police, it was regarded as a *religio illicita*, and *non licet* is assumed in all the special imperial rescripts. Up to the time of Decius A.D. 249, the policy of the State was not to discover Christians; but the governors of the provinces and the Prefect of Rome could always apply *coercitio* to a given case. In such a case a Christian suspected of *maiestas* was executed if he persisted in refusing to offer to the State deities. It was practically only in the matter of the Imperial cult that State and Church came into collision.

Gibbon's general view of the slight extent of the early persecutions, resting as it does on the strong testimony of Origen (c. Cels. 8, 8), is commonly admitted. Compare Hardy, p. 181: "There seems good reason to suppose that this state of things—a general indulgence and toleration on the part of the emperors, occasionally interrupted by violent manifestations of popular feeling, which provincial governors had either not the will or not the strength to resist—continued throughout the second century: that the Christians were still punished for the name, but that the initiative in the way of searching them out was not taken by the governors, while accusers had to come forward in their own name; and finally, that the number of victims was on the whole a comparatively small one". It must at the same time be remembered that it was the policy of the Apologists (on whose evidence our knowledge is largely based) "to accentuate and in a measure to exaggerate the indulgent attitude of the government, especially in the period preceding their own, or at any rate to omit anything unfavourable to their own cause" (p. 182).

It would seem that only on three occasions (before 249 A.D.) did emperors attempt to enforce with some strictness the laws under which Christianity was forbidden: under Marcus, in the last five years of his reign; under Septimius Severus (202-208 A.D.); and under Maximinus Thrax. The circumstance that there were no martyrs in North Africa before 180 A.D. is significant.

Two important documents give a notion of the proceedings adopted in the trials of Christians in the second century: (1) the Acts of Martyrs of Scilli in Numidia, in 181 A.D. (ed. Usener, 1881, and Robinson in *Texts and Studies*, vol. i.), and (2) the Acts of Apollonius, tried at Rome in the first years of Commodus (Armenian version of a lost Greek original, discovered by F. C. Conybeare, who has given a translation in his *Acts and Monuments of Early Christianity*). The credit of these documents as trustworthy rests chiefly on the circumstance that miracles are conspicuously absent. Cp. Mommsen, *Der Process des Christen Apollonios*, in the *Sitzungsberichte of the Berlin Academy*, xxvii. 1894.

The following works deal with particular periods:—

B. Aubé: *Les persécutions de l'église jusqu'à la fin des Antonins*, 1876; *Les Chrétiens dans l'empire romain (220-249)*, 1881; *L'église et l'état dans le 2me moitié du 3me siècle*, 1886.

P. Allard: *Histoire des persécutions pendant les deux premiers siècles*, 1892; *Histoire des persécutions pendant la première moitié du troisième siècle*, 1894; *Les dernières persécutions du troisième siècle*, 1881; *La persécution de Dioclétien et le triomphe de l'église*, 2 vols., 1890.

On Nero's persecution: C. F. Arnold, *Die neronische Christenverfolgung*, 1888; Hilgenfeld, in his *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, xxxiii. 216 *sqq.*; Hochart, *Études au sujet de la persécution des Chrétiens sous Neron*, 1885; B. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero*, 1908; Furneaux, ed. of Tacitus, *Annals*, Appendix ii.

On the persecutions of Decius and Valerian: Gregg, *The Decian Persecution*, 1897; Benson, *Cyprian, his Life, his Times, his Work*, 1897; Healy, *The Valerian Persecution*, 1905.

On Diocletian's persecution: Mason, *The Persecution of Diocletian*, 1876; Hunziker, *Zur Regierung und Christenverfolgung des K. Diokletian und seiner Nachfolger*, in *Büdinger's Untersuch. zur römischen Kaisergeschichte*; F. Görres in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, xxxiii. p. 314 *sqq.* (cp.

469 *sqq.*); I. Belser, *Zur Diokl. Christenverfolgung*, 1891; Deissmann, *Ein Originaldokument aus der Diokletianischen Verfolgung* Pap. 713 des British Museum, 1902 (see document in Grenfell and Hunt, *Greek Papyri Series II.*, n. lxxiii. 1897); E. I. Goodspeed, *A martyrological fragment from Jerusalem*, in the *American Journal of Philology*, 23, 68 *sqq.*, 1902 (apparently the beginning of the first decree of Diocletian against the Christians).

There is a useful list of martyrs and martyrological Acta at the end of C. J. Neumann's important work, cited above.

An important memoir has been published as a supplement to the Acta Sincera of Ruinart by E. Le Blant: *Les actes des martyrs*, in *Mémoires of the National Institute of France* (Acad. d. Belles lettres, t. xxx., 1883, p. 57-347). Le Blant is too anxious to rescue apocryphal lives, and overdoes his criticism of technical terms of Roman procedure. But he has done good work here (as well as in his essay, *Sur les bases juridiques des poursuites dirigées contre les martyrs*, in *Comptes rendus of Académie des Inscriptions*, N.S., ii., 1866), and any one studying martyrological Acta will do ill to neglect this memoir.

Other works bearing on the subject of this appendix: F. Görres (on Church and State from Decius to Diocletian), in *Jahrbuch für protestantische Theologie*, xvi. 454 *sqq.*, 1890; and *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte des 40 jährigen Waffenstillstandes zwischen dem Christentum und dem antiken Staat seit 260*, in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 47, 381 *sqq.*, 1904. Northcote and Brownlow, *Roma sotterranea*, 1879. W. Liebenam, *Zur Geschichte und Organisation des römischen Vereinswesens*, vol. 3, 264 *sqq.*, 1890. A. Bigelmair, *Die Beteiligung der Christen am öffentlichen Leben in vorkonstantinischer Zeit*, 1902.

8. AUGUSTEUM AND FORUM OF CONSTANTINE—(Pp. 161, 163)

The chief thoroughfare in the new city of Constantine led from the Golden Gate (in the wall of Constantine, not to be confused with the later Golden Gate in the wall of Theodosius II.) eastward (passing through the Forum Bovis, the Forum Amastrianorum, and the Forum Tauri) to the Golden Milestone in the Augusteum. Before it reached the Augusteum it passed through the Forum of Constantine in which stood the Pillar of Constantine (and the Churches of S. Constantine and S. Mary of the Forum). In the Augusteum (which we might translate Place Impériale) it came to an end, in front of the Senate-house (*Σενάτορον*) and west wall of the Palace. The Augusteum was bounded on the north by St. Sophia; on the east, by the Senate-house and palace buildings; on the south, by the Palace (the great entrance gate, known as the Chalkè, was here) and the north side of the Hippodrome, beside which were the Baths of Zeuxippus. There was no public way between the east side of the Hippodrome and the Palace. According to Labarte, the Augusteum was enclosed by a wall, with gates, on the west side, running from south-west of St. Sophia to the point between the Palace and Hippodrome; so that the entrance to the Hippodrome and the Zeuxippus would have been outside the Augusteum. The street connecting the Augusteum with the Forum of Constantine was called Middle St.,—*Μέση*. The Chalkoprateia, and the Church of the Theotokos (Mother of God) in Chalkoprateia, were not in the Augusteum where Labarte places them, but west of St. Sophia, to the right of the Mese (as Mordtmann has shown, *Esquisse Top.* § 6, p. 4, and also Bieliaiev, cp. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, ii. p. 138; but probably close to the Mese, cp. Krasnoseljcev, in the *Annual Hist.-Phil. Publication of the Odessa University*, iv. (Byzantine section, 2) p. 309 *sqq.*). A plan of the Augusteum and adjoining buildings will appear below in vol. 4, to illustrate the Nika riots under Justinian.

The chief guides to the topography of Constantinople used by Gibbon were Ducange's folio, *Constantinopolis Christiana*, and the little work of Petrus Gyllius, *de Constantinopoleos topographia libri iv.*, 1632; both still of great value. The prolix work in 2 vols. of Skarlatos D. Byzantios (*ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις*, Athens, 1851) is unscientific and must be used with great caution. The reconstruction of

the Imperial Palace, involving a theory of the topography of the Augusteum and adjacent buildings, was undertaken by Jules Labarte (*Le Palais impérial de Constantinople et ses abords*, 1861), whose scholarly book marked a new departure and is of permanent value. The diligent Greek antiquarian A. G. Paspatis succeeded in establishing several valuable identifications in his *Βυζαντινὰ Μελέται* (Constantinople, 1877), but his *τὰ Βυζαντινὰ Ἀνάκτορα* (1885; in English: *The Great Palace of Constantinople*, translated by Mr. Metcalfe, 1893) is a retrogression compared with Labarte.¹ The problems of the Palace have been critically and thoroughly dealt with by D. Th. Bieliaiev in his *Obzor glavnykh chastei bolshago dvortsa Vizantiiskich tsarei* (Part 1 of *Byzantina*), 1891, where it is shown that we must retain the main line of Labarte's reconstruction, but that in most of the details we must be content for the present to confess our ignorance.

In 1892 Dr. Mordtmann's *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople* appeared. It is not well arranged, but it is an important contribution to the subject; and his map has been an indispensable guide in the preparation of the plan in this volume. He clearly recognizes the true position of the Hebdomon on the Propontis; and I may observe that I had already pointed out (in 1889) that the received view which placed it near Blachernae must be wrong (*Later Roman Empire*, vol. ii. p. 556).

Concerning the walls and gates, Professor A. van Millingen's *Byzantine Constantinople*, the walls of the city and adjoining historical sites, 1899, with maps, plans and illustrations, supersedes all previous works.

A brief but valuable work of reference for the topography as a whole is Oberhummer's *Constantinopolis*, in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyklopädie*, 1899 (also published separately).

E. A. Grosvenor's *Constantinople*, 2 vols., is popular. W. H. Hutton's *Constantinople* (*Medieval Towns Series*) gives an attractive sketch of the history of the city with descriptions of the monuments.

In the notes to his description of Constantinople Gibbon frequently refers to the *Imperium Orientale* of Anselmo Banduri and to the *Antiquitates* of George Codinus. The origin and mutual relation of these works has only recently been made clear, through the labours of Th. Preger. (a) A compilation entitled *Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* was composed at the end of the tenth century. It consists of four distinct parts: (1) on the founding of Constantinople and the origin of its various portions; (2) on the topography; (3) on the monuments, buildings and works of art; (4) on the building of St. Sophia. The last section is practically a transcript of an anonymous *διήγησις περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας*, composed before the middle of the ninth century. The chief sources of the other parts are the *Patria* of Hesychius of Miletus (sixth century), and the *Παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικαί* of an anonymous author, who wrote between the reigns of Leo III. and Theophilus. Another source seems to have been a lost chronicle. (b) In the reign of Alexius Comnenus the compilation was arranged in sections on a topographical plan, and the "Anonymus" published by Banduri (in the *Imperium Orientale*, vol. i. 1711) represents this edition of the Comnenian period, which is preserved in one class of the Mss. It is prefaced by an iambic dedication to Alexius. (c) Another class of late Mss., marked by certain peculiarities, ascribe the work to George Codinus, who seems to have lived in the fifteenth century (Preger conjectures in Italy). In this form it was edited by Lambecius (Paris, 1655, reprinted Venice, 1729), and in the Bonn series by Bekker (1848).

The researches of Preger on the Mss. and the sources disclosed the true relations of the documents (*Beiträge zur Textgeschichte der Πάτρια Κόπλεως*, 1895; see also *Die Erzählung vom Bau der Hagia Sophia*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, x. 455 sqq., 1901); and the original form and construction of the work have been made clear in his critical edition, entitled *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, fasc. i., 1901; fasc. ii., 1907. The first part contains the *Πάτρια* of Hesychius, the *Παραστάσεις*, and the *διήγησις* on St. Sophia; the second contains the *Πάτρια* of the Anonymus, in its original tenth-century form (omitting part 5).

¹ See review by J. B. Bury, in the *Scottish Review*, April, 1894.

9. THE NEW MONARCHY—(C. XVII.)

All the main points in the new absolute monarchy, founded by Diocletian and organized by Constantine, have been brought out in the brilliant description of Gibbon (ch. xvii.): the new organization of the provinces; the hierarchical administration; the separation of civil from military functions; the abolition of the distinction between Italy and the Provinces; the loss of her unique position by Rome, which is closely connected with the clearly pronounced tendency of the Empire to part into an eastern and a western half. Anticipations of some of these results we have seen in the history of the third century. The formal oligarchy of Emperor and Senate, in which the Senate had been gradually becoming more and more a silent partner, formally ceases; the distinction between senatorial and imperial provinces vanishes, there are no senatorial provinces; and the *aerarium*, which had many years before lost its importance, is no longer a state treasury but merely a municipal chest. Externally the change from the Principate to undisguised monarchy is indicated by the assumption of oriental state by the emperor (here Aurelian had pointed the way). The thorough-going reformation of the military system, which was not fully understood till Mommsen's recent investigation, demands a note to itself; and the new division of provinces another. To distinguish between the work of Diocletian and that of Constantine is in many cases impossible, and Gibbon did not attempt it; it will be seen however in the two following appendices that some distinctions can be established. To Diocletian was due the separation of the civil and military authority (Lactantius, de Mort. P., 7; Eusebius, de Mart. Pal., 13). The division of the Empire into dioceses was instituted by Diocletian (Lact., *ib.*); but the statement of Zosimus that the four prefectures were an institution of Constantine is not reconcilable with the facts. The origin of the Prefectures has been discussed by Mommsen, *Die diocletianische Reichspräfektur*, in *Hermes* 36 (1901), 201 *sqq.* His conclusions are that the division ensuing on the death of Constantine led to the establishment of two prefectures in the West; and that the Prefecture of Illyricum was cut off from the East about A.D. 346. Full lists of the Praetorian Prefects, with the documentary evidence, both before and after Constantine, will be found in Borghesi, *Œuvres complètes*, vol. x., 1897.

A few words may be said here on (a) the new ceremonial, (b) the imperial titles, and (c) the consistorium.

(a) For the adoration see Godefroy on *Cod. Theod.*, vol. ii. p. 88. Those who approached the Emperor bent the knee, and drew the edge of his purple robe to their lips. The Emperor wore a robe of silk, embroidered with gold, and adorned with gems (introduced by Aurelian); or the purple cloak of the military commander (first worn in Rome by Septimius Severus, and since then an imperial *insigne*). He also wore the diadem (perhaps first worn by Aurelian, see Victor, *Epit.* 35, 5; but the novelty is also ascribed to Diocletian, and to Constantine). Constantine introduced the gold band round the head, which was called *nimbus* (cp. Eckhel, *Doct. Num.* 8, 79). The emperor is officially called *deus*, and the cult of the imperial majesty, which at an early time had made its way in the camp, is further developed; and, when a new Emperor is proclaimed, his bust crowned with laurel is carried round in procession in the provinces. See Schiller, ii. p. 33, 34.

(b) The style of imperial titles which was usual in the latter part of the Principate was maintained until the time of Gratian. It was Imperator Caesar plus (felix or) invictus Augustus pontifex Maximus—icus [Sarmaticus, &c.] maximus trib. pot. [ii. &c.] consul [ii. &c.] imperator [ii. &c.] pater patriae proconsul. [The order of imperator and consul is variable.] The only change made was the substitution of maximus victor ac triumphator for invictus. Gratian dropped the title pontifex maximus, and the other titles were at the same time abandoned in favour of a shorter formula.

Dominus noster { plus felix semper Augustus
invictissimus princeps, &c.

The chief reminiscence of the republican constitution of the principate, so carefully contrived by Augustus, was the practice of numbering the years of a reign by the formula *trib. pot.*, which appears as late as Theodosius ii. (on coins,

Eckhel, 8, 182). *Dominus*, which (like *deus*) Aurelian had used only in the dative case, is from Constantine forward the ordinary official title of the Emperor (equivalent of "His Majesty"). Schiller, ii. 31-33.

In Greek, *αὐτοκράτωρ* is, as before, the equivalent of Imperator (as a *præ-nomen*). *δεσπότης* corresponds to *dominus*.

(c) The *consilium*, which had been organized by Hadrian, is superseded in the new monarchy by a council called *consistorium* (the name first occurs in an inscription of 353 A.D., C. I. L. 6, 1799), which assembled at fixed times in the Emperor's presence. The chief of the Hadrianic *consilium* was the *prætorian* prefect; but, as that officer has been diverted to new administrative functions and as the provincial administration and palace offices are kept carefully apart, his position in the council is inherited by the *quæstor sacri palatii* who presides in the *consistorium*. It is however unlikely that the *quæstor* had this position under Diocletian and Constantine; for he does not belong to the class of illustres till after Valentinian I. It has been conjectured (by Mommsen) that the president of the council was at first entitled *præpositus* and afterwards developed into the *quæstor*, and that he had a deputy, the *vicarius a sacris consiliis*, who developed into the *magister officiorum* (Schiller, ii. 66). The members of the council (entitled at first *a consiliis sacris*, afterwards *comites consistoriani*) were divided into two classes with a difference of stipend: *ducenarii* (200,000 sesterces), *sexagenarii* (60,000 sesterces), and mainly consisted of jurists. The functions of the council were properly confined to judicature, but they also assisted the Emperor in legislation. The two finance ministers belonged to the council, and in later times *prætorian* prefects and masters of soldiers were sometimes invited by the Emperor, but did not belong to the *consistorium ex officio*. See on the subject E. Cûq, *Le conseil des empereurs d'Auguste à Dioclétien*.

10. DIOCESES AND PROVINCES—(P. 180 *sqq.*)

Diocletian made considerable modifications in the provincial divisions of the Empire, and distributed all the provinces under twelve large *Dioceses*. Three changes in his diocesan arrangement were made in the course of the fourth century, and by 400 A.D. we find thirteen *Dioceses*. (a) Egypt, which was at first part of the *Diocese of the East*, was promoted to be a separate *Diocese* towards the end of the fourth century. (b) *Diocesis Moesiarum* was broken up into *Diocesis Daciae* and *Diocesis Macedoniae*. (c) On the other hand, *Diocesis Galliarum* and *Diocesis Viennensis* were combined to form a single *Diocese of Gaul*. In the case of this change we find an interesting example of the survival of nomenclatures which had ceased to be appropriate. The south of Gaul was at first divided into five provinces (*Novempopuli*, *Aquitania*, *Narbonensis*, *Viennensis*, *Alpes Maritimæ*). But when these became seven by the subdivision of *Aquitania* and *Narbonensis* the *Diocese (Viennensis)* still continued to be known as *Quinque Provinciae* as well as by the amended title *Septem Provinciae*. But this was not all. When Northern Gaul, the original *Diocesis Galliarum*, was added to the sphere of the governor of the *Diocesis Viennensis*, the whole united *Diocese* was known not only as the *Diocese of the Gauls* but as the *Septem Provinciae*; while the old name *Quinque Provinciae* was appropriated to the seven southern provinces, which, though they were no longer a separate *Diocese*, preserved a fragment of their former integrity by having financial officers (*rationales*) to themselves.

(1) A record of the new organization as it existed in 297 A.D. has been preserved in the List of Verona (*Laterculus Veronensis*), published with a valuable commentary by Mommsen in the *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy, 1862, p. 489 *sqq.*, and reprinted by Seeck in his edition of the *Notitia Dignitatum*.¹ (2) Our next list is (incomplete) in the *Breviarium* of Festus (above, vol. i. App. 1) dating from 369 A.D. just before the foundation of the new Britannie province *Valentia*. (3) This defective list is supplemented by another, dating from much the same time, of the eastern provinces of the Empire (*dioceses of Illyricum, Thrace, Pontus, Asia, East, Egypt*), which is preserved in the *Laterculus* of

¹ First published by S. Maffei in 1742.

Polemius Silvius, drawn up in 449 A.D. The list of Polemius with a complete critical apparatus is edited by Mommsen in *Chronica Minora*, i. p. 511-551 (also printed in Seeck's *Notit. Dign.*). Mommsen has shown that Polemius is up to date in regard to the western provinces, but that for the eastern he practically reproduces a list dating from about the middle of the fourth century, with one or two blunders, and only adding the new provinces of Arcadia and Honorias, which bearing the names of the sons of Theodosius were more likely than other new provinces to be known in the west. (4) A list of the Gallic provinces in Ammianus (writing between 388 and 390 A.D.), xv. 11, 7 *sqq.*, who clearly used an official *laterculus*. Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* i. p. 552 *sqq.* Ammianus also enumerates the provinces of Egypt, xxii. 16, 1. (5) *Notitia Galliarum*, between 390 and 418 A.D., edited by Mommsen, *ib.* 552-612; printed in Seeck, *op. cit.*; the provinces are the same as in the *Not. Dign.* (6) *Notitia Dignitatum*: first years of the fifth century (but some parts may have been transcribed from older lists, and not represent accurately contemporary arrangements). Panciroli's commentary, used by Gibbon, has been completely superseded by that of Böcking (2 vols., 1839-53), which is absolutely indispensable to the student (though a new commentary is much wanted); but Böcking's text has been superseded by that of O. Seeck, 1876. For a good account of work and history of the Codex, with its curious pictures, see Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, i. 594 *sqq.* For date *cp.* above, p. 168, n. 78. (7) The *Laterculus* of Polemius Silvius; for the *western* provinces, A.D. 449; see above. I have arranged the data of these successive documents in parallel columns.

(Literature: L. Czwalina, *Ueber das Verzeichniss der römischen Provinzen v. Jahr. 297*, 1881; L. Jullian, *De la réforme provinciale attribuée à Diocl.*, *Revue Historique*, 19, 331 *sqq.*; Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, ii. 45-50; W. Ohnesorge, *Die römische Provinzliste von 297*, Teil i., 1889. *Cp.* also Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, vol. i.)

	<i>List of Verona.</i>	<i>List in "Polemius".</i>	<i>Notitia.</i>
Diocese of Pontus.	Bithynia Cappadocia Galatia Paphlagonia ⁷ Diospontus Pontus Polemiacus Armenia Minor ⁸ — — — — —	Bithynia Cappadocia Galatia ⁹ Paphlagonia Pontus Amasia Pontus Polemiacus Armenia Minor Armenia Maior Honorias — — — —	Bithynia Cappadocia prima Galatia Paphlagonia Helenopontus Pontus Polemioniacus Armenia prima — Honorias Cappadocia secunda ¹⁰ Galatia Salutaris ¹⁰ Armenia secunda ¹⁰
Diocese of Asia.	Pamphylia ¹¹ Phrygia prima Phrygia secunda Asia Lydia Caria Insulae Pisidia Hellespontus — —	Pamphylia Phrygia prima Phrygia Salutaris Asia Lydia Caria Cyclades Pisidia Hellespontus Lycia Lycaconia ¹²	Pamphylia Phrygia Pacontiana Phrygia Salutaris Asia Lydia Caria Insulae Pisidia Hellespontus Lycia Lycaconia

⁷ There is a later false adscript *nunc in duas divisa*.

⁸ Another note (from the hand of the same interpolator) *et nunc maior addita* records the conquest of Diocletian.

⁹ Polemius places it in the Diocese of Asia, probably by an oversight.

¹⁰ Cappadocia II. is mentioned in an edict of 386, Cod. Theod. xiii. 11, 2 (wrong reference in Mommsen, Chron. Min. i. p. 533). Armenia I. was the northern, Armenia II. the southern, half of Little Armenia. Galatia Salutaris also existed already in 386, Cod. Theod., *ib.*

¹¹ *I.e.*, Lycia et Pamphylia. We find Lycia and Pamphylia as one province in 313 A.D., C. Th. xiii. 10, 2, but separate in the subscriptions (not always trustworthy) in the Acts of the Council of Nice, 325 A.D.

¹² Lycaconia became a separate province in 373. See Tillemont, v. 99.

	<i>List of Verona.</i>	<i>Festus.</i>	<i>List in "Polemius".</i>	<i>Notitia.</i>
Diocese of Thrace.	Europa Rhodope Thracia Haemus mons Scythia Moesia inferior	Europa Rhodope Thracia Haemimontus Scythia Moesia inferior	Europa Rhodope Thracia [prima] ¹³ Haemimontus ¹³ Scythia ¹³ Moesia inferior	Europa Rhodope Thracia Haemimontus Scythia Moesia secunda
Diocese of the Moesias (L. Ver.) = Diocese of Dacia (Not.).	Dacia Moesia superior Margensis Dardania Praevalitana	Dacia Moesia Dacia ¹⁴ Praevalis	Dacia Moesia superior Dardania Praevalis	Dacia ripensis Moesia prima Dardania Praevalitana Dacia mediterranea ¹⁴
Diocese of the Moesias continued (L. Ver.) = Diocese of Macedonia (Not.).	Macedonia Thessalia [Achaia] ¹⁵ Epirus nova Epirus vetus Creta	Macedonia Thessalia Achaia Epirus Epirus vetus Creta	Macedonia Thessalia Achaia Epirus nova Epirus vetus Creta	Macedonia Thessalia Achaia Epirus nova Epirus vetus Creta Macedonia Salutaris
Diocese of the Pannonias (L. Ver.) = Diocese of Illyricum (Not.).	Pannonia inferior Savensis Dalmatia Valeria Pannonia superior Norici ripariensis Norici mediterranea	Pannonia Savia Dalmatia Valeria Pannonia Noricum Noricum	Pannonia secunda Savia Dalmatia Valeria Pannonia prima Norici ripensis Norici mediterranea	Pannonia secunda Savia Dalmatia Pannonia prima Norici ripensis Norici mediterranea

¹³ Polemius has put the right names Haemimontus and Scythia under the wrong diocese, Illyricum; in this place he substitutes Thracia Secunda and Scythia inferior. The list used by Polemius seems to have included the dioceses of Dacia, Macedonia and Illyricum under the head Illyricum.

¹⁴ Dacia medit. and Dardania were at this time names of the same province. Between the composition of the List of Polemius and 386 A.D. (see C. Theod. i. 32, 5) the province was divided into Dardania and Dacia med.

¹⁵ A mysterious priantina usurps the place of Achaia. Mommsen conjectured that it is a dittogram of privalitana which follows, and that Achaia has dropped out.

<i>List of Verona.</i>	<i>Festus.</i>	<i>Ammianus.</i>	<i>Notitia.</i>	<i>Polemius Silvius.</i>
Dioecese of the Britains. Prima Secunda Maxima Caesariensis ¹⁶ Flavia Caesariensis ¹⁶ —	Britannia prima Britannia secunda Maxima Caesariensis Flavia —		Britannia prima Britannia secunda Maxima Caesariensis Flavia Caesariensis Valentia ¹⁷	Britannia prima Britannia secunda Maxima Flavia Valentiniana
Dioecese of the Gauls (L. Ver.) = Dioecese of the Gauls (Not., Pol.).	Belgica Belgica Germania Germania Maxima Sequanorum Lugdunensis Lugdunensis Alpes Graiae — —	Belgica prima Belgica secunda Germania prima Germania secunda Sequani Lugdunensis prima Lugdunensis secunda Alpes Graiae et Peninae — —	Belgica prima Belgica secunda Germania prima Germania secunda Maxima Sequanorum Lugdunensis prima Lugdunensis secunda Alpes Peninae et Graiae ¹⁸ Lugdunensis tertia ¹⁸ Lugdunensis Senonia ¹⁸	Belgica prima Belgica secunda Germania prima Germania secunda Maxima Sequanorum Lugdunensis prima Lugdunensis secunda Alpes Graiae Lugdunensis tertia Senonia
Dioecese of Vienna (L. Ver.) = Aquitania (Fest., Arm.) = Provinciae septem (Notit. Gall.) = Dio- ecese of the Gauls (Not., Pol.).	Provincia Viennensis Narbonensis — ¹⁹ Novempopulana Aquitania Aquitania Alpes maritimae	Viennensis Narbonensis — ¹⁹ Novem populi Aquitania ¹⁹ — —	Viennensis Narbonensis prima Narbonensis secunda Novem populi Aquitania prima Aquitania secunda Alpes maritimae	Viennensis Narbonensis prima Narbonensis secunda Novempopulana Aquitania prima Aquitania secunda Alpes maritimae

¹⁶ These names seem to be connected with the Caesar Flavius Constantius (Chlorus) who won back Britain in 286 A.D.

¹⁷ Formed 369 A.D. In Polemius Silvius an interpolator added Orcades, suggested, as Mommsen observes, by Eutropius, 7, 13.

¹⁸ Appear in the notit. Galliarum.

¹⁹ The mention of a single Narbonensis by both Festus and Ammianus, and of a single Aquitania by Ammianus, must be regarded as merely errors.

Diocese of Italy.	<i>List of Verona.</i>	<i>Notitia Dignitatum.</i>	<i>Polemius Silvius.</i>
	Venetia Histria Flaminia Picenum Tuscia Umbria Apulia Calabria Lucania Corsica Alpes Cottiae Rætia — ²⁰ — — — — — —	Venetia Flaminia et Picenum annonarium Picenum suburbicarium Tuscia Umbria Apulia Calabria Lucania Brittii Corsica Alpes Cottiae Rætia prima Rætia secunda Campania Aemilia Liguria Sannium Sicilia Sardinia Valeria ²¹	Venetia cum Histria Flaminia Picenum Tuscia Umbria Apulia Calabria Brittia Lucania Corsica Alpes Cottiae ²² Rætia prima Rætia secunda Campania Aemilia ²³ Liguria Sannium Sicilia Sardinia —

²⁰ There is an accidental omission in the *Ms.*, for the Italian provinces are introduced by the words *Diocensis Italici* *habet provincias numero xvi.*; but we cannot tell how many provinces are omitted. For in the case of the other dioceses the copyist has sometimes counted rightly, sometimes wrongly. If his enumeration is correct here, seven provinces are lost; if he has counted each name as a province, only three. Probably his reckoning was based partly on the right, and partly on the wrong principle. As Valeria must have been formed by Diocletian, we can supply with certainty: Campania, Sannium (or Campania et Sannium), Sicilia, Sardinia, Valeria, and Aemilia et Liguria (which formed a single province in 385 A.D., C. Th. ii. 4, 4). If we could assume that Rætia was already subdivided, the number xvi. would be correct.

²¹ The Italian Valeria had a habit of vanishing and reappearing, being sometimes separate from, sometimes united with, Picenum. Thus: (1) instituted by Diocletian; (2) it disappears in 364 A.D., C. Theod. ix. 30, 1; (3) reappears in 399, C. Th. ix. 30, 6; (4) disappears in 400, C. I. L. 6, 1706; (5) reappears in the *Notitia*; (6) disappears in 418, C. Theod. xi. 28, 7, and is not mentioned in Polemius (interpolated in some *Mss.*), see Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* i. p. 532. Ohneorge, holding that Flaminia and Picenum formed one province in 297 and were not divided till 364, places the separation of Valeria from Picenum suburb. after that date, *op. cit.* p. 8 and 10.

²² An interpolator of sixth or seventh century added Alpes Appenninae. I wonder at the appearance of this province in Sieglin's atlas, in the map of the Empire under Diocletian. Liguria came down to the sea-coast.

²³ The same interpolator added Nursia and Valeria.

Diocese of the Spains.	<i>List of Verona.</i>	<i>Festus.</i>	<i>Notitia Dignitatum.</i>	<i>Polemius Silvius.</i>
	Bætica Lusitania Karthaginiensis Gallæcia Tarracoenensis Mauritania Tingitana	Bætica Lusitania Karthaginiensis Gallæcia Tarracoenensis Mauritania Tingitana	Bætica Lusitania Karthaginiensis Gallæcia Tarracoenensis Tingitana Baleares	Bætica Lusitania Karthaginiensis Gallæcia Tarracoenensis Tingitana insulæ Baleares
Diocese of Africa.	proconsularis Zeugitana Byzacena Numidia Cirtensis Numidia miliciana. ²⁴	proconsularis Byzacium Numidia	Africa Byzacium Numidia	proconsularis Byzacium Numidia
	Mauritania Cæsariensis Mauritania [Sitifensis] ²⁵	Tripolis Mauritania Cæsariensis Mauritania Sitifensis	Tripolitana Mauritania Cæsariensis Mauritania Sitifensis	Tripolis Mauritania Cæsariensis Mauritania Sitifensis

²⁴ It is a question whether Numidia Miliciana is a name, or corruption, for Tripolitana, or is a distinct province which afterwards became obsolete (Tripolitana being accidentally omitted). The latter view is adopted in Sieglin's new Historical Atlas, and in the map of the Empire in this volume.

²⁵ In Ms. : Mauritania Tabia insidiana.

11. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY UNDER THE NEW SYSTEM—(P. 188 *sqq.*)

Mommsen has brought light and order into the subject of the new military organization which was introduced in the epoch of Diocletian and Constantine, by his article entitled *Das römische Militärwesen seit Diocletian*, which appeared in *Hermes* in 1889 (vol. xxiv. p. 195 *sqq.*). The following brief account is based on this important study.

Under Diocletian the regular army seems to have fallen into two main divisions: the troops who followed the emperor as he moved throughout his dominion, and the troops stationed on the frontier. The latter were called *limitanei*, the former were possibly distinguished as *in sacro comitatu* (cp. C. I. L. 3, 6194). But early in Constantine's reign the troops *in sacro comitatu* were broken up into two classes, the *comitatenses* and the *palatini* (before 310 A.D., for the *comitatenses* existed then, cp. C. I. L. 5565; *palatini* occurs first in a law of 365 A.D., Cod. Theod. vii. 4, 22). Thus there were three great divisions of the army: 1, (a) *palatini*, (b) *comitatenses*, and 2, *limitanei*. Thus Gibbon's use of *palatines* to include the *comitatenses* is erroneous.

The other most important changes introduced by Constantine were: the increase of the *comitatenses* (who were under the command of the *magister militum*) at the expense of the *limitanei*, who had been increased by Diocletian; and the separation of the cavalry from the infantry.

1. *Limitanei* (commanded by *duces*). The statement that Diocletian strengthened the frontier troops (*Zos.* ii. 34) is borne out by the fact that if we compare the list of the legions in the time of Marcus (C. I. L. 6, 3492) with the *Notitia Dignitatum*, we find in the former twenty-three legions, in the latter the same twenty-three and seventeen new legions (leaving out of account Britain, Germany, Africa, for which we have not materials for comparison). And if we remember that Constantine drafted away regiments (the pseudo-*comitatenses*) to increase his *comitatenses*, we may conclude that Diocletian doubled the numbers of the frontier armies.

The *limitanei* consisted of both infantry and cavalry. (1) The infantry consisted of *legiones*, *auxilia*, and *cohortes*. (a) The legions are of two kinds. The old legions of the Principate retain their old strength of 6000 men; while the new legions correspond to the old legionary detachments, and are probably 1000 strong. But the larger legions are usually broken into detachments which are distributed in different places, and the *præfectus legionis* consequently disappears. (b) The *auxilia* are of barbarian formation, and as such are thought more highly of than the rest of the frontier infantry; they are found only in the Illyric provinces. The size of the *auxilium* is probably 500. (c) The *cohortes*, 500 strong as under the Principate, are found everywhere except in the duchies on the Lower Danube. (2) The (a) *cunei equitum* probably differ from (b) *equites*, by being of barbarian formation and of higher rank. The (c) *ala* is generally 600 (not as before 500) strong.

Constantine's new organization reduced the *limitanei* to second class troops, as compared with the Imperial troops of both kinds.

2. Imperial Troops. (a) *Comitatenses* (under Masters of Soldiers) consist of infantry and cavalry: (a) The legion is of the smaller size, about 1000 strong; (b) the *vezillatio* of horse is about 500 strong. Connected with the *comitatenses* but of lower rank are the pseudo-*comitatenses*, drawn from the frontiers (eighteen legions in the west, twenty in the east). (b) *Palatini* (under Masters of Soldiers *in præsentia*) consist of infantry and cavalry: (a) the legion of 1000; (b) the *vezillatio* of 500.

In connexion with the *Palatini*, the *auxilia palatina* demand notice. These are troops of light infantry, higher in rank than the legion of the *comitatenses*, lower than the *palatine* legion. They chiefly consist of Gauls and include Germans from beyond the Rhine (but virtually no orientals). Mommsen makes it probable that their formation was mainly the work of Maximian (p. 233). They were perhaps the most important troops in the army.

The *scholæ*, which seem to have been instituted by Constantine, must also be mentioned here (cp. Cod. Theod. 14, 17, 9). They were probably so called from

having a hall in the palace to await orders. At first they were composed of Germans (but in fifth century under Leo I., of Armenians; under Zeno, of Isaurians; afterwards of the best men who could be got, Procopius, Hist. Arc. c. 24). There were at first five divisions of 500 men; then seven; finally under Justinian eleven. The division was commanded by a tribune, who was a person of much importance (*e.g.*, Valentinian I.). They ultimately lost their military character, and the *excubitores* (first introduced by Leo I.) took their place.

Gibbon considers the question of the size of the army under the New Monarchy. On one side, we have the fact that under Severus at the beginning of the third century there were thirty-three legions, which, reckoned, along with their adjuncts, at the usual strength, give as the total strength of the army about 300,000. On the other side we have the statement of Agathias quoted by Gibbon, which puts the nominal strength of the army in the middle of the 6th century at 645,000. Taking into account the great increase of the troops under Diocletian, the record that the army was further strengthened by Valentinian (*cp.* Amm. Marc. 30, 7, 6, Zos. 4, 12), and a statement of Themistius (*Or.* 18, p. 270) as to the strength of the frontier forces under Theodosius the Great, we might guess that at the beginning of the fifth century, when the *Notitia* was drawn up, the army numbered five, if not six, hundred thousand. These *a priori* considerations correspond satisfactorily with the rough calculation which Mommsen has ventured to make from the data of the *Notitia*. His figures deserve to be noted, though he cautions us that we must not build on them.

Limitanei	Foot, 249,500; Horse, 110,500	Total 360,000
Comitatenses	Foot, 148,000; Horse, 46,500	Total 194,500
Palatini (with aux.)		
		<hr/> Total 554,500

A word must be said about the *gentes*, who, outside the Roman provinces and formally independent, but within the Roman sphere of influence and virtually dependent on the Empire, helped to protect the frontiers and sometimes supplied auxiliary troops to the Roman army. (Thus in Amm. xxiii. 2, 1, we read of *legationes gentium plurimarum auxilia pollicentium*; Julian refuses such *adventicia adiumenta*.) The most important of these *gentes* are the Saracens on the borders of Syria, and the Goths on the right bank of the Danube. They are *fœderati*; and their relation to the Empire depends on a *fœdus* which determines the services they are bound to perform. Under the Principate the theory was that such *fœderati* were tributaries, but in return for their military services the tribute was either remitted or diminished. But under the new system, they are considered rather in the light of a frontier force and, like the regular *riparienses*, are paid for their work. Consequently the amount of the *annonæ fœderaticæ* is the chief question to be arranged in a *fœdus*. The Lazi of Colchis were an exception to this rule; though federates they received no *annonæ* (Procopius, B. P. 2, 15). The inclusion of the federates in the Empire is illustrated by the treaty with Persia in 582 A.D., in which the Saracens are included as a matter of course, without special mention (Procopius, B. P. 1, 17; 2, 1). See Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. 215 *sqq.*

12. PROTECTORES AND DOMESTICI—(P. 199)

The origin and organization of the imperial guards, named *Protectores* and *Domestici*, who so often meet us in our historical authorities from the time of Constantine forward, have been elucidated, so far as the scanty material allows, by Mommsen in a paper entitled *Protectores Augusti*, in the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, v. p. 121 *sqq.*

In the second half of the third century there existed *protectores* of two kinds: *protectores Augusti*, and *protectores* of the prætorian prefect. The latter (whose existence is proved by epigraphic evidence, *cp.* O. I. L. vi. 8238) naturally ceased when, under Constantine's new *régime*, the prætorian prefect ceased to have military functions.

The earliest instance of a protector Augusti whose date we can control is

that of Taurus, who was consul in 261 A.D., and held the office of prætorian prefect. An inscription (whose date must fall between 261 and 267 A.D., Orelli, 3100) mentions that he had been a protector Augusti. Mommsen calculates that he must have held that post before 253 A.D., and infers that protectores were instituted about the middle of the century, by Decius or possibly Philip. The full title of the protector was *protector divini lateris Augusti nostri*, preserved in one inscription found at Oriculæ (Orelli, 1869); for this form cp. Cod. Theod. vi. 24, 9. The abbreviation *protector Augusti* is the regular formula up to Diocletian; after Diocletian it is simply *protector*.

The protectores were soldiers who had shown special competence in their service, and were rewarded by a post in which they received higher pay (they were called *ducenarii* from the amount of their salary) and had the expectation of being advanced to higher military commands. Gallienus hindered Senators from serving as officers in the army, and from that time the service of the protectores became a sort of military training school (Mommsen, l. c. p. 137) to supply commanders (*ad regendos milites*, Ammianus). From Aurelian's time (*ib.* 131) the protectores seem to have been organized as a bodyguard of the Emperor, with a captain of their own. (The earliest mention of the service in legislation is in a law of 325 A.D., Cod. Th. vii. 20, 4.)

Constantine completely abolished the prætorian and the military functions of the præf. præt. With this change we must connect his reorganization of the protectores (*ib.* 135). The nature of this reorganization was determined by his abrogation of the measure of Gallienus which excluded senators from military command. A body of guards was instituted, called Domestici or Houseguards, which was designed to admit nobles and sons of senators to a career in the army. Thus there were now two corps of palace guards, that of the Protectores who were enrolled for distinguished service, and were consequently veterans, and that of the Domestici who were admitted *nobilitate et gratia*, through birth and interest. But the two were closely connected and jointly commanded by captains called Counts of the Domestics; and the two names came to be interchangeable and used indifferently of one or the other.

It cannot indeed be strictly demonstrated that Constantine organized the Domestici, who are first mentioned in a law of 346 A.D. (Cod. Th. xii. 1, 38); but this hypothesis is far more likely than any other. At the same time the pay of the guards was probably increased—a necessary result of the new monetary system of Constantine.¹ The epithet *ducenarii* was given up, and became attached to the schola of *agentes in rebus*. The rank of a guardsman was *perfectissimus*, but the first ten in standing (*decem primi*) were *clarissimi*.

By a law of Valentinian (Cod. Th. vi. 24, 2) veterans were enrolled in the guards gratis, while all others had to pay. The ultimate result was that veterans ceased to be enrolled altogether, and the post of domesticus or protector was regularly purchased. The traffic in these offices in Justinian's time is noticed by Procopius, Hist. Arc. c. 24.

13. THE TRAGEDY OF FAUSTA AND CRISPUS—(P. 221 *sqq.*)

The attempt of Gibbon to show that Fausta was not put to death by Constantine was unsuccessful; for the text on which he chiefly relied has nothing to do with Constantine the Great, but refers to an Emperor of the fifteenth century (see above, Appendix 1, p. 560); and from the subsidiary passage in Julian (p. 224, n. 25) no inference can be drawn. On the other hand, as Seeck has pointed out, the sign of the Constantinople mint appears on coins of Constantine I. and II., Constantius, Constans, Helena, Theodore, Delmatius and Hannibalianus, in short all the members of the Imperial family who survived the foundation of the Capital (11th May, 330); but in the Fausta series as in the Crispus series the sign never appears, and in the Trier mint the latest coins of both belong to the same emission. Eusebius, the writer of the Anonymus Valesian fragment, and

¹ We may guess that under Diocletian they were still *ducenarii*, and so profited by his raising the weight of the aureus from 1·70th to 1·60th. Constantine would not have reduced their pay; so that they would no longer be *ducenarii*.

Aurelius Victor are silent as to the death of Fausta; but this proves nothing, on the principle, as Seeck observes, "im Hause des Gehenkten redet man nicht vom Stricke".

The evidence as to the circumstances of the tragedy is investigated in a suggestive manner by Seeck, "Die Verwandtenmorde Constantins des Grossen," in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 33, 1890, p. 63 *sqq.* He distinguishes four independent testimonies. (1) Eutropius (on whom Jerome and Orosius depend) states simply that Constantine put to death his son and wife. (2) Sidonius Apollinaris mentions (Ep. v. 8) that Crispus was poisoned, Fausta suffocated by a hot bath. These kinds of death were suitable to avoid the appearance of violence. (3) Philostorgius (ii. 4) assigns causes. He says that Crispus, calumniated by Fausta, was put to death, and that she was afterwards found guilty of adultery with a cursor and killed in a hot bath. (4) A common source, on which the Epitome of Victor, the account of Zosimus, and that of John the Monk in the *Vita S. Artemii* (Acta Sanct. 8th October) depend, stated that Fausta charged Crispus with having offered her violence; Crispus was therefore executed; then Helena persuaded Constantine that Fausta was the guilty one, and induced him to kill her by an overheated bath. Then Constantine repented; the heathen priests declared that his deeds could not be expiated; Christianity offered forgiveness and he became a Christian. Seeck points out that this unknown source agrees with Philostorgius in three points: the manner of Fausta's death; her guilt in causing the death of Crispus; her connexion with a story of adultery. In the details (which Gibbon combines) they differ.

Seeck argues for the view that the drama of Fausta and Crispus was a renewal of that of Phædra and Hippolytus. It is certainly by no means impossible that this is the solution; the evidence for it is not absolutely convincing (especially as the *Vita Artemii* is of extremely doubtful value; cp. Görres, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 30, 1887, 243 *sqq.*). Seeck conjectures that Constantine's law of 22nd April (C. Th. ix. 7, 2) which confines the liberty to bring accusations of adultery to the husband's and the wife's nearest relatives, and in their case converts the liberty into a duty, &c., was partly occasioned by the Emperor's own experience.

But I cannot regard as successful Seeck's attempt to show that the younger Licinius (1) was not the son of Constantia, but the bastard of a slave-woman whom Constantia was compelled to adopt, and (2) was not killed in 326, but was alive in 336; by means of the rescripts Ood. Theod. iv. 6, 2 and 3. Cp. the criticisms of Görres in the same vol. of *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, p. 324-7.

14. DIVISIONS OF THE EMPIRE, A.D. 293 to 378—(Pp. 227, 237)

The chief interest of the divisions of the Empire in A.D. 335 and 337-8 lies in their connexion with the general subject of the lines of geographical division drawn by Imperial partitions in the century between Diocletian and Arcadius. The divisions in the first half of this period (A.D. 285-338) present various difficulties, from the circumstance that the statements of our best authorities are not sufficiently precise, and those of secondary authorities are often divergent. Here I would lay stress upon a principle which has not been sufficiently considered. Later writers were accustomed to certain stereotyped lines of division which had been fixed by the partitions of A.D. (364 and) 395; and they were determined by these in interpreting the geographical phrases of earlier writers. It is therefore especially important in this case to consider the testimonies of the earlier writers apart from later exegesis. It is also clear that names like *Illyricum* (which came to be distinguished into the diocese [Western] and the prefecture [Eastern]), *Thrace* (which might mean either the diocese or the province, or might bear, as in Anon. Val., its old sense, covering the four provinces south of Mount Haemus), *Gaul* (which might include Spain and Britain), were very likely to mislead into false and various explanations.

I. Division of A.D. 293. (1) *a*, Maximian: Italy, Africa, Spain; *b*, Constantius: Gaul and Britain. (2) *c*, Diocletian: Dioceses of Pontus and the East,

including Egypt; *d*, Galerius: Dioceses of Pannonia, Dacia, Macedonia, Thrace, and Asia.

As to (1), a passage in Lactantius, *De Mort.*, our earliest authority, is decisive; in c. 8, Africa vel (=et) Hispania, are assigned to Maximian. Against this, we cannot entertain Julian's ascription of Spain to Constantius (*Or. ii. p. 65*); an error which would easily arise from the inclusion (under Constantine) of Spain in the Prefecture of Gaul. Under Diocletian the division of the west is drawn across the map, by Alps and Pyrenees, not downward. (Victor, *Cæs.*, 39, 30, does not mention Spain; his Galliae might=Gaul+Britain, or=Gaul+Britain+Spain. Praxagoras mentions neither Africa nor Spain.) As to (2), our authorities are Praxagoras and Victor, and the truth has been obscured by following the statements of later writers. Praxagoras assigns to Galerius τῆς τε Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς κἀτὰ Ἀσίας καὶ Θράκης; to Diocletian τῆς τε Βιθυνίας καὶ τῆς Λιβύης καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου. Now in this enumeration a rough principle may be observed. *He enumerates countries which mark the lines of division.* Less well informed as to the west, he does not commit himself about Spain. Beginning at the north, he gives Britain to Constantius (*K. Βρετανίας ἐβασίλ.*), and Italy to Maximian; implying that Maximian's realm began where Constantius's ended. Thus Gaul is implicitly assigned to Constantius; Africa to Maximian. From the extreme south, Diocletian's part reaches to Bithynia, which implies the Dioceses of Pontus and the East; while Thrace and Asia (ἡ κἀτὰ Ἀσία, to designate the diocese, not the province) mark the line of partition on the side of Galerius, whose realm in the other direction stretches, it is implied, to Italy. (Hellas is mentioned, doubtless, because the writer was an Athenian.) There is no good reason for rejecting this evidence; the same assignment of Asia is repeated (on the same authority) at the later division of 315. It is at least not contradicted by the not precise statement of Aur. Victor (*ib.*): Illyrica ora adusque Ponti fretum Galerio; cetera Valerius retentavit. Later writers, accustomed to the later division of the Prefectures of Illyricum and the East, could hardly realize this cross division; the utmost their imaginations could compass would be to connect Thrace with Illyricum instead of Asia Minor. That the statesmen of Diocletian's age did not regard the Propontis as a necessary geographical boundary, and that a part of Asia could be as easily attached to Europe as a part of Europe could be attached to Asia, is proved by the next division on incontestably good evidence.

II. A.D. 305. (1) *a*, Severus: Maximian's portion with Diocese of Pannonia; *b*, Constantius: as before, with Spain (?). (2) *c*, Maximin: Egypt, the East; Pontus (?) except Bithynia; *d*, Galerius: as before, with Bithynia, but without Pannonia.

Anon. Val. iii. 5. Maximino datum est orientis imperium: Galerius sibi Illyricum Thracias et Bithyniam tenuit. (*Thracias*: the point of the plural is probably to include Moesia ii. and Scythia; as, in 18, the singular excludes them. See below.) Victor, with his usual vagueness (40, 1), gives Italy to Severus; quæ Iulius obtinuerat to Maximin. Anon. Val. 4, 9. Severo Pannoniæ et Italiæ urbes et Africæ contigerunt.

III. A.D. 306 (on death of Constantius). (1) *a*, Constantine: Britain and Gaul; *b*, Severus (Maxentius): as before, with Spain. (2) *c*, *d*, As before.

It is clear that, since (according to Anon. Val.) the Cæsar Severus had Diocese of Pannonia, he could not have also had Spain; for his realm would have been quite out of proportion to that of the Augustus Constantius. We may therefore assume that on Maximian's resignation Constantius took over Spain, but that after his death it was claimed by Severus, as Augustus, and actually held for a time by Maxentius.

IV. A.D. 314. Constantine now has all the dominions that from 293 to 305 were held by Constantius, Maximian and Galerius, with the exception of Thrace. Licinius has Diocletian's part, along with Thrace. The important point in this arrangement is the beginning of an administrative connexion between Thrace and the East; they would now be governed by the same Prætorian Prefect.

Praxagoras (*F. H. G. iv. p. 3*): Ἑλλάδος τε καὶ Μακεδονίας καὶ τῆς κἀτὰ (ἢ *leg. pro κατὰ*) Ἀσίας were acquired by Constantine. Anon. Val. 18; Licinius: orientem, Asiam, Thraciam, Moesiam, minorem Scythiam.

V. A.D. 335. [The arrangement of this year was not a division of the Empire, but partly a confirmation of the assignment of administrative spheres, already made to his sons, and partly a new assignment of administrations to his nephews. Constantine did not directly sacrifice the unity of the Empire, which was still realized in his own sovereignty, though he adopted a policy which might at any moment endanger it. "Von einer Erbtheilung ist dabei nicht die Rede, sondern nur von einem Antheil an der Verwaltung" (Ranke, Weltgeschichte, iv. 2, 270).]

(1) Constantine had Gaul, Britain and Spain (=the later "Prefecture of Gaul"); (2) Constantius, Asia and Egypt; (3) Constans, Italy, Africa, and Illyricum (including Thrace). For Delmatius the *ripa Gothica* was cut off from the portion of Constans; Hannibalian had (at the expense of Constantius) a "kingdom" composed of principalities in the regions of Pontus and Armenia.

The question is, what were the limits of the province of Delmatius? Is *ripa Gothica* [I have not seen noticed a parallel expression in De Mortibus, 17, where Galerius reaches Nicomedia, *per circuitum ripæ strigæ*, where the emendation *Istrica* is doubtless right] to be interpreted as Eastern Illyricum (=dioceses of Dacia, Macedonia, and Thrace)? So Schiller (ii. 235), Ranke, Burckhardt, and Seeck. But the Epitome of Victor (41, 20) includes in the share of Constans "Dalmatia, Thrace, Macedonia and Achaia". Ranke supposes that *Dalmatiam* here is a scribe's mistake for *Dalmatius*, and that we should interpret the *ripa Gothica* of the Anonymous by the words thus amended. If we adopted this view, it would be better to read: *Dalmaci*<us Daci> *am Thraciam Macedoniam Achaïamque*.

But a view that necessitates tampering with a text which in itself gives perfect sense cannot be accepted as satisfactory. There is a further objection here. The text of the Epitome agrees remarkably with the statement of Zonaras, xiii. 5, which assigns to Constans Italy, Africa, Sicily and the islands, Illyricum, Macedonia, "Achaia, with the Peloponnesus". The Epitome was not a direct source of Zonaras; but the agreement is explained by the fact that both (the author of the Epitome directly, Zonaras indirectly) drew from a common source (probably Ammianus: op. L. Jeep, Quellenunt. zu den gr. Kirchenhistorikern, p. 67). Thus the assumption of a textual error in the Epitome means the assumption of an error in the text of an earlier authority; and therefore becomes decidedly hazardous and unconvincing. Add to this that the interpretation of *ripa Gothica* to include or to imply Macedonia and Greece is extremely forced. The natural meaning of the expression is: the provinces of Dacia, Moesia I. and II. and Scythia,¹ and perhaps Pannonia and Noricum. The actual testimonies of the two best authorities, that are explicit, concur in showing that the main division of A.D. 335 was tripartite—between the Emperor's three sons—and that only subsidiary (though highly responsible) posts in frontier regions were given to the two nephews. This view is also more in accordance with Zosimus, ii. 39, who distinctly marks a triple division.² Nor is it contradicted by Eusebius, Panegy. ch. iii., which only proves that Delmatius (unlike Hannibalian) was a Cæsar, and thus co-ordinate in dignity with his cousins.

VI. A.D. 337-8. (1) Constantius: as before, along with the kingdom of Hannibalian; (2) Constans: as before, along with *ripa Gothica*; and without (?) Raetia or part of Africa; (3) Constantine: as before, along with some part of Africa or of the Diocese of Italy (?).

It seems, from Zosimus, ii. 39, that the dominions of Constantine and Constans were considered at first as a whole, Constantine exercising some authority over his younger brother. And this may explain the notice in the Chronicon Alexandrinum of Eutychius (under Ol. 279), which Gibbon accepts—that Constantine reigned for a year at Constantinople. The transference of Thrace to Constantius seems to have taken place in A.D. 339, when Constans was preparing for war with Constantine and desired to secure the neutrality of Constantius.

¹ Chron. Pasch., p. 532, ed. B. gives Mesopotamia to Delmatius (Godefroy accepted the statement). I conjecture that *Mesopotamiarum* may have arisen from *Mucliar raparotamular*=Moesian ripensem.

² He pretends to mark it as it existed at the death of Constantine (before the death of Delmatius); though he seems really to give the subsequent division.

The division of 398 A.D. is given as follows in the Life of St. Artemius (Acta Sanct., Oct. 20)—a document which merits more criticism than it has received:—

(1) Constantine: αἱ ἄνω Γαλλίαι καὶ τὰ ἐπέκεινα Ἀλπεων (an expression often used to include Spain), αἱ τε Βρεττανικαὶ νῆσοι (Britain and the Orcades, etc. ? cp. Eutropius, 7, 13, and the interpolation in the Laterculus of Polemius Silvius, see above, App. 10), καὶ ἕως τοῦ ἑσπερίου ὠκεανοῦ. (2) Constans: αἱ κάτω Γαλλίαι ἡγουν αἱ Ἰταλῖαι (Italy with its adjuncts, Sicily, Africa, etc.), καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ Ρώμη. (3) Constantius: τὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς μέρος, Βυζάντιον, τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ (implying that Illyricum went to Constans) μέχρι τῆς Προποντιδος ὅποσα ὑπῆκοα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τῇν τε Συρίαν καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ Μεσοποταμίαν καὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὰς νήσους ἀπὸ τὰς.

The Vita Artemii (the Greek text was first published by A. Mai in Spicilegium Romanum, vol. iv.) was composed by "John the Monk," and professes to be compiled from the Ecclesiastical History of Philostorgius and some other writers. Eusebius, Socrates and Theodoret are also referred to. There is evidence that Philostorgius was largely used, and consequently the Life of Artemius becomes an important mine of material for the restoration of the history of that Arian writer. The story of Gallus is, I presume, derived from him, and I conjecture that the statement of the partition of the Empire among the sons of Constantine comes from the same source. If so, both passages ultimately depend on Eunapius, who was doubtless the source of Philostorgius.

From the same source is certainly derived the statement of the partition in Constantine Porphyrogenetos, de Them., ii. 9 (ed. Bonn, p. 57). The portion of Constantine is described in exactly the same words as in the Vita Artemii (τὰς ἄνω Γαλλίας καὶ τὰ ἐπέκεινα Ἀλπέων ἕως τοῦ ἑσπερίου ὠκεανοῦ), except that instead of "the British Isles" the imperial geographer says "as far as the city of Canterbury itself" (Κάνταβριν). The expression αἱ κάτω Γαλλίαι is also used, but, in expanding the concise expressions of his source, Constantine falls into error and assigns Illyricum and Greece to Constantius.

VII. A.D. 364. (1) Valentinian i.: Prefectures of Gaul, and of Italy and Illyricum; (2) Valens: Prefecture of the East, including D. of Thrace.

VIII. A.D. 378. (1) Gratian and Valentinian ii.: Prefectures of Gaul and of Italy, including Western Illyricum; (2) Theodosius: Prefecture of the East, along with Dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia (Soz. vii. 4).

This partition, which drew a new line of division between East and West, probably established definitely the system of four prefectures which Zoëmus attributed to the express enactment of Constantine. Up to this time three pr. prefects seem to have been the rule, four an exception. But now, instead of adding Eastern Illyricum to the large Prefecture of the East, Theodosius instituted a new Prefecture.

15. THE SARMATIANS—(P. 229)

It is often asserted that "Sarmatian" was a generic name for Slavonic peoples. It is certain that a great many Slavonic tribes must have been often described under the name, but it is extremely doubtful whether any of the chief Sarmatian peoples—the Bastarnae, the Roxolani (? Rox-alani) or Jazyges—were Slavonic. I believe that Šafarik, in taking up a negative position on this question, was right (Slawische Alterthümer, ed. Wuttke, i. 333 *sqq.*). But I cannot think that he has quite made out the Slavonic race of the Carpi (*ib.* 213-4), though this is accepted by Jireček (Geschichte der Bulgaren, p. 77); he has a more plausible case, perhaps, for the Kostoboks. On the other hand it is extremely likely, though it cannot be absolutely proved, that in the great settlements of non-German peoples, made in the third and fourth centuries in the Illyrian peninsula by the Roman Emperors, some Slavonic tribes were included. This is an idea which was developed by Drinov in his rare book on the Slavic colonization of the Balkan lands, and has been accepted by Jireček. There is much probability in the view that Slavonic settlers were among the 800,000 Sarmatae, to whom Constantine assigned abodes in 334 A.D. It is an hypothesis such as, in some form, is needed to account for the appearance of Slavonic names before the beginning of the sixth century in the Illyrian provinces.

Šafarik tried to show that the Alani, Roxolani, Bastarnae, Jazyges, &c., were of Iranian race, allied to the Persians and Medes,—like the Scythians of Herodotus.

16. BATTLE OF SINGARA—(P. 241)

I have shown in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (vol. 5) that we should accept Julian's notice as to the date of this battle (and place it in A.D. 344), instead of following Jerome's date (adopted by Idatius), A.D. 348. One might be tempted to guess that there were two battles at Singara, and that the *nocturna pugna* was placed in the wrong year by an inadvertence of Jerome; this might be considered in connexion with Förster's reconstruction of the corrupt passage of Festus, Brev. ch. 27: Verum pugnis Sisaruenta, Singarena, et iterum Singarena praesente Constantio ac Sicgarena, &c. The *νυκτομαχία* is described below as: *nocturna Elliensi prope Singaram pugna*. *Elliensi* is mysterious.

The events of the Persian wars of Constantius and Julian are briefly narrated by General F. R. Chesney in his *Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, vol. 2, p. 480 *sqq.* (quarto ed.).

17. SOURCES AND CHRONOLOGY OF ARMENIAN HISTORY UNDER TRDAT AND HIS SUCCESSORS—(C. XIX.)

Some works bearing on Armenia have been mentioned in connexion with general oriental history in vol. i. Appendix 12. In addition to these must now be mentioned (besides St. Martin's *Mémoires sur l'Arménie* and the notes to his edition of Lebeau's *Bas-Empire*): Ter Mikelian, *Die armenische Kirche in ihren Beziehungen zur byzantinischen* (saec. 4-13), 1892; Chalatzianz, *Zenob of Glak* (in modern Armenian; known to me through Stackelberg's summary in *Byz. Zeitschrift*, 4, 368-70), 1898; Gelzer's highly important essay, *Die Anfänge der armenischen Kirche* (in the *Berichte der kön. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wiss.*), 1895, on which the following notes are based; Gelzer's article *Armenien* in *Herzog's Realencyklopädie für Theologie und Kirche* (ed. Hauck), 1896; S. Weber, *Die katholische Kirche in Armenien*, 1903 (a valuable work); E. Ter-Minassiantz, *Die armenische Kirche in ihren Beziehungen zu den Syrischen Kirchen bis zum Ende des 13 Jahrhunderts*, 1904 (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, N.F. xi. 4).

1. Sources. (a) Faustus. For Armenian history in the fourth century after death of Trdat (Tiridates), A.D. 317, our only trustworthy source is Faustus, who wrote his *History of Armenia* in Greek (before the Armenian alphabet was introduced; the Greek original is quoted by Procopius, *Pers.* i. 5), probably in first years of King Vram Šapuh, who reigned from 395 to 416 (Gelzer, p. 116). The work is marked by enthusiasm for the clergy, and a certain prejudice against the policy of those who were loyal to the kings, also by chronological errors. "Faustus is completely a national Armenian; therein lies his strength and his weakness" (*ib.* 117). He consulted official documents in the royal archives (*ib.*) and made use of old songs. (b) Agathangelos, who lived about half a century later, contains a work which is our only good source for the reign of Trdat. His work (preserved both in Armenian and in a Greek translation, which mutually check each other) has been dissected by A. von Gutschmid (*Kleine Schriften*, 3, 395, *sqq.*). It contains an earlier Life of St. Gregory (perhaps originally composed in Syriac, Gelzer, p. 114) and an Apocalypse of Gregory written between 452 and 456 by a priest of Valarsapat. The latter is valuable as throwing indirect light on the church history of the fifth century, but worthless for the history of Trdat. (c) Moses of Chorene (fifth century); see vol. i., Appendix 12. (d) The worthlessness of the *History of Taron* by Zenob of Glak has been shown by the investigation of Chalatzianz (*op. cit.*). Hitherto supposed to have been written in Syriac in the fourth century and translated into Armenian in the seventh, it is now shown to be an apocryphal work of an impostor of the eighth or ninth century. There is a French translation by Langlois, *F. H. G.* vol. v.

2. Chronology. The student who consults the translation of Langlois (Agathangelos and Faustus; *op. cit.*) must be warned that the chronological in-

dications in the notes are set down at random and contradict one another. And, if he has read the note in Smith's edition of the *Decline and Fall*, vol. ii. p. 369, which is taken from St. Martin's edition of Lebeau, and compares it with the chronological list of kings in the same scholar's *Mémoires*, he will find that the two accounts diverge. (In the *Mémoires*, p. 412-3, the dates are: death of Trdat, 314; interregnum; accession of Chosroes II., 316; Tiran II., 325; Arsaces, 341; Pap, 370. According to the old view, which appears, though not consistently, in Langlois' collection, and seems to be assumed in Ter Mikelian's *op. cit.*, Trdat reigned from 286 to 342.) The following reconstruction seems most probable:—

Death of Chosrov I., accession of Trdat,	-	-	-	-	281 A.D.
Accession of Chosrov II.,	-	-	-	-	317 "
" Tiran,	-	-	-	-	326 "
" Aršak,	-	-	-	-	337 "
" Pap,	-	-	-	-	367 "
				to	374 "

There are not sufficient data for determining the dates of the Catholicoi; the statements of Moses will not bear criticism, see Gelzer, p. 121 *sqq.* The only certainties we have are that Aristakēs, son and successor of Gregory, attended the Council of Nicaea, 325; and that Nersēs was poisoned by King Pap before 374.

3. Trdat and Constantine (Gelzer, 165 *sqq.*). Officially the Armenian kings adopted the style "Arsaces" (just as the Severian Emperors adopted Antoninus), and he appears in Cod. Theod. xi. i. 1 (Constantine and Licinius A.D. 315) as *Arsacis regis Armeniae*. In the previous year, he and Gregory visited Constantine in Illyricum ("the land of the Dalmatians" in the Armenian Agathangelos) in "the royal city of the Romans," probably Serdica. There the alliance mentioned by Faustus (iii. 21; Langlois, p. 232) was concluded, which endured till 363. The authenticity of the account of Agathangelos (doubted by Gutschmid) has been successfully vindicated by Gelzer.

On Trdat's death the Romans intervened to put Chosrov on the throne, and Tiran likewise owed his elevation to Constantine. In 337 he was betrayed to the Persians by his chamberlain, seized by the governor of Atropatene, and blinded. The armed intervention of Constantine and Constantius led to the elevation of Aršak, the son of Tiran, who declined to resume the sovereignty. Aršak first married Olympias, a Greek lady connected with the Constantinian house; and afterwards a daughter of the Persian king. His policy was to hold the balance between Rome and Persia throughout the wars of Constantius and Julian.

4. In Eusebius, H. E. vi. 46, 2, we find this notice: *καὶ τοῖς κατὰ Ἀρμενίαν ἑσθιόντως περὶ μεταβολὰς ἐπιστέλλει ὃν ἐπισκόπου Μερουζάνης*. Gelzer (p. 171 *sqq.*) points out that this bishopric of Meruzanes cannot have been in the Roman provinces called Armenia, and therefore was in Great Armenia; and he seeks to show that it may have been in the south-eastern corner, the district of Vaspurakan. The words in Eusebius are from a letter of Dionysios of Alexandria (248-265), and the inference seems to be that Christianity was introduced into an outlying district of Armenia in the fifties of the third century.¹ But the formal conversion of Armenia began about 280 under the auspices of King Trdat, through the labours of Gregory the Illuminator. The destruction of the temples of the gods, in spite of strong opposition from the priests, was one of the first acts of the change, and preceded Gregory's journey to Cæsarea (between 285 and 290 according to Gelzer) to be consecrated by Leontius. The Armenian Church was dependent on the see of Cæsarea, and under Greek influence for nearly a century. After the death of the Patriarch Nersēs, it was severed and made autocephalous by King Pap (*circa* A.D. 373-4. Op. Ter Mikelian, p. 81). During the fourth century the seat of the Catholicos, and the spiritual centre of Armenia, was Aštisat in the southern district of Taron, as has been well brought out by Gelzer. It

¹ Mr. F. C. Conybeare is inclined to believe that Gregory the Illuminator used an Armenian version of New Testament Scriptures made from a pre-Peshito Syriac text, long before the time of Mesrop. This version may have been due to the Church in Vaspurakan. Apparently the non-existence of Mesrop's alphabet did not prevent literary composition in Armenian.

was afterwards removed to Valarsapat, when no longer dependent on Caesarea, and then the priests of Valarsapat invented stories to prove the antiquity of their seat and the original independence of the Armenian Church. In the fourth century, the chief feature of the domestic history of Armenia is the struggle between the monarch and the Catholicus, between the spirit of nationality and the subjection to foreign influences. It culminated in the reign of Pap, who solved the question by poison.

In regard to the conversion of Armenia, its progress was partly determined by the feudal condition of the country (Gelzer, 132). The nobles were easily won over by the personal influence of the king; the priests were naturally the most obstinate opponents. The new faith seems to have been slow in taking root among the people, and it is noteworthy that women, even in high rank, clung tenaciously to the old religion (like the wife of Chosrov, Faustus, iii. 8, and the mother of Pap, *ib.* 44).

N. Marr, *O nachalnoi istorii Armenii Anonima*, in *Vizantiiski Vremennik*, i. 263 *sqq.* (1894), discusses the character of the brief History of Armenia, which is prefixed to Sebeos' History of the Emperor Heraclius (Russ. tr. by Patkanian, 1862); and its relation to Moses of Chorene. This document (which appears in the collection of Langlois under the title Pseudo-Agathange) he regards as the earliest extant Armenian history of early Armenia; it was worked up by a later (also anonymous) writer, of whose composition a large extract has been preserved in Moses of Chorene, bk. i. c. 8 (in Langlois, under the title, *Mar Apas Catina*). Moses also used the original work. Marr points out a number of resemblances between Faustus and the first Anonymous, and hazards the conjecture (295 *sqq.*) that this history of Armenia may be part of the first two books of Faustus, whose work, as we have it, begins with book iii.

18. CONSTANTINE AND CHRISTIANITY—(C. XX.)

The attitude of Constantine to the Christian religion has been the theme of many discussions, and historians are still far from having reached a general agreement. Burckhardt, in his attractive monograph, developed the view that Constantine was "ganz wesentlich unreligiös," constitutionally indifferent to religion, because he was a "genialer Mensch," dominated by ambition; and that in his later years he exhibited personal inclinations rather towards paganism than towards Christianity. H. Richter has some remarkable pages on Constantine's *system of parity* between the two religions; and Brieger, in an excellent article in his *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (iv., 1881, p. 163 *sqq.*), agrees with Gibbon that Constantine's Christianity was due entirely to political considerations.¹ Many of the data admit of different interpretations. Those who ascribe to him a policy of parity, or the idea of a state religion which might combine elements common to enlightened paganism and Christianity (so Schiller), appeal to the fact that the *sacerdotes* and *flamines* in Africa were granted privileges; but it is replied that they had ceased to carry on the ritual and simply, as a matter of equity, had the old rights secured to them, while they no longer performed the old duties. If the "cult" of Tyche at Constantinople is alleged, it is urged that she had no temple service. The temples of Constantinople are explained away; and the "aedes Flaviae nostrae gentis" of the remarkable inscription of Hispellum (date between 326 and 337; Orelli, 5580) is asserted not to have been intended for the worship of the Emperors, but simply as a fine hall for public spectacles.² (See V. Schultze, in Brieger's *Zeitschrift*, vii. 352 *sqq.*) The indulgence to paganism was simply the toleration of a statesman who could not discreetly go too fast in the accomplishment of such a great reformation. And certainly on the hypothesis that Constantine had before his eyes, as the thing to be achieved, the ultimate establishment of Christianity as the exclusive state religion, his attitude to paganism would be, in general, the attitude we should expect from a circumspect statesman. Ranke's remark hits the point (*Weltgeschichte*, iii. 1,

¹ See on the other side, Funk, in *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 78, 429 *sqq.*, 1896.

² Compare the words: *ne aedis nostro nomini dedicata cuiusquam contagiosae superstitionis fraudibus polluat*, insisted on by Seeck, *Untergang der antiken Welt*, i. p. 439.

582): "Er konnte unmöglich zugeben dass an die Stelle der Unordnungen der Verfolgung die vielleicht noch grösseren einer gewaltsamen Reaction träten".

It seems to me that Seeck, in holding that Constantine had really broken with the old religion and was frankly a Christian, is nearer the mark than Gibbon or Schiller. From the evidence which we have, I believe that Constantine adopted the Christian religion and intended that Christianity should be the State religion. As to a great many details, there may be uncertainty in regard to the facts themselves or their interpretation, but I would invite attention to the following general considerations.

(1) The theory that the motives of Constantine's Christian policy were purely political, and that he was religiously indifferent, seems perilously like an anachronism,—ascribing to him modern ideas. There is no reason to suppose that he was above the superstitiousness of his age. (2) The theory that he was a Deist, that he desired to put Paganism and Christianity on an equality, emphasizing some common features, and that circumstances led him to incline the balance towards Christianity in his later years, is not the view *naturally* suggested by the (a) Christian education he gave his children, and (b) the hostility of the pagan Emperor Julian to his memory. (3) The fact that he countenanced Paganism and did not completely abolish the customs of the old State religion proves nothing; the remark of Ranke quoted above is a sufficient answer. In fact, those who have dealt with the question have sometimes failed to distinguish between two different things. It is one thing to say that Constantine's motives for establishing Christianity were purely secular. It is quite another to say that he was guided by secular considerations in the methods which he adopted to establish Christianity. The second thesis is true—Constantine would have been a bad statesman if he had not been so guided;—but its truth is quite consistent with the falsity of the first.

Schiller (iii. 301 *sqq.*) has conveniently summarized the chief facts, and his results may be arranged as follows:—

(1) COINS. In Constantine's western mints coins appeared with *Mars*, with *genius pop. Rom.*, and with *Sol*, but certainly not in the two first cases, perhaps not in the last case, after 315 A.D. Further, Constantinian coins with *Juppiter* were not struck in the west, but in the mints of Licinius. Thus we may say that between 315 and 323 pagan emblems were disappearing from Constantine's coinage, and indifferent legends took their place, such as *Beata tranquillitas*.

We also find coins with *P*, as a sign of the mint; and at the end of Constantine's reign a series of copper coins was issued in which two soldiers were represented on the reverse holding a flag with the monogram *P*.

We see then two stages in Constantine's policy. At first he removes from his coins symbols which might offend his Christian soldiers and subjects whom he wished to propitiate (this is Schiller's interpretation); and finally he allows to appear on his money symbols which did not indeed commit him to Christianity, but were susceptible of a Christian meaning.

The disappearance of the sun god from coins in 323 A.D. leads Usener to the conclusion that not till then could the idea arise of placing the birthfeast of the "Sun of Righteousness" on December 25, the birthday of Sol invictus. The Roman Church accepted this day c. 336, but the feast was not regularly introduced till some years later. See Rheinisches Museum (N.F.), 60, 465 *sqq.*, 1905.

(2) LAWS. After the great Edict of Milan, 312-3 A.D. (which, according to Seeck, was never issued), the following measures were taken by Constantine to put Christianity on a level with the old religion. (1) 313 A.D., the Catholic clergy were freed from all state burdens. (2) 313 (or 315), the Church was freed from *annona* and *tributum*. (3) 316 (321), Manumissions in the Church were made valid. (4) 319, (1) was extended to the whole empire. (5) 320, exception to the laws against celibacy made in favour of the clergy, allowing them to inherit. (6) 321, wills in favour of the Catholic Church permitted. (7) 323, compulsion of Christians to take part in pagan celebrations forbidden. On the other hand, a law of 321 (Cod. Theod. xvi. 10, 1) forbids private consultation of haruspices, but

allows it in public. [Cp. further Seuffert, *Constantins Gesetze und das Christenthum*, 1891.]

(3) EUSEBIUS describes in his *Ecclesiastical History* (bk. x. 1 *sqq.*) a number of acts of Constantine after his victory over Maxentius, which attest not only toleration but decided favour towards the Christians. He entertains Christian priests, heaps presents on the Church, takes an interest in ecclesiastical questions. There is no reason to doubt these statements; but Schiller urges us to remember (1) that Eusebius does not mention what favour Constantine bestowed on the pagans, and (2) that, when the final struggle with Licinius came and that Emperor resorted to persecution, policy clearly dictated to Constantine the expediency of specially favouring Christianity. In general, according to Schiller, from 313 to 323 Constantine not only maintained impartial toleration, but bestowed positive benefits on both the old and the new religion. The account of Eusebius is a misrepresentation through omission of the other side.

One or two points may be added. Eusebius states that after the victory over Maxentius Constantine erected a statue of himself with a cross in his right hand at Rome. This statement occurs in *Hist. E.* ix. c. 10, 11; *Paneg.* ix. 18; *Vit. C.* i. 40. Is this to be accepted as a fact? A statement in *H. E.* is more trustworthy than any statement in the *Vit. C.*; and Brieger thought that in this case the passage in *H. E.* is an interpolation from that in the *Vit. C.* (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1880, p. 45). But Schultze (*ib.* vii. 1885, 343 *sqq.*) has shown that Eusebius mentioned the statue in question, in his speech at Tyre in 314 A.D., from *H. E.* x. 4, 16. This adds considerable weight to the evidence.

In regard to the monogram χP , Rapp in his paper, *Das Labarum und der Sonnenkultus* (*Jahrb. des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, 1866, p. 116 *sqq.*), showed that it appears on Greco-Bactrian coins of 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. It appears still earlier on Tarentine coins of the first half of the 3rd century. It is not clear that Constantine used it as an ambiguous symbol; nor yet is there a well-attested instance of its use as a Christian symbol before A.D. 323 (cp. Brieger in his *Zeitschrift*, iv. 1881, p. 201).

Several examples of the Labarum as described by Eusebius are preserved; I may refer especially to one on a Roman sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum. The Labarum was represented usually as a fiery cross; so on Byzantine coins. See Svoronos, in the *Διεθνὴς ἐφημερὶς τῆς νομισματικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας*, 2, 341 *sqq.*, 1899.

For "Christian emblems on the coins of Constantine the Great, his family and his successors," see Madden in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1877-8.

For the Tyche, to whom Constantine dedicated his new city, the most recent and instructive study is the brief paper of Strzygowski, in *Analecta Græciensia* (Graz, 1898).

As to the connexion of Constantine with the Donatist controversy, attention may be drawn to the article of O. Seeck in Brieger's *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, x. 505-568 (*Quellen und Urkunden über die Anfänge des Donatismus*). He fixes the date of the Council of Arles to A.D. 316 (cp. Euseb. *V. C.* i. 44-45). The general result of his discussion is to discredit the authority of Optatus, whom he regards as a liar, drawing from a lying source. The only value of the work of Optatus is to be found, he concludes, in the parts which rest on the protocols of the Synods of Cirta and Rome, and the lost parts of the *Acta* of the process of Felix (*vis.* I., 13, 14, 23, 24, 27, and perhaps the story of the choice of Cæcilian, 16-18).

For Constantine in mediæval legend see the *Incerti Auctoris de C. Magno eiusque matre Helena*, edited by Heydenreich (1879); Extracts from a popular Chronicle (Greek) given by A. Kirpitschnikow, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, i. 308 *sqq.* (1892); Heydenreich, *C. der Grosse in den Sagen des Mittelalters*, *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichts-wissenschaft*, 9, 1 *sqq.* (1893), and *Griechische Berichte über die Jugend C. des G.*, in *Gr. Stud. H. Lipsius zum Geburtstag dargebracht*, p. 88 *sqq.* (1894). For his father Constantius in mediæval legend

see *Li contes dou roi Constant l'Emperor*, ed. in the *Bibl. Elzevir*, by MM. Moland and d'Hericault, 1856. An English translation by Mr. Wm. Morris appeared in 1896.

19. ECCLESIASTICAL GEOGRAPHY—(P. 385)

The ecclesiastical divisions of the empire, referred to incidentally by Gibbon, are not closely enough connected with the subject to require an editorial note. But, as they sometimes throw light on the political boundaries, and as they have been recently much investigated, some bibliographical indications of literature on the eastern bishoprics may be useful.

Parthey: *Notitiæ Græcæ Episcopatum* (along with Hierocles).

H. Gelzer: *Die Zeitbestimmung der griechischen Notitiæ Episcopatum*, *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, xii. 556 *sqq.*; *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, xxxv. 419 *sqq.*; *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, i. 245 *sqq.* (on eastern Patriarchates); ii. 22 *sqq.* Also edition of Basil's *Notitia* (early in ninth century) in "*Georgius Cyprius*" (edition Teubner, 1890).

W. Ramsay: Articles in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1884, 1887; *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, 1890, *passim*.

De Boor: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xii. 303 *sqq.*, 519 *sqq.* (1890); xiv. 573 *sqq.* (1893).

Duchesne: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, i. 531 *sqq.* (eccl. geogr. of Illyricum).

Poole's *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe* (1902), map lxxv. (The four Eastern Patriarchates), by E. W. Brooks.

Duchesne: *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, 2 vols. 1894, 1900.

20. LEGEND OF THE FINDING OF THE TRUE CROSS—(P. 481)

The legend of the discovery of the Cross by Judas for St. Helena has come down in Syriac, Greek, and Latin versions. See E. Nestle, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, iv. p. 319-345, who makes it probable that the original Helena legend was in Syriac, and prints the oldest Greek version extant from a Sinai Ms. of the eighth century copied by Mr. Rendel Harris. (The *Greek* from later Mss. (1) in J. Gretser's huge treatise, *De Cruce Christi* (1000), ii. 530 *sqq.*, and Holder, *Inventio veræ crucis*, 1889; (2) in Gretser, *op. cit.*, ii. 543 *sqq.*; (3) Wotke, *Wiener Studien*, 1891, p. 300 *sqq.*; the *Latin* (1) in the *Sanctuarium* (a rather rare book; c. 1479) of Mombricitus, and in *Acta Sanctorum*, May 4, I., 445 *sqq.*; (2) in Holder, *op. cit.*; (3) in Mombricitus, *op. cit.*; the *Syriac* (1) from seventh century Ms., in Nestle's *De sancta Cruce*, 1889; (2) *ib.*; (3) in Bedjan's *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, 1890, p. 326 *sqq.*)

21. ST. GEORGE—(P. 498)

The article on St. George by Zöckler in Herzog and Plitt's *Encyclopædia* has been superseded by the discussion of F. Görres in the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, xvi. 1890, p. 454 *sqq.* "*Ritter St. Georg in Geschichte, Legende, u. Kunst.*" [There is no question that the *Acta* (in *Act. Sanct.* 23rd April) are apocryphal and legendary. They are remarkable for the horrible descriptions of scenes of martyrdom, which might serve as a text to elucidate the pictures on the walls of the curious round Church of San Stefano on the Esquiline.] Görres arrives practically at the same conclusion as Tillemont (*Mém. ecol.*, v. 185-9, 658-60). All the details of St. George's martyrdom are uncertain; but St. George existed and suffered as a martyr in the East in some pre-Constantinian persecution. Tillemont established the reality of St. George by the existence of his cult (he was a *μεγαλόμαρτυς*) in the sixth century; Görres proves that it already existed in the fifth century. (1) The round Church of St. George at Thessalonica is not younger than the fifth century and possibly belongs to the fourth; (2) Venantius (Carm. ii. 12, p. 41, ed. M. H. G.) mentions a Gallic basilica to St. George, founded by Sidonius Apollinaris; (3) the decree of Pope Gelasius *de libris non recipiendis*, at end of fifth century, condemns the *Acta* of St. George as apocryphal, but confesses his historical existence.

The connexion of his name with a dragon-slaying legend does not relegate him to the region of myth. For over against the fabulous Christian dragon-slayer, Theodore of the Bithynian Heraclea, we can set Agapetus of Synnada and Arsacius, who though celebrated as dragon-slayers were historical persons.

22. THE CHURCHES OF CONSTANTINE AT JERUSALEM—(P. 480)

In regard to Constantine's Churches at Jerusalem it may be said, without entering upon the question as to the true positions of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, that it is certain that these churches—(1) the round Church of the Anastasis which contained the Sepulchre, and the (2) adjacent Basilica, dedicated to the Cross—stood on the site of the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Injured by the Persians (614 A.D.) they were restored some years later, and a plan of the buildings drawn up, towards the end of the seventh century, by the pilgrim Arculfus is extant, and is of great importance for the topography. Some traces of the old buildings still remain. "The relative position of the Churches is the same; the circular Church of the Anastasis has preserved its form; the south wall of the Basilica can be traced from 'Calvary' eastward, and one of the large cisterns constructed by Constantine has been discovered" (Sir C. Wilson, in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, new ed., 1893, p. 1654). Mr. Fergusson's theory which identified the Church of the Resurrection with the mosque known as Kubbet-es-Sakhrah, the Dome of the Rock (within the so-called "Haram area"), is now quite exploded.

The Dome of the Rock has its own question, but has nothing to do with Constantine. Is it of Saracenic origin dating from the end of the seventh century—built perhaps by a Greek architect? or was it originally a Christian Church, and converted into a mosque? It has been identified by Professor Sepp with a Church of St. Sophia built by Justinian. Sir C. Wilson thinks that it stands on the site of St. Sophia, which was destroyed by the Persians; "that it was rebuilt with the old material by Abdul-Melik who covered it with a dome, and that it was again repaired and redecored by El Mamûn" (*ib.*, p. 1657).

The adjacent mosque el-Aksa occupies the site of the mosque of Omar. It was built by Abd al Malik, "out of the ruins of Justinian's Church of St. Mary" (Wilson, *ib.*), which is fully described by Procopius; but there is a difference of opinion whether the Church was on the same site as the mosque or (so Fergusson and others) in the south-eastern corner of the "Haram area," where there are vaults apparently of the Justinianean age.

For further details see Sir C. Wilson's article Jerusalem, cited above; F. W. Unger, *Die Bauten Constantius des Grossen am heiligen Grabe zu Jerusalem* (in Benfey's *Orient und Occident*, vol. 2), 1863; Mr. T. H. Lewis' essay on the Church of Constantine at Jerusalem in the *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, 1891; B. Sepp, *Die Felsenkuppel eine Justinianische Sophien-kirche*, 1882; J. R. MacPherson, in the *English Historical Review*, 7, 417 *sqq.*, 669 *sqq.*, 1892; various papers in the *Palestine Exploration Fund publications*. F. X. Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, i. 366 *sqq.*, 1896; J. Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*.

23. THE TIGRIS AND EUPHRATES—(P. 522)

The recent publication of a geographical description of Mesopotamia and Baghdād by an Arabic writer, Ibn Serapion, of whom nothing is known except that he wrote in the early years of the tenth century, by Mr. Guy Le Strange (with translation and commentary, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1895, January and April; cp. addenda in July, and 1896, October), is of considerable importance.

It shows that since the tenth century great alterations have taken place in the course of the Tigris and Euphrates, and shows what these alterations were; it gives a clear account of the canal system which drew the overflow of the Euphrates into the Tigris; and it supplies most important data for the reconstruction of the topography of Baghdād.

Before the Caliphate, the River Tigris followed its present course, from Kût-al-Amarah (about 100 miles below Baghdād) flowing in a south-easterly

direction to its junction with the Euphrates. But during the middle ages—in the tenth century for example—it flowed almost due south “running down the channel now known as the *Shatt-al-Hay*, and passing through the city of *Wāsit*” (Le Strange, *ib.*, Jan., p. 3). The changes in the Euphrates are thus summed up by Mr. Le Strange (p. 4): A little above *Al-Kūfa* “the stream bifurcated. The branch to the right—considered then as the main stream of the Euphrates, but now known as the *Hindiyya Canal*—ran down past *Al-Kūfa*, and a short distance below the city became lost in the western part of the great Swamp,” which also swallowed up the waters of the *Tigris*. “The stream to the left or eastward called the *Sūrā Canal*—which, in its upper reach, follows the line of the modern Euphrates—ran a short course and then split up into numerous canals whose waters for the most part flowed out into the *Tigris* above *Wāsit*.” The great Swamp in which the streams of both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* lost themselves was drained by the Tidal Estuary which reached the sea at *Abbadān*, “a town which, on account of the recession of the Persian Gulf, now lies nearly twenty miles distant from the present shore-line”.

It should be carefully remembered in reading the account of the events after *Julian's* death that the *Tigris* has also altered its course to the north of *Ctesiphon* since the tenth century. From a point below *Samarrā* to a point above *Baghdād*, it followed a shorter and more westerly channel than at the present day.

As to the canal *Nahr-al-Malik* (see above, p. 503), Mr. Le Strange says (*ib.*, Jan., p. 75), that “roughly speaking it followed the line of the modern *Radh-wāniyya Canal*”.

It may be added that the geographical work of *Abu-l-Fidā*, mentioned by *Gibbon*, p. 522, n. 54, is not very valuable, being neither good nor early. The authoritative Arabic text is that of *Reinaud*, 1840, and there is a French translation by *S. Guyard*, 1883. On early geographical works in Arabic, see *Le Strange's* *Palestine under the Moslems* (*Palestine Exploration Fund*).

APPENDIX

ADDITIONAL NOTES BY THE EDITOR

1. AUTHORITIES

For the works of LIBANIUS, cp. vol. ii. Appendix 1, p. 562. The chronology of the most important of his later orations is as follows (cp. the introductions in the ed. of Förster, whose numbering is followed) :

- A.D. 381. Or. ii., *πρὸς τοὺς βαρὺν αὐτὸν καλέσαντας*. He contrasts the present with the reign of Julian ; and refers to the Battle of Hadrianople.
- A.D. 384. Or. xxx., *ὕπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν*. A complaint that although the offering of incense in pagan temples was not forbidden [by Cod. Theod. xvi. 10, 7, A.D. 381], the monks destroyed the temples.
- A.D. 386. Or. xxxiii., *πρὸς Θεοδοσίον κατὰ Τισαμενοῦ* (consularis of Syria). An interesting indictment of the governor's exactions and oppression.
- A.D. 387 (March). Or. xix., *πρὸς Θεοδοσίον περὶ τῆς στάσεως*. On the sedition at Antioch, a petition to Theodosius for mercy.
- A.D. 387. Or. xxiii., *κατὰ τῶν πεφευγόντων*. Against those who fled from the city during the sedition. It was written during the sedition but *μετὰ δικάστηρια καὶ κρίσιν καὶ δεσμὸν*.
- A.D. 387. Or. xx., *πρὸς Θεοδοσίον ἐπὶ ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς*. The story of the sedition and the pardon is narrated.
- A.D. 387. Or. xxi., *εἰς Καισάριον Μάγιστρον*. A thanksgiving to Cæsarius for his good offices in obtaining the pardon from Theodosius.
- A.D. 387. Or. xxii., *εἰς Ἑλλέβιχον*. Describing the inquiry into the sedition, conducted by Ellebichus.
- A.D. 387. Or. xxx., *πρὸς Νικοκλέα περὶ Θρασυδαίου*. Deals with events connected with the sedition.

There can be no question that Or. xxviii. on the Temples and many other of the orations of Libanius were not publicly delivered (in the Emperor's presence, for instance), but were merely read to a private audience of sympathizers, or circulated as pamphlets.

The Letters of Libanius have been submitted to a penetrating study by O. Seeck (Die Briefe des Libanius, zeitlich geordnet, 1906, in Gebhardt and Harnack's series, *Texte und Untersuchungen*), for the purpose of fixing their chronology. He has determined the principles on which the two corpora in which they are handed down are arranged, and has put together, in an alphabetical list (running to nearly 300 pages), all that is known about the numerous persons to whom they are addressed. The book is indispensable as a work of reference to students of the fourth century.

For THEMISTIUS, cp. vol. ii. Appendix 1, p. 562. The orations which concern the present volume are :

- A.D. 364. Or. v. On the consulship of Jovian. Claims toleration for both Christians and pagans.
- A.D. 364. Or. vi., *φιλάδελφοι*. To Valentinian and Valens on their accession.
- A.D. 367. Or. vii., *περὶ τῶν ἡτυχηκότων ἐπὶ Οὐάλεντος*. On the victory of Valens over Procopius. Praises the Emperor's clemency.
- A.D. 368. Or. viii., *πενταετηρικὸς*. On the quinquennialia of Valens.

- A.D. 369. Or. ix., *προτροπικὸς Οὐαλεντινιανῶ τῷ νέῳ*. To Valentinian the younger son of Valens, consul of the year.
- A.D. 370. Or. x., *ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης*, pronounced before the Senate of Constantinople congratulating Valens on his peace with the Goths.
- A.D. 373. Or. xi., *δεκετηρικὸς* (March 28). On the decennalia of Valens, who was then in Syria.
- A.D. 374. Or. xii. An appeal for religious toleration.
- A.D. 377. Or. xiii., *ἐρωτικὸς*, pronounced in honour of Gratian at Rome, whither Themistius was sent by Valens.
- A.D. 379. Or. xiv., *πρεσβευτικὸς εἰς Θεοδοσίον αὐτοκράτορα* (early in the year), pronounced at Thessalonica by Themistius as delegate of the Senate of Constantinople.
- A.D. 381. Or. xv., *εἰς Θεοδοσίον* (February or March). On the virtues of a king.
- A.D. 383. Or. xvi., *χαριστήριος τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς ὑστερίας τῆς στρατηγῆς Σατορνίνου* (January). On the peace with the Goths in 371.
- A.D. 384. Or. xvii., *ἐπὶ τῇ χειροτονίᾳ τῆς πολιάρχας*. Returning thanks for his own appointment to the Prefecture of Constantinople (c. Sept. 1?).
- A.D. 384. Or. xviii., *περὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως φιληκοίας*. Panegyric of Theodosius.
- A.D. 385. Or. xix., *ἐπὶ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Θεοδοσίου*, pronounced in the Senate; praises the clemency of Theodosius (before Sept. 14).

SYNESIUS of Cyrene (born 360-70 A.D.) studied first at Alexandria, afterwards at Athens. When he had completed his academical course he returned to the Pentapolis and led the life of a cultivated country gentleman. In 397 A.D. he arrived in Constantinople to plead the cause of Cyrene at the court, and stayed there some years, where he enjoyed the friendship of Aurelian. During that time he delivered his speech on the office of king (see above, p. 259), and witnessed the fall of Aurelian and rebellion of Gainas. He afterwards made these events the subject of a bold political "squin," entitled "The Egyptians". For the light which this throws on the political parties and intrigues in Constantinople, see below, Appendix 21.

After the Gainas episode, Aurelian returned, and by his influence the petition of Synesius was granted. Synesius then returned to Africa (probably in 402 to Alexandria, and 404 to Cyrene; so Seeck, who has revised the chronology of the letters of Synesius in a very valuable study in *Philologus*, 52, p. 458 sqq., 1893). Translation of his interesting descriptions of the pleasures of country life will be found in Mr. Halcomb's excellent article on "Synesius," in the *Dict. of Chr. Biography*. These descriptions occur in his letters, of which 156 are extant (included in the *Epistolographi Græci* of Hercher). The Cyrenaica, however, was exposed to the depredation of the nomads, owing to the incompetence of the governor Cerealis, and Synesius took an active part in defending the province. In 408 he had married a Christian wife; he came under the influence of Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria (where he resided a couple of years); and was gradually converted to Christianity. In 410 he yielded to the wishes of the people of Ptolemais and became a bishop. He died a few years later. His works, which included philosophical poems, may be most conveniently consulted in Migne's edition (Monograph: Volkmann, Synesios von Cyrene, 1869. See also A. Nieri, *La Cirenaica nel secolo quinto giusta le lettere di Sinesio*, in the *Revista di filologia*, 21, 220 sqq., 1892; W. S. Crawford, *Synesius the Hellene*, 1901).

PALLADIUS, Bishop of Helenopolis, wrote a biographical work on John Chrysostom (of whom he was a supporter) under the title "A Dialogue with Theodore the Deacon". After Chrysostom's banishment, not being safe in Constantinople, he went to Rome and explained to the Pope the true facts of Chrysostom's treatment. Afterwards returning to the east he was thrown into prison, and then banished to a remote part of Egypt. At a later time his sentence was revoked; he seems to have been restored to Helenopolis, and was then translated to the See of Aspsura in Galatia I. (Socrates, vii. 36). A strict ascetic himself, he dedicated to Lausus the Chamberlain (of Theodosius ii.?) a compila-

¹ Among them, letters to Hypatia.

tion of short biographies of men and women of his time who had embraced the ascetic life. It is known as the *Historia Lausiaca* (written about 420 A.D.); more will be said of it in considering the sources for the growth of monasticism, in an appendix to vol. iv.

The History (λόγοι ιστορικαί) of the pagan OLYMPIODORUS (of the Egyptian Thebes) in twenty-two books was a highly important work. It embraced eighteen years of contemporary history (A.D. 407-425). It is unluckily lost, but valuable fragments are preserved in the Bibliotheca of Photius (amongst others a curious account of the initiation of new students at the university of Athens, fr. 28). The work was used as a source by the somewhat later writers, Philostorgius, Socrates, Sozomen, and later still by Zosimus, so that our historical material for the reign of Honorius and the first half of the reign of Theodosius ii. depends more largely on Olympiodorus than might be inferred from the extent of the Photian fragments. He himself described his work as material (βλῆ) for history. He dedicated it to Theodosius ii. The most convenient edition of the fragments is that in Müller's *Fragmenta Hist. Græc.*, iv. p. 57 *sqq.*

In the same place (69 *sqq.*) will be found the fragments of PRISCUS of Panium in Thrace, whose history probably began about A.D. 433 and ended at 474. The most famous is the account of his embassy to Hunland, but other very valuable notices from his work are preserved. So far as we can judge from these remains he was perhaps the best historian of the fifth century. He was a source of Cassiodorus and so of Jordanes, for the history of Attila.

Q. Aurelius SYMMACHUS (of a rich but not an ancient family²) was born not long after 340. The details of his career are rehearsed on the base of a statue which his son set up in his house :

Q. Aur(elio) Symmacho v(iro)c(larissimo) quaest(ori) pret(ori) pontifici maiori, correctori Lucaniae et Brittiorum, comiti ordinis tertii, procons(uli) Africae, praef(ecto) urb(i), co(n)suli ordinario, oratori disertissimo, Q. Fab(ius) Memm(ius) Symmachus v(ir) c(larissimus) patri optimo.

On the occasion of the quinquennialia of Valentinian (A.D. 369, Feb. 25) he carried the Senate's congratulations and *aurum oblativum* to the Emperor and pronounced panegyrics on Valentinian and Gratian, of which fragments remain (Or. i. and Or. iii., ed. Seeck, p. 318 and 330). He remained with the court, and accompanied the Emperors on their Alamannic expedition in 369 (like Ausonius). He celebrated the campaign in a second panegyric in honour of Valentinian's third consulship, A.D. 370 (Orat. ii.). He was proconsul of Africa at the time of the revolt of Firmus (373-375). He was prefect of Rome in 384, and his appointment probably marks a revival of the pagan influence after Gratian's death.³ In the same year he drew up the celebrated third *Relatio* to Theodosius for the restoration of the Altar of Victory, which had been removed by Gratian in 382. In 388, as the spokesman of the senate, he pronounced a panegyric on the tyrant Maximus, when he invaded Italy, and for this he was accused of treason on Valentinian's restoration, and with difficulty escaped punishment. The Panegyric and the Apology to Theodosius which he wrote after his pardon are mentioned by Socrates (v. 14), but have not survived. In 391 he was consul, and took the occasion of a panegyric which he pronounced in the presence of Theodosius to recommend to him a petition which the Roman senate had recently preferred for the restoration of the Altar of Victory. The result is described by Gibbon (p. 203). Next year Symmachus made another unsuccessful attempt with Valentinian. He probably survived the year 404.

His works have been edited by Seeck (in the *Mon. Germ. Hist.*). They consist of nine Books of Letters, and the Relationes (which used to be numbered as a tenth Book of Letters); and fragmentary remains of eight Orations (first published by Mai, and unknown to Gibbon).

² His father, L. Aurelius Avianius Symm. (consul 330), was prefect of Rome in A.D. 364-5. Statues were set up to him both in Rome and Constantinople, as is recorded in an inscription, where the public offices which he held are enumerated. He was princeps senatus. C. I. L. 6, 1698.

³ For the Panegyric (A.D. 389) of Drepanius Latinus PACATUS, see p. 175.

The poems of Decimus Magnus Ausonius (born c. 310 at Burdigala) are more important for the literary than for the political history of the century. His uncle and præceptor Arborius, with whom he lived at Tolosa (320-28), had the honour of being for a time teacher of one of Constantine's sons (Constantine or Constantius). He became a teacher of grammar (about 334) and soon afterwards of rhetoric, in his native town, and married about the same time. About 364 A.D. he was summoned to the court of Trier to instruct Gratian. In 368 and 369 he accompanied Valentinian and Gratian on their Alamannic campaigns. He refers to their victories in his *Mosella* (written at Trier in 370-1):

Hostibus exactis Nicrum super et Lupodunum
Et fontem Latiis ignotum annalibus Histri (423-4).

In 370 he obtained the rank of *comes* and in 375 was promoted to be *quæstor sacre palatii*. His son Hesperius (A.D. 376 proconsul of Africa) became in 377 prætorian prefect of Italy, while his son-in-law Thalassius became in 378 proconsul of Africa. Ausonius himself was appointed Prætorian prefect of Gaul in first months of 378 (see Cod. Th. 8, 5, 35). But in his *Epicedion in Patrem* he describes his son Hesperius as,

Præfectus Gallis et Libyæ et Latio.

By coupling this with words in the *Gratiarum Actio* to Gratian, § 7, ad præfecturæ collegium filius cum patre coniunctus, and *Liber Protrept. ad Nepotem*. v. 91, præfecturam duplicem, it has been concluded (see Peiper's preface to his ed. p. ci.) that, in consequence of the relationship between the two præfects, the præfectures of Gaul and Italy were temporarily united into a single administration under the collegial government of father and son, and, when Ausonius laid down the office in the last month of 379, again divided. In 379 he was consul. His death occurred later than 398. One of his most intimate friends was his pupil Pontius Paulinus, and he was in touch with many other men of literary importance, such as Symmachus and Drepanius Pacatus. His son-in-law Thalassius was the father (by a first wife) of the poet Paulinus of Pella. The works of Ausonius have been edited by Schenkl (in Mon. Germ. Hist.) and by Peiper (1886).

Of Pontius PAULINUS of Nola, the most important of various people of the same name (to be distinguished from (1) Paulinus of Pella, (2) the author of the Life of St. Ambrose, and (3) Paulinus of Périgueux, who in the latter half of fifth century wrote a Life of St. Martin), there are extant various works both poetical and, in prose, epistles and a panegyric on Theodosius I. Born about 354, he retired to Nola in 394 and died 431 (there is an account of his death in a letter of Urbanus to Pacatus, printed in Migne, Patr. Lat., vol. 53). His descriptions of Churches at Nola, in Epistle 32 and in some of his poems (18, 21, 27, 28), are of great importance for the history of Christian architecture. His letters and poems have recently been edited by Hartel, 1894, in the Vienna Corpus scr. ecc. Lat. (Monograph: A. Bose, Paulin und seine Zeit, 1856).

PAULINUS of Pella (his father, a native of Burdigala, was Prætorian Præfect of Illyricum; which explains the birth of Paulinus in Macedonia) is known by his poem entitled *Eucharisticon Deo sub ephemeridis meæ textu* (published in De la Bigne, Bibliot. Patr., Appendix col. 281, ed. 1579; critical ed. by G. Brandes, 1888, in the Vienna Corpus scr. ecc. Lat.); contains one or two important notices of events in Aquitania at the time of Ataulf's invasion. The poet, thirty years old then, was appointed comes largitionum by the tyrant Attalus,

Ut me conquirens solacia vana tyrannus
Attalus absentem casso oneraret honoris
Nomine, privatae comitivæ largitionis.

Burdigala was burnt down by the Goths, who, not knowing that he held this dignity, stripped him and his mother of their property. He went to the neighbouring Vasates; induced the Alans to separate from the Goths and undertake the Roman cause; and the town was delivered by their intervention. (J. Rocafort, Un type gallo-romain. Paulin de Pella; Sa vie, son poème, 1896, contains a French translation.)

It is probable that Claudius CLAUDIANUS was born in Egypt and certain that he belonged to Alexandria and spent his early years there (op. Sidonius Apoll. ix. 275, and Birt's preface to his ed. of Claudian, ad init.). His father Claudian (op. C. I. L. 6, 1710) may be identical with Claudian the brother of the philosopher Maximus, Julian's teacher (Eunapius, Vit. Soph., p. 47 and 101, ed. Boiss; Birt, *ib.* p. vi.). At Alexandria he wrote poems in Greek, and a fragment of his *Γρυαυτομαχία* has been preserved. (There seems to have been another Greek poet of the same name, who wrote in the reign of Theodosius ii., and to him may be ascribed perhaps some Christian epigrams. But it is certain that the great Claudian wrote in Greek,⁴ and his authorship of the *Γρυαυτομαχία* has been successfully vindicated by Birt.) He seems to have come to Italy in or before A.D. 394, where he obtained a small post in one of the departments (*scrinia*) under the control of the *magister officiorum*; and his poetical talents were discovered in the senatorial circles of Rome. He was patronised by Rufinus Synesius Hadrianus, a countryman of his own, who held the post of Count of the Sacred Largesses (A.D. 395; he was *Mag. Offic.*, 397-399, and subsequently *Praet. Praef. of Italy*), and by members of the great Anician family, in the years 394 and 395, before he was discovered and "taken up" by Stilicho and the court of Honorius. From 396 to 404 he was a sort of poet laureate to the Imperial court; Honorius was his Augustus, Stilicho his Maecenas. His fame and favour did not bring any remarkable advancement in his career in the civil service; by the year 400 he had become tribune and notary. But he enjoyed the ample honour of having his statue erected (perhaps at the beginning of A.D. 400; Birt, *op. cit.*, xliv.) in the Forum of Trajan, and the inscription of this statue is preserved in the Museum of Naples. It is printed in C. I. L. 6, 1710, and ends with the Greek distich:

EIN ENI BIPΓIAIOIO NOON KAI MOTCAN OMHPOT
KAAΓΔIAHON PΩMH KAI BACIAHC EΘECAN

We have no record of Claudian's death; but it is a probability closely approaching certainty that he died in A.D. 404 (so Birt, p. lix.). The silence of his muse after this date, amidst the public events which ensued, is unintelligible on any other supposition. Here a conclusion from silence seems to be justified.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CLAUDIAN'S POEMS (AFTER BIRT).

<i>Γρυαυτομαχία</i>	A.D. 394, or shortly before.
Panegyricus dictus Probrino et Olybrio consulibus	A.D. 394 between Sept. and Dec.
Letters to Olybrius and Probinus (= Carm. Min., 40, 41)	A.D. 395.
Raptus Proserpinae	between A.D. 395 and 397.
Panegy. de iii. consulatu Honorii	A.D. 395 between Sept. and Dec.
In Rufinum Libri i. and ii.	between A.D. 395 Dec. and A.D. 396 July.
Carm. Min., 32	A.D. 396 or later.
Carm. Min., 21, 22	A.D. 396.
Carm. Min., 19	A.D. 397 or later.
Præfatio to Bk. ii. in Rufinum, and the whole work published	A.D. 397.
Panegyricus de iv. cons. Honorii	A.D. 397 between Sept. and Dec.
Epithalamium de nuptiis Honorii, and Fescennina de nupt. Hon.	A.D. 398 Jan., Feb.
Carm. Min., 45, 46, 47	between A.D. 398 and A.D. 404.
De Bello Gildonico	A.D. 398 Aug., Sept.
Panegyricus dictus Manlio Theodoro consuli	A.D. 398 between Oct. and Dec.
In Eutropium Bk. i., written and published by itself	A.D. 399 between Jan. and June.
In Eutropium Bk. ii. and Præfatio	A.D. 399 between June and Sept.
Carm. Min., 25 (Epithalamium dict. Palladio)	A.D. 399.

⁴ He attests it himself, Carm. Min., 41, 14, et Latiae accessit Graia Thalia togae.

De consul. Stilichonis and Præfatio
Carm. Min., 48, Carm. Min., appen-
dix 4
Carm. Min., 41
Carm. Min., 20
Carm. Min., 50
De bello Gothico
Panegy. diet. de vi. cons. Honorii
Carm. Min., 80 and 53

between A.D. 399 Sept. and A.D. 400 Jan.
between A.D. 400 and 404.
A.D. 400 or 401.
before A.D. 401.
autumn 401.
A.D. 402 April, May.
A.D. 403 between Sept. and Dec.
A.D. 404 early months.

This table may be found convenient by those who have the older editions of Claudian. More details, and the proofs of the chronology, will be found in T. Birt's Preface to his complete and admirable edition of Claudian (in *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, 1892). A useful text founded on Birt's work has been published by I. K. (1893). Cp. also Jeep, *Cl. Claudiani Carmina*, 1876-9. Vogt, *de Claudiani carminum quæ Stiliconem prædicant fide historica*, 1868. Ney, *Vindiciæ Claudianæ*, 1865.

Aurelius PRUDENTIUS Clemens—the first distinctly Christian Latin poet—was Spaniard by birth (born A.D. 348). He gave up a secular career at the age of thirty-seven and spent the remainder of his life in composing Christian poetry. For historical purposes his most important work is the *Contra Symmachum* in ten Books, on the question of the Altar of Victory. It is important to determine the date of this work. It seems decisive (as Birt has observed in his Preface to Claudian that in Bk. ii. Prudentius sings of the victory over Alario at Pollentia but does not mention the triumph of Verona (see below, Appendix 14). It follows that the *Contra Symmachum* appeared between May 402 and August 403; another inference is that Symmachus was alive (cp. Gibbon, chap. xxviii. n. 22) in the year 402. (Birt points out a number of verbal echoes which show that the muse of the Christian poet was stimulated by the "Gothic War" of the pagan.) It seems highly probable that this controversial poem was called forth by an actual permission granted by Honorius to restore the Altar of Victory in A.D. 399. At least this is a very plausible inference from a line (19) of Claudian in the *Præf. to De consul. Stil.* iii. (a poem of that year):

advexit reduces secum Victoria Musas,
combined with *de vi. cons. Hon.* 597:

adluit ipsa suis ales Victoria templis
Romanae tutela togæ: quæ divite penna
Patricii reverenda fovet sacraia cœtus
castrorumque eadem comes indefessa tuorum
nunc tandem fruitur votis atque omne futurum
te Romæ seseque tibi promittit in ævum.

(Edition of Prudentius: H. Dressel, 1860. "Translations from Prudentius" Rev. F. St. J. Thackeray, 1890.)

The most distinguished poet⁵ in the reign of Valentinian iii., before the rise of Sidonius, was the Spaniard, FLAVIUS MEROPAULDES. Sidonius mentions, without naming, him in Carm. ix. 296 *sqq.*, as one who was honoured (like Claudian) by a statue in the Forum of Trajan.

sed nec tertius ille nunc lægetur
Baetis qui patrium semel relinquens
undosae petiit sitim Ravennae,
pilosores cui fulgidam Quirites
et carus popularitate princeps
Traiano statuum foro locarunt.

Sirmondus brilliantly guessed the identity of the poet referred to in these lines and his guess was confirmed by the discovery of the basis of the statue, with the

⁵ There was another contemporary poet, Quintianus a Ligurian, who also sang the praises of Aëtius. Sidonius, c. ix. 289 *sqq.*

full inscription, beginning: *Fl. Merobaudi vs com. so., and ending: dedicata iv. kal. Aug. Conss. DD NN Theodosio xv. et Valentiniano iv. (C. I. L. vi., 1724)*. About the same time fragments of a poet of that age were discovered in a Ms. of St. Gall, and the text of the Inscription enabled Niebuhr (by means of verbal similarities) to establish that these relics belonged to Merobaudes. First edited by Niebuhr, they were printed by Bekker in the Bonn Corpus Byz. (in the same volume as Corippus); a new edition by Vollmer has appeared in the *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, 1905. The following are some of the points of historical interest in these fragments:

Carmina I. and II. reflect the establishment of Galla Placidia and her son Valentinian in the West after the overthrow of the usurper John by the help of Theodosius ii. The verse on the child Valentinian (I., 11):

hic ubi sacra parens placidi petit oscula nati,

has a curious interest owing to the epithet. The child who is here *placidus* (with a play on his mother's name) is destined to be more familiar as the mature, effeminate *Placidus*, branded for ever with infamy by another poet:

Aetium Placidus mactavit semivir amens.

The victory over John and the betrothal of Valentinian with Eudoxia are thus referred to (l. 9):

*cui natura dedit, victoria reddidit orbem
claraque longinques praebuilt aula toros.*

For the intimate relation between the courts of Ravenna and Constantinople, such a full and candid expression of gratitude to the Eastern sovereign, as the following, on the part of a poet of Ravenna, is of much significance, C. ii., 13, 14:

*sic dominos secura sui de stemmate regni
continuat proprios dum creat aula novos.*

C. iv. is a hendecasyllabic poem on the birthday of Gaudentius the son of Aetius. The sojourn of Aetius as a hostage with the Goths is mentioned:

*vix puberibus pater sub annis
objectus Geticis puer catenis,
bellorum mora, foederis sequester.*

The most important fragment is that of the Panegyric on a consulship of Aetius, probably the second^a (A.D. 437) with a Preface in prose. He refers to his exploits against the Armorici (l. 8):

lustrat Aremoricos iam mitior incola saltus;

he describes the peace of A.D. 435 with Gaiseric (*inssessor Libyes*) and alludes to the marriage of Huneric with Eudoxia (ll. 24-30).

*27 nunc hostem exutus pactis propioribus arsit
Romanam vincere fidem Latiosque parentes
adnumerare sibi sociamque intexere prolem.*

The death of the father of Aetius and the story of that general's youth are narrated (l. 110 *sqq.*), and the suppression of troubles in Gaul, probably caused by the *bagaudae*, is celebrated (148 *sqq.*)^b. The deliverance of Narbo is specially emphasized (l. 20):

*sed belliger ultor
captivum reseravit iter clausasque recepit
expulso praedone vias, &c.*

The work of OPTATUS (of Mileu in Numidia), *De schismate Donatistarum*, in 7 Books (c. 375 A.D.), has been edited by C. Ziwsa, 1898 (in the Corpus script. eccles. Lat.), with other documents on the Donatist question.

The works of St. AMBROSE are appearing in the Corpus script. eccles. Lat.

^a So Mommsen, *Hermes* 36, 516, n. 5. Niebuhr referred it to the third consulship, A.D. 446.

^b Cp. Chron. Gall. ad 437 A.D. (Mommsen, *Chron. Min.*, i. p. 660).

(1896, &c., ed. by C. Schenkl). A new edition of the works of St. AUGUSTINE by various editors is appearing in the same series. (*De civitate*, ed. Hoffmann, 2 vols. 1899-1900; *Confessions*, ed. Knöll, 1896; *Letters*, Part 1, 1895; Part 2, 1899; Part 3, 1904; *Scripta contra Donatistas*, Part 1, ed. Petschenig, 1908.) The *First Augustini* by POSSIDIUS will be found in Migne, P. L., vol. 32. The works of St. JEROME are printed (after Vallars) in Migne, P. L., vols. 22-30.

The *Commonitorium* of ORIENTIUS (ed. Ellis, in *Corpus scr. ecc. Lat.*) contains a description of the desolate state of Gaul at the beginning of the fifth century, which is also described by Jerome, and illustrated by two anonymous poems: *ad uxorem*, in Migne, P. L., 61, 611, and *De Providentia Dei*, *ib.* 617 (see above, p. 285 n. 93).

PROSPER TIRO, of Aquitaine, lived in the first half of the fifth century. He was probably in holy orders, and was an admirer of St. Augustine. He compiled an *Epitome chronicon*, based almost entirely on Jerome's chronicle, and published it in A.D. 433 (*first edition*). (1) From the crucifixion forward, Prosper added the consuls of each year, derived from a consular list. (2) He continued the chronicle of Jerome to A.D. 433, the year of publication. (3) He introduced notices from some of St. Augustine's works. The *second* edition appeared A.D. 443, the *third* A.D. 445, the *fourth* (which some of the extant Mss. represent) A.D. 451, in each case brought down to the date of publication. The *fifth* and last edition appeared A.D. 455, after the death of Valentinian, which it records. The compilation has been very carelessly done, both in the earlier part which is based on Jerome and in the later independent part, A.D. 378-455. But in lack of other sources Prosper is very important for the first half of the fifth century. The authoritative edition is that of Mommsen (in *Chronica Minora*, i. p. 343 *sqq.*, 1892), on whose preface this notice is based.

From the true Prosper Tiro (whom Gibbon always cites as Prosper) we must carefully distinguish another chronicle, which for some time went under Prosper's name. This is what used to be called the *Chronicon Imperiale*.⁷ It ended with the year 452, and was ascribed to Prosper, because the last notices of Prosper's chronicle, A.D. 453-455, were added to it in the Mss. But it came to be seen that the two chronicles were not from the same author; the *Chronicon Imperiale* gives Imperial not Consular years; and the strange practice was adopted of distinguishing it from the work of the true Prosper by giving it the true Prosper's full name—"Prosper Tiro". This practice was followed by Gibbon. It must therefore be carefully remembered that in Gibbon's references "Prosper" means Prosper Tiro while "Prosper Tiro" means a totally distinct chronicle with which neither Prosper Tiro nor any one of Prosper's name had anything to do.

This anonymous chronicle has been edited by Mommsen in *Chron. Min.* i. p. 617 *sqq.*, along with another anonymous chronicle⁸ (which goes down to A.D. 511) under the title *CHRONICA GALLICA*. The earlier part is based on Jerome's chronicle. The compiler also used the additions made by Rufinus to the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius; some works of Ambrose, Augustine and Cassian; and the *Life of Ambrose* by Paulinus. From A.D. 395 to the end he either used written sources now lost or verbal information. He is quite independent of Prosper, and sympathizes with the opponents of Augustine in the Pelagian controversy. His work contains two important notices on the Saxon conquest of Britain (A.D. 408 and 441).

This later part of the work represents a Gallic chronicle, perhaps written at Massilia (cp. Mommsen, p. 628), which was used by the compiler of the other chronicle, which, as mentioned above, goes down to A.D. 511. The later part of this chronicle is taken doubtless from a continuation of the Gallic chronicle. The author of the chronicle of A.D. 511 drew also upon Orosius and Idatius and upon the *Chronicle of Constantinople* (Mommsen, p. 627).

In future it would be convenient to refer to Gibbon's "Prosper Tiro" and the

⁷ Also *Pithoeanum*, having been first published (at Paris in 1588) by Petrus Pithoeus. The best Ms. is in the British Museum.

⁸ Preserved in a Ms. at Madrid, under the name of Sulpicius Severus. It has been discussed by O. Holder-Egger, *Ueber die Weltchronik des sogenannten Severus Sulpicius &c.*, 1875.

second chronicle as the *CHRONICLE OF 452* and the *CHRONICLE OF 511*. The South-Gallic Annals were continued in the sixth century and were used by Marius of Avenches, Maximus of Saragossa, and Isidore of Seville. See vol. iv., Appendix 1. With the South-Gallic Chronicles Mommsen has published (from a Brussels and a Madrid Ms.) a short untitled *NARRATION* concerning Emperors of the Valentinianean and Theodosian House (Valentinian, Valens, Gratian, Theodosius, Arcadius and Honorius), written by a "contemporary and admirer" of Theodosius ii. It contains no new historical fact; but is interesting in having the notice that Honorius died of dropsy, which is found in no other Latin record, and among Greek writers only in Philostorgius (12, 13).

The second of the two fragments which, accidentally joined together in a Ms. and hence falsely supposed to belong to the same work, go under the name of *ANONYMUS VALESII*,⁹ is highly important for events in Italy for the period which it covers from A.D. 475 to 526, that is to say, for Odovacar and Theodoric. It is a fragment of annals written at Ravenna in the sixth century, when that city had been recovered by the Empire. The fragment (of which more will be said in vol. iv. Appendix 1) is mentioned here, because it is edited by Mommsen (in *Chronica Minora*, I. p. 259 *sqq.*) as belonging to one of a series of annals and chronicles which had a common source in a lost document which he calls *CHRONICA ITALICA* and which had formerly been called by Waitz the *Ravennate Annals*, a name which disguises the fact that the compilation had been begun before Ravenna became the seat of the western Emperors.

The other chief documents which contain the material for arriving at the original constitution of the *Chronica Italica* are as follows:

FASTI VINDOBONENSES, preserved in a Vienna Ms. in two recensions (distinguished as *priores* and *posteriores*), to which are to be added some excerpts in a St. Gall Ms. (excerpta Sangallensia). This chronicle used to be known as the *Anonymus Cuspiniani*, having been first published by Cuspinianus in 1553. The *prior* recension comes down to A.D. 493, the *posterior* to A.D. 539, but both are mutilated, the *prior* omitting the years 404-454.

The *CONTINUATION OF PROSPER*, preserved in a Copenhagen Ms.¹⁰ (compiled in the seventh century towards the end of the reign of Heraclius, probably in Italy). In the later part of this work use was made of the chronicle of Isidore (who himself used the *Chronica Italica*) and the *Chronica Italica*.

The Latin version of a Greek chronicle (written at Alexandria after A.D. 387), known as the *BARBARUS* of Scaliger.

Excerpts in the *Liber Pontificalis* of Ravenna, written by *AGNELUS* in the ninth century. For this work, edited by Holder-Egger in the *Mon. Germ. Hist.* (older editions in Muratori, *Scr. rer. Ital.* II. 1 and Migne, P. L., 106), cp. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, I, 899 *sqq.*, and Balzani, *Le cronache Italiane nel medio evo* (1884), 86 *sqq.*

These documents are edited by Mommsen in parallel columns in vol. i. of *Chronica Minora*. But as the *Chronica Italica* were utilised by Prosper, Marcellinus Comes, Cassiodorus, Marius of Aventicum, Isidore, Paulus Diaconus, Theophanes, these authors must be also taken into account. The "*Chronica Italica*" seems to have been first published in A.D. 387, and its basis was the chronicle of Constantinople. Afterwards it was from time to time brought up to date, perhaps, as Mommsen suggests, by the care of booksellers. In the sixth century it was probably re-edited and carried on, after the overthrow of the Gothic kingdom, by Archbishop Maximian of Ravenna, whose "chronicle" is cited by Agnellus. But there is no reason to suppose that he had anything to do with the illiterate fragment of the so-called *Anonymus Valesii*.

The so-called *HISTORIA MISCELLA* is made up of three distinct works of different ages: (1) Books 1-10 = the history of Eutropius, coming down to the death of Jovian; cp. vol. i. Appendix 1; (2) Books 11-16, the work of Paulus Diaconus, who lived at the end of the eighth century and is more famous by his

⁹ For the first fragment see vol. ii., Appendix, p. 560.

¹⁰ The new material contained in it was first edited by G. Hille (1866) under the title *Prosperi Aquitani Chronici continuator Havniensis*.

History of the Lombards; (8) the continuation of Landulfus Sagax, who lived more than 200 years later. The second part, which concerns us here, is compiled from Prosper, Orosius, Jordanes and others, but contains some notices drawn from lost sources. The work may be consulted in Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, vol. i. (of which collection a new critical edition is appearing, ed. by Carducci and Fiorini, 1900, etc.), or in Migne's *Patrol. Lat.*, vol. xcv.

Paulus Orosius of Tarraco in Spain dedicated to his friend St. Augustine his *Historias adversum Paganos* in 7 Books. He was young when, at St. Augustine's suggestion, he wrote the work shortly after A.D. 417. It was intended to illustrate and vindicate the Divine dispensation of a history of the world from the deluge to his own day, and to show that Christianity was not the cause of the evil times (see below on Salvian). The only part of importance as historical material is the last portion of Bk. vii., which deals with the latter part of the fourth, and first seventeen years of the fifth, century. His spirit is that of a narrow-minded provincial bigot, but he has some very important entries for the history of his own time—for example, on the campaign of Pollentia and the invasion of Radagaisus. [Edition C. Zangemeister in the *Corpus script. eccles. Lat.* 1882; and text (Teubner) by same editor, 1889.]

The importance of the work of SALVIAN on the Divine Government (*De Gubernatione Dei*, in 8 Books) for the state of the Empire in the fifth century is not adequately realised by Gibbon. It is (as Mr. Hodgkin justly says, i. p. 918, in his admirable chapter on the book) "one of our most valuable sources of information as to the inner life of the dying Empire and the moral character of its foes". Salvian was a presbyter of Massilia. He was married, but after the birth of a daughter he and his wife took a vow of chastity for life. He seems to have been born c. 400 and was still living in 480. He wrote his book before the middle of the century.

The purpose of this book was to answer the great problem which at that time was perplexing thoughtful people: Why is civilized society dissolving and breaking up before the barbarians, if there is a Divine governance of the world? This question had been dealt with before by Augustine in the *De Civitate Dei*, and by Orosius in the *Hist. adversus Paganos*. Their various answers have been well compared by Mr. Hodgkin. Augustine's answer was merely negative: the evils which had come upon Rome were not the effect of the introduction of Christianity. Orosius denied the existence of the evils. But a good deal had happened between 417 and 440; and in 440 even Orosius could hardly have ventured to maintain his thesis. Salvian's answer was: these evils are the effects of our vices. He draws a vivid and highly exaggerated contrast between Roman vices and Teutonic virtues. He dwells especially on a matter which came very directly within his own knowledge, the abuses and unjust exactions practised by Gallic officials.

So far as Salvian's arguments are concerned there is nothing to be added to Gibbon's criticism (xxxv. n. 12): "Salvian has attempted to explain the moral government of the Deity: a task which may be readily performed by supposing that the calamities of the wicked are *judgments*, and those of the righteous *trials*".

Tyrannius RUFINUS (born at Concordia c. A.D. 345, died in Sicily, A.D. 410) lived in Egypt for some time, where he was thrown into prison, on the occasion of the persecution which was conducted with the permission of the Emperor Valens, by Lucius, the Arian successor of Athanasius at Alexandria. Having quitted Egypt, on his release, he spent nearly twenty years as a monk on the Mount of Olives. During this period he became acquainted with Bacurius the first Christian king of the Iberians, and with Odeusius the companion of Frumentius, the apostle of the Ethiopians. He returned to Italy in 397 and spent the later part of his life at Aquileia. This period was troubled by a famous controversy with his friend Jerome. Rufinus translated many Greek works into Latin, among others Origen's treatise *περί ἀρχῶν*. The controversy arose out of certain references to Jerome in the Preface to this translation, and it was represented that Rufinus misused the authority of Jerome's name to cover heretical doctrines of Origen. The most important works of Rufinus (*Opera omnia*, in Migne, P. L.,

21) are his Ecclesiastical History in two Books, being a continuation of that of Eusebius, which he rendered into Latin; and his history of Egyptian anchorets. For the origin of monasticism the latter work is of considerable importance. Cp. E. Preuschen, *Palladius und Rufinus*, 1897.

For the *LIBER PONTIFICALIS* (of Rome) see below, vol. v., Appendix 1.

A register of the acts, decrees, letters of the Bishops of Rome, up to Innocent iii., is supplied in the *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* of Jaffé, ed. 2, 1885; but this will be superseded by the work of P. F. Kehr (under the same title), of which two instalments, *Italia Pontificia*, vols. i. and ii., 1896-7, have appeared. The documents themselves are scattered in various collections; most of the letters will be found in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*. The "Avellane Collection" of Letters of Roman pontiffs and Emperors, from A.D. 367 to 553, on ecclesiastical affairs, is being edited by O. Guenther (Part 1, 1895) in the *Corpus scr. ecol. Lat.*

For *JORDANES* see above, vol. i., Appendix 14.

The *CODEx THEODOSIANUS* (frequently referred to in Gibbon's notes) is our most important source for the legislation, and for the constitutional and the institutional history of the Empire in the fourth and early fifth centuries. The code, which collected the constitutions of previous Emperors (from Constantine I.) in 16 Books, was compiled by a commission appointed (A.D. 435) by Theodosius ii., and was issued in the names of that Emperor, from whom it takes its name, and of his colleague Valentinian iii., on Feb. 15, 488.¹¹ It has not come down in its entirety; a considerable part of Books 1-5 is lost. The only older editions which need be mentioned here are that of Gothofredus (used by Gibbon) in 6 vols., 1665, with an invaluable commentary, and that of Haenel, 1837, based on a very wide study of the manuscripts, but showing (this is Mommsen's criticism) more diligence in collecting than judgment in using the material. These texts have been superseded by the edition of Mommsen, 1905. This work is in 2 vols., (1) the Code, ed. by Mommsen, (2) the small collection of *novellae* or "new constitutions" issued by Theodosius ii. and Valentinian iii. (after the publication of the Code), Marcian, Majorian, Severus, and Anthemius—which had been edited by Haenel, 1844—by P. M. Meyer.

CORNS. Cohen's *Description historique* (see above vol. i., p. 484) ends with the death of Theodosius the Great. It is continued in Sabatier's *Description générale des monnaies byzantines*, 1862. (The older work on this subject was De Saulcy's *Essai de classification des suites monétaires byzantines*, 1836.) For the Vandal coinage, J. Friedländer, *Die Münzen der Vandalen*, 1849.

MODERN WORKS. Besides those mentioned in the Appendices to vol. i. and ii.: J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, from Arcadius to Irene, 2 vols. 1889; H. Richter, *Das weströmische Reich, besonders unter den Kaisern Gratian, Valentinian II. und Maximus (375-388)*, 1865; J. Ifland and A. Güldenpenning, *der Kaiser Theodosius der Grosse*, 1878; A. Güldenpenning, *Geschichte des oströmischen Reiches unter den Kaisern Arcadius und Theodosius ii.*, 1885; F. Gregorovius, *Athenais, Geschichte einer byzantinischen Kaiserin*, 1882.

For the barbarian invasions and the Teutonic kingdoms: T. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vols. i. and ii. (ed. 2, 1892); F. Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, 10 parts or vols. 1861-1907,¹² and the same writer's *Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker* (vol. i., 1881, deals with ancient Germany, and with the histories of the Vandals, Goths and Sueves; vol. ii., 1881, with the West Germans to the foundation of the Frankish kingdom; vol. iii., 1883, and vol. iv., 1889, with the Franks); P. Villari, *Le invasioni barbariche in Italia*, 1901 (Eng. tr. by L. Villari, 2 vols. 1902); L. Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Stämme bis zum Ausgange der Völkerwanderung I. 1-3, 1904-7* (in Sieglin's *Quellen und Forschungen zur alten*

¹¹ An English translation of the introductory constitution, explaining the purpose of the Code, will be found in Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, i. 129 *sqq.*

¹² Vol. i. (1861), the period before the migrations, and the history of the Vandals; vol. ii. (1861), the minor Gothic peoples; the Ostrogoths; vols. iii. and iv. (1866), the constitution of the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy, with Appendices on the laws; vol. v. (1870), the political history of the Visigoths; vol. vi. (1885), the constitution of the Visigoths; the kingdom of the Suevians in Spain; vol. vii. (1894-5), the Franks under the Merovingians; vol. viii. (1897-1900), the Franks under the Carolingians; vol. ix., Part 1 (1902), the Alamanni, Part 2 (1905), the Bavarians; vol. x. (1907), the Thuringians.

Geschichte und Geographie); R. Pallmann, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, 1863-4; E. von Wietersheim, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung* (ed. 2 by Dahn, 1880-1); R. Köpke, *Die Anfänge des Königthums bei den Gothen*, 1859. There are also special histories of the chief German invaders: I. Aschbach, *Geschichte der Westgothen*, 1827; F. Papenordt, *Geschichte der vandalischen Herrschaft in Afrika*, 1837; L. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Vandalen*, 1901; P. Martroye, *Genséric: La conquête vandale en Afrique et la destruction de l'Empire d'Occident*, 1907; C. Binding, *Geschichte des burgundisch-romanischen Königreichs*, 1868; A. Jahn, *Die Geschichte der Burgundionen und Burgendens, bis zum Ende der 1. Dynastie*, 2 vols. 1874. See also J. Jung, *Römer und Romanen in den Donauländern*, ed. 2, 1887. The work of Zeuss: *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, 1837, is a most valuable storehouse of references. On the Huns see below, Appendix 6.

The period of ecclesiastical history which Gibbon deals with in cc. xxvii. and xxviii. has been treated annalistically in the valuable work of G. Rauschen, *Jahrbücher der christlichen Kirche unter dem Kaiser Theodosius dem Grossen, Versuch einer Erneuerung der annales ecclesiastici des Baronius für die Jahre 378-395*, 1897. L. Duchesne's *Histoire ancienne de l'église*, vol. ii., 1907, deals with the fourth century (vol. i., 1906, covers the history of the first three centuries). On the religious cults in the Roman Empire the first instalment has appeared of a large work by J. Toutain, *Les cultes païens dans l'empire romain*, Part 1, *Les provinces latines*, vol. i., 1907.

To the works on Africa mentioned vol. i. p. 29 note, add: Pallu de Lessert, *Fastes des provinces africaines*, vol. i. 1896, vol. ii. (*Bas-Empire*) 1901. The same writer's *Vicaires et comtes d'Afrique (de Dioclétien à l'invasion vandale)* 1892 (published at Constantine) is also useful.

Special Monographs: on Stilicho (cp. above, under Claudian): R. Keller, *Stilicho*, 1884; Rosenstein, *Alarich und Stilicho*, in *Forsch. zur deutschen Geschichte*, vol. 3, 1863; Vogt, *Die politischen Bestrebungen Stilichos*, 1870; on Ambrose: Th. Förster, *Ambrosius, Bischof von Mailand*, 1884; on Chrysostom: F. Ludwig, *Der heilige Johannes Chrys. in seinem Verhältniss zum byzantinischen Hof*, 1883, and Rev. W. R. W. Stephens, *Saint Chrysostom, his life and times*, ed. 3, 1883. (Others are referred to in the footnotes.)

2. PICTS AND SCOTS—(P. 43, 44)

"Caesar tells us that the inhabitants of Britain in his day painted themselves with a dye extracted from wood; by the time, however, of British independence under Carausius and Allectus, in the latter part of the third century, the fashion had so far fallen off in Roman Britain that the word *Picti*, Picts, or painted men, had got to mean the peoples beyond the Northern Wall, and the people on the Solway were probably included under the same name, though they also went by the separate denomination of *Atacotti*. Now all these Picts were natives of Britain, and the word *Picti* is found applied to them for the first time in a panegyric by Eumenius, in the year 296; but in the year 360 another painted people appeared on the scene. They came from Ireland, and to distinguish these two sets of painted foes from one another Latin historians left the painted natives to be called *Picti*, as had been done before, and for the painted invaders from Ireland they retained, untranslated, a Celtic word of the same (of nearly the same) meaning, namely *Scotti*. Neither the Picts nor the Scotti probably owned these names, the former of which is to be traced to Roman authors, while the latter was probably given the invaders from Ireland by the Brythons, whose country they crossed the sea to ravage. The Scots, however, did recognize a national name, which described them as painted or tattooed men. . . . This word was *Cruithnig*, which is found applied equally to the painted people of both Islands." "The portion of Ireland best known to history as Pictish was a pretty well defined district consisting of the present county of Antrim and most of that of Down." (Professor Rhys, *Early Britain*, p. 235 sqq.) But Professor Rhys now takes another view of *Picti*, which he regards not as Latin, but as native and connected with the Gallic *Pictones*. See *Scottish Review*, July, 1891.

Ammianus (278) divided the inhabitants of the North of Britain (the Picts;

into two nations, the Dicalidones and Verturiones. "Under the former name, which seems to mean the people of the two Caledonias, we appear to have to do with the Caledonias proper . . . while in later times the word Verturiones yielded in Goidelic the well-known name of the Brythons of the kingdom of *Fortrenn*; they were possibly the people previously called Boresti, but that is by no means certain." (Rhys, *ib.* p. 93.)

The Atecotti seem to have occupied part of the land between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus, where the Maesatae dwelled (see Mr. Haverfield's map of Roman Britain, in Poole's Historical Atlas of Modern Europe). Prof. Rhys proposes to identify them with the earlier Genunians (*Γενονία μοῖρα* of Pausanias, 8, 43) and the later Picts of Galloway (*ib.* p. 89, 90).

3. THE DEATH OF COUNT THEODOSIUS—(P. 53)

The cause of the sudden execution of Theodosius at Carthage in 396 A.D. is obscure. We can only suppose that he had powerful enemies—friends of the governor Romanus. H. Richter (*das weströmische Reich*, p. 401) imputes the responsibility to Merobaudes. But Merobaudes was the minister of Gratian in Gaul, and not of Justin and Valentinian in Mediolanum (as Mr. Hodgkin observes). Mr. Hodgkin conjectures that the blow came not from Mediolanum but from Antioch. The name of Theodosius began with the four fatal letters *Θεός*, "and it seems therefore allowable to suppose that the incantation scene at Antioch four years previously—the laurel tripod, the person in linen mantle and with linen socks, who shook the magic cauldron and made the ring dance up and down among the twenty-four letters of the alphabet—were links in the chain of causation which led the blameless veteran to his doom" (*Italy and her Invaders*, I. p. 292). And certainly we can well imagine that the superstitious Valens watched with apprehension the career of every eminent officer whose name began with those four letters, and observing the distinguished services of the Count of Africa used influence at Milan to procure his fall.

4. MELLOBAUDES—(P. 53, 71)

Gibbon has confused Mellobaudes with the more eminent Merobaudes in two places (p. 53 and 71). Mellobaudes (or Mallobaudes: the Mss. of Ammian vary) was a Frank king and held the post of comes domesticorum under Gratian. See Ammian, 30, 3, 7, and 31, 10, 6; and *cp.* above, p. 112.

This Mellobaudes must also be distinguished from another less important Mellobaudes (or Mallobaudes), a Frank who was *tribunus armaturarum* under Constantius; see Ammian, 14, 11, 21, and 15, 5, 6. These namesakes are confounded in the index of Gardthausen's ed. of Ammianus. See Richter, *Das weströmische Reich*, p. 283.

Merobaudes deserves prominence as the first of a series of men of barbarian origin who rose to power in the Imperial service; Merobaudes, Arbogast, Stilicho, Aetius, Ricimer. He married into the family of Valentinian (Victor, *Epit.* 45), and was consul in A.D. 377.

5. LIST OF KINGS OF PERSIA, FROM SAPOR II. TO KOBAD—(P. 58)

Sapor (Shāpūr) ii. dies A.D. 379.

Ardashir ii. succeeds A.D. 379, Aug. 19.

Sapor iii. " A.D. 383, Aug. 18.

Bahrām iv. " A.D. 388, Aug. 16.

Yezdegerd i. " A.D. 399, Aug. 14.

Bahrām v. " A.D. 420, Aug. 8.

Yezdegerd ii. " A.D. 438, Aug. 4.

Hormizd iii. " A.D. 457, July 30.

Pērōz came to the throne in 459, but counted from the first year of Hormizd, whom he deposed.

Balāsh succeeds A.D. 484, July 23.

Kobad (Kavādh) succeeds A.D. 488, July 22; died Sept. 13, A.D. 531.

The dates given are those of the beginning of the Persian year in which the king succeeded and from which he counted, not the actual days of accession; and are taken from Nöldeke, *Excurs. i. to his Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden*. Thus Bahrām v. did not actually possess the throne till 421 (spring).

6. THE ORIGIN OF THE HUNS—(C. XXVI.)

Hiung-Nu ("common slaves") was a name given by the Chinese to all the nomads north of the Hoang-Ho, including Manchus, Mongols and Turks; and, using the term in this non-ethnical sense, the Huns of Attila were certainly Hiung-Nu. It is true that the Turks were Hiung-Nu; it is not true that the Hiung-Nu were Turks. See L. Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, 46-7. This writer shows that about the end of the first century A.D. there was a general westward movement of the Hiung-Nu, directed and organized by the Chinese. He thinks that the advance guard of this movement consisted of those who, having settled between the Ural and Volga and come into contact with the Fins, successively invaded Europe under the names of Huns, Avars and Magyars, while the larger masses behind included the Patzinaks (who appeared in South Russia in the ninth century), the Cumans, and the Turcomans (p. 96). The Huns of Attila, he thinks, included other ethnical elements as well as Turkish.¹

Light has been thrown on the particular history of the Huns by F. Hirth (*Sitzungsberichte of the Bavarian Academy, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, ii. 245 *sqq.*, 1899), who makes use of a Chinese document of the sixth century to show that the Huns were Hiung-Nu. A passage in this document (a History by Wei-Shu), based upon the report of an embassy about the middle of the fifth century, records that the Hiung-Nu, three generations before the reign of their king Hut-ngai-ssi, invaded the land of Suktak, the ancient An-ts'ai, near a large lake, having subdued the people of that land. Hirth identifies, from other evidence, An-ts'ai with the land of the Alans, and conjectures that the Hunnish king, who flourished about the middle of the fifth century, is Hernac, son of Attila. In any case, the date for the reduction of the Alans, taking three generations a hundred years, agrees closely enough with the information of Priscus (cp. Jordanes, *Getica*, 24); it would have happened not long after the middle of the fourth century.

In the second century A.D. the Huns were already near Lake Aral, in contact with the Alans, and within the horizon of Greek geographers. They are, perhaps, mentioned by Dionysius,² the traveller of Hadrian's time (*Orbis descr.* 730. *Οὐννοι*), as in that region; and by Ptolemy (*Geogr.* 3, 5, 10, *Χούνοι*) as near the Dnieper between the Bastarnae and Roxalani, which shows that some tribes had already advanced into Europe.

In "A Thousand Years of the Tartars," p. 99, Mr. E. H. Parker (to whose work reference has been made in the footnotes of chap. xxvi.) puts it thus: The Northern Hiung-Nu, unable to maintain their ground against various enemies, "disappeared far away to the North, many of them no doubt finding their way by the upper waters of the Selinga and the Irtysh to Issekul, the Aral, and the Caspian, struggling with the Bashkirs, the Alans, and the unknown tribes then occupying Russia into Europe". In an article on "The Origin of the Turks" in the *English Hist. Review*, July, 1896, p. 434, he defends the view that "the Hiung-Nu were in fact the Huns, who afterwards appeared as the Hunni in Europe"; it would be more correct to say that the Hunni were a small portion of the Hiung-Nu.

¹ For translations of the Chinese records bearing on the history of the Hiung-Nu see Wylie's papers on the History of the Hiung-Nu in their relations with China, translated from the Tseu-Han-Shoo, in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, iii. 401 *sqq.* (1874) and v. 41 *sqq.* (1875); and Parker's papers on The Turco-Scythian Tribes, in the *China Review*, vols. xx. and xxi.

² In the *Geographi Graeci Minores*, vol. i. p. 42:

πρῶτοι μὲν Σκύθαι εἰσιν ὅσοι Κρονίης ἀλλὰς ἄγχι
παράλιν βαλόνσιν ἀνὰ στόμα Κασπίδος ἑλμυς·
Οὐννοὶ δ' ἐξείης· ἐπὶ δ' αὐτοῖς Κόσκιαι ἄνδρες.

On this evidence see Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Stämme* I. 2, p. 104. Knaack, in his article on Dionysius in Pauly-Wissowa's *Encyclopädie*, adopts the reading *Οὐννοι*.

The close connexion of the Huns and Avars seems clear. Professor Vámbéry in his *A Magyarok Eredete* (1882), p. 415 *sqq.*, has collected the Hun and Avar words and names that can be gleaned from literature, and attempted to interpret them by the help of Turkish. His list however is not complete.

7. CHRONOLOGY OF THE PACIFICATION OF THE GOTHS, A.D. 379, 380—(P. 129 *sqq.*)

The account given in our sources of the warfare in Thrace and Illyricum during the years 379-80 and the subjugation of the Goths is very confused, and Gibbon has made no attempt to distinguish the events of the two years. With the help of laws in the *Codex Theod.* (of which the dates however cannot be implicitly trusted) I find has extracted with some pains the following chronology from Zosimus, Jordanes, and the ecclesiastical historians, with an occasional indication from Ambrose (*Der Kaiser Theodosius*, p. 65-86).

379, Spring: Theodosius with Gratian at Sirmium.

- „ before middle of June: Theodosius at Thessalonica (c. Th. x. 1, 12);
Embassy of senate of Constantinople greets Theodosius there;
Themistius delivers his panegyric, written for the occasion, some weeks later (Or. 14).
Having organized his army Theodosius divides his forces. One part he leads northward to act against the Goths in Dacia and Moesia; the other under Modares is to operate in Thrace.
- „ 6 July: Theodosius at Scupi (c. Th. vi. 30, 2).
- „ Modares gains a great victory in Thrace.
- „ Aug.: Theodosius at Vicus Augusti (on the Danube?), c. Th. xii. 18, 4.
- „ Roman victories during autumn (see chronicles of Idatius and Prosper; Aur. Victor, 48; Socrates, 5, 6; Sozomen, vii. 4);
- „ *fœdus* made with the Goths, who give hostages (Sozomen, vii. 4);
- „ Nov. 17: proclamation of Roman victories over Goths, Alans and Huns (Idatius *Fasti*, ad ann.).
- 380, January: Theodosius again in Thessalonica (c. Th. ix. 27, 1).
- „ February: illness of Theodosius (Feb. 27, his intolerant edict, C. Th. xvi. 1, 2); his illness lasts during the summer.
- „ Goths begin new hostilities; two movements distinguished: (1) West Gothic under Fritigern against Epirus, Thessaly, Achaia; (2) East Gothic under Alatheus and Safrax against Pannonia and Upper Moesia.
- „ Difficulties of Theodosius in coping with the Goths. Gratian sends troops to his aid, under Bauto and Arbogastes. Cp. Zosimus, iv. 33.
- „ Second half of year: Fritigern disappears; Athanaric crosses the Danube into Roman territory; Gratian himself acts against the Goths in Pannonia (Zos., *ib.*; Jordanes, 27).
- „ 17 August: Theodosius at Hadrianople; 8 September, at Sirmium.
- „ 14 or 24 November: Theodosius enters Constantinople in triumph (cp. above p. 154, n. 37).

8. THEOLOGY IN THE MARKET-PLACES OF CONSTANTINOPLE—(P. 150)

The humorous description of the interest taken in theological subtleties by the mechanics and slaves of Constantinople is quoted by Gibbon on the authority of Jortin, but Gibbon acknowledges that he does not know where it comes from, and implies that Jortin does not state his source.

A striking instance of the slumbers of Homer. Jortin indeed omits to give the reference, but he expressly ascribes the passage to "Gregory," that is, Gregory of Nyssa, with whom he is dealing in the context. It would seem from Gibbon's note that he took Gregory to be the Nazianzen.

The passage occurs in Gregory Nyssen's *Oratio de deitate Filii et Spiritus Sancti* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, 46, p. 557) and runs as follows:

ἐὰν περὶ τῶν ὁβολῶν ἐρωτήσῃς ὁ δέ σοι περὶ γεννητοῦ καὶ ἀγεννήτου ἐφελσέφῃσιν περὶ τιμῆματος ἄρτου πύθωιο, Μείζων ὁ πατήρ, ἀποκρίνεται, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ὑποχείρως. εἰ δὲ, τὸ λουτρόν ἐπιτήδειόν ἐστιν, εἰποῖς, ὁ δὲ ἀξὺ οὐκ τὸν υἱὸν εἶναι διαψίσσας.

9. DID THEODOSIUS I. VISIT ROME IN A.D. 394?—(P. 194)

According to Zosimus (iv. 59 and v. 30), Theodosius went to Rome after the battle of the Frigidus. This is likewise attested by Prudentius (against Symm., i.), and is implied in Theodoret's statement, in reference to the visit of A.D. 389, χρόνου δὲ συχνοῦ διελθόντος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφικόμενος πάλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς. This evidence has been accepted by Jeep, but the objections urged by Tillemont against it seem quite decisive, and it is rejected by Clinton and most authorities. It is a case of a confusion between the suppression of Maximus and the suppression of Eugenius; the visit to Rome after the second war is merely a duplicate of the visit after the first war. Gùldenpenning thinks that Theodosius sent a message to the senate signifying his will that Pagan worship should cease (Der Kaiser Theodosius, p. 229-30).

10. THE LIBRARIES OF ALEXANDRIA—(P. 210, 211)

"The valuable library of Alexandria was pillaged or destroyed." That is, the lesser library in the Serapeum, which was situated in the Rhacôtis quarter of the city (see Mahaffy, Egypt under the Ptolemies, p. 167). Gibbon has failed to distinguish it from the great Library of the Bruchaeum, of which Zenodotus, Callimachus, and other famous scholars were librarians. This Library is said to have been burnt down B.C. 48 when Caesar was in Alexandria; Plutarch, Caes. 49; Seneca, De tranq. an. 9; Dion, 42, 38; Amm. Marc. 22, 16. Strabo who visited Alexandria shortly afterwards is silent. Cp. Mahaffy, *op. cit.*, p. 99 and p. 454.

For the distinction of the two libraries see Epiphanius, de mensuris et ponderibus, 168 (Migne, Patr. Gr. vol. 43, p. 256): ἔτι δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ἑτέρα ἐγένετο βιβλιοθήκη ἐν τῷ Σεραπείῳ [sic] μικροτέρα τῆς πρώτης, ἥτις καὶ θυγατὴρ ὠνομάσθη αὐτῆς. For the first or mother library, see *ib.* 166 (Migne, p. 249). For other references see Susemihl, Geschichte der alexandrinischen Litteratur, i. p. 336.

But is it an attested fact that the lesser or daughter library was destroyed in A.D. 391? The sanctuary of Serapis was demolished, but does that imply the demolition of all the buildings connected with the Serapeum?¹ The only evidence on which Gibbon's statement rests is the sentence which he quotes from Orosius (p. 211, n. 58). But Orosius does not mention the Serapeum or speak of a large library. He merely says that he had seen bookcases in temples (which he does not name); and that, since then, he had been informed that the temples had been pillaged and the bookcases emptied. It seems to me highly improbable that Orosius is thinking either of the mother library or of the Serapeum. Mr. Frederick I. Teggart, in the Nation, July 17, 1898, however, and Mr. A. J. Butler in his full discussion of the question (Arab Conquest of Egypt, c. xxv.), have made out a good case for believing that the Serapeum library was destroyed in 391.² Mr. Butler's arguments confirm the scepticism of Gibbon and Susemihl as to the later destruction of an Alexandrian library by the Saracens in the seventh century.

11. SOME INSCRIPTIONS ON STILICHO—(P. 238, 250, 271)

The inscription celebrating the rescue of Africa by Stilicho, referred to by Gibbon, p. 238 (note 20) and p. 250 (note 57), will be found in C. I. L. vi. 1730. It runs as follows:

¹ The statement of Eunapius in the Vita Aedesii, 77: καὶ τὸ Σεραπεῖον ἱερὸν διαπεδάννυτο οὐχ ἡ θεοκρατεία μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ οἰκοδομήματα, cannot be pressed to mean more than that not only was the worship suppressed but the temple itself was demolished. See also Rufinus, Hist. ecc. 2, 23; Socrates, Hist. ecc. 5, 16; Theodoret, Hist. ecc. 5, 22.

² The strongest point depends on the interpretation of a passage of the rhetor Aphthonius (who wrote while the library still existed), Progymnasmatum xii. p. 107.

Flavio Stilichoni industrissimo viro, magistro equitum peditumque comiti domesticorum, tribuno prætoriano, et ab ineunte ætate per gradus clarissimæ militiæ ad columen sempiternæ et regiæ adfinitatis evecto, progenero Divi Theodosi, comiti Divi Theodosi in omnibus bellis adque victoriis et ab eo in adfinitatem regiam cooptato itemque socero D. N. Honori Augusti Africa consiliis suis et provisione liberata.

For inscriptions referring to the restoration of the "walls, gates and towers" of Rome, undertaken through Stilicho's influence before Alaric's first invasion of Italy, see C. I. L. vi. 1188-1190.

Another inscription records Stilicho's victory over Radagaisus: C. I. L. 6, 1196. Gibbon (after Mascou) refers it to the Gothic war of 402-3, and expresses surprise at the description of Alaric's defeat as the total extinction of the Gothic nation (p. 271, note 56). Pallmann took the same view (*Völkerwand.* p. 243); but the title is rightly referred in the Corpus (*loc. cit.*) to the events of 405.

Imppp. clementissimis felicissimis toto orbe victoribus DDD NNn
Arcadio Honorio Theodosio Auggg. ad perenne indicium triumphorum
quod Getarum nationem in omne ævum docuere extingui
arum simularis eorum tropæisq. decoratum
S.P.Q.B. totius operis splendore.

12. THE TWO EASTERN EXPEDITIONS OF STILICHO AND HIS ILLYRIC POLICY—(P. 240, 258)

An unwary reader of Gibbon might fail to realise that on two separate occasions Stilicho led an army to the Illyric peninsula. As there has been a difficulty about the dates, and as Zosimus inverts the order of events, it is important to grasp this clearly. On the first occasion (A.D. 395) Stilicho started from Italy in spring (Claudian, in Rufin. 2, 101), came up with Alaric in Thessaly, and was then commanded to return, before he had accomplished anything, by an order of Arcadius. Gainas and the Eastern troops went to Constantinople, and Rufinus met his fate; while Stilicho returned to Italy. Again in A.D. 397, when Alaric was in Southern Greece, Stilicho came to help the realm of Arcadius, landed at Corinth, blockaded Alaric in Phlooe, and allowed him to escape. (Zosimus, v. 7, places the blockade of Phlooe before the death of Rufinus. The charge of Zosimus that Stilicho indulged in debauchery in Elis cannot safely be pressed; for the phrase he uses is borrowed from Julian's *Misopogon*. See Mendelssohn *ad loc.*)

A.D. 395. Claudian represents Alaric as shutting himself up in a fortified camp on the news of Stilicho's approach (in Ruf. 2, 124-9). Stilicho arrives in Thessaly (implet Thessaliam ferri nitor, l. 179) and prepares to attack the enemy. If he had been permitted to do so, the invasion of Greece would have been averted (186 *sqq.*), but alas! *regia mandata* arrive from Arcadius, and he has to sacrifice the "publica commoda" to the duty of obedience. This must have been about the beginning of November, if Rufinus was slain on 27th November (as Socrates states, vi. 1; *op. Chron. Pasch. ad ann.*). Thus the advance of Stilicho from Italy to Thessaly would have occupied more than six months. What was the cause of this delay? It is significant that the charge brought against Rufinus by Claudian of having incited the Visigoths to the invasion of Greece is uttered only as a suspicion by Socrates (*loc. cit.*, ὁδὸν εἶχεν ὡς κ. τ. λ. "was supposed to have," &c.); in the following century the suspicion has developed into a positive statement in the chronicle of Count Marcellinus *ad ann.* (Alaricum . . . infestum reipublicæ fecit et in Græciam misit).

A.D. 397. (This date is more probable than 396; see Bart, Preface to Claudian, p. xxxi, and Mommsen in Hermes, xxxviii. 108.) Stilicho started in spring (De cons., Stil. i. 174 *sqq.*), landed at the Isthmus (Zosimus, 5, 7), and is said to have had Alaric at his mercy at Phlooe. Three views have been held as to the escape of Alaric: (1) he outwitted Stilicho, who was culpably negligent (*op. Zosimus*); (2) the suggestion of Claudian (B. G. 516) that Arcadius and his ministers, jealous of Stilicho's intervention, treated with Alaric and secured his retreat, might be sup-

ported by the circumstance that Arcadius created him Master of Soldiers in Illyricum soon afterwards; (3) Stilicho is supposed to have made a secret treaty with Alaric, and permitted his retreat, for purposes of his own. Perhaps all three views contain portions of the truth. Stilicho's military success may have been very small; the government of Constantinople may have supported Alaric; and Stilicho, who seems to have been more of a diplomatist than a general, may have come to terms with Alaric, in view of his own projects. There is no doubt that an understanding had existed between Stilicho and Alaric before A.D. 401, and it may have been arranged on this occasion (cp. Claudian, *Bell. Goth.* 469). See Mommsen, *Stilicho und Alarich*, *Hermes* xxxviii. 108-9, 1903.

It is certain that Stilicho's assertion of the unity of the Empire by appearing with armed forces in the Praefecture of Illyricum was viewed with suspicion and distrust at Constantinople. The feeling at the court of Arcadius is aptly expressed in words which Claudian has put into the mouth of Rufinus (in *Ruf.* 2, 161):

*Deserat (sc. Stilicho) Illyrici fines, Eoa remittat
agmina, fraternas ex aequo dividat hastas.*

It can hardly be doubted that it was the aim of Stilicho in his Illyrian expeditions both of 395 and of 397 to detach Eastern Illyricum from the realm of Arcadius, and revert to the division which had existed before A.D. 379. According to Stilicho, it was the wish of Theodosius the Great that Illyricum should belong to the division of Honorius: Olympiodorus, *fr.* 2; Mommsen, *op. cit.* 102-3. Both expeditions (this is Mommsen's view) were "in erster Reihe darauf gerichtet, das östliche Illyricum dem Westreich anzuschliessen". That this was Stilicho's object at a later period is stated in so many words by Zosimus, v. 26. So too Jung (*Römer und Romanen*, p. 188: ich sehe darin vielmehr die consequente Verfolgung der durch Stilicho von Anfang an beabsichtigten Politik), who has some good remarks on the geographical importance of Illyricum; the unsatisfactoriness of the line of division of 395 which cut off Dalmatia from the rest of the Balkan peninsula (p. 186); and the circumstance that all northern Illyricum belonged to the Latin-speaking part of the Empire.

Stilicho intended to use the help of Alaric for this purpose, and established him on the borders of the territory on which he had designs; but the execution of the plan was continually deferred, on account of other events which claimed the care of Stilicho. After the events in Greece (397) he was hindered from resuming it by the revolt of Gildo, who was in correspondence with the government of Arcadius (*Bell. Gild.* 256); and in A.D. 407, when he was preparing for a third Illyric expedition (*op. Sozomen*, 8, 25), the rebellion of Constantine in Britain and Gaul intervened. Alaric during this time was playing his own game, between the courts of Ravenna and Constantinople. His object was to obtain permanently Dalmatia, Noricum, Istria and Venetia, with a regular grant of money from the Empire. This was what he asked in 410 (*Zos.* v. 48), and his aim throughout was doubtless a settlement of this kind.

While Stilicho aimed at annexing Eastern Illyricum, the court of Constantinople aimed at the acquisition of Dalmatia. Olympiodorus says that Stilicho employed Alaric to defend it (*fr.* 3). The object was pursued in the reign of Theodosius ii. and was finally attained at the marriage of Eudoxia with Valentinian iii., when the boundary was changed to the advantage of the East. Compare Cassiodorus, *Var. ep.* 1; *Güldenpenning*, *das oström. Reich*, p. 310. But even as early as A.D. 414-15 there is epigraphic evidence suggesting the conclusion that at that time Salonae was under the government of Constantinople. See Jung, *op. cit.* p. 187 note.

Keller (*Stilicho*, p. 27) regards Stilicho's special Illyric policy and his relations with Alaric as part of a larger policy which had two chief aims: to maintain the unity of the Empire, under two emperors, and to infuse new blood into it by absorbing barbarians. This is probably going too far. But Stilicho certainly wished to maintain the double system of Valentinian, and had no thought of trying to take into his own hands the government of the whole Empire.¹ The main aim of his

¹ When Stilicho is described (as by Olympiodorus, *fr.* 2) as guardian of Honorius, it is important to remember that this has no legal significance. The relation of guardian and ward had no existence in constitutional law (see Gibbon's remark, p. 229, note 26).

policy was to appropriate Eastern Illyricum to the Western realm. Mommsen attributes to him statesmanlike qualities, but emphasizes the point that he achieved no military successes which would warrant us to consider him a general.

13. ALARIC IN GREECE—(P. 255-8)

Though no record tells that Alaric burnt down the Temple of Eleusis, it is certain that the invasion of the Goths was coincident with the end of the Eleusinian mysteries. The sanctuary of the two goddesses must have already suffered much under Jovian and Theodosius. The cult, restored by Julian, was suppressed by Jovian, but renewed again under Valentinian through the intervention of Prætextatus, proconsul of Achaia. It must have been affected by the intolerant edicts of Theodosius; certainly the demonstration of the Christian section of the Athenian community forced the last Eumolpid high priest to resign. Subsequently—probably on the death of Theodosius—the pagan party felt themselves strong enough to appoint, as hierophant, a priest of Mithras from Thespieæ, and he presided at Eleusis at the time of Alaric's invasion.

See Gregorovius, *Hat Alarich die Nationalgötter Griechenlands zerstört?* (Kleine Schriften, vol. i.), and *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, i. p. 35 sqq.

As for Athens, there is no doubt that it capitulated and was spared by Alaric, and that the Goths did not destroy or rob its art treasures. Athens suffered, as Gregorovius remarks, less in the invasion of Alaric than in the invasion in the time of Dexippus. There were of course acts of cruelty; some are recorded in the *Vita Prisci* of Eunapius. But we must not press the words of Claudian (in Rufin. ii. 189): *nec fera Cecropiæ traxissent vincula matres*, further than at the most to interpret it of the rural inhabitants of Attica. Gregorovius observes that in the other passages where the devastation of Greece is mentioned (iv. Cons. Hon. 471, Eutrop. 2, 199, cons. Stil. i. 180), there is not a word about Athens.

As to the Zeus-temple of Olympia, it is supposed that the Phidias statue of Zeus had been removed about two years before the Gothic invasion (in A.D. 394, when Theodosius suppressed the Olympic games) to Constantinople and was afterwards burned in the Palace of Lausus. Cp. Cedrenus, i. p. 364 (Gregorovius i. p. 43). The temple of Olympia was burnt down in the reign of Theodosius ii.

The general conclusion of Gregorovius is that it is a gross exaggeration to ascribe to the Goths the deliberate destruction of the temples and sanctuaries of Greece.

It has been also shown by L. Schmidt (*Geschichte der deutschen Stämme*, i. 217-9) that the accounts in ecclesiastical writers of the Gothic devastation of Rome in A.D. 410 are gross exaggerations.

14. ALARIC'S FIRST INVASION OF ITALY—(P. 262, 266 sqq.)

That the battle of Pollentia was fought in 402 is now universally agreed by all competent historians; there is no conflict of evidence on the matter, and there is nothing to be said for 403.¹ But there is still room for difference of opinion as to the date of Alaric's entry into Italy, and possibly as to the date of the battle of Verona.

(1) We have to set the statements of two chronicles against each other. On one hand Prosper, sub ann. 400: *Gothi Italiam . . . ingressi* (see next Appendix). On the other, the *Fasti Vindobonenses* (*Chronica Italica*; see above, App. 1) have, sub anno 401, the more precise notice: *et intravit Alaricus in Italiam*, xiv. kl. December.²

Theodosius commended both his sons, on account of their youth, to the husband of his niece; see Ambrose, *de ob. Theod. 5*. Mommsen, *op. cit.* 101.

¹ "The date 403 seems to have originally obtained currency from a simple mistake on the part of Baronius, a mistake fully acknowledged by Tillemont (v. 804)." Hodgkin, i. p. 736.

² The Additamenta to Prosper in the Cod. Havn. give the date: x. kal. Sept. (Mommsen, *Chron. Min.*, i. p. 299).

Pallmann (followed by Hodgkin) accepts the date of Prosper. Tillemont, also accepting Prosper, but putting (in spite of Prosper) the battle of Pollentia in 403, found himself driven to assume that Alaric having invaded Italy in 400 was driven out of it in 401 and returned in 402—in fact a double invasion.

As there is little or nothing to choose between Prosper and the *Fasti Vindobonenses*—both being equally prone to error—we may be disposed to allow the argument of Seeck² (approved by Birt) to determine us in preferring the date of the *Fasti Vindobonenses*. In describing the entry of the Goths Claudian speaks of constant eclipses of the moon among the terrors which preyed upon men's minds:

terrītat adsiduus lunæ labor atraque Phœbe
noctibus ærisonas crebris ululata per urbes.
nec credunt vetito fraudatam Sole sororem
telluris subeunte globo sed castra secutas
barbara Thessalidas patriis lunare venenis
incestare iubar. (B. G., 233 sqq.)

These data (cp. *adsiduus*) are satisfied by the two lunar eclipses which took place on June 21 and December 6, A.D. 401.

After Pollentia, there must have been another engagement at Asta (vi. cons. Hon., 203). Keller thinks that this took place before that of Pollentia. In any case Gibbon is wrong in supposing that Asta was the town in which Honorius was shut up, till delivered by Stilicho. Honorius was in Milan, as is clear from Claudian's description (*ib.* 456 sqq.). To reach Asta Stilicho would have had to cross not only the Addua (488), but the Padus (which is not mentioned).

(2) That the battle of Verona did not take place later than A.D. 403 is proved by the fact that it is celebrated in the Panegyric composed by Claudian before the end of that year for the sixth consulate of Honorius, which began on Jan. 1, A.D. 404. That it took place in summer is proved by a line of that poem (our only source for the battle):

sustinet accensos æstivo pulvere soles (vi. cons., 215).

Those therefore who like Tillemont and Gibbon set Pollentia in spring 403 were obliged to set Verona in the summer of the same year. The question therefore arises whether, when we have moved Pollentia a year back, we are to move Verona along with it. Pallmann leaves Verona where it was in 403, and he is followed hesitatingly by Mr. Hodgkin. That the victory of Verona was won in 403, and that more than a year elapsed between the two battles, has, I think, been proved convincingly by Birt (Preface to ed. of Claudian, liv.-v.). The argument is that, if Verona had been fought in 402, the long interval of sixteen months would have stultified the whole tone of Claudian's poem, which breathes the triumph of a recent victory. Such a line as

et sextas Getica praevelans fronde secures (647)

is inconceivable on any save the first First of January following the victory. Cp. also lines 406, 580, 658. The transition in l. 201 is suggestive of a considerable interval between the two battles:

te quoque non parvum Getico, Verona, triumpho
adiungis cumulum nec plus Pollentia rebus
contulit Ausoniis aut moenia vindicis Hastae.

The resulting chronology is:

- A.D. 401. Alaric enters Italy (Venetia) in November; at the same time Radagaisus (see next Appendix) invades Raetia. Stilicho advances against Radagaisus.
- A.D. 402. Battle of Pollentia on Easter Day.
- A.D. 402-403. Alaric in Istria.
- A.D. 403, Summer. Alaric again moves westward; Battle of Verona.

² *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, 24, p. 182 sqq. (1884).

15. RADAGAISUS—(P. 278)

Radagaisus (probably of Ostrogothic origin) invaded Italy in 405 A.D., at the head of an army of barbarians. He was defeated by Stilicho on the hills of *Faesulae*. There is no doubt about these facts, in which our Western authorities agree, Orosius (vii. 37), Prosper (ad ann. 405), and Paulinus (Vita Ambrosii, c. 50). Prosper's notice is : Radagaisus in Tuscia multis Gothorum milibus cæsis, ducente exercitum Stilichone, superatus et captus est. But Zosimus (v. 26) places the defeat of Radagaisus on the Ister. "A strange error," Gibbon remarks, "which is awkwardly and imperfectly cured by reading *Ἀπρον* for *Ἰστρον*." Awkwardly and contrariwise to every principle of criticism. It is an emendation of Leunclavius and Reitemeier's *Ἠριδανδν* is no better. But Zosimus knew where the Danube was and the critic has to explain his mistake.

From Gibbon's narrative one would draw the conclusion that this invasion of Italy in 405 (406 Gibbon incorrectly; see Clinton, ad ann.) was the first occasion on which Radagaisus appeared on the stage of Imperial events. But he appeared before. A notice of Prosper, which there is not the smallest cause to question, represents him as co-operating with Alaric, when Alaric invaded Italy. Under the year 400 (there may be reason for questioning the year; see last Appendix) in his Chronicle we find the record : Gothi Italiam Alarico et Radagaiso ducibus ingressi. It is perfectly arbitrary to assume that the notice of the action of Radagaisus on this occasion is a mere erroneous duplication of his action, which is separately and distinctly recorded under the year 405. Pallmann emphasized the importance of the earlier notice of Prosper, and made a suggestion which has been adopted and developed by Mr. Hodgkin (i. p. 711, 716, 736), that Alaric and Radagaisus combined to attack Italia, Alaric operating in Venetia and his confederate in *Raetia* in A.D. 400-1, and that the winter campaign of Stilicho in *Raetia* in A.D. 401-2, of which Claudian speaks, was directed against Radagaisus. This combination has much to recommend it. The passages in Claudian are as follows :

- Bell. Goth., 279 sqq. Non si perfidia nacti penetrabile tempus
inrupere Getae, nostras dum Raetia vires
occupat atque alio desudant Marte cohortes
ideirco spes omnis abit, &c.
- „ „ 329 sqq. sublimis in Aroton
prominet Hercyniae confinis Raetia silvae
quae se Danuvii iactat Rhenique parentem
utraque Romuleo praetendens flumina regno : &c.
- „ „ 363 sqq. iam foedera gentes
exuerant Latique audita clade feroces
Vindelicos saltus et Norica rura tenebant, &c.
- „ „ 414, 5. adcurrit vicina manus, quam Raetia nuper
Vandalicis auctam spoliis defensa probavit.

Leaving aside the question whether (as Birt thinks) the barbarians whom Radagaisus headed in *Raetia* were the Vandals and Alans who invaded Gaul in 406, we may without hesitation accept the conclusion that in 401 Radagaisus was at the head of Vandals and other barbarians in *Raetia*. Birt points out the statement that Radagaisus had intended to cross into Italy (*eis τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὄρμητο διαβῆναι*), with which Zosimus introduces his account of the overthrow of Radagaisus by Stilicho; and proposes to refer that statement not to the campaign of 405 but to that of 401.

It was satisfactory to find that Birt had already taken a step in a direction in which I had been led before I read his Preface to Claudian. The fact is that *Zosimus really recounts the campaign of 401, as if it were the campaign of 405*. His story is that Radagaisus prepared to invade Italy. The news created great terror, and Stilicho broke up with the army from Ticinum, and with as many Alans and Huns as he could muster, without waiting for the attack, crossed the Ister, and assailing the barbarians unexpectedly, utterly destroyed their host. This is the campaign of the winter of 401-2, of which we know from Claudian's *Gothic*

War; only that (1) Zosimus, placing it in 405, has added one feature of the actual campaign in 405, namely the all but total annihilation of the army of Radagaisus, and that (2) Zosimus, in placing the final action beyond the Danube, differs from Claudian, who places it in Noricum or Vindelicia (l. 365, cited above) and does not mention that Stilicho crossed the river. But the winter campaign was in Danubian regions; and the main difficulty, the appearance of the Danube in the narrative of Zosimus, seems to be satisfactorily accounted for by the assumption of this confusion between the two Radagaisus episodes, a confusion which must be ascribed to Zosimus himself rather than to his source Olympiodorus.¹

16. THE SECOND CARAUSIUS—(P. 287)

A new tyrant in Britain at the beginning of the fifth century was discovered by Mr. Arthur Evans through a coin found at Richborough (Rutupiae). See Numismatic Chronicle, 3rd ser. vol. vii. p. 191 *sqq.*, 1887. The obverse of this bronze coin "presents a head modelled in a somewhat barbarous fashion on that of a fourth century Emperor, diademed and with the bust draped in the *paludamentum*". The legend is: DOMINO CARAVS IO CES. "The reverse presents a familiar bronze type of Constans or Constantius ii. The Emperor holding phoenix and labarum standard stands at the prow of a vessel, the rudder of which is held by Victory. In the present case, however, in place of the usual legend that accompanies this reverse—FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO—appears the strange and unparalleled inscription:

DOMIN . . . CONTA . . . NO "

This coin cannot be ascribed to the well-known Carausius of Diocletian's reign; for the type of the reverse is never found before the middle of the fourth century. The DOMINO (without a pronoun—*nostro*) on the obverse is quite unexampled on a Roman coin. Mr. Evans conjectures that CONSTANTINO is to be read on the reverse and makes it probable that this obscure Carausius was colleague of Constantine iii., left behind by him, with the title of Caesar, to hold the island while he was himself absent in Gaul; and would refer the issue of the coin to A.D. 409. "The memory of the brave Carausius, who first raised Britain to a position of maritime supremacy, may have influenced the choice of this obscure Caesar, at a moment when the Romano-British population was about to assert as it had never done before its independence of Continental Empire." Whether chosen by Constantine or not the coin "may at least be taken as evidence that the new Caesar stood forth as the representative of the interests of the Constantinian dynasty in the island as against the faction of the rebel Gerontius and his barbarian allies".

17. THE TYRANT CONSTANTINE—(P. 287)

The best account of the rise, reign, and fall of the tyrant Constantine, ruler of Britain, Gaul and Spain, will be found in Mr. Freeman's article, "Tyrants of Britain, Gaul and Spain," in English Historical Review, vol. i. (1886) p. 58 *sqq.*

At first, in 407, Constantine's Gallic dominions "must have consisted of a long and narrow strip of eastern Gaul, from the Channel to the Mediterranean, which could not have differed very widely from the earliest and most extended of the many uses of the word Lotharingia". That he was acknowledged in Trier is proved by the evidence of coins (Eckhel, 8, 176). Then he moves down to the land between Rhone and Alps, which becomes the chief theatre of operations, and Arelate becomes his capital. His son Constans he creates *Caesar*, and a younger son Julian *nobilissimus*. Early in 408 Sarus is sent against him by Stilicho. Sarus gains a victory over Constantine's officer (Justinian); and lays siege to

¹ Mr. Rushforth has pointed out (in Eng. Historical Review, xiii. p. 132, 1898) that the statement of Zosimus that the threatened invasion of Radagaisus caused a panic at Rome, taken in connexion with the restoration of the walls of Rome in 402 (which Gibbon omits to mention), is a confirmation of the view which I have tried to establish that Zosimus is really relating the campaign of 401.

Valentia in which Constantine secured himself. But he raises the siege on the seventh day, on account of the approach of Constantine's able general Gerontius, from whom he with difficulty escapes (by coming to an understanding with the *Bagaudas*, who appear to act as a sort of national militia) into Italy.

Constantine's next step is to extend his rule over the rest of the Gallic prefecture,—Spain. We are left quite in the dark as to his relations with the Barbarians who in these years (407-9) were ravaging Gaul. Spain at first submitted to those whom Constantine sent; but very soon the influential Theodosian family organized a revolt against it. The main part of the resistance came from Lusitania, where the four Theodosian brothers had most influence. The rustic army that was collected was set to guard the Pyrenees. To put down the rising, Constantine sent troops a second time into Spain—this time under the Caesar Constans, who was accompanied by Gerontius and by Apollinaris (grandfather of the poet Sidonius), who accepted the office of Praetorian Prefect from Constantine. The Theodosian revolt was suppressed; Constans set up his court in Caesar-augusta (Zaragoza), but soon returned to Gaul, leaving Gerontius to defend Spain.

The sources for this story are Orosius, Sozomen, and Zosimus. For the Spanish events we have no fragments of Olympiodorus. "On the other hand the local knowledge of Orosius goes for something, and Sozomen seems to have gained, from some quarter or other, a singular knowledge of detail of some parts of the story" (Freeman, p. 65). It is practically certain that Sozomen's source (as well as that of Zosimus) was Olympiodorus (cp. above, vol. ii., Appendix 1).

Thus master of the West, Constantine forces Honorius, then (A.D. 409) too weak to resist, to acknowledge him as his colleague and legitimate Augustus. Later in the year he enters Italy with an army, avowedly to help Honorius against Alaric (so Olympiodorus), his real motive being to annex Italy to his own realm (Soz. ix. 12). At this time he probably raised Constans to the rank of Augustus. It appears that Constantine was in league with Allobich, the general of Honorius, to compass his treasonable designs. They were discovered, Allobich was cut down, and then Constantine, who had not yet reached Ravenna, turned back.

Meanwhile the revolt of Gerontius in Spain had broken out, and Constans went to put it down. Gibbon's account of the revolt is inadequate, in so far as he does not point out its connexion with the invasion of Spain by the Vandals, Sueves, and Alans. There is no doubt that Gerontius and Maximus invited them to cross the Pyrenees. (Cp. Olymp.; Oros. 7, 28; Sozom. ix. 113; Zos. 6, 5; Renatus, in Gregory of Tours, 2, 9; Freeman, p. 74: "The evidence seems to go for direct dealings between Gerontius and the invaders, and his treaty with them is more likely to have followed the proclamation of Maximus than to have gone before it".) The dominion of Maximus was practically confined to the north-western corner; the seat of his rule was Tarraco. As for the relation of Maximus to Gerontius, it is very doubtful whether *παῖς* in Olympiodorus is to be interpreted *son* and not rather *servant* or *retainer*.

The rest of the episode of Constantine's reign—the sieges of Vienna (which, some have suspected, is a mistake for Narbo) and Arelate—have been well told by Gibbon. These events must be placed in the year 411; for Constantine's head arrived at Ravenna on 18th September (Idatius ad ann.), and it was in the fourth month of the siege of Arelate that Edobich's troops came on the scene (Renatus ap. Greg. Tur. ii. 9).

Mr. Freeman thus contrasts the position of Constantine with that of contemporary tyrants:

"Constantine and Maximus clearly leagued themselves with the barbarians; but they were not mere puppets of the barbarians; they were not even set up by barbarian help. Each was set up by a movement in an army which passed for Roman. But the tyrants who appear in Gaul in the following year, Jovinus, Sebastian and Attalus—Attalus, already known in Italy, is fresh in Gaul—are far more closely connected with the invaders of the provinces. Attalus was a mere puppet of the Goths, set up and put down at pleasure; his story is merely a

part of the marches of Ataulf in Gaul and Spain. Jovinus was set up by Burgundian and Alan help; his elevation to the Empire and the earliest Burgundian settlement in Gaul are simply two sides of one event. Even Maximus was not in this way the mere creature of the invaders of Spain, though he found it convenient at least to connive at their invasion."

18. THE DEATH OF MAXIMUS—(P. 360)

The chronicle of Count Marcellinus states that the tyrants Maximus and Jovinus were brought in chains from Spain (to Ravenna) and executed in the year 422, on the occasion of the tricennialia of Honorius (sub ann. 422, p. 75, ed. Mommsen, Chron. Min. vol. ii.). This, like some other unique notices in Marcellinus, was doubtless taken by him from the Consularia Italica (see above, Appendix 1), which have come down in a mutilated condition (cp. Mommsen, *ib.* p. 46). It is borne out by Orosius, who, writing in 417, says (vii. 425): *Maximus exutus purpura destitutusque a militibus Gallicanis—nunc inter barbaros in Hispania egens exulat*; which alone is of sufficient authority to refute the statements of the Eastern writers followed by Gibbon.

19. SEPTIMANIA—(P. 376)

An error prevails in regard to the name Septimania. It first occurs in Sidonius Apollinaris, Ep. iii., 1, 4, where it is said of the Goths of the kingdom of Tolosa: *Septimaniam suam fastidiunt vel refundunt, modo invidiosi huius anguli* (that is, Arverni) *etiam desolata proprietate potiantur*. In his *Index Locorum* to Luetjohann's ed. of Sidonius, Mommsen points out that Septimania is not derived from *septem* (the etymon is *septimus*) and therefore did not signify either the Seven Provinces of the Viennese Diocese, or seven cities granted to the Goths (Greg. Tur., 2, 20). It means the coast line from the Pyrenees to the Rhone, in Sidonius as well as in Gregory of Tours and later writers; Sidonius means that the Goths declared themselves ready to exchange this coast district (including towns of Narbo, Tolosa, Bæterre, Nemausus, Luteva) for Arverni. Bæterre was a town of the Septimani; hence Septimania.

20. RATE OF TRAVELLING BY SEA—(P. 379)

In connexion with Gibbon's note on the length of journeys by sea in the reign of Arcadius, I have found some contemporary data in the Life of Porphyry of Gaza by the deacon Marcus. (1) From Ascalon, in Palestine, to Thessalonica: 13 days, p. 6, ed. Teubner. (2) Back from Thessalonica to Ascalon: 12 days, p. 7. (3) From Gaza to Constantinople: 20 days, p. 24. (4) Back from Constantinople to Gaza: 10 days, p. 25. (5) From Cæsarea (Palest.) to Rhodes: 10 days in winter, p. 30. (6) From Rhodes to Constantinople: 10 days, winter, p. 33. (7) From Constantinople (starting 18th April) to Rhodes: 5 days, p. 47. It must be remembered that we are not informed about intermediate stoppages. These references may be added to those in Friedländer's *Sittengeschichte*, ii. 18-17. With a good wind one could sail 11 or 12 hundred stadia in 24 hours.

21. THE "EGYPTIAN" OF SYNESIUS—(P. 392)

The interpretation of the Egyptian allegory of Synesius has caused a good deal of trouble, owing to the fact that our other sources supply such meagre material as to the details of the political transactions at Constantinople in the reign of Arcadius. It had long been recognized that Egypt stood for the Empire, and Thebes for Constantinople; and the Praetorian Praefect Aurelian had been detected under the veil of Osiris. But no likely conjecture had been made as to the identity of Typhoeus the wicked brother of Osiris. It was partly in consequence of this lacuna that the able attempt of Gûldenpenning to reconstruct the history of the years A.D. 399 and 400 on the basis of the work of Synesius (cp. my *Later Roman Empire*, i. p. 79 *sqq.*) did not carry complete conviction. But O. Seeck has recently made out a good case

for the identity of Typhos and interpreted the allegory more fully (Philologus, 52, p. 442 sqq., 1894). His results must be briefly noted.

1. *Taurus*.—Synesius states in the Preface that the name of the father of Osiris and Typhos was Taurus. There can be no question that he is the Taurus who appears in the Consular Fasti of A.D. 361. He was quaestor in 353, and became praetorian prefect in 355. He held this office (the *μεγάλη ἀρχή* of Synes. c. 2, p. 1213, ed. Migne) till 361. He was appointed to decide a theological disputation (Epiphanius, de Haer. 71, 1); and presided at the Council of Ariminum (359). He was an author as well as an official. The arguments of Borghesi and Seeck establish his identity with Palladius Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus, the author of 14 Books *De re rustica*. Taurus had a son named Harmonius who was killed by Arbogastes 392 (John Ant., fr. 187).

2. *Aurelian*.—He appears first about 383 as builder of a Church (Acta Sanctorum, 6th May, p. 610). In 393 we find him (C. Th. 2, 8, 23, &c.) Prefect of Constantinople before Rufinus held that office. Then after the fall of Eutropius, he appears as Praetorian Prefect of the East (399-400). In 400 the revolt of Gainas causes his fall (see above, p. 393). But he was to rise again and become Prefect a third time (402-404), as Seeck has shown from two letters of Synesius (31 and 38: cp. Cod. Th. 4, 2, 1, and 5, 1, 5, where the false dates have to be amended). He is therein described as *τριστάρχον*, "thrice Praefect," in an epigram (Anth. Plan. 4, 73) on a gilt statue dedicated to him by the senate. His son's name was Taurus (Synes., *epist.*, 31), which confirms the identification.

Osiris (i. c. 3, p. 1217) held a post which is described as *ἐπιστάτης δορυφόρων γενόμενος καὶ ἀκόας πιστευθείς*, explained by Seeck to be that of *magister officiorum*; he was then Prefect of the city (*πολιάρχης*, *ib.*); he was consul (ii. 4, p. 1272), and he twice held the *μεγάλη ἀρχή* or praetorian prefecture,—the second time *μετὰ συνθήματος μείζονος* (*ib.*), which means the Patriciate. What happened to Osiris on his fall corresponds even more strikingly to that which happened to Aurelian. The leader of the foreign mercenaries is on the other side of a stream (like Gainas), Aurelian crosses it (p. 1252) and is spared. His companions in misfortune (Saturninus and Johannes) are alluded to, p. 1268.

3. *Arcadius*.—The insignificance of Arcadius is reflected in the myth by the fact that he is never mentioned except in one passage (p. 1268) where he appears as the High Priest. The person who through his influence over the Emperor had the real power appears in the myth as holding the kingly office—*e.g.* Osiris while he was in power.

4. *Caesarius* (?).—In the allegory Typhos is in close alliance with the barbarian mercenaries, and instigates their attack on Thebes in order to overthrow his brother Osiris. When Osiris surrenders himself to the barbarian leader, Typhos urges that he should be put to death. Typhos then receives the kingdom and administers it tyrannically; nor is his position shaken by the fall of the barbarian leader. Before the first rise of Osiris to power¹ he had filled a post which gave him patronage in distributing offices, the power of oppressing towns (p. 1217), and the duty of regulating measures in connexion with the payment of taxes in kind (p. 1219). These hints taken along with the mention (*ib.*) of torch-bearing attendants suggest that the office was no less than that of Praetorian Prefect. It would follow that Typhos was Praetorian Prefect before 399, and again in 400.

Eutropius had endeavoured to reduce the power of Praetorian Prefect of the East by making it a collegial office; and Eutychianus appears as holding that office (1) along with Caesarius while Eutropius was in power; (2) along with Aurelian, 399-400; (3) along with Aurelian when he was restored 402. It may be assumed that he also held it between 400 and 402.

It would follow that Caesarius, whom we find Praetorian Prefect from 396-398, and again in 400 and 401, was the prototype of Typhos, the son of Taurus and the brother of Aurelian. Some other points may confirm the conjecture. The tendency to Arianism, of which Typhos is accused, is illustrated by C. Th. 16, 5, 25, and the passion of Typhos for his wife by a notice in Sozomen, 9, 2. If Typhos is not meant for Caesarius, it would seem that he must be purely fictitious.

¹ He also held a financial post:—Seeck conjectures that of a *rationalis* of a diocese.

The great political object of Aurelian was to break the power of the Germans in the army and at the court—the policy for which Synesius pleaded in his *De regno*. The question arises: What was the attitude of the Empress Eudoxia to this policy? The fall of Eutropius which she brought about (Phil. 11, 6) led to the rise of Aurelian, and when Aurelian fell, her intimate friend—scandal said, her lover—Count John, fell with him.² Further, Seeck makes it probable that the second Praetorian Prefecture of Aurelian ended, and Anthemius succeeded to that post, about end of 404; and it was on 6th October, 404, that the Empress died. We are thus led to infer a close political union between Eudoxia and Aurelian; and, if the inference is right, it is noteworthy that the Empress of German origin, the daughter of the Frank Bauto, should have allied herself with a statesman whose policy was anti-German.

22. ARMENIAN AFFAIRS—(P. 414, 415)

Gibbon wrongly places the division of the Armenian kingdom into Roman and Persian Armenia in the fifth century. This division was arranged between Theodosius the Great and the Persian King. See Saint Martin, *Mémoires*, p. 316. Persarmenia was at least two-thirds of the whole kingdom. Arsaces, who had already reigned 5 years over all Armenia, continued after the division to rule over Roman Armenia for 2½ years; while Chosrov (a Christian) was appointed by Persia as king of Persian Armenia. On the death of Arsaces, Theodosius committed the rule of the Roman part to a native general, who was induced to recognize the authority of Chosrov; while Chosrov, in order to secure his position in Roman Armenia, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Roman Empire. This did not please Persia, and Yezdegerd, son of the Persian king, overthrew him, after he had reigned 5 years. Yezdegerd then gave Armenia to Chosrov's brother; but Chosrov was subsequently restored through the influence of the archbishop Isaac, and reigned about a year. He was succeeded by Sapor, a royal prince of Persia, who made himself hated and attempted to proselytize the Armenians. On his father's death he returned to Persia, endeavoured to win the crown, failed, and perished. After an interval Ardashir (Gibbon's Artasires) was appointed—the last of the Armenian kings. His deposition is described by Gibbon. The government was then placed in the hands of Persian *marzbans*.

Among the works (on the criticism of the sources for Armenian history) mentioned in vol. ii., Appendix 17, should have been included: G. Chalantians, *Armianski Epos v istorii Armenii Moiseia Chorenskago*, 1896.

23. THE MAGISTRI MILITUM IN THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES

Under the system of Constantine the military command which had belonged to the Praetorian Prefects was transferred to commanders who were commonly described as *magistri militum*, though this was not a strictly official title.¹ The Imperial troops (*comitatenses* and *palatini*; cp. above, vol. ii., Appendix 11) were placed under two generals, of whom one, *magister peditum*, commanded the infantry, and the other, *magister equitum*, the cavalry. They were not co-ordinate in dignity; the *magister peditum* was higher in rank than the *magister equitum* (see Ammianus, 18, 3, 6, op. 14, 11, 24; and Notit. Dign. Occ.). When the Empire was divided each court had its own pair of *magistri*.

As the seat of the court might be anywhere, the sphere of the *magisterium* was not geographically limited; but before the end of the reign of Constantius the idea of a geographical province was connected with it. In 355 Arbetic was *magister equitum*; but there was a second *magister equitum* in Gaul (Marcellus, see Am-

² Further: Castricia, wife of Saturninus, who was banished with Aurelian, had influence with Eudoxia, as we know from Palladius, *Life of Chrysostom*.

¹ It is used not only in literature, but also in the Imperial rescripts; but never in Inscriptions till after the period of Justinian.

mianus, 16, 4, 8).² In the reign of Valentinian I. there were *magistri equitum* in Gaul and Illyricum. From these secondary commanders, the palatine *magister equitum* was distinguished by the description in *praesenti* or *praesentalis*. But the authority of the *magister equitum* in Gaul or Illyricum could not be confined like that of the *mag. eq. praesentalis* to cavalry alone; he commanded infantry as well; hence he came to be called not only by the original official title *mag. eq.*, but also more appropriately *magister equitum et peditum* or *utriusque militiae*.

Theodosius I. introduced a change (which Mommsen dates between 386 and 391) in the Eastern division of the Empire. Retaining the three district commanders (i.e., the *magistri equitum et peditum, per Orientem, per Thracias* and *per Illyricum*), he co-ordinated in rank the two *magistri in praesenti*, and divided the troops of both kinds between them. Thus there were no longer a *mag. ped.* and a *mag. eq.* of lower rank in the East, but two co-ordinate *magistri equitum et peditum in praesenti*. See Notit. Dign. Occ.

In the West Theodosius allowed the old arrangement to remain: and we find in the Notit. Dign. Occ. the *magister peditum praesentalis* and the *magister equitum praesentalis*. But it is important to note that the position of the single district commander in the West (*magister equitum per Gallias*) is different from that of those in the East. The *magistri* of the Orient, Thrace, and Illyricum have each his own troops as well as his own bureau (*officium*); the *magister* of Gaul has his own bureau but not his own troops; the troops in Gaul belong to the troops under the *magistri praesentiales*. This is made quite clear in Not. Dign. Occ., c. 7.

A very important innovation was introduced in the West towards the end of the fourth century, a change which had political causes and grave political consequences. This was the conjunction of the *magisterium peditum* and the *magisterium equitum* in the hands of one man. The experiment had been tried by Jovian in favour of his father-in-law Lucilian (Ammianus, 25, 8, 9 and 10), but it was the devolution of the purple on minors that led to the adoption of the practice. According to Mommsen, Arbogastes was the first of these powerful commanders-in-chief. The case of Stilicho is quite clear. The statement of Zosimus (4, 59) shows that Theodosius before his death combined the two commands in the hands of Stilicho, when we take that statement in connexion with the fact that in the Imperial rescripts he bears the title of *magister equitum et peditum* or *utriusque militiae* (rescripts ranging from 398 to 407).

What arrangement was made immediately after the death of Stilicho is not quite clear,³ but we presently find Valens as *mag. utriusque militiae* (Olympiodorus, fr. 13), and this supreme command was subsequently held by Constantius (C. I. L. 6, 1719, 1720), Felix, Aetius, Boniface, Ricimer, and by the Ostrogothic king, Theodoric.

The title of rank which accompanied the *magisterium* was that of *comes*, and we sometimes find the *magister* referred to as simply *comes* (cp. Ammianus, 21, 9, 5).

The later *magistri utriusque militiae* were regularly *patricii*, but the patriciate was not in itself connected with the *magisterium*.

The foregoing account is a summary of the discussion of Mommsen in *Hermes*, 36, 531 sqq.

The statement of Gibbon as to the friends of Stilicho who were murdered before his assassination is not quite accurate. "Two masters general, of the cavalry and infantry" cannot be right, as there was no *magister peditum* except Stilicho himself who was *mag. utriusque militiae*. The source is Zosimus, v. 32, and the list is as follows: Limenius, praet. prefect of Gaul; Longinianus, praet. prefect of Italy; Chariobaudes, *mag. equitum* of Gaul; Vincentius and Salvius, *comites domesticorum equitum et peditum* (Mommsen, *loc. cit.* 588, n. 2); Naemorius, *mag. off.*; Patroinus, *comes sacrarum largitionum*; [Ursicinus? see Mendelssohn *ad loc.*], *comes rerum privatarum*; Salvius, *quaestor*.

² It is impossible to say how far the districts were defined at first. "Vermuthlich haben sie erst im Laufe der Zeit, sowie sie später auftreten, sich fixirt."

³ Mommsen questions the statement of Zosimus, 5, 36.

24. PROCOPIAN LEGENDS—(P. 482, 506)

(1) BONIFACE AND AETIUS; (2) VALENTINIAN AND MAXIMUS

In his *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. ii. (p. 206 *sqq.*, ed. 2) Mr. Hodgkin has discussed and rejected the romantic story connected with the death of Valentinian, the elevation of Maximus and his marriage with Eudoxia. The story is told by Procopius (de B. V. i. 4); and, in accordance with Gibbon's criticism that "Procopius is a fabulous writer for the events which precede his own memory," Mr. Hodgkin relegates it to "the fables of Procopius".

In the *English Historical Review*, July, 1887 (p. 417-465), Mr. Freeman published a long criticism of the historical material for the careers of Aetius and Boniface. He held the account of Procopius (B. V. i. 3) to be "legend of the sixth century and not trustworthy history of the fifth," and tried to "recover the true story as it may be put together from the annalists, the writings of St. Augustine, and other more trustworthy authorities". In this case Mr. Hodgkin takes a completely different view and argues (*ib.*, vol. i. p. 889 *sqq.*, ed. 2) that the Procopian legend "has still a reasonable claim to be accepted as history," while admitting that in some points it has been shaken by Mr. Freeman.

Now, while the two stories need not stand on the same footing so far as historical credibility is concerned, while it may be possible to follow Mr. Hodgkin in rejecting the one and accepting the main part of the other, there is a preliminary question which must be discussed before we attempt to decide the ultimate question of historical fact. Procopius is not the only authority for these stories. They are also found in the *Salmasian Excerpts*, which were first printed by Cramer in his *Anecdota Parisina*, ii. 383 *sqq.*, and afterwards included among the fragments of John of Antioch by C. Müller, in the *Fragmenta Hist. Græc.*, vol. iv. p. 535 *sqq.* The fragments in question are 196 and 200. It was a serious flaw in Mr. Freeman's essay that he was not aware either of the *Salmasian Excerpt* 196, or of the *Constantinian Excerpt* 201, which also bears on the question of Aetius and Boniface. Mr. Hodgkin refers to fr. 196, which (with Müller) he ascribes to Joannes Antiochenus, and says: "Though a comparatively late author (he probably lived in the seventh century) and though he certainly used Procopius freely in his compilation, he had also some good contemporary authorities before him, especially Priscus, and there seems some probability, though I would not state it more strongly than this, that he may have found the story in one of them as well as in Procopius".

But Mr. Hodgkin, while he takes account of fr. 196 in defending one "Procopian legend," takes no account of fr. 200 in rejecting the other "Procopian legend," though fr. 200 bears to the latter the same relation which fr. 196 bears to the former.

Now in the first place it must be clearly understood that the author of the work from which the *Salmasian Excerpts* are derived cannot have been the same as the author of the work from which the *Constantinian Excerpts* are derived. There is no question about this, and it could be proved merely by comparing the two (*Salmasian*) fragments under consideration (frags. 196 and 200) with (the *Constantinian*) fragment 201. If then we accept the *Constantinian Excerpts* under the name Joannes of Antioch, we must be careful not to ascribe the *Salmasian Excerpts* to that writer. Which is the true Joannes, is a question still *sub judice*. (See below, vol. iv. Appendix 1.)

The vital question then is whether Procopius was the source of S. (as we may designate the author of these *Excerpts*) for these fragments or not. For if he was, S. adds no weight to the authority of Procopius and may be disregarded; if he was not, the statements of S. have to be reckoned with too. From a careful comparison of the passages, I find myself in complete agreement with C. de Boor (who has dealt with the question in *Byz. Ztsch.* ii. 204 *sqq.*) that Procopius was *not* the source of S. but that the accounts of both authors were derived from a common source.¹ The proof in the case of fr. 200 is very complete; because we happen to have in

¹ Cp. further E. Gleye in *Byz. Ztsch.* v. 460 *sqq.*, where some other of the *Excerpts* (esp. fr. 12) are treated in their relation to Procopius, with the same result.

Suidas *sub voce* θαλάσσιος (see Müller *ad loc.*) a fragment of what was evidently that common source.

The inference, for historical purposes, is important. We cannot speak with Mr. Freeman of "Procopian legend" or "legend of the sixth century". Procopius cannot be described in these cases as setting down "the received tale that he *heard*". He was using a literary source; and there is not the slightest proof that this literary source belonged to the sixth century. It seems more probable that it was a fifth century source. It *may* have been Priscus or it may not.

These two episodes therefore depend on the authority of a writer (who has so far not been identified) earlier than Procopius and distinct from John of Antioch. They may for all we know have very early authority, and they cannot be waived away as "Procopian legend". Each must be judged on its own merits.

It seems to me that there was probably a certain foundation of truth in both stories, but that they have been dressed out with fictitious details (like the story of the Empress Eudocia and Paulinus). I do not feel prepared to reject the main facts implied, that Aetius intrigued against Bonifacius and that Valentinian seduced the wife of Maximus.

The story of the single combat of Aetius and Boniface is derived from Marcellinus (like Procopius, a writer of the sixth century). But rightly interpreted it contains nothing improbable. It does not imply a duel; but a single combat *in a battle*. It is however important to observe that "John of Antioch" (fr. 201, Müller, p. 615) says nothing of Boniface's wound but states that he was *out-generalled* by Aetius and that he died of diseases due to depression and chagrin:

τὸν δὲ Βονιφάτιον σὺν πολλῇ διαβάντᾳ χειρὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Λιβύης κατεστρατήγησεν, ὥστε κείνον μὲν ὑπὸ φροντίδων νόσῳ τελευτῆσαι.

Compare Mommsen, in *Hermes* 86, 521.

It remains to be added that the essay of Mr. Freeman throws much light on the career of Boniface in Africa and the doings of Castinus, Felix, and Sigisvult.

For arguments against the alleged invitation of the Vandals by Boniface, which is not mentioned by contemporary writers (at least clearly, *op. Prosper*) nor by Victor Vitensis, but has generally been accepted from Procopius, see L. Schmidt in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 12, 601-2, 1903.

25. THE BATTLE OF MAURICA, COMMONLY CALLED THE BATTLE OF CHALONS—(P. 488)

The scene of the battle by which the invasion of Attila was checked has been the subject of some perplexity. The statements which have to be considered are the following:

1. Idatius: in campis Catalaunicis haud longe de civitate quam effregerant Mettis.

2. An insertion in the text of Prosper, found in the Codex Havniensis, and doubtless representing an entry in the *Chronica Italica*. Mommsen, *Chron. Min.*, i., p. 302 and 481: pugnatum est in quinto milliario de Treca, loco nuncupato Maurica in Campania.

3. *Chron.* A.D. 511 (see above, App. 1), Mommsen, *Chron. Min.*, i., p. 663: Tricassis pugnat loco Mauriacos.

4a. Jordanes c. 36: convenitur itaque in campos Catalaunicos, qui et Mauriaci nominantur, centum leuvas ut Galli vocant in longum tenentes et septuaginta in latum. (A gallic *leuva* or league = 1½ Roman miles.)

4b. Gregory of Tours, 2, 7: Mauriacum campum adiens se præcingit ad bellum [Attila]. The accounts of the episode in Jordanes and Gregory are not independent; *op. Mommsen*, Pref. to Jordanes, p. xxxvi.

The traditional view that the battle was fought near Duro-Catalaunum or Châlons on Marne is not borne out by the data. That town is not mentioned, and the notice of Jordanes shows that its proximity is not implied by the name "Catalaunian Plains," for Maurica might have been at the other extremity. Setting aside Idatius, whose statement is discredited by the words "not far from Metz," we find the other notices agreeing in the designation of the battle-

field as the Mauriac Plain, or a place named Maurica, and one of them gives the precise distance from Troyes. The name *Maurica*, *Mauriac*, has been identified with great plausibility with Mery (on Seine), about twenty miles from Troyes. There seems therefore a likelihood that the battle was fought between Troyes and Mery, and the solution, for which Mr. Hodgkin well argues (*Italy*, i. p. 143-5), is confirmed, as he observes, by the strategical importance of Troyes, which was at the centre of many roads.

An interesting discovery was made in 1842 at the village of Pouan, about 10 miles from Mery-on-Seine. A skeleton was found with a two-edged sword and a cutlass, both adorned with gold, and a number of gold ornaments, one of them a ring with the inscription HEVA. They are the subject of a memoir by M. Peigné Delacourt (1860) who claimed the grave as the tomb of the Visigothic king Theodoric. See Hodgkin (*ib.* p. 140). In any case the remains may well be connected with the great battle. Traces of the march of Attila into Gaul are preserved in numismatic "finds"; see Blanchet, *Les trésors de monnaies romaines et les invasions germaniques en Gaule*, 66 (1900).

The investigations of their editor, B. Krusch, have shown that the Lives of the Saints (Anianus, Lupus, Genovefa, Memorius), to which Gibbon makes reference (op. p. 484, n. 34, and p. 485), are of no historical value. See his edition, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Sor. rer. Mer.* vol. iii. Thus the siege and partial occupation of Orleans by the Huns, which Gibbon accepts from the life of Anianus, must be rejected. Orleans was already protected by the Romans and Goths, and the intended treachery of Sangiban frustrated, before Attila arrived (Jordanes, *Get.* 195). Our main source for the campaign is Jordanes = Cassiodorus, whose source was Priscus. The account in Gregory of Tours was derived chiefly from Jordanes. The notices in the Latin chronicles are independent.

26. THE FOUNDATION OF VENICE—(P. 496)

The association of the founding of the Venetian State with the invasion of Attila has no real historical evidence. There were settlements in the lagoons both in prehistoric and in Roman times. The invasions of the fifth century from Attila onwards led to a considerable migration from the country of the mainland to the lagoons, as the cities ceased to afford a sure protection; and Grado especially became more thickly populated. At the beginning of the sixth century we find in this quarter of Venetia settlements of strong and self-reliant people (see the letter of Cassiodorus, above, p. 496, n. 58), subject to the Ostrogothic monarchy and governed by *tribuni maritimum* (see Mommsen, *Nenes Archiv*, 14, 496). After the fall of the Ostrogoths the lagoon regions passed with the rest of Italy to the Roman Empire, and, when the Lombards came down and destroyed the cities of North-eastern Italy in 568, became the great refuge for the inhabitants, both rich and poor, of the adjacent lands. Grado then became of immense importance; thither the Patriarch Paulinus fled from Aquileia with the treasures of his Church. In the course of the following century the other islands were largely populated.

See H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, I. 16-19 (1906). He observes that A.D. 568 is the only year which can in any way claim to be called the birthday of Venice.

The earliest record of the popular tradition which made Attila the cause of the settlement of Venice is in Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, p. 123, ed. Bonn. The *Chronicon Venetum*, of which the oldest part in its original form goes back to the early tenth century, represents the gradual settlement of the islands as one single act caused by the barbarians. (This chronicle is edited by Simonsfeld in the *Scriptores* of the M. G. H. vol. xiv.) The chronicle of Johannes Diaconus (beginning of the eleventh century: ed. by Pertz in the *Scriptores* of the M. G. H. vol. vii., and by Monticello, in the *Chronache Veneziane antichissime*, vol. 1) connects the settlement specially with the Lombards. In Martin da Canal's *Cronique des Veniciens* (thirteenth century) the date A.D. 421 for the foundation of Venice appears for the first time in a historical work; then we find the legend in a more fully developed form in Andrea Dandolo's chronicle in the following century. On the forged decrees of the Senate of Patavium and the supposed foundation of a

church of St. James on the Rialto in 421, see Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, ii. 182 *sqq.*

For the criticism of the *Chronicon Venetum*, see Simonsfeld, *Venezianische Studien I.*, *Das Chronicon Altinate*, 1878; on Johannes Diaconus, Monticolo, *I manoscritti e le fonti della cronaca del Diacono Giovanni*, in *Bull. dell' istituto storico Italiano*, vol. ix.; on Andrea Dandolo, Simonsfeld, *Andrea Dandolo und seine Geschichtswerke*, 1876, and cp. Lenel, *Zur Kritik Andrea Dandolo's*, 1897. Cp. also the papers of Cipolla (*Ricerche sulle tradizioni intorno alle immigrazioni nelle lagune*) in the *Archivio Veneto*, vols. xxviii., xxix., xxxi.

For the topography of the lagoons, see the literature cited in Kretschmayr's valuable work, 414-6.

APPENDIX

ADDITIONAL NOTES BY THE EDITOR

1. AUTHORITIES

For Greek Historiography, for this and the following volumes, see Krumbacher's *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, ed. 2, 1897.]

THE history of the reign of Leo I. and Zeno (in three Books) was written by CANDIDUS the Isaurian. He held the post of clerk or secretary to influential Isaurians; such is the vague phrase of Photius, who in the *Bibliotheca* (cod. 79) gives a short notice of the writer and a summary of the contents of his work. He was an orthodox Christian. Besides the account in Photius (Müller, F. H. G. iv. p. 185), we have probably three fragments in the Lexicon of Suidas: (α) *sub χειρὶ* (Müller, *ib.* 187); (β) the first part of the article *Ἀπύρτος* (assigned by Niebuhr to Malchus but) vindicated for Candidus by Toup and Shestakov; (γ) the first part of the article *Βασίλσκοις*, plausibly assigned to Candidus by Shestakov (β and γ are printed under Malchus in Müller, *ib.* 116, 117). But the work of Candidus can be further traced in the chronicles of later writers, who made use (directly or indirectly) of his history. This has been shown by Shestakov in his paper *Candid Isauriski* (Lietopis ist.-phil. obshchestva, Odessa, 1894, Viz. Otd. 2, p. 124-149), of which he promises a continuation. This is the most important study of Candidus that has yet appeared. Shestakov analyses the account of the great fire in Leo's reign given by our authorities, and shows that, while Evagrius drew (through Eustathius) from Priscus, Zonaras and Cedrenus drew from Candidus (who probably made use of Priscus too); and he applies the same method to the stories of Aspar's fall and the expedition of Basiliscus. It had already been recognized that the fragments of John of Antioch numbered 210 and 211 in Müller (F. H. G. iv. 618 *sqq.*) depended on Candidus; this is also probably true of the Escorial fragment of the same writer, 214 C in Müller (*ib.* v., op. Shestakov, p. 125). Shestakov traces Candidus in Zonaras, Cedrenus, Nicephorus Callistus, and makes it probable that his history was consulted by Procopius¹ and Theodore Lector.

Pamphilius, the philosopher, a friend of the general Illus who revolted against Zeno, also wrote a book on Isaurian history; and the same subject was treated by Lepito the Lycian, who translated the history of Eutropius into Greek. See Müller, F. H. G. iv. p. 128. It may be added that a notice bearing on the chronology of the revolt of Verina and Illus has been recently discovered in a curious work by a contemporary astrologer named Palohus. An account of this work is given by F. Cumont in the *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique*, 1897, vol. xl. p. 1. It contains a horoscope of the coronation of Leontius, the puppet emperor whom the rebels set up in Syria, and who was crowned at Tarsus, A.D. 488.

¹ Cp. especially p. 148-9. But Shestakov makes one inaccurate statement. Our sole authority for the place to which Basiliscus, on his return from Africa, was removed, namely, Heraclea (Perinthus), is Nicephorus Callistus (p. 80 C). Shestakov states that we find him there afterwards, in Theodore Lector, p. 180 A (Migne), and in John of Antioch, fr. 210; and (p. 149) ascribes to John of Antioch the statement that Basiliscus was at Heraclea, where he has an interview with Illus and conspires with him against Zeno. The place is mentioned by Theodore (and Theophanes) but not by John. The name Heraclea or Perinthus does not occur in the fragment.

The date given is the 24th of Epiphi = 19th July, whereas Theophanes gives June.

MALCHUS of Philadelphia wrote, under Anastasius, a continuation of the *Historia* of Priscus, covering the years A.D. 474 to 480. (So Photius, *Bib. Cod.* 78; Suidas gives the work a wider extent—from Constantine I. to Anastasius.) He was indifferent to religion, like Priscus and Procopius, but did not attack Christians, so that Photius charitably regarded him as within the pale of Christendom. He censured the vices of Zeno with great severity. [Fragments (preserved in the *Excerpta de legationibus* of Constantine Porph., and in Suidas) in Müller's *F. H. G.* iv. p. 111 *sqq.* Also in Dindorf's *Hist. Græc. minores*. For De Boor's ed. of the *Excerpta* see below under Peter the Patrician.]

EUSTATHIUS of Epiphania wrote, under Anastasius, a history from the earliest times to the 12th year of Anastasius; he died in that year (A.D. 502). He is known through Evagrius, who used him largely, and through Malalas (p. 398-9, ed. Bæ.). [See Gleye, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 5, 436 *sqq.*] For the fifth century he used the work of Priscus. [Müller, *F. H. G.* iv. p. 138 *sqq.*]

A Panegyric on the Emperor Anastasius by the rhetor PROCOPIUS OF GALLI, printed in the same vol. of the Bonn Script. Byzant., as Dexippus, Eunapius, Malchus, &c. Here will also be found a poetical encomium in Latin on the same Emperor by PRISCIAN. Both these panegyrics laud the financial relief which the government of Anastasius gave to the Empire.

HESYCHIUS illustris, of Miletus, wrote under Justinian: (1) a universal history coming down to the death of Anastasius (A.D. 518), of which almost nothing has been preserved but a long fragment relating to the early history of Byzantium (*ἱστορία ἀπὸ ἀρχαίων καὶ παλαιῶν*, in *Scriptores rerum Oplitanarum*, i., ed. Preger, 1901, and in Codinus ed. Bonn, p. 16 *sqq.*); (2) a history of the reign of Justin and the first years of Justinian; nothing of this survives, a loss deeply to be regretted; (3) a lexicon of famous literary people; some fragments of this are preserved in Photius and Suidas. The short etymographical dictionary ascribed to Hesychius is not genuine, but a much later compilation. This pseudo-Hesychius was edited by J. Flach, 1880, and is included in Müller's ed. of the Fragments (*F. H. G.* iv. 143 *sqq.*). See also E. Martin, *Analecta Laertiana*, Pars secunda, in *Leipziger Studien*, 20, 147 *sqq.*, 1902.

THEODOROS Anagnostes (Lector) wrote, under Justin and in the early years of Justinian, (1) a *Historia tripartita*, founded on Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, coming down to A.D. 439; and (2) a continuation of this, *Historia ecclesiastica*, to the beginning of Justinian's reign. Neither work is extant. Some fragments from (1) are contained in a Paris Ms., and have been published by Cramer, *Anecd. Paris.* p. 87 *sqq.*; but these fragments were derived not from the original work, but from a Collection of excerpts which was used by the chronographer Theophanes. Other fragments have been found in an Oxford Ms. (Baroc. 142) and were used by de Boor for his edition of Theophanes. Of (2), fragments have been edited by Valois at the end of his ed. of Theodoret, Evagrius, and Philostorgius, p. 551 *sqq.*, 1673). Cramer (*ib.*), Müller (*Revue archéologique*, nouv. série, 1873, t. 26, 396 *sqq.*), and others have been found in Codinus and the Anonymus Banduri by V. Sarrasin, whose monograph, *De Theodoro Lectore* (in the *Commentationes Philol. Jenens.* 1881, vol. 1), is an important study of Theodoros, especially as a source of Theophanes. Sarrasin has shown (p. 193 *sqq.*) that some of the fragments of Valois and Cramer are not from Theodore but from John Diaconomenos, who was one of the sources of Theodore. He has also given reasons for holding that Theophanes used a Collection of Excerpts in the case of this work too; that the Müller fragments are remains of that Collection; and that the Cramer and Valois fragments represent Excerpts from that Collection, not from the original work. (See also Diekamp, *Zu Theodoros Lektor*, in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 24, 553 *sqq.*, 1903; and Bidez, *La tradition manuscrite de Sozomène et la Tripartite de Théodore le Lecteur*, 1908.)

A treatise on the civil service (*περὶ ἀρχῶν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας*, *De magistratibus*), written by an official, JOHN of Philadelphia, generally described as "the Lydian" (LYDUS), was first published in 1812 by Hase, was re-edited by Bekker in the Bonn ed. of Byzantine writers; and has recently been edited by R. Wünsch (1903). His work

which gives a history of the Prætorian Prefecture under Anastasius, Justin, and Justinian, is of immense importance for the study of the administration in the sixth century. He bitterly complains of the decline of the service and the reduction of its emoluments. Of Justinian he always speaks in terms of the highest praise; but his account of the career of John of Cappadocia, on whom he throws most of the blame for the degradation of the civil service, bears out the representations of Procopius. But Lydus carefully and repeatedly warns his readers that Justinian was ignorant of the Prefect's misdeeds. At the end of forty years' work, having passed successively through the grades of notary, chartulary, augustalis, and finally that of cornicularius (A.D. 551)—his promotion being facilitated by his knowledge of the Latin language, which was supposed to be exceptional, but was really very slight,—John retired to literary leisure, honoured but impoverished. His other extant works are *de Ostentis* (ed. Wachsmuth) and *de Mensibus* (ed. Wünsch). But he was employed by Justinian to write a Panegyric on that Emperor and a history of the Persian war (cp. *de Mag.* iii. 28); these and his poems have been lost.

PETER the Patrician, Magister Officiorum in Justinian's reign (not to be confounded with his contemporary Peter Barsymes, the Prætorian Prefect, who was also a Patrician; see Haury, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 14, 529-81) went on embassies to Persia in A.D. 550 and again in A.D. 562. His portrait is drawn by John Lydus, *De Mag.* 2, 25-26. He wrote a history of the Empire which seems to have been a continuation of Cassius Dio (see above, vol. i. p. 478), and of which excerpts were included in the historical *Encyclopædia* of Constantine Porphyrogennetos and are preserved in the *Excerpta de legationibus*, which have been edited by C. de Boor (1903) as vol. i. of the *Excerpta historica iussu Imp. Constantini Porph. confecta*, edd. Boissevain, de Boor, Büttner-Wobst. The fragments of Peter's *Ἱστορίαι* will be found in Müller, *F. H. G.* iv. 181 *sqq.* As magister officiorum Peter was interested in court ceremonial and wrote a work *περὶ πολιτικῆς καταστάσεως* dealing with the subject. Extracts from this work are preserved in the *De Cerimoniis* of Constantine Porphyrogennetos, Book i. cc. 84-95 (p. 386 *sqq.*, ed. Bonn). It is expressly stated that cc. 84, 85 (describing the ceremonies of the creation of various officials) are from a work of Peter, but it is quite safe to conclude that the following chapters, which were evidently written in the sixth century, are also from the same source. They contain, among other things, most valuable accounts of the inaugurations and coronations of the Emperors Leo I., Leo II., Anastasius I., Justin I. and Justinian.

To the account which Gibbon has given of the career of PROCOPIUS OF CÆSAREA little need be added except on a few doubtful points. There is no record of the date of his birth, but it must have been before the end of the fifth century (c. 490 Dahn suggests); he was probably in the fifties when he began to write his history. The political sympathies apparent in his writings (noticed by Dahn, and elucidated more fully by Panchenko) suggest that he belonged to the official aristocracy; and there is plausibility in the hypothesis of Haury that his father may have been the Procopius of Edessa,² whom he mentions himself in his *Edifices* (p. 286, ed. Bonn) as governor of the First Palestine in the reign of Anastasius; this receives some support from the interest manifested by Procopius in Edessene affairs.

The exact nature of the post which Procopius occupied in regard to Belisarius has been questioned. Three questions have been raised: (1) in A.D. 527 was Procopius appointed an *assessor* or *consiliarius* by Belisarius himself or by the Emperor? (2) did he occupy in the African and Italian Wars the same official post which he held in the Persian War? (3) are we right in supposing that he was officially a legal adviser to Belisarius at any time? Though the third question has been raised last, it comes logically first. In a recent study on the historian M. Brückner has pointed out³ (a) that Procopius never displays legal knowledge, and avoids juristic questions, (b) that his contemporary Agathias calls him not *ξύμβουλος*, but *ρήτωρ* (Suidas calls him *ὕπογραφεύς*, *ρήτωρ*, *σοφιστής*, *ἀκόλουθος Βελισσαρίου*), (c) that, if the father of Procopius was an Edessene as Haury suggests, the law that no one could be *assessor* in his native land would have prevented Procopius from being

² Procopiana (1st Progr.), p. 35-37.

³ Zur Beurteilung des Geschichtschreibers Prokopius von C., p. 42-3.

chosen to that post when Belisarius was general in Mesopotamia, for the law could hardly have been evaded by the accidental birth of Procopius in Caesarea. Hence it is doubtful whether Procopius was an official assessor of Belisarius. The second argument does not carry much weight, and the third depends on a hypothesis—a plausible hypothesis, no doubt. Procopius himself states that when Belisarius was appointed commander of the regiments of Daras in 527 he was chosen as his *ἐκβουλος* (B. P. i. 12); and he describes himself as *πρόεδρος* of Belisarius on the Vandalic expedition (B. V. i. 14). It is usually assumed that both words designate the same official position, *ἐκβουλος* corresponding to *consiliarius* and *πρόεδρος* to *assessor*. There can, I think, be no question that *πρόεδρος* is intended to designate an official post (elsewhere Procopius explains it as *quæstor*); and, if Brückner is right, Procopius would have made a distinctly false statement about his own position. It is otherwise with *ἐκβουλος*, which need not imply an official post. The correct inference may be that on the first occasion (in the Persian War) Procopius accompanied Belisarius as his private secretary and adviser on civil matters; but that on the second occasion (for the Vandal War) he was appointed official assessor by the Emperor at the wish of Belisarius. It has been well pointed out by Dahn that Procopius is not given to varying his phrases and seeking synonyms but rather to using the same stereotyped expressions for the same things; and (therefore in the absence of other knowledge) the presumption is that *ἐκβουλος* does not express the same position as *πρόεδρος*. I may be met by the objection that the phrase *πρόεδρος* in B. P. i. 12 (*τότε δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐκβουλος ἦν Προκόπιος*) suggests an official appointment independent of Belisarius (cp. Dahn, Prokopius von Cäsarea, p. 16); but this is sufficiently explained by the impersonal tone which Procopius affects, in imitation of Thucydides. Brückner seems to be far from hitting the point when he says that Procopius "is not wont to hide his light under a bushel"; on the contrary, Procopius imitates the personal reserve of Thucydides. It is impossible, therefore, to attach importance to the negative argument "dass Prokop so ausserordentlich wissenschaftliche Kenntnisse entwickelt," or that he tells nothing of his own activity as legal assessor. I see no good ground for doubting that in the African and Gothic Wars Procopius was assessor of Belisarius in the full official sense of the term.

The dates of the composition of the historian's works have undergone an important revision by the investigation of J. Haury. This scholar has proved from the passages⁴ that the greatest part of the Military History, bks. i.-vii., was written in A.D. 545, the year which offered a suitable terminus for the Persian and the Vandalic Wars.⁵ The work was not published till A.D. 550, in which year a few additions were made,⁶ but no alterations.⁷

The *Secret History*, Haury has shown, was written in A.D. 550, not, as usually supposed, in A.D. 558-9. Had it been written in A.D. 558-9 it is impossible to see why none of the events between A.D. 550 and A.D. 558 are used to support the author's indictment of Justinian's government. The reason for supposing it to have been composed in A.D. 558-9 was the explicit statement that thirty-two years had elapsed since Justinian undertook the administration (*ἐξ ὅτου ἀνὴρ ὁδε διατεταρτην τὴν πολιτείαν*). Haury has shown that the author counts not from the accession of Justinian but from that of Justin (A.D. 518), on the principle that Justin was the emperor, and completely in the hands of his nephew.⁸

The eighth book of the Military History, usually counted as the fourth of the

⁴ The date of the imprisonment of John the Cappadocian, B. P. i. 26, vol. i. p. 160; and Haury, and the incident of the spear wound of Trajan, B. G. ii. 5, vol. ii. p. 173.

⁵ By the five years' truce with Chosroes, B. P. ii. 28, and the murder of Gontharis, B. V. ii. 28. A speedy conclusion of the Gothic War was also looked for.

⁶ To the *Persica*, vol. i. p. 284, l. to end of bk. ii.; in the *Vandalica*, v. p. 550; in the *Gothica*, probably (vol. ii.) p. 362, 21, to end of bk. iii.

⁷ Perhaps because it had been already privately published by recitation in a small circle of friends.

⁸ The events related from p. 89 to 65 (vol. iii. ed. Haury) fall into the time of Justin and the *Βασιλεὺς* in this section is Justin, not Justinian. This is especially clear at p. 63, where the *Βασιλεὺς* and Justinian act in a contrary sense in regard to Theodorus. Compare below, Appendix 10.

Gothic War, was written in A.D. 553-4. The last work, the *Edifices*, was not published before A.D. 560; for it mentions the construction of the bridge over the Sangarius (vol. iii. p. 315, ed. Bonn), the date of which we know from Theophanes to have been A.D. 559-60 (under the circumstances, A.D. 560).⁹ It is gratuitous to suppose that this is an interpolation. There is, however, another passage in the *Edifices* on which Dahn confidently based his view that the *Secret History* was composed after the *Edifices*. In mentioning the inundation of Edessa by the river Skirtos, Procopius (*Secret Hist.* p. 118, ed. Haury) refers to his description in his earlier works. Now there is no such description in the *Military History*, but there is in the *Edifices*. Haury, however, has pointed to a passage in the *Bell. Pers.* ii. 12, vol. i. p. 208) where there is clearly a considerable gap in our text,¹⁰ and plausibly argues that the description referred to in the *Secret History* occupied this gap. In any case, Dahn's argument from the Skirtos is met by the counter-argument from the Sangarios.¹¹

It was probably after the publication of Bk. viii. of the *Military History* (A.D. 554) that Justinian became conscious of the existence of the great historian, and engaged him to write the work on the *Edifices*. There can be no doubt that Procopius wrote it ironically, "with his tongue in his cheek"; the smiles of the court had not altered his political hostility to the government. The very hyperbole of his praise was a mockery. As he invariably in the *Edifices* cites his *Military History* as *οἱ περὶ τῶν πολέμων λόγοι*, it is reasonable to assume that, when he says in the *Prooemium* that he has related Justinian's other doings *ἐν τρέποις λόγοις*, he is *secretly* alluding to the unpublished work, whose publication would have cost him his head. It is probable that Procopius was rewarded for his memorial of Justinian's Buildings by the office of Prefecture of the City. At all events two years after its publication, in A.D. 562, a Procopius was made Prefect of Constantinople.¹²

The chronology of the career of Procopius, so far as can be determined, would be as follows:—

- A.D. 527 attached to Belisarius in the East as private secretary.
- A.D. 531 returns with Belisarius to Constantinople.
- A.D. 532 in Constantinople at time of the Nika riot.
- A.D. 533 accompanies Belisarius to Africa as *assessor*. His mission to Syracuse.
- A.D. 534 remains behind Belisarius in Africa (as *assessor* to Solomon (?)).
- A.D. 536 (end) joins Belisarius in Italy.
- A.D. 539 returns with Belisarius to Constantinople.
- A.D. 539-546 at Constantinople.
- A.D. 545-6 engaged on the composition of his *Military History* in seven Books.
- A.D. 546 probably proceeds to Italy, to follow the course of the war (cp. Haury, *Procopiana*, i. p. 9).
- A.D. 548 back in Constantinople.
- A.D. 550 completes and publishes his *Military History*, Bks. i.-vii.; writes his *Secret History*.
- A.D. 553-4 writes and publishes the *Eighth Book of the Military History*.
- A.D. 560 publishes his work on *Edifices*.
- A.D. 562-3 Prefect of the City (?).

This is not the place to speak of the literary character of the works of Procopius except so far as it concerns their historical criticism. Procopius is an imitator of

⁹ Haury, *Procopiana*, i. p. 28.

¹⁰ There is actually external evidence for the gap in *Mss.* cited by Haury in his second program (*Procopiana*, ii. p. 1).

¹¹ The other argument that the *Edifices* cannot have been written after May 7, 559, on which day the dome of St. Sophia fell in (Theoph. A.M. 6051), because Procopius could not have omitted to mention this incident, can be met by the reasonable assumption that Bk. i. (in which St. Sophia is described) was written earlier, and that Procopius did not feel himself obliged to insert before publication a disaster which did not redound to the greater glory of Justinian.

¹² Theophanes, A.M. 6054. See Dahn, *Procopius*, p. 452; Haury, *Procopiana*, i. p. 34. Suidas describes Procopius as an *illustris*.

both Herodotus and Thucydides. How largely he used these ancient historians has been shown in two special monographs by H. Braun.¹³ In geographical and other geographical digressions, descriptions of strange incidents, dreams, &c., the influence of Herodotus is apparent; and the Herodotean conception of the supernatural, the power of fortune or fate, the envy of the gods, is adopted by Procopius. In the prefaces to his works, in speeches and letters, in descriptions of sieges, naval battles, plagues, Procopius takes Thucydides as his model.¹⁴ It is curious to find not only John, the son of Vitalian, but Moors and other barbarians, spouting Thucydidean phrases. When we find incidents at the siege of Amida reproduced from the *siege* of Plataea, we have reason to doubt whether Procopius confined himself to adapting merely the *words* of his models. It is moreover important to notice that he adopts the Thucydidean plan of dividing the year into summer and winter (Haury, *Procopiana*, i. p. 6). It may be observed that he dates the years of Justinian from April A.D. 527 (cp. Leuthold, *Untersuchungen zur Ostgotischen Geschichte*, 11 sqq.).

It was recognized by Gibbon, and has been confirmed by later investigations, that in the history of events previous to his own time Procopius is untrustworthy; he was quite careless in selecting and using sources, and has been convicted of numerous errors.¹⁵ It is hardly too strong to say, as has been said by Brückner, that he shows want both of historical sense and of conscientiousness.

The politics of Procopius are marked by four prominent features: (1) *Patriotism*, based on the idea of the Roman world embodying a civilisation inaccessible to the barbarians; (2) *Constitutionalism*, a worship of law and order; and, closely connected with this, (3) *Conservatism*, devotion to the old traditional customs of the Empire, and dislike of innovation as such; (4) *Class sympathies with the aristocracy* (aristocracy, of course, of wealth, not birth). This analysis of the political view of Procopius, which can be clearly traced in his *Public History*, is due to Panshenko; the two last features had been well developed by Dahn.

As to religion, the historian generally uses the language of a sceptic and fatalist regarding Christianity as an outsider with tolerant indifference, but never committing himself to any utterance against it. He wrote in fact (as Alemanni observed) as a *politician*. But he was intensely superstitious; as diligent a seeker after omens and dreams as Herodotus himself. I cannot resist the suspicion that the indifference of Procopius was to some extent an *affectation*, due to his admiration for the old classical writers and the pre-Christian Empire. Certainly in judging his fantastic utterances we must take into account his imitation of Herodotus.

The much disputed question as to the genuineness of the *Secret History* has been set at rest by the researches of Dahn and Haury. Dahn's investigation (cp. *note* into the diction of this work, as compared with the undoubted writings of Procopius) has received greater significance in the light of the elaborate study of B. Panshenko (*O tainoi istorii Prokopii*),¹⁷ which contains an exhaustive analysis of the work. The matter was clinched by J. Haury's determination of the chronology of the Procopian writings.

In regard to the distinct question as to the credibility of the *Secret History*, it is important to observe that there is no fundamental opposition between it and the *Public History*. The political attitude of the writer (as described above) is the same in both documents. The result of that political attitude was bitter hostility to the reigning dynasty as (1) barbarian; (2) tyrannical, trampling on the constitution; (3) innovating; (4) oppressing the aristocracy. In the *Public History* criticisms on the Government had necessarily to be confined within certain limits, but they are often expressed freely enough. Procopius often puts his criticisms dexterously into the mouth of *enemies*; thus Totila censures the administration

¹³ Procopius Cæs. quatenus imitatus sit Thucydidem, 1885 (Erlangen); Die Nachahmung Herodots durch Prokop, 1894 (Nürnberg).

¹⁴ Brückner, *op. cit.*, p. 8 sqq., gives a good summary.

¹⁵ See the very full criticism of Brückner, *op. cit.*, p. 19 sqq. Cp. Ranke, *Weltgeschichte* iv. 279. Also see above, vol. iii., Appendix 24.

¹⁶ Viz. *Vrem.* 2, 365-366. There are some good remarks here on the use of *ῥητορικὴ* *τυραννεία*.

¹⁷ *Vizant. Vrem.* ii. p. 24 sqq., 340 sqq.; iii. 96 sqq., 300 sqq., 461 sqq.

Justinian in Italy. It is noticeable that Procopius never praises Justinian in the Military History; in the only passage in which he approaches commendation the commendation is of an ambiguous kind, and is interpreted as blame in the *Secret History*.¹⁸ Procopius admired and regretted the government of Anastasius, as we know from the *Secret History*; and in his account of the Nika Sedition in the *Vandalica* it is not difficult to read between the lines his veiled sympathy with the nephews of Anastasius.

The first five chapters of the *Secret History*, relating to Belisarius and Antonina, form a sort of appendix to the Military History, and are distinguished by a relatively large number of references to the Military History. We must assume that between A.D. 545 and 550 events had occurred which prevented Procopius from any longer seeing in Belisarius a possible leader of a successful opposition to Justinian. The rest of the work deals with the family, the court, and the domestic administration of Justinian; it is a Civil, in contrast with the Military, History. It falls into two parts, of which the first is personal, dealing with the private life of the sovereign and his consort (cc. 6-17),¹⁹ while the second treats his political administration. These parts are separated by a lacuna. In the last sentence of cap. 17 Theodora is the subject; in the first sentence of cap. 18 Justinian is the subject. It seems more probable that this break is due to the fact that the work was never revised by the author for publication than to an accidental loss in the course of its transmission.²⁰ It looks as if Procopius, when he finished c. 17, had started on a new plan, and had never welded the two parts together. It should be observed that there is no literary evidence as to the existence of the *Secret History* before Suidas (tenth century). There is no proof that it was used by Evagrius (notwithstanding Jeep's observations),²¹ much less that it was known to Agathias.

The publication of the *Secret History* raised in arms the Jurists who revered the memory of Justinian, and the work was described as *Vaticana venena*. When it is recognized that there is no essential opposition between the point of view of the Military and that of the *Secret History*, that the hostility to the government, outspoken in the one, is present and, though veiled, constantly peers out in the other, the argument that the author's evidence is damaged by inconsistency and contradictions falls to the ground. When we make allowance for the bitter acrimony of the writer, and for his gross superstition, the fact remains that most of his statements as to the administration of Justinian and Theodora are perfectly *credible*. Many of them are directly supported by the notices of other contemporary writers; and others are indirectly supported by parallels or analogies found in contemporary sources. It is the great merit of the Russian scholar, B. Panchenko, to have examined²² in detail the statements of the *Secret History* in the light of the contemporary evidence as to Justinian's reign; and the general credibility of the objective statements of the Procopian work has strikingly emerged. Of course, Procopius can be frequently convicted of unfairness; he always attributes the worst motives. His description of the profligacy of Theodora only proves his familiarity with the pornography of the stews of Constantinople; but it rests on the solid fact that the youth of Theodora was disreputable. We can appeal to the testimony of John of Ephesus (comment. de beatis orientalibus, ed. van Douwen and Land, p. 68):

¹⁸ Vand. i. 9, p. 355 (ed. Haury), ἐπινοῶσαι τε ὀξὺς καὶ ἄκρον τὰ βεβουλευμένα ἐπιτελέσαι. Hist. Arcan. c. 8, p. 55, ἐπινοῶσαι μὲν τὰ φαῦλα καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι ὀξὺς. Cp. Brückner, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

¹⁹ Cc. 6-8, early life of Justinian; cc. 9-10, early life of Theodora, and how she ascended the throne; 11-14, Justinian; 15-17, Theodora. C. 17 ends with the story of John the Cappadocian, the point where the *Persica* also ends. Cp. Panchenko, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 343-4.

²⁰ Panchenko conjectures that this lacuna might be connected with the notable omission of any account of the conspiracy of Artabanus which is recorded in bk. iii. of the Gothic War. But is it meant that such an account may have fallen out or that Procopius intended to insert it here, and never did so? See Panchenko, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 55, cp. p. 345. Panchenko makes it probable that there was no final redaction of the *Secret History* (346-7).

²¹ Quellenuntersuchungen zu den griechischen Historikern, p. 161. Cp. the remarks of Panchenko, *ib.* p. 48-9.

²² *Op. cit.*, Viz. Vrem. vol. iii.

Stephanum virum egregium duxit ad Theodoram τὴν ἐκ τοῦ τοπρείου, quæ à tempore patricia erat.

[Literature : J. Eichel, 'Anecdota seu historia arcana Procopii . . . comica. 1654; W. S. Teuffel, Procopius (in Studien und Charakteristiken, 1871); Barkens, Anecdota sintne scripta a Procopio Caesariensi inquiritur, 1858; H. Eckhardt, De Anecdotis Procop. Caes., 1860; Ueber Procop und Agathias in Quellenschriftsteller für den Gothenkrieg in Italien, 1864; W. Gundlach, Quaestiones Procopianae, 1861; F. Dahn, Prokopius von Cäsarea, 1865; A. Schultze, Procopius de Bello Vandalico, 1871; A. Auler, De fide Procopii Caes. in secundo bello Persico, &c., 1876; Ranke, Procopius von Cäsarea, in Weltgeschichte, iv. 2, 285 sqq.; Débidour, L'impératrice Théodore, 1885; Mallet, the Empress Theodora in Eng. Hist. Review, 1887, Jan.; Kirchner, Bemerkungen zu Prokops Darstellung der Perserkriege des Anastasius, Justin und Justinian, 1887; H. Braun, *opp. cit.* J. Haury, from studies : (1) Procopiana, Augsburg, 1891, (2) Procopiana, Munich, 1898, (3) Über Prokophandschriften, in Sitzungsberichte of the Bavarian Academy, 1896, p. 129 sqq., (4) Zur Beurteilung des Geschichtschreibers Procopius von Cäsaren, Munich, 1896-7; J. Schefflein, De praepositionum usu Procopiano, 1897; M. Brückner, *op. cit.*; B. Panchenko, *op. cit.*; M. Krashennnikov, O rukopisnykh predanii Istorii Prokopiia, in Viz. Vrem. ii. p. 416 sqq.; art. on Procopius : Krumbacher's Gesch. der byz. Litteratur (ed. 2, 1896); H. Lentholt, Untersuchungen zur ostgotischen Geschichte der Jahre 535-537, 1908.

Editions. The Bonn ed. by Dindorf (1833-8) is not much better than the Paris ed. by Maltretus, which Gibbon used. These texts are founded on inferior Manuscripts. Isambert's separate ed. of the Anecdota is poor (1856). An edition of the Gothic War (based on the best Mss., and accompanied by an excellent Italian translation by D. Comparetti) has been issued in the series of Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 3 vols. (1895-8). The Historia Arcana was edited by M. Krashennnikov, 1899, but based his text on an inferior Ms. as Haury has shown. The best Ms. is Cod. Paris. suppl. graec. 1185. All these editions are superseded by that of J. Haury, which is complete with the exception of the De Aedificiis : vol. i., Bell. Pers. and Bell. Vandal. vol. ii., Bell. Goth., 1905; vol. iii. 1, Hist. Arc., 1906.

AGATHIAS of Myrina (A.D. 536-582) practised as an advocate (*scholastikos*) at Constantinople, and combined law with literature. In his earlier years he wrote poems and epigrams; after the death of Justinian he devoted himself to history and continued the work of Procopius. His history "On the Reign of Justinian" embraces in five Books the years A.D. 552-558, and would have been continued if he had lived. Gibbon well characterises his work and contrasts him with Procopius (see above, p. 448), and notes the information on Persian affairs which he derives from his friend Sergius (vol. i., c. 8). He seems in general to have depended on oral sources for his narrative; he names most of the old writers whom he uses for his digressions. [Ed. in the Bonn series by Niebuhr; in the Hist. Graec. Minores, vol. ii., by L. Dindorf. Compare H. Eckhardt, Agathias und Prokopius in Quellenschriftsteller für den Gothenkrieg, 1864; W. S. Teuffel, in Philologus, 1864, Bd. 1, 495 sqq.]

The history of the advocate Agathias was continued by an imperial guard (MENANDER (*protector*). He had, however, the training of a jurist, as he tells us in his very interesting preface, where he describes the wild and idle life of his youth which he reformed under the beneficent influence of the Emperor Maurice. His work covers the years A.D. 558-582; we possess very important fragments of it in the Constantinian excerpts *de legationibus* and *de sententiis*, and a few in Saubertius' Evagrius drew from Menander (probably directly) for his fifth book. He was also used by Theophylactus Simocatta (for an excursus in Bk. iii. on the Persian war of Justin II. and Tiberius. See below, vol. v., App. 1). [Müller, F. H. G. iv. p. 21 sqq.; L. Dindorf, Hist. Graec. Min. vol. ii.; in the Excerpta Historica of Constantine, ed. by Boissevain etc., see above under Peter the Patrician, p. 545.]

JOHANNES Rhetor, or MALALAS (the Syriac equivalent of Rhetor),²⁵ of Antioch published perhaps soon after A.D. 548 a chronicle beginning with the Creation and ending with the first months of A.D. 528 (Bks. 1-17). The work was re-edited

²⁵ Μαλάλας, not Μαλαλῆς.

brought down (Bk. 18) to the death of Justinian ²⁴ (A.D. 565). Neither the first edition, which was used by Evagrius (who cites it under the name of Johannes rhetor) nor the second (used by the Paschal Chronicler, Theophanes, &c.) has come down to us; but we have materials sufficient for an almost complete restoration of the second edition. (1) The chief of these materials is the abridgment of the whole work; which is preserved in an Oxford Ms. of the eleventh century (Barocœ. 182). The first pages of the Ms., with the title, are lost; and the work was identified by some passages verbally identical with passages which John of Damascus quotes from "John Malalas". (2) Next best to recovering the original second edition would be the recovery of the Slavonic translation made by the Bulgarian presbyter Gregory (c. A.D. 900).²⁵ Luckily, large parts of this, in Russian form, are preserved. (3) Numerous excerpts and fragments have been identified, and enable us to supplement the Oxford text. (a) Four Tusculan fragments, published in Mai's *Spicil. Rom.*, vol. ii., part 8, and identified by Patzig. (b) Excerpts from an anonymous Chronicler (end of ninth century) who copied Malalas, published in Cramer's *Anecd. Par.* 2, p. 165 *sqq.* (c) Constantinian excerpts *περὶ τῶν βουλῶν* published from an Escorial Ms. by Mommsen in *Hermes* 6, 366 *sqq.* (d) The preface of Malalas, with the beginning of Bk. 1, in *Cod. Par.* 682 (tenth century), publ. by A. Wirth, *Chronographische Späne*, p. 3 *sqq.* (1894). (e) Excerpts in *Cod. Par.* 1886 (Cramer, *Anecd. Par.* 2, p. 231 *sqq.*). (4) The Paschal Chronicle (seventh century) and the Chronography of Theophanes (beginning of ninth century) extracted their material largely from Malalas, generally adhering verbally to the original. They are therefore very important for the restoration. (5) Other writers who used Malalas have also to be taken into consideration: John of Ephesus, Evagrius, John of Antioch (see below), John of Nikiu, John of Damascus, George Monachus, Cedrenus (indirectly).

Haury, in an article in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 9, 387 *sqq.* (1900), has made it probable that Malalas is identical with Johannes Scholasticus, who acted as apokrisiarios of the Patriarch Antioch at Constantinople from some date between 545 and 569 to his death in 577. (Cp. Theophanes, ed. De Boor, p. 240. John of Ephesus, transl. Schönfelder, p. 76.) Haury also makes it probable that Malalas did not publish the first edition of his work before 548.

The chronicle of Malalas gives the impression that it was compiled not by a rhetor but by a monk whose abysses of ignorance it would be hard to fathom. But though in itself a pitiable performance, it is, as Prof. Krumbacher observes, enormously important for the history of literature. It is the earliest example of the Byzantine monastic chronicle, not appealing to educated people, but written down to the level of the masses. There is no sense of proportion. The fall of an empire and the juggling of a mountebank are related with the same seriousness. Pages and pages are occupied with minute descriptions of the personal appearances of the heroes of the Trojan war. All manner of trivial gossip is introduced. The blunders are appalling; e.g., Herodotus is placed subsequent to Polybius. The last Books, from Zeno forward, are important, because they are written by a contemporary, and Bk. 18 is one of our chief sources for the reign of Justinian. In this chronicle the conventional style of historic prose is deserted; popular idioms, words, and grammatical forms are used without scruple. Thus it is "the first monument of popular Greek, of any size, that we possess" (Krumbacher). It should be observed, however, that this style is not evenly preserved; in many places Malalas has preserved the better style of his sources. In Bks. 1-17 prominence is always given to events connected with his native city, Antioch.

Malalas-problems. When it was shown that the eighteenth Book of Malalas

²⁴ Or, some think, to the ninth year of Justin, A.D. 574; because a Latin *Laterculus* of Emperors, taken from Malalas, comes down to that year. This document (compiled in the eighth century) is edited by Mommsen in *Chron. Min.* iii., p. 424 *sqq.* It seems to me more probable that the last entry was added, on his own account, by the author of an earlier Latin epitome which the eighth century compiler used.

²⁵ Krumbacher, on the authority of A. S. Chachanov, states that there is a Ms. of a Gregorian translation of Malalas at Tiflis (p. 329).

was added subsequently to the publication of the first seventeen ²⁶ (see E. W. Brooks, *English Historical Review*, 1892, vol. vii. p. 291 *sqq.*; cp. S. Shestakov, in the 2nd part of the *Zapiski* of the University of Kazan, 1890), the question arose whether the work was thus revised and continued by Johannes himself or by another. The former alternative implies that Johannes migrated to Constantinople; for part Bk. 18 appears to have been composed there, not at Antioch, though part of it shows Antiochene influence; this falls in with Haury's contention (see above). The second alternative, if it be adopted, raises the question whether the editor and continuator may not to a large extent be responsible for the style; and he could be considered responsible for obliterating (though not completely) indications of monophysitic leanings of the original author. For this question see C. E. Gleye, article *Zur Johannes-frage*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1895, p. 422 *sqq.*

Bibliography. A full list of the numerous works (before 1897) dealing with the numerous Malalas-questions will be found in Krumbacher, *Gesch. der byz. Lit.* (ed. 2), p. 832-4. Only a few need be mentioned here. (1) *Editio princeps*, Ch. mead-Hody, Oxford, 1691, reproduced in the *Bonn Corpus*, 1831. The text contains many errors from which the Ms. is free and is otherwise inaccurate; see J. B. Bury, *Collation of the Codex Baroccianus*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1896, Bd. 6, Heft 2. (2) G. Sotiriadis, *Zur Kritik von Johannes von Antiochia*, 1888. E. Patzig, *Unerkannt und unbekannt gebliebene Malalas-fragmente*, 1891, and Johannes Antiochenus und Johannes Malalas, 1892. S. Shestakov, *op. cit.*, and a paper on the importance of the Slavonic translation for the Greek text in *Viz. Vremennik* 1, p. 503 *sqq.* E. W. Brooks, *op. cit.* C. E. Gleye, *op. cit.*, and a paper on the Slavonic Malalas in the *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, 16, p. 578 *sqq.* There is also much on Malalas in Gelzer's *Sextus Julius Africanus* (1890-5). F. C. Conybeare shows (The Relation of the Paschal Chronicle to Malalas, in *Byz. Ztsch.*, 1902, 11, 395 *sqq.*), with the help of Moses of Chorene, that Malalas and the Paschal chronicle used common sources independently. V. Istrin has discussed Book 1 of the Slavonic translation of Malalas in the *Listopis* of the Hist.-Phil. Society of Odessa University, x. (Byz.-Slav. section, Otd. vii.), 1902, 487 *sqq.*

Quite distinct from the John of Antioch who was distinguished as Malalas is another JOHN OF ANTIOCH, to whom a large number of excerpts preserved in various Mss. are ascribed. His existence is confirmed by Tzetzes, but the questions of his date and his literary property are surrounded with the greatest difficulties. It is quite clear that his name covers two distinct chroniclers, of whom the earlier probably lived in the seventh century and the later in the tenth. But it is still a matter of controversy which is which. The matter is of considerable importance indirectly; it has even some bearings on historical questions (cp. above, vol. i, Appendix 24); but the question is much too complicated to be discussed here, and no solution has been reached yet.²⁷ It will be enough to indicate the fragments in question. (1) The Constantinian fragments (*excerpta de virtutibus* and *de insidiis*) of which the last refer to the reign of Phocas; (2) fragments in *Cod. Paris*, 1630; (3) the "Salmasian" fragments of *Cod. Par.*, 1768, of which the latest refer to Valentinian iii.; (4) fragments of the part relating to the Trojan War preserved in *Codex Vindobonensis* 99 (historicus), under the name of Johannes Sikeliotae. The first three groups were published by Müller, *F. H. G.* iv. p. 535 *sqq.*, and v. pp. 27, 28, while (4) is partly published in a gymnasial programme of Graz by A. Heinrich, 1892, p. 2-10. The two chronicles, represented by these fragments, may be distinguished as C and S; and the question is whether C, from which the Constantinian fragments, or S, from which the Salmasian fragments are derived, is the earlier work. S was a chronicle of the same style as that of Malalas or Theophanes Christian and Byzantine; C was a work of "hellenistic" character and dealt with the Roman republic, which the true monkish chronographer always neglected. Cp. Patzig, *Joannes Antiochenus*, &c., especially p. 22, who upholds the view that S is the older, and that C was compiled in the ninth or tenth century. (Cp. the works of Sotiriadis, Patzig, Gleye, Gelzer, cited in connexion with John Malalas,

²⁶ More precisely: the first paragraphs of Bk. 18 belonged to the first edition.

²⁷ Prof. Krumbacher gives an excellent summary of the facts (§ 141) in his *History of Byzantine Literature*.

and C. de Boor, *Hermes* 19, 123 *sqq.*, 1884; *ib.* 20, 321 *sqq.*, 1885; *Byz. Ztsch.*, 1893, 2, 195 *sqq.*; also Patsig, *Die Abhängigkeit des Jo. Antiochenus von Jo. Malalas*, in *Byz. Ztsch.*, 1901, 10, 40 *sqq.*, and *Die römischen Quellen des Irmasischen Johannes Antiochenus, ib.*, 1904, 18, 13 *sqq.*)²⁸

For the Persian wars in the reign of Anastasius we have the valuable Syriac story of JOSUA STYLITES, known to Gibbon through the abridged Latin translation of Assemani (*Bibl. Orient.* i. 262-283). The work is entitled "A history of the time of affliction at Edessa and Amida and throughout all Mesopotamia," and was composed in A.D. 506-7, the last date mentioned being 28 Nov. 506, but was probably not published till after the death of Anastasius. It contains a very graphic diary of the events at Edessa during a period of great distress. The narrative of the Persian invasion begins in c. xlviii. The original text was first published by the Abbé Martin (with French transl.) in *Abh. of the Deutsche Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, 6, 1 (1876); but this has been superseded by the edition of W. Wright, with an English version, 1882. The position of Josua in regard to the theological controversies of the day is treated by H. Gelzer in a paper in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, i. p. 34 *sqq.* (1892). His credibility and relation to other sources are treated by E. Merten, in the *commentationes phil. Jenenses*, vii. f. ii., 141 *sqq.*, 1905. Josua was one of the sources of the *CHRONICLE OF EDESSA* (A.D. 201-540); see L. Hallier, in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, ix. 1, 1892. E. W. Brooks has edited the Syriac chronicle, embracing the years A.D. 326-680, with English translation in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 53, 261 *sqq.*, 1899; he considers it to be an extract from the Chronicle of James of Edessa (ob. 708) which was used by Michael the Syrian. The work contains a chronological canon as well as brief historical notices.

The ecclesiastical history of ZACHARIAS Rhetor, bishop of Mytilene, composed about A.D. 518, throws little light on the political history which is the subject of the volume. But it was translated from Greek into Syriac and incorporated in a Syriac work, which was compiled about fifty years later, and goes generally by the name of Zacharias. The genuine Zacharias corresponds to Bks. 3-6 of the compilation, which consisted of twelve Books (Bk. 11 and parts of 10 and 12 are lost). The pseudo-Zacharias has records of considerable value on the Persian wars and the founding of Daras, a curious notice of the Nika riot, &c. Fragments of the work, preserved in the Vatican, were published and translated by Mai (*Ser. Vet. Coll.* vol. x.), but the work in its more complete form was not known till 1870, when it was published by Land from a Ms. in the British Museum. (The genuine Zacharias has been translated by Rev. F. J. Hamilton, 1892, printed privately.) An English translation of "The Chronicle known as that of Zachariah of Mytilene," by F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks, has appeared, and likewise a German translation of the same work by K. Ahrens and G. Krüger, 1899.

C. SOLLIUS Modestus APOLLINARIS SIDONIUS was born about 430-433 A.D. He belonged to a good Lyonese family; his father was Praetorian Prefect of Gaul in A.D. 449, a post which his father had held before him. Sidonius married Papianilla of Arverni, daughter of Avitus. His relations with that emperor and with his successors Majorian and Anthemius are noticed by Gibbon (c. xxxvi.). In A.D. 469 or 470 Sidonius became bishop of Arverni; he died, before he reached the age of fifty, in 479. The years of his episcopate were troubled, owing to the hostilities between the Visigoths and the Empire. Arverni in Aquitania Prima still, but alone, held out against the Goths, till 475, when Sidonius and Eudicius his brother-in-law were captured by King Euric, and the bishop was compelled to live for some time in exile from his see, at Tolosa and Burdigala. His literary works consist of a collection of twenty-four poems, and of nine Books of Epistles. These epistles were written evidently with the intention of being published, and each Book appeared separately (Book i. published in 469, ii. in 472, v. in 474-5, vii. in 475 (?)). In many of the Letters original poems are inserted. Books iii. v. vii. and viii.

²⁸ Gelzer has conjectured that John of Antioch may be the same as John, Patriarch of Antioch, A.D. 631-649. The work would then have been composed before A.D. 631, as the author of the Constantinian excerpts de virtutibus is styled "John the monk". But I question whether it would have been forgotten that the author was Patriarch.

contain letters of great importance for the history of the Visigoths. Sidonius had ceased to write longer poems before A.D. 469,—that is, before he began to publish letters and before his ecclesiastical career began. It may be convenient to arrange here the most important (most of which are mentioned by Gibbon) chronologically:

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|------------------------------------|---|-------------------|
| vii. Paneg. dictus Avito, with | } | A.D. 456, Jan. 1. |
| vi. preface and | | |
| viii. propempticon | | |
| v. Paneg. dictus Maioriano, with | } | A.D. 458 end. |
| iv. preface | | |
| xiii. ad Maiorianum. A.D. 458 (?). | | |

xxiii. ad Consentium, between A.D. 461 and 466 (after Narbo, where the poem celebrates, had become Gothic and before Theodoric, whom it also celebrates, died).

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|----------------------------------|---|-------------------|
| ii. Paneg. dictus Anthemio, with | } | A.D. 468, Jan. 1. |
| i. preface and | | |
| iii. propempticon | | |

The poetical talent of Sidonius, like that of Claudian and of Merobaudes, was publicly recognized at Rome by a statue in the Forum of Trajan:

inter auctores utriusque fixam
bibliothecae.

The authoritative edition of his works is that of C. Luetjohann (in the *Mon. Germ. Hist.*), 1887, to which Mommsen has contributed a short biography of the poet. Hodgkin (Italy and her Invaders, vol. ii.) has an interesting chapter on Sidonius with some prose and verse translations from his works.

The state of Noricum in the days of the last Emperors of the West is graphically described in the *Life of Saint Severinus* by an eye-witness, Eugippius, who was with the saint in Noricum when it was at the mercy of the Rugians and the fellow-barbarians. Severinus was buried in the Lucullan Castle near Naples, by the bounty of the lady Barbara, and a monastery was established in the same place. Eugippius became its abbot, and wrote the biography of his master in A.D. 511. [Editions by H. Sauppe, 1877, in the *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, and by P. Kniff, *Corp. scr. ecc. Lat.*, 1886.]

The fragment of an Italian (Ravennate) chronicle, known as *ANONYMUS VALLINUS* PART II, and recording the reigns of Odovacar and Theodoric, has been noted already in vol. iii., Appendix 1, in connexion with the *Chronica Italica*. The chronicler made use of the *Vita Severini* of Eugippius. He writes from an Imperial point of view, speaks loyally of Zeno, and constantly describes Theodoric by the title *Patricius*, which keeps in mind that king's theoretical dependence on the Roman Empire. The language is full of barbarisms, and there seems very little probability in the conjecture of Waitz that the author is no other than Bibo Maximian of Ravenna, whose portrait has been immortalised in mosaics in the Church of San Vitale. The fragment is perhaps not continuous, but a number of extracts, bearing on Odovacar and Theodoric, strung together from the original chronicle (op. Cipolla, *op. cit. infra*, p. 80 *sqq.*). It seems likely that the anonymous author wrote during the civil wars which followed the fall of the Ostrogoth kingdom.²⁹ Recently a very complete study, especially of the MSS., has appeared by C. Cipolla, in the *Bullettino dell' Istituto storico italiano*, No. ii. (1892), p. 1-9. Op. especially sect. iv. p. 80 *sqq.* [For editions see above, vol. iii. p. 517. References to various monographs will be found in the article of Cipolla.]

ENNODIUS, the son of Gallic parents, was born A.D. 474, in Liguria, died A.D. 521. He may have been grandson of Ennodius, proconsul of Africa under Honorius and Theodosius II. His father's name may have been Firminus. He had a secular education in the Latin classics, and was consecrated by Epiphanius of Ticinum (whose life he wrote) before A.D. 496. He went to Milan, to fill a clerical post, before A.D. 499, and from Milan most of his letters are written. In

²⁹ Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* i. 261.

of Epiphanius was composed between A.D. 501 and 504 (see Vogel's preface to his ed., p. xviii.-xix.). All the works of Ennodius are included in the large edition of Vogel in the Mon. Germ. Hist., 1885. There is another ed. by Hartel in the Corp. scr. ecc. Lat., 1882. They form a very valuable supplement to Cassiodorus for the history of Italy under Theodoric. [Monograph: Fertig, Ennodius und seine Zeit, 1858.]

Cassiodorus has had the misfortune of being called out of his name. His full name was Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator, and in accordance with the custom of the time he was always known by the last name, *Senator*. We do not find him called Cassiodorus till the eighth century (by Paul the Deacon, Hist. Lang. i. 25); and even the name has been corrupted, modern scholars following Masséi in writing Cassiodorius. But Mommsen, who at first approved, has now condemned, this fashion, and adopts the true form in his edition of the works of Cassiodorus. This name points to the derivation of the writer's family from Syria. They settled at Scyllace and by the middle of the fifth century had become the most influential people in Bruttii. The father of Senator filled financial offices under Odovacer, administered Sicily, and embraced the cause of Theodoric, who rewarded him by the less distinguished post of corrector of Bruttii and Lucania. The inferiority of this post to the posts which he had already occupied may have been compensated for by the circumstance that the appointment was an exception to the rule that no man should be governor of his native province. But he was soon raised to be prætorian præfect (after A.D. 500). The son was born c. 490. At an early age (twelve or thirteen?) he became *consiliarius* to his father, and he became quæstor between the years 507 and 511 (op. Mommsen, Procm. p. x.) and drew up state papers for the king. Then, like his father, he was appointed *corrector* of his native province; became consul ord. in A.D. 514; and was promoted to be *magister officiorum* before A.D. 526. In A.D. 533 Amalasuentha created him prætorian præfect, a post which he retained under Theodahat and Witigis. The dates of his chief works are: *Chronicle*, A.D. 519; Gothic History in twelve Books, between A.D. 526 and 533 (so Mommsen; Usener put it earlier, 518-21); publication of his *Variae*, A.D. 537. He also wrote various theological works (including a compilation of Church History from Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, entitled *Historia tripartita*; in this work he had a collaborator, Epiphanius). He survived A.D. 578. He had thrown himself thoroughly into the Gothic interest, and both the official and private correspondence contained in his *Variae* (epistolæ) are a most valuable mine for the history of the Ostrogothic kingdom. His weak point was inordinate literary vanity, and the tumid pomposity of his style, tricked out with far-fetched metaphors and conceits, renders it often a task of considerable difficulty to elicit the sense. Hodgkin observes that, next to Rhetoric, "Natural History had the highest place in his affections. He never misses an opportunity of pointing a moral lesson by an allusion to the animal creation, especially to the habits of birds." A short extract found in a Ms. of the *Institutiones humanarum rerum* of Cassiodorus, at Carlsruhe, and known as the Anecdoton Holderi, was edited with a commentary by H. Usener in 1877. It threw new light on some points connected with the statesman's biography. The *Variae* have been edited in a splendid edition by Mommsen (in Mon. Germ. Hist., 1894). A large volume of selected translations has been published by Hodgkin.

The Chronicle (or Consularia) of Cassiodorus was drawn up in A.D. 519, on the occasion of the consulship of Theodoric's son-in-law, Eutharic Cillica. The sources which he used were: (1) The Chronicle of Jerome; (2) the Chronicle of Prosper, in the edition published in A.D. 445 (op. above, vol. iii., Appendix 1), for the years subsequent to the end of Jerome's Chron.; (3) an epitome of Livy; (4) the history of Aufidius Bassus; (5) Eutropius; (6) the Paschale of Victorius; (7) Consularia Italica (see above, vol. iii., App. 1). "Written for the use of the city populace," as Mommsen remarks, it contains many entries relating to games and the buildings in Rome, and it is marked by some interesting blunders in grammatical form. Finding in his source, for instance, *Varans et Tertullo cons.* (A.D. 410), Cassiodorus translating this into the nominative case gives *Varan et Tertullus*. See Mommsen, Chron. Min. ii. p. 112. In the later part of the work he has made several slight additions and changes of his own in the notices which

he copies from his authorities, out of regard for Gothic feelings. Thus Prosper recorded that Ambrose of Milan wrote "in defence of the Catholic faith". But the Goths were Arians; and so Cassiodorus modifies the phrase to "concerning the Christian faith". Again Prosper simply states that "Rome was taken by the Goths under Alaric"; Cassiodorus adds that "they used their victory with clemency". The best edition is Mommsen's in *Chron. Min.* ii. p. 120 sqq.

Flavius Cresconius Corippus, a native of Africa, seems to have held the office of a tribune or a notary, in that branch of the civil service of which the quaestor of the Sacred Palace was the chief.³⁰ He was an old man at the death of Justinian.³¹ He wrote two poems relating to contemporary history, both of the greatest interest and importance. (1) The *Johannid* celebrates the Moorish war of Johannes, who was appointed Magister Militum in A.D. 546 (see below, Appendix 19). It was unknown to Gibbon and was published for the first time by Marchiselli (librarian of the Ambrosian library) from the Codex Trivultianus, the only MS. now known to exist. (Other MSS. known in the Middle Ages and as late as the sixteenth century have disappeared.) The poem contains eight Books; the end of the eighth Book is missing, and there are other lacunae.³² Corippus introduces a sketch of the events in Africa which preceded the arrival of John (8, 54-4, 24), describing the career of Antala, the wars of Solomon and Areobindus. The poem must have been composed soon after the decisive victory of John in A.D. 548. The respect shown for Athanasius, the praetorian prefect, suggests that he was still in office when Corippus wrote. (2) Towards the end of Justinian's reign Corippus went to Constantinople, where he was present at the coronation of Justin II. In connexion with this Emperor's accession he wrote his *In laudem Justinii Augusti minoris*, hoping that the sovereign would help him in his need. For he seems to have lost his property in the troubles which broke out in Africa a few years before (see below, p. 580). Compare, Praefatio, 43, nudatus propriis. This poem consists of a preface, a short panegyric on Anastasius the quaestor (who probably undertook to introduce Corippus to the Emperor), and four Books. It has been repeatedly edited, and has been well elucidated by Fogginus (1777). For its contents see Gibbon, c. xiv. The critical edition of Joseph Partsch (in the *Mon. Germ. Hist.* 1879, has superseded all previous works. Corippus, it may be observed, though a poor poet compared with Claudian, is far more satisfactory to the historian. He has no scruples about introducing barbarous names into his verse, and is consequently less allusive. His account of the Moorish nations is of great importance for the geography of North Africa. We meet such names as Silcadani, Naffur, Silvaizan; such a line as,

Astuces, Anacutasur, Celianus, Imacilas.

Count MARCELLINUS was of Illyrian birth and Latin was his native tongue. He was *cancellarius* of Justinian, before Justinian ascended the throne and probably when he held the post of *magister equitum et peditum in praesenti*. Some years later, before the death of Justin, he wrote and edited a chronicle, beginning with the accession of Theodosius I., where Jerome stopped, and coming down to the death of Anastasius; afterwards he continued it to A.D. 534. (Another contemporary but anonymous author subsequently brought it down to A.D. 548.) The sources of Marcellinus were Orosius, the *Consularia* of Constantinople (see above, vol. i. Appendix 1), the *Consularia Italica*, Gennadius' continuation of Jerome's *de Viris illustribus*, and one or two ecclesiastical works (for instance a life of Chrysostom, similar to that of Palladius). See preface to Mommsen's edition in *Chron. Min.* vol. ii., p. 89 sqq. Marcellinus contains some important notices of events in Illyricum; and for Anastasius, Justin and Justinian, his statements—always provokingly brief—have a very high value.

³⁰ See Panegyric in laudem Anastasii. 46-48.

³¹ *Ib.* 48.

³² In the ed. princeps and the greatly improved Bonn ed. by Bekker, it is divided into seven Books, as if the whole eighth were missing. But G. Loewe has shown that Books 4 and 5 were wrongly thrown into one, so that 5, 6, 7 should be 6, 7, 8; and so it appears in Partsch's ed.

VICTOR TONNENNENSIS,²² an African bishop, wrote under Justinian and Justin a chronicle from the Creation to the year A.D. 566. We possess the most important part of it from A.D. 444 forward. For Victor's life we have some notices in his own chronicle and a notice in Isidore's *De viris illustribus*, c. 49, 50. He took part with the western churchmen against Justinian in the Three Chapter Controversy, and was banished, first to the Balearic islands (a certain emendation of Mommsen in Victor, *sub ann.* A.D. 555) and after other changes of exile, to Egypt; finally in A.D. 564-5 he was removed to Constantinople. He wrote his work during his exile. Mommsen has shown that he made use of Western Consularia from A.D. 444 to 457; of Eastern Consularia from A.D. 458 to 500 (except for A.D. 460, 464, 465); but of Western again from A.D. 501-563. In A.D. 563 he suddenly and unaccountably ceases to date by consulships, and begins to date by the years of Justinian's reign. It is to be observed that in marking the years after Basil's consulate A.D. 540 he departs from the usual practice; he calls A.D. 541 not the first but the second year post consulatum Basilii. It is very curious that he makes a mistake about the year of Justinian's death, which he places in Ind. 15 and the fortieth year of his reign, though it really took place in Ind. 14, ann. regn. 39. Edition: Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* ii. p. 178 *sqq.*]

The chronicle of Victor was continued by a Visigoth, JOHN OF BICLARAM. He too, like Victor, suffered persecution for his religious opinions. He had gone to Constantinople in his childhood, learned Latin and Greek, and had been brought up in the Catholic faith. At the age of seventeen he returned to Spain, c. A.D. 576, and was banished to Barcino by the Arian king Leovigild on account of his religious opinions. Exiled for ten years (till A.D. 586), he was released by Leovigild's Catholic successor Reccared, and founded the monastery of Biclaram (site unknown). Afterwards he became bishop of Gerunda, and there is evidence that he was still alive in A.D. 610. His chronicle differs from most others in that it can be studied by itself without any reference to sources. For he derived his knowledge from his own experience and the verbal communications of friends (*ex parte quod oculata fide servidimus et ex parte quas ex relatu fidelium didicimus*). He professes to be the continuator of Eusebius, Jerome, Prosper, and Victor. At the outset he falls into the mistake which, as we saw, Victor made as to the date of Justinian, and places it in the fifteenth indiction. This led to a misdating of the years of Justin I., and he commits other serious chronological blunders. Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* i. p. 209. His chronicle ends with the year A.D. 590. It is worthy of note that John always speaks with the highest appreciation of the Gothic king Leovigild, who banished him. [Ed. Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* ii. p. 207 *sqq.*]

Fragments of the Chronicle of MAXIMUS of Cæsaraugusta have been preserved in the margin of Mss. of Victor and John of Biclaram, extending over the years A.D. 450 to 568 (perhaps to 580). Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* ii. p. 221-3.

MARIUS (c. A.D. 530-594), bishop of Aventicum (Avenches), wrote a chronicle extending from A.D. 455 to 581. Mommsen has shown that he made use of the Consularia Italica and the *Chronica Gallica* (cp. above, vol. iii., Appendix 1, p. 517). Editions: Arndt, ed. major, 1875, ed. minor, 1878; Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* ii. p. 227 *sqq.*]

ISIDORUS JUNIOR became bishop of Hispalis (Seville) c. A.D. 600-3, and died in the year A.D. 636. He wrote a history of the Goths, Vandals, and Sueves, coming down to the year A.D. 624. It is preserved in two recensions, in one of which the original form has been abbreviated, in the other augmented. The sources of Isidore were Orosius, Jerome, Prosper (ed. of A.D. 553), Idatius, Maximus of Saragossa, John of Biclaram. He used the Spanish æra (= Christian æra + 88); Mommsen has drawn up a most convenient comparative table of the dates (*Chron. Min.* ii. p. 246-251). Isidore is our main source for the Spanish history of the last hundred years with which he deals. [Ed. Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* ii. 241 *sqq.*, to which are appended various *Addimenta* and *Continuations*. Monograph: H. Hertzberg,

²² He was bishop of the ecclesia Tonnennensis (or Tonnonnensis, or Tunnunensis) in the prov. Carthaginiensis. I follow the spelling adopted by Mommsen, which depends on a very probable conjectural restoration in an inscription (C. I. L. 8, suppl. 12,552). The termination of the local name from which the adjective is formed seems to be unknown.

Die Historien und die Chroniken des Isidorus von Seville, 1874; Hertzberg's conclusions have been modified by Mommsen.]

GREGORY OF TOURS in his *Historia Francorum* (best edition by Arndt and Krueger in the M. G. H.), although he wrote in the last quarter of the sixth century, throws much light on the great Hunnic invasion of Gaul and the career of Aetius, especially by citations from a lost writer, Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus. For the reigns of the Frank kings Childeric and Chlodwig he is our main guide. The sources of his history have been carefully analysed and its value tested by M. Monod (in his *Étude critique sur les sources de l'histoire mérovingienne*, 1872) and G. W. Jungk, whose history of the reigns of Childeric and Chlodwig has been translated into French by M. Monod, with additional notes (*Histoire critique des règnes de Childeric et de Chlodowech*, 1879). Compare also F. Stein, *Die Urgeschichte der Franken und die Gründung des Frankenreiches durch Chlodwig*, 1897; Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen*, vol. vii. (see above, vol. iii., p. 519, n. 12); G. Kurth, *Glovius*, ed. 2, 1901. Gregory's narrative of these reigns is based in a small part on written documents—consular annals,—and to a great extent on popular and ecclesiastical legends and traditions. To the first class belong bk. ii., chaps. 18 and 19, on Childeric; the Annals which Gregory used here are conjectured to have been composed in Angers; the account of the Burgundian war, A.D. 500, in chaps. 81 and 83; and a few other facts and dates. Such a notice, for instance, as :

Chlodovechus rex cum Alarico rege Gothorum in campo Vogladense decime urbe Pictava miliario convenit—

clearly comes from a chronicle. On the other hand the story of Childeric's flight to Thuringia and marriage with Basina is clearly from an oral source and has undergone the influence of popular imagination. G. Kurth, in his *Histoire postérieure des Mérovingiens*, 1893 (to which references have been made above in the footnotes to the text of chap. xxxviii.), has shown that many Merovingian legends which were known to Gregory and have affected his narrative though he does not recount them have been preserved in Fredegarius and the *Liber Historie Francorum* (*Gesta Francorum*). These works the anonymous Chronicle known under the name of Fredegarius (seventh century) and the *Liber H. F.* have been edited by B. Krusch in the Merovingian series, vol. ii. of the M. G. H. (1888), who has also edited in the same series, vol. iii., the lives of a number of Gallic saints of the fifth and sixth centuries.

The determination of the chronology of Chlodwig's reign would be impossible from Gregory's data alone; it depends partly on certain data of his contemporary Marius of Aventicum, who made use of the lost South-Gallic Annals (see above). Thus Marius gives A.D. 548 for the death of Theudebert and A.D. 561 for the death of Chlotachar. We know from Gregory (a) that thirty-seven years elapsed between the death of Chlodwig and that of Theudebert, and (b) that Chlotachar died in the fifty-first year of his reign. These data combined point to A.D. 510 or 511 as the year of Chlodwig's death. The date subscribed to the acts of the Council of Orléans (July 10, 511), held when Chlodwig was still alive, proves that the latter is the true date. The older chronology of Chlodwig's reign has been corrected in several important points by means of other sources, such as the *Vita Vedastis*, by Jones (author of the *Vita Columbani*), ed. by B. Krusch in the *Script. rer. German.*, 1905.

For AL-TABARĪ, whose Annals are important for Persian history in the sixth century, see below, vol. v., Appendix 1.

THE *CODEx JUSTINIANUS* (see chapter xlv.) is our most important source for the legislation and the constitutional history of the Empire from A.D. 455 (date of the last Novel of Marcian) to A.D. 534 (date of 2nd ed. of the Code). It has been edited by Krüger (1884) and forms vol. ii. of the Berlin ed. of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*. For the study of the Code, Krüger's work, *Kritik des Justinianischen Codex*, 1867, is important. The legislation of Justinian is continued in the *Novellæ*, A.D. 534-565, edited by Zachariä von Lingenthal in 2 vols., 1881 (with two Appendices, 1884 and 1891). An important ordinance of Anastasius I., relating to the administration of Libya Pentapolis, and preserved in an inscription found at Ptolemais and transported to the Louvre, has been edited by Zachariä von Lingenthal in the *Sitzungsberichte der Vienna Academy*, 1879, 184 sqq.

COINS. (See above, vol. iii. p. 519.) W. Wroth's *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, in 2 vols., 1906, is now the best guide to

the series of coins of the later Roman Emperors from Anastasius I. to the fall of the Empire. It is furnished with an excellent historical Introduction. For Justinian: M. Pinder and J. Friedländer, *Die Münzen Justinians*, 1848. For the Ostrogothic kingdom: J. Friedländer, *Die Münzen der Ostgothen*, 1844.

MOZMAN WORKS. (Compare above, vol. iii., Appendix 1, p. 519-20.) T. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vols. iii. and iv., ed. 2. Ch. Diehl, *Justinien et la civilisation byzantine au vie siècle*, 1901. W. G. Holmes, *The Age of Justinian and Theodora*, 2 vols., 1906-1907 (includes the reigns of Anastasius I. and Justin I.). F. Martroye, *Occident à l'époque byzantine: Goths et Vandales*, 1904 (includes the reign of Theodoric, the declining years of the Vandal kingdom, and the Imperial restoration). L. M. Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter*, vol. i. (*Das italienische Königreich*), 1897. Ch. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, 1896. For the Ostrogoths from A.D. 54 to the conquest of Italy by Theodoric: L. Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Völker*, i. 125 *sqq.* (see above, vol. iii. p. 519), and for the Visigoths, under Euric and Liaric II., the same work, 259 *sqq.* [For the movements of the barbarians, from the ethnological and anthropological side, W. M. F. Petrie's *Migrations* (*Journal of Anthropological Institute*, vol. xxxvi., the Huxley Lecture for 1906) should have been referred to above in vol. iii., Appendix 1.]

For relations with Persia: Rawlinson, *The Seventh great Oriental Monarchy*, 876; K. Güterbock, *Byzanz und Persien in ihrem diplomatisch-völkerrechtlichen Beziehungen im Zeitalter Justinians*, 1906. (Compare also J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie sassanide* (224-682), ed. 2, 1904.) V. Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate de Pompée à la conquête arabe*, 1907.

Special monographs, &c.: A. Rose, *Anastasius I.*, 1882; E. Merten, *De Bello Persico ab Anastasio gesto*, in *Commentationes philol. Jenenses*, VII., fasc. II., 141 *sqq.*, 1905; Lord Mahon (afterwards Earl Stanhope), *Life of Belisarius*, ed. 2, 1848; T. Hodgkin, *Theodoric the Ostrogoth*, 1891; G. Pfeilschifter, *Der Ostgotenkönig Theoderich der Grosse und die katholische Kirche* (Münster), 1896; J. Bryce, art. on Justinian in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*; L. M. Hartmann, art. on Belisarius in *Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyklopädie*; A. Debidour, *L'impératrice Théodora*, 1885; P. Jörs, *Die Reichspolitik Kaiser Justinians*, 1893; H. Leuthold, *Untersuchungen zur ostgotischen Geschichte der Jahre 535-537*, 1908.

On the military establishment of the Empire in Justinian's reign, see H. Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst*, ii. 2, 1902; C. Benjamin, *De Justiniani imperatoris quaestiones militares*, 1892; O. Seeck, article on *Bucellarii*, in *Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyklopädie*; V. Chapot, *op. cit.*, 112 *sqq.*

For Gaul (in addition to monographs cited above under Gregory of Tours): Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, vol. ii. 1, 1908.

For Britain: J. R. Green, *Making of England*, 4th ed., vol. i., 1897; W. H. Stevenson, Dr. Guest and the English Conquest of Britain, in *English Historical Review*, Oct. 1902; H. M. Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation*, 1907.

LAW (c. xlv.). Of older histories (19th century) of Roman law, it is enough to mention Savigny, *Geschichte des römischen Rechts im Mittelalter*, ed. 2, 7 vols., 1834-61; and Walther, *Geschichte des römischen Rechts bis auf Justinian*, 1840. Among numerous German treatises of more recent date may be singled out: O. Karlowa, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. i. *Staatsrecht und Rechtsquellen*, 1885; vol. ii. *Privatrecht und Strafrecht*, 1901; C. Salkowski, *Lehrbuch der Institutionen und der Geschichte des römischen Privatrechts*, 1883; R. Sohm, *Institutionen des römischen Rechts*, ed. 5, 1891 (English translation, 1892); Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, 1899; A. von Bethmann-Hollweg, *Der römische Civilprozess*, 3 vols., 1864-6. Of French manuals, besides the work of Accarias referred to in many of the editorial notes on chap. xlv., may be mentioned F. Girard, *Manuel élémentaire de droit romain*, ed. 2, 1898. Of the English literature, may be specially recommended: J. Muirhead, *Historical Introduction to the Private Law of Rome*, 2nd ed. by Goudy, 1899; H. J. Roby, *Roman Private Law in the times of Cicero and the Antonines*, 2 vols., 1902; and the same scholar's *Introduction to the study of Justinian's Digest*, 1884.

The sources for Roman law are treated in: Krüger, *Geschichte der Quellen und Litteratur des römischen Rechts*, 1888; Klipp, *Geschichte der Quellen des römischen Rechts*, ed. 2, 1908; Costa, *Storia delle fonti del diritto Romano*, 1909.

2. ODOVACAR'S GRANT TO PIERIUS—(P. 60)

An interesting memorial of the administration of Odovacar survives in a deed of donation to his Count of Domestics, Pierius. The papyrus document (dated at Ravenna in A.D. 489) is preserved in two parts, of which one is at Naples, the other at Vienna. It was published in 1805 in Marini's *Papiri diplomatici* (No. LXXIII, p. 128), but the English reader will find it convenient to consult the text (with a detailed exposition) in Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders*, iii., note B (p. 165 *sqq.*). Odovacar granted his minister estates which were to yield an income amounting to the value of about £414. These estates were (1) in the territory of Syracuse, (2) the island of Meleda on the Dalmatian coast. Pierius had already received these lands, but they only produced about £390, Odovacar completes in this document the promise of revenue by adding some small farms to the Syracusan estate, calculated to yield £24 9s. (so that Pierius gained an additional 9s. or $\frac{2}{3}$ of a solidus). The document is not signed by Odovacar. It is probable, as Dahn observes (*Könige der Germanen*, ii. 48), that he could not write.

3. THE SOURCES FOR THE ORIGIN OF MONASTICISM IN EGYPT—(C. XXXVII.)

The origin of monasticism in Egypt has been studied critically in recent years and there is a considerable literature on the subject. The most important publications are Amélineau's *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne au ive et ve siècles* (1888-94), and Dom C. Butler's critical edition of the *Lausiac History* of Palladius, in 2 vols. (1898, 1904; Texts and Studies, vol. vi.), with a complete study of the material. The result of these researches and those of several German scholars, notably Preuschen and Grützmacher, has been to vindicate the historical value of the sources against the scepticism which was widely felt after the appearance of Wiegarten's *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums im nachkonstantinischen Zeitalter*, 1877.

The chief sources are as follows:

The Life of Antony (who was born c. 250, organized monasticism c. 305, died c. 356¹) is now believed by many scholars, including Preuschen and Grützmacher, to have been really composed by Athanasius, to whom tradition ascribed it. A Syriac version is published in Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, v., 1895.

The Life of Macarius of Egypt (became a monk in Soete c. 330, died c. 390) at Serapamon has been preserved in Coptic and in Syriac; the former version is edited by Amélineau, *op. cit.*, iii., the latter by Bedjan, *op. cit.*, v.

There are several redactions of the Life of Pachomius, whose importance was not appreciated by Gibbon (born c. 292, founded cenobitic monastery at Tabennisi c. 318, died c. 346), in Greek, Latin, Coptic and Arabic. The Greek is printed in *Acta Sanctorum*, May 14, App. 25-51; the Coptic and Arabic in Amélineau, *op. cit.*, ii. (1889); one Latin version in Rosweyde, *Vitæ Patrum* (1615), 112 *sqq.*, and another in Surius, *Historiæ seu Vitæ Sanctorum*, sub May 14. The Latin versions depend on the Greek life and the *Paralipomena de ss. Pachomio et Theodoro* (also called the *Asceicon*), printed in *Acta Sanctorum*, *loc. cit.*, and Butler thinks that this is probably also true of the Coptic versions.

The Life of Schnoudi (abbot of Pachomian monastery in the fifth century, died c. 451) is preserved in Coptic documents published in Amélineau, *op. cit.*, i. 1 (1888). This monk is the subject of a study by Leipoldt, *Schenute von Atripe*, 1903 (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, N.F., x. 1).

The letter of Ammon to Theophilus of Alexandria (*Acta Sanctorum*, *loc. cit.*, 347 *sqq.*) contains an account of Theodore, successor of Pachomius (died 360). Ammon went to Tabennisi in 352.

The *Regulæ* of Antony, Macarius and Pachomius are published in Holsten, *Coenæ Regularum* (1663), and in Migne, P.G., vols. xl. and xxxiv. On the *Regula Antoni* see Gontzen, *Die Regel des h. Antonius*, 1896, who has shown that it is not genuine.

¹ These and the other dates in this Appendix are taken from Butler's *Chronological Table*, *op. cit.*, ii., c. cli.

Cassian has given an account of monastic life in Egypt, based on his visits to the country in the last decade of the fourth century (but he did not visit the Thebaid), his *Collationes* and *Instituta*.

The First Dialogue of Sulpicius Severus contains an account of the visit of a Syrian to Egypt and Palestine in A.D. 402-5.

The *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* describes a visit of seven persons to Egypt A.D. 394-5. The Latin text (published by Rosweyd, *Vitæ Patrum*, Bk. ii.) was a work of Rufinus, but has recently been shown by Butler (*op. cit.*, i. 257 *sqq.*) to be a translation from a Greek original which is extant and has been edited by Preuschen in his *Palladius und Rufinus*, 1897.

Palladius, the author of the *Historia Lausiaca* (and of a life of John Chrysostom, above, vol. iii., Appendix 1, p. 510), was born c. 368, led the ascetic life in Egypt, Nitria and elsewhere c. 389-99, became bishop of Helenopolis in 400, was again in Egypt as an exile 406-12, and wrote his *Tò Λαυσιακόν* c. 420 at the suggestion of Rufinus, the chamberlain of Theodosius II. Three Latin translations, representing three recensions, of the *Historia Lausiaca*, were printed by Rosweyd, *op. cit.*, vol. i.: A, the longest, in the body of the work (704 *sqq.*), the others, B, C, in an Appendix 33 *sqq.* and 978 *sqq.*; and it was generally assumed that A represented the original. The Greek of B was first printed by Meursius in 1616. [A longer text, professing to correspond to A, was published by Fronto Ducaeus in 1624 (Migne, P. G., l. xxxiv.), but it is a reconstruction of the editor, based on the text of Meursius, and does not represent a Ms. tradition (Butler, *op. cit.*, ii., xxiv.).] The outcome of Butler's researches is, briefly stated, that C may be set aside as an incomplete and interpolated redaction (to which no Greek text corresponds); that B represents the original work of Palladius; and that A is a patchwork in which the composition of Palladius and the *Historia Monachorum* have been combined. Besides the numerous Greek Mss. and the Latin versions, there are partial but very ancient Syriac versions, which are of great importance in the problem of restoring the original text. To his critical text, Butler has added valuable historical notes.

[Modern literature on early monasticism (besides works already quoted). Hardeck, *Das Mönchtum, seine Ideale und seine Geschichte*, ed. 5, 1901. Amélineau, *Étude historique sur St. Pachôme*, 1888. Mayer, *Die christliche Askese, ihr Wesen und ihre geschichtliche Entfaltung*, 1894. Grützmacher, *Pachomius und das älteste Klosterleben*, 1896, and article on Mönchtum in Herzog and Plitt, *Realencyklopädie*, 1908; Ladeuze, *Le cénobitisme Pachomien*, 1898; Zöckler, *Askese und Mönchtum*, l. i. ed. 2, 1897; Holl, *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum*, 1898; Dom I. M. Besse, *Les Moines d'Orient antérieurs au Concile de Chalcedoine*, 1900; Schiwietz, *Das morgenländische Mönchtum*, l. i., 1904; and the excellent Russian work of I. Troitski, *Obozrenie istochnikov nachal'noi istorii egiptetskago monashestva*, 1907 (Sergiev Posad). For the influence on Christian monasticism of the ascetic recluses of Serapis see Preuschen, *Mönchtum und Sarapiskult*, ed. 2, 1908. Cardinal Rampolla's important work on Melania the Younger (of whom there is notice in the *Historia Lausiaca*, p. 155, ed. Butler) has been referred to above, p. 75, note 55.]

The history of monasticism in Palestine, where Hilarion (A.D. 291-371) occupies somewhat the same position as Pachomius in Egypt, is derived from the lives of a great abbots (Hilarion, Chariton, Euthymius, Sabas, Theodosius, &c.) as well as from ecclesiastical historians. The work by Father Oltarzhevski (*Palestinskoe Monashestvo s iv. do vi. veka*, 1896), though it contains a great deal of material, seems to be superficial and unmethodical.

For the growth of monasticism in Constantinople: E. Marin, *Les moines de Constantinople, depuis la fondation de la ville jusqu'à la mort de Photius (830-890)*, 1897. Cp. Pargoire, *Les débuts du monachisme à Constantinople*, in *Revue des questions historiques*, 65, 67 *sqq.*, 1899.

4. ULFILAS AND THE GOTHIC ALPHABET—(P. 82)

The statements of Gibbon that the alphabet of Ulfilas consisted of twenty-four letters, and that he invented four new letters, are not quite accurate. The Goths before Ulfilas used the Runic alphabet, or *futhorc* (so called from the first six letters),

consisting of twenty-four signs. Ulfilas based his alphabet on the Greek, *sic*: the Greek order; and adapted it to the requirements of Gothic speech. Its alphabet has twenty-five letters; five of them are derived from the Roman, one is the Latin (S), and one is of uncertain origin. This uncertain letter has the value Q, and corresponds, in position in the alphabet, to the Greek numeral for 100 (between E and Z). It is remarkable that the letters Θ and Ψ are interchanged: Θ adopted to represent *th*, and occupies ninth place, corresponding to Θ, while Ψ is used for the sound W and holds the place corresponding to Ψ. Thus the two additional symbols which Gibbon selects for special mention are Greek, but applied to a different use. The English equivalents of the Gothic letters are as follows, in alphabetical order:—

A, B, G, D, E, Q, Z, H, Th, I, K, L, M, N, J (runic), U (runic), P, R (runic), S, T, V, F (runic), Ch, W, O (runic).

The fragmentary remains of the work of Auxentius, bishop of Silistra, *Ulfhila episcopo gothorum*, were published first by Waitz, *Ueber das Leben und die Lehren des Ulfila* (Hanover, 1840). It has been re-edited by F. Kaufmann, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur altgermanischen Religionsgeschichte*, I. (Strassburg, 1883). See also G. Kaufmann, *Kritische Untersuchung der Quellen zur Geschichte Ulfilas* in *Haupt's Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, 27, 193 *sqq.*, 1883; and H. Ach, *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, I. (1900). There is an English monograph on Ulfilas by C. A. Scott, *Ulfilas, Apostle of the Goths* (Cambridge, 1895).

5. GIBBON ON THE HOUSE OF BOURBON—(P. 178)

"A Julian or Semiramis may reign in the North, while Arcadius and Honorius again slumber on the thrones of the House of Bourbon."

Thus the passage appeared in the first quarto edition (1781). In his *Autobiography* (Memoir E, in Mr. Murray's edition, 1896, p. 324) Gibbon makes the following statement in a footnote:—

"It may not be generally known that Louis XVI. is a great reader, and a reader of English books. On the perusal of a passage of my History (vol. iii. p. 636), and seems to compare him with Arcadius or Honorius, he expressed his resentment. The Prince of B——, from whom the intelligence was conveyed to me. I shall not disclaim the allusion nor examine the likeness; but the situation of the late King of France excludes all suspicion of flattery, and I am ready to declare that the concluding observations of my third Volume were written before his accession to the throne."

Gibbon, however, altered the words "House of Bourbon" to "South" in a later edition, thus making the allusion ambiguous.

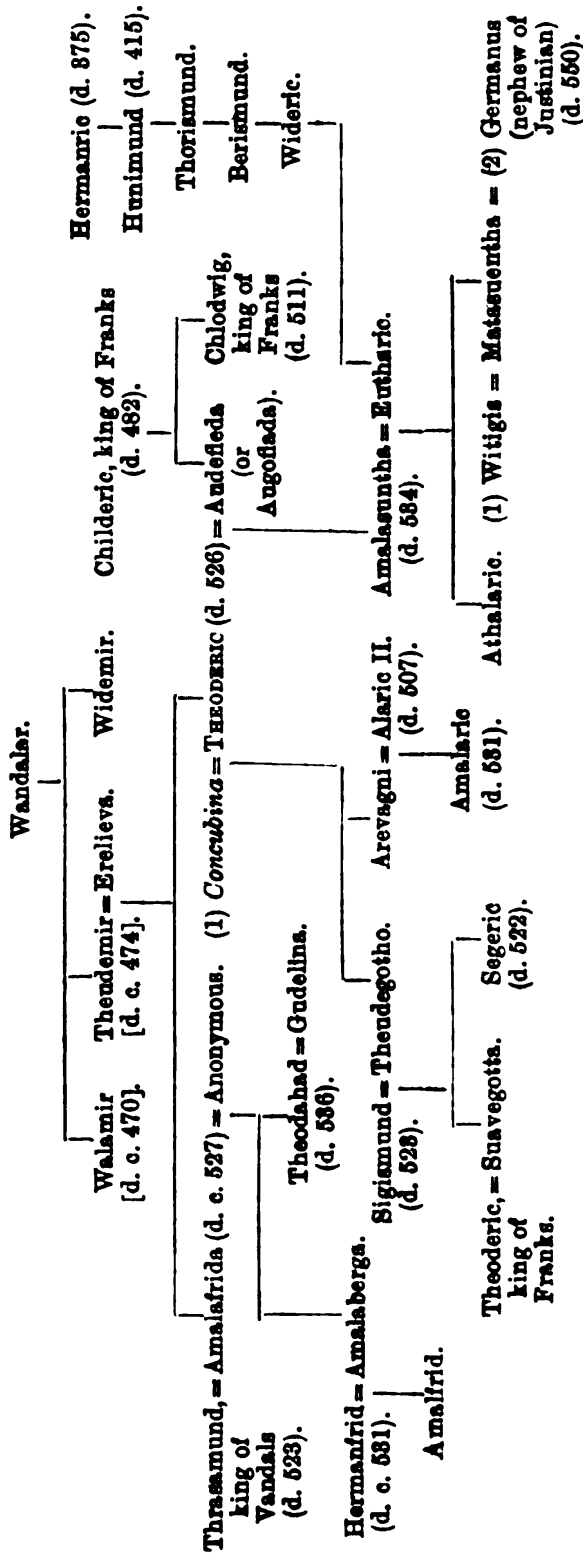
7. THE RELATION OF THE OSTROGOTHIC KINGDOM TO THE ROMAN EMPIRE—(P. 201)

The administration of Italy under the Ostrogoths and the constitutional position of the Ostrogothic kingdom as part of the Roman Empire and subject to the Roman Emperor have been elucidated by Mommsen in his *Ostgotische Studien* (published in *Neues Archiv*, xiv.), on which the following account is based.

The formal relation of Italy to the Empire, both under Odovacar and Theodoric, was much closer and clearer than that of any other of the states ruled by Germans. Practically independent, it was regarded officially both at Rome and Constantinople as part of the Empire in the fullest sense. Two circumstances exhibit this theory very clearly. Odovacar and Theodoric never used the years of their own reigns for the purposes of dating, as the kings of the Visigoths did. Secondly, the right of naming one of the consuls of the year which had belonged to the Emperor reigning in the West was transferred by the consent of the Emperors Zeno and Anastasius to Odovacar and Theodoric. A word of explanation as to the system of consular nomination in the fifth century may be useful. The rule was that the Eastern and the Western Emperors should each nominate one of the two men who were to be consuls for the one and undivided Empire. But as a rule the two names

6. FAMILY POLICY OF THEODORIO—(P. 198)

Theodoric's system of connecting himself by matrimonial alliances with the Teutonic monarchs of Western Europe may be illustrated by a genealogical table.



were not published together. The name of the Western consul was not known in the East, nor that of the Eastern in the West, in time for simultaneous publication. Hence the custom of successive publication. But there are exceptions. Between 477 and 530 there are twenty-three years in which the consular names were published together. Four of these are cases in which two Emperors are colleagues in the consulate, and as this was evidently the result of prearrangement, the simultaneous publication is explained. All the other cases, whether of two private persons or of an Emperor and a private person, are peculiar. In more than half of them Mommsen has shown that both consuls belonged to the same half of the Empire, whether East or West; thus in 437 both Aetius and Sigisvultus belonged to the West, and of the other cases there is not one in which it can be proved that they belonged to different divisions. We can infer, with Mommsen, that in these cases one of the two nominators resigned his right in favour of the other, and that both consuls were nominated by the ruler of that division of the Empire to which they respectively belonged. This accounts for the simultaneous publication. In the years 473 to 479 no consul was nominated in the West, on account of the unsettled conditions, but in 479 Zeno must have conceded to Odovacar the right of nomination for one of the consuls of 480, Basilius, almost certainly belonged to the West as was recognised in the East; and from this date we have a series of consuls appointed in the West up to the year of Odovacar's death (493). This right did not immediately pass to Theodoric, because Anastasius did not immediately recognise him. And so from 493 to 497 the Consular Fasti exhibit exclusively Eastern consuls. This shows Theodoric's tact. He would not widen the breach with the Emperor by assuming the right of naming a consul without his consent. But in 497 matters were arranged, and from 498 Theodoric names one consul annually, as Odovacar had done. In 522 the Emperor Justin waived his own nomination and permitted Theodoric to name both consuls (Symmachus and Boethius). There was one limitation which Theodoric recognised in this matter: he could not nominate a Goth, only Romans could fill the consulship, and indeed only Romans could fill the other magistracies. The rule is corroborated by the single exception in 519 Eutharic, the king's son-in-law, was consul. But it is expressly recorded that this nomination was not made by Theodoric; it was made by the Emperor. This shows that in the capitulations of the arrangement of 497 between the Government of Constantinople and Theodoric, it was provided that a Goth should not be appointed consul. When the king desired an exception in his son-in-law's favour, he was obliged to have recourse to the Emperor.

The capitulation which excluded Goths from the consulship extended also to all the civil offices, which were maintained under Ostrogothic rule, as they had been under Odovacar. There was still the Praetorian Prefect of Italy, and when Theodoric acquired Provence, the office of Praetorian Prefect of Gaul was revived. There was the *vicarius urbis Romae*, as before. There were all the provincial governments divided, as of old, into the three ranks of *consulares*, *correctores* and *praesides*. There were the two finance ministers, the *comes sacrarum largitionum* and the *comes rerum privatarum*. Anastasius instituted a new financial officer, the *comes patrimonii*, who had functions similar to those of the *comes r. priv.* and Theodoric followed his example. But in this case he did not conform to the rule which excluded Goths; several of his *comites patr.* have German names. The office does not seem to have been regarded as a regular State office; or perhaps, as it was instituted subsequently to the capitulations, they did not apply to it. All the offices or staffs of subordinate officials, were maintained under Theodoric's régime. In the State documents (in the *Variæ* of Cassiodorus) we often read of *officium nostrum*; this means the staff of the *magister officiorum*, who was the chief commander of the *scholæ* of guards and was at the head of all the subordinate officials of the palace. Both the praetorian prefect and the master of offices reside at Ravenna, but they have each a representative at Rome, who belongs to the same rank of *illustres* as themselves. The drafting of edicts and documents of State, the official correspondence of the king, were carried on by the *quaestor palatii*, an office which was long filled by Cassiodorus. It may be added that the exclusion of Goths also applied to the honorary title of Patricius. Under Theodoric no Goth bore that title but Theodoric himself, who had received it from the Emperor.

But if Goths were excluded from the civil posts, it was exactly the reverse in the case of military posts. Here it was the Romans who were excluded. The army was entirely Gothic; no Roman was liable to military service, and the officers were naturally Goths. But although the old Roman troops and their organisation have disappeared, it has been shown by Mommsen that Theodoric's military arrangements were based in many respects on arrangements which had existed in Italy under Imperial rule in the fifth century. What about the highest military command, that of Master of Soldiers? Under Odovacar we hear of Masters of Soldiers, but under Ostrogothic rule no such commander is mentioned. The generals of Theodoric are not described by this title. In the long list of the *formulae* of the various offices which existed at this period (in the *Variae* of Cassiodorus), the Mastership of Soldiers does not appear, and this cannot be explained as an oversight. Yet the office had not ceased to exist, for we find in a letter of Cassiodorus the mention of an *officialis magistri militum* (subaltern of the M.M.). The solution is, as Mommsen has shown with characteristic acuteness, that Theodoric was himself the Magister Militum. He had received that title (*m. m. praesentalis*) from Zeno, ten years before he conquered Italy; he bore it when he conquered Italy, and he continued to retain it while he ruled Italy. It is intelligible that he did not designate himself by this title, because his powers as ruler of Italy far exceeded those of the most powerful *magister militum*; but this does not mean that he gave the office up. It explains why the title was never given to any of his generals. The matter is illustrated by certain measures taken after his death. His grandson and successor Athalaric was out of the question as a commander of the army, and Amalasuntha appointed a Gothic warrior Tuluin and Liberius a Roman (then praetorian praefect of Gaul) to be *patricii praesentales*. This remarkable appointment involved two deviations from existing rules. It gave the rank of Patricius to Tuluin, who as a Goth was excluded from that order, and it gave a military command to Liberius, who as a Roman was excluded from such an office. The office, though under this modified title, was simply that of *mag. mil. praes.*, but the circumstance that the title was modified is significant and illustrates the fact that the office of *mag. mil.* had become closely united to that of king through the long tenure of it by Theodoric.

It need hardly be said that the Goths were excluded from the Roman Senate. The Senate continued to exist and to perform the same functions that it had performed throughout the fifth century. Unlike the Senate of Constantinople it was formally recognised as a sovran body though it had no political power. Theodoric writes to it (Var. 2, 2, 4) *parem nobiscum reipublicae debetis admissum*. The Senate, like the Emperor, could *leges constituere*.

Theodoric's position as deputy governor of the Emperor, Italy's position as part of the Empire, are shown by the maintenance of the Imperial sovran rights in coinage and in legislation. Theodoric did not claim the right of coining except in subordination to the Emperor. The silver coins of his reign show Anastasius (*Dominus Noster Anastasius*) on the obverse, and on the reverse Theodoric's monogram with the legend *Invicta Roma*. Nor did he claim the right of making laws. Procopius expressly states that neither Theodoric nor any of the Gothic rulers enacted a law. This involves the principle that the right of legislation was the supreme prerogative of the Emperor. Between this statement and the fact that ordinances of Theodoric exist there is no formal contradiction. None of these ordinances are *leges*, they are only *edicta*. To make a *lex* was the exclusive right of the Emperor, but many high officials could issue an *edictum*. Thus formally the rule of Theodoric is contrasted in this respect with the Western kingdoms which did not depend on Constantinople. The Ostrogothic king issues edicts, the contemporary Burgundian enacts *mansurae in aevum leges*. But was this difference between the right of the Emperor and that of the king merely formal? Did it mean no more than the difference of a name? Theodoric certainly promulgated what Cassiodorus calls *edicta generalia*, laws which did not concern special cases but were of a general application, permanently valid and which if enacted by the Emperor would have been *leges*. But it is to be remembered that the highest officials of the Empire, especially the praetorian praefect, could issue an *edictum generale* provided it did not run counter to any existing law. This was an important distinction. It amounted to this, that the praetorian praefect could modify

existing laws in subordinate points, whether in the direction of mildness or of severity, or in definition, but could not originate a new principle or institution. Now the ordinances of Theodoric, collected in his Code known as the *Edictum Theoderici*, conform to this rule. They introduce nothing new, they alter no established principle. Through his official mouthpiece Cassiodorus, the king repeatedly dwells on this feature of his régime: *nascimus a legibus discrepare; sufficiens laus conscientias est veterum decreta servare*. Thus in legislation the king is neither nominally nor really co-ordinate with the Emperor. His powers are those of a great official like a praetorian prefect, and though, from the circumstances of the case, he employed those powers more largely than any such official could have done, his edicts are qualitatively on the same footing and qualitatively distinct from Imperial laws.

8. DIETRICH OF BERN—(P. 205, n. 81)

C. Cipolla, in the *Archivio Stor. It.* (Florence), 1890, vi., 457 *seq.*, discusses the legendary connexion of Theodoric with Verona, where in the Middle Ages the construction of the great Roman theatre was ascribed to him. Now Theodoric did build at Verona: Anon. Val., 71, "item Verona themas et palatium fecit et a porta usque ad palatium porticum reddidit aquaeductum—renovavit muros aliosque circumit civitatem". He also sometimes stayed at Verona, *ib.* 81-2, and Ennodius, Paneg. Theod., 271, ed. Hartel, speaks of *Veronam tuam*. But the Veronese legend was certainly influenced by the Teutonic legend of Dietrich of Bern, and the Teutonic legend cannot be accounted for by the fact that Theodoric erected some buildings at Verona, or occasionally stayed there. The problem arises why the figure of the legend was Dietrich of Verona, and not Dietrich of Ravenna, which was the permanent residence of Theodoric during his reign. It may be observed too that there is perhaps none of the great kings of the period of the Wandering of the Peoples whose reign offers so little motive for legendary treatment as that of Theodoric. It was, I think, not as the ruler of Italy, but as the conqueror of Odovacar that Theodoric's name made its way into the cycle of Teutonic legend; it was the battle of Verona which was commemorated in his description as Dietrich of Bern. In proof of this I would urge that the impression produced by such a battle offered the kind of motive which legend is wont to adopt, and more particularly that the introduction of Dietrich into the Nibelungenlied is explained. The origin of those parts of the Nibelungen which have historical motives are Burgundian. Now we know that the Burgundians were deeply interested in the struggle between Odovacar and the Ostrogoths. They were alarmed by the prospect that if Theodoric were victorious they would have Goths on their right hand in Italy as well as Goths on their left hand in Gaul; flanked by two Gothic kingdoms their own independence might seem imperilled. Accordingly their king Gundobad descended into Liguria to assist Odovacar. Our records of this invasion are meagre; we only know that Gundobad made captives and that Theodoric made a treaty with him and induced him to retire (Ennodius, Opera, ed. Hartel, 276, 375; Historia Miscella, xv. 15). This situation gives us, I believe, the true explanation of the *Burgundian* legend of Theodoric.

9. AN INSCRIPTION OF THEODORIC—(P. 206)

The inscription on the draining of the Pomptine marshes by Theodoric, preserved at Mesa, is as follows:

D(ominus) n(oster) gl(ori)osus [= gloriosissimus] adq(ue) incol(ite) rex Theodericus vict(or) ac triumf(ator), semper Aug(ustus), bono r(ei) p(ublicae) natus, custos libertatis et propagator Rom(ani) nom(inis), domitor g(enti)um [= gentium] Decennovii¹ viae Appiae id(est) a Trip(ontio) usq(ue) Tarric(inam) iter et loca quae confluentib(us) ab utraq(ue) parte palud(ibus) per omn(es) retro princip(es) inundaverant² usui pub(lici) et securitate [leg.—*atq.*, Mommsen] vian(um) admiranda

¹ This name seems to have been then applied to the whole marsh from Tripontium to Tarracina (Mommsen).

² = Sub aqua fuerunt (Mommsen).

pitio deo felle(ita)te restituit; operi iniuncto naviter insudante adq(ue) clemen-
tini princip(is) feliciter deserviente p(ræ) conis ex prosapie Deciorum Caec(ina)
v(ortio?) Basilio Decio v(iro) o(larissimo) et ill(ustri) ex p(ræ)fecto) u(rbi) ex
æsefecto) p(ræ)torio, ex cons(ule) ord(inario) pat(ricio), qui ad perpetuandam tanti
mini gloriam per plurimos qui non ante [fuerant suppl. Mommsen] albeos deducta
mare aqua ignotæ atavis et nimis antiquæ reddidit siccitati.

See Corp. Inscr. Lat., x. p. 690 sqq.

10. JUSTINIAN'S POSITION IN JUSTIN'S REIGN—(P. 221, 222)

Procopius in his Secret History ascribes to Justinian supreme influence in
political affairs during the whole reign of his uncle Justin, and even dates the
beginning of Justinian's rule from A.D. 518, as has been shown by Haury (Procopiana,
91). This fact has been observed by a corruption in the text at the beginning of
19 (p. 120, ed. Haury), where Haury has restored 'Ιουστίνου for 'Ιουστινιανού, and
an omission of a couple of lines, further on in the same chapter, in the Vatican
L. on which Alemannus based his edition. These important lines (omitted by the
Vatican codex, on account of a homœoteleuton) are preserved in the Ambrosian and
Paris Mss. and appear in Haury's text, p. 121 (attention had already been called
to the passage by Krasheninnikov, Vizant. Vremennik, 2, 421). After the words
ἐκόςια καὶ τρισχίλια χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια the original text of Procopius proceeded:
δημοσίᾳ ἀπολειπὲν. ἐπὶ μέντοι 'Ιουστίνου ἐτη ἑνὰ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἐρχήν ἔχοντος
ἔσθ' 'Ιουστινιανού ξύγχυσιν τε καὶ ἀκοσμίαν τῇ πολιτείᾳ προστριψάμενου τετρακισχίλια
πτηνάρια κ.τ.λ. In connexion with the text of the Secret History, it is also to be
noted that there is something wrong in the transition from c. 17 to c. 18. Panchenko
(Viz. Vrem. 2, 55, 845) assumes a lacuna at the end of c. 17, but Haury is probably
right in supplying 'Ιουστινιανός before ἐποίητο in the last sentence of c. 17, which
clearly refers to Justinian, not to John of Cappadocia (p. 111).

Panchenko (Viz. Vrem. iii. p. 104) calls attention to the statement of Leontius
of Byzantium (op. Loofs, Leontius, p. 146; Migne, P. G. 86, 1229): ἀποθανόντος δὲ
ἰωαννου γίνεται βασιλεὺς 'Ιουστίνος ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὡς μετὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐνταυτὸν
ὁ θάνατος 'Ιουστινιανός. τοῦτον δὲ βασιλεύοντος . . . ὁ Σεβήρος φεύγει εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν.
Does the date refer to the position of Justinian after the death of Vitalian, A.D.
507?

In regard to the death of Vitalian, it has been urged for Justinian that his
guilt rests on the evidence of the Secret History, Evagrius, and Victor Tonn.;
but Victor does not vouch himself for the charge against Justinian (his words are:
Justiniani patricii factione dicitur interfectus esse), and that Evagrius derived his
information from the Secret History; thus the statements of the Secret History
could be practically unsupported. See Loofs, Leontius von Byzanz., p. 259.
There is no proof, however, that Evagrius knew the Secret History; it is certain
that Vitalian was slain in the Palace (John Malal., p. 412); and we may, with
Panchenko (Viz. Vrem. iii. p. 102), ascribe some slight weight to the principle
ut bono fuerit.

11. THE DEMES OF CONSTANTINOPLE—(P. 285)

The view of Gibbon that the popular dissensions of the *demes* (δῆμοι) or *parties*
(μέρη) which distracted Constantinople, Antioch, and other cities of the East in
the sixth century had their root and origin in the exuberant licence of the hippo-
drome; that the acts and demonstrations of the Greens and Blues were purely
wanton outbreaks of a dissolute populace; that the four *demes* had no significance
except in connexion with the races of the hippodrome; this view has held its
ground till the other day, though it is open to serious and by no means recondite
objections. The brilliance of Gibbon's exposition has probably helped to maintain
it. The French historian and politician, A. Rambaud, wrote a thesis to prove that
the "parties" were merely factions of the hippodrome (τὰ μέρη nihil nisi hippicas
fuisse factiones, op. cit. infra). But on this view the name δῆμοι is quite inexplic-
able, and the part played by the Blues and Greens (with the Reds and Whites, who
were submerged in them respectively as integral subdivisions) in the Ceremonies of

the Imperial Court as described by Constantine Porphyrogennetos (in the *Cerimoniis*) points to a completely different conclusion. These considerations of Th. Uspenski to the right view of the demes as organized divisions of the population. He worked out this view in a paper in the *Vizant. Vremennik* (Partii Tsirika i Konstantinopolie), vol. i. p. 1-16. The data of Constantine's Book of Ceremonies show that the demes were divided into civil and military parts, which were respectively *Political* and *Peratic*. The *Political* divisions were under demarchs, while the *Peratic* were subject to *democrats*. The demarchs were Imperial officers and had their place in the administrative hierarchy. The democrat of the Blues was the Domestic of the Scholae; the democrat of the Greens was the Domestic of the Excubiti; and this circumstance proves the original military significance of the *Peratics*. That the demes had an organization for military purposes comes repeatedly in the history of the sixth century. For example, the Emperor Maurice on one occasion "ordered the demes (*τοὺς δήμους*) to guard the Long Walls" (Theophanes). Emperor Justinian, when the inhabitants of the country near Constantinople fled into the city before the invasion of Zabergan, is said to have "enrolled many of the demes,"² and sent them to the Long Wall. It is highly probable that the dissatisfaction of the people of Constantinople with the Emperor Maurice (and whom both *Blues* and *Greens* combined, although they were divided on the question of his successor) was due to his imposing upon them increased military duties.

The political significance of the demes is unmistakable in such a passage as Theophanes' notice of the accession of Justin (p. 165, ed. de Boor): *ὁ δὲ σπῆρμα καὶ οἱ δήμοι οὐχ εἴλατο θεόκριτον βασιλεύσαι, ἀλλ' Ἰουστινὸν ἀνεκήρυξαν*. Here there can be no question of mere Hippodrome-factions. The true importance of the Demes has been recognized by H. Gelzer, who suggests a comparison with the Macedonian Ecclesia of Alexandria under the elder Ptolemies.³ The Deme organization represents a survival of the old Greek *polis*.

But the problem how the Demes came to be connected with the colours of the circus has still to be solved. We have no clue when or why the Reds and Whites which were important in Old Rome, came to be lost in the Blues and Greens. In the sixth century the outbreaks of the demes represent a last struggle for municipal independence, on which it is the policy of imperial absolutism to encroach. The power of the demarchs has to give way to the control of the *Præfects* of the City. We are ignorant when the *Peratics* were organized separately and placed under the control of the *Domestics* of the Guards. Uspenski guesses that this change may have been contemporaneous with the first organization of the *Thema* system (p. 16).

[Literature: Wilcken, Ueber die Partheyen der Rennbahn, in the *Abh. of the Berlin Acad.*, 1827; Rambaud, *De Byzantino hippodromo et circensibus factionibus*, 1870; op. Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte*, vol. 2. Uspenski, *op. cit.*]

12. THE NIKAI RIOT—(P. 237 sqq.)

Gibbon does not distinguish the days on which the various events of the Nika riot took place, and he has fallen into some errors. Thus, like most other historians, he places the celebrated dialogue between Justinian and the Greens on the 18th of January, whereas it took place two days before. The extrication of the order of events from our various sources is attended with some difficulty. The following diary is based on a study of the subject contributed by me to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1897.

Sunday, Jan. 11 (*Ἔκτα διὰ Καλαπόδιον*). The Greens complain in the Hippodrome to the Emperor of the conduct of Calapodius. Dialogue of Justinian with the Greens (described by Theophanes). The Greens leave the Hippodrome.

In the evening a number of criminals, both Blues and Greens, are ex-

¹ Theophanes, p. 254, ed. de Boor.

² *ἔδημιονευσεν πολλούς*. I feel no doubt that this explanation of Uspenski (p. 14) is correct.

³ In Krumbacher's *Gesch. der byz. Litteratur*, ed. 2, p. 930.

outed by the Praefect of the City. This execution was doubtless a consequence of the scene in the Hippodrome, being designed to display the Emperor's impartiality to Blues and Greens alike.

A Blue and a Green are rescued and taken to the Asylum of St. Laurentius.

Monday, Jan. 12. The interval of a day gives the two factions time to concert joint action for obtaining the pardon of the two rescued criminals.

Tuesday, Jan. 13. Great celebration of horse-races in the Hippodrome (for which the races of Sunday were a sort of rehearsal). Both Demes appeal to the Emperor for mercy in vain. They then declare their union openly (as the *Prasinoveneti* or Green-Blues).

In the evening they go in a crowd to the Praefect of the City and make a new demand for a reprieve. Receiving no answer they attack the Praetorium and set it on fire; prisoners in the Praetorium prison are let out.

The rioters then march to the Augusteum to attack the palace. There are conflagrations during the night and ensuing day, and the following buildings are destroyed: the Chalké or portico of Palace, the Baths of Zeuxippus, the Senatehouse of the Augusteum, the Church of St. Sophia. This is the *first* conflagration.

Wednesday, Jan. 14. The riot, which had begun with a demand for a reprieve, now develops into an insurrection against the oppression of the administration. The outcry is directed especially against John the Cappadocian, Tribonian, and Eudaemon (Praef. of the City). Justinian yields to the pressure and deposes these ministers. But it is too late; the insurgents are determined to depose him, and the idea is to set in his place a member of the house of Anastasius. As Hypatius and Pompeius were in the Palace the people rush to the house of their brother Probus. But Probus is not found, and they set fire to his house.

Thursday, Jan. 15. Belisarius, at the head of a band of Heruls and Goths, issues from the Palace and attacks the mob. Fighting in the streets. It was, perhaps, on this day that the clergy intervened.

Friday, Jan. 16. A new attack is made on the Praetorium. Fighting in the streets continues, and a *second* conflagration breaks out in the quarter north of S. Irene, and the Hostel of Eubulus. The fire, blown southward by a north wind, consumes this Hostel, the Baths of Alexander, the Church of St. Irene, and the Hostel of Sampson.

Saturday, Jan. 17. The fighting continues. The rioters occupy a building called the *Octagon* (near the Basilica). The soldiers set fire to it, and a *third* conflagration ensues. This fire destroys the Octagon, the Church of St. Theodore Sphoracius, the Palace of Lausus, the Porticoes of the *Mesé* or Middle Street, the Church of St. Aquilina, the arch across the *Mesé* close to the Forum of Constantinople, &c.

Evening, Hypatius and Pompeius leave the Palace.

Sunday, Jan. 18. Before sunrise Justinian appears in the Hippodrome and takes an oath before the assembled people, but does not produce the desired effect. Hypatius is proclaimed; Justinian contemplates flight; a council is held in the Palace, at which Theodora's view prevails.

The revolt is then suppressed by the massacre in the Hippodrome.

Monday, Jan. 19, before daylight Hypatius and Pompeius are executed.

The final massacre is commonly placed on the Monday, but I have shown that it must have occurred on Sunday (*op. cit.*).

[Special monographs: W. A. Schmidt, *Der Aufstand in Constantinopel unter Kaiser Justinian*, 1854; P. Kalligas, *περί τῆς ἐνστάσεως τοῦ Νίκου* (in *Μελέται καὶ λόγοι*, p. 329 sqq.) 1882.]

13. ROUTES AND COMMERCE BETWEEN THE EMPIRE AND CHINA— (P. 245 sqq.)

(Reinaud, *Relations Politiques et Commerciales de l'Empire romain avec l'Asie orientale*, 1863; Pardessus in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1842,

see above, p. 244; F. von Richthofen, *China*, i., 1877; Bretschneider in *Notes on Queries on China and Japan*, vol. iv.; F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, searches into their ancient and mediæval relations, as represented in old Chinese Records, 1885; R. von Scha, *Ueber die wichtigsten Beziehungen des Orients zu Occidente*, 1887. The work of Hirth is admirably done; he gives the literal translations of the Chinese texts, and explains their date and character, so that the reader knows what he is dealing with and can test Hirth's conclusions. But Hirth seems to have no acquaintance with *Cosmas Indicopleustes*.)

The earliest certain mention of the Roman Empire in Chinese history¹ is in the *Hou-han-shu*, which, written during the fifth century, covers the period A.D. 25 to 220. Its sources were the notes made by the court chroniclers from day to day, which were carefully stored in the archives and concealed from the monarch himself, and thus supplied impartial and contemporary material to subsequent historians. We learn from this history that, in the year A.D. 97, a certain Kan-ying was sent as an ambassador to Ta-ts'in. He arrived at T'iao-chih on the coast of the great sea. For when he was going to embark the sailors said to him: "The sea is vast and great; with favourable winds it is possible to cross within three months, but if you meet adverse winds, it may also take you two years. It is for this reason that those who go to sea take on board a supply of three years' provisions. There is something in the sea which is apt to make man homesick, and several have thus lost their lives." Hearing this, Kan-ying gave up the idea of visiting Ta-ts'in (Hirth's translation, op. cit. p. 89).

It has been fully shown by Hirth that Ta-ts'in does not mean the whole Roman Empire, but only the eastern part of it, especially Syria, and that the royal city of Ta-ts'in always means Antioch. In the seventh century we first meet *Fu-jea*, the mediæval name of Ta-ts'in. The appearance of this new name has been probably connected with the Nestorian mission in China (see below, vol. v., c. xlvii.); and Hirth thinks it represents *Bethlehem*—plausibly, if he is right in supposing that the Chinese pronunciation was *bat-lim*.

The episode of Kan-ying shows that the trade route between China and the west in the first century A.D. was overland to Parthia; but thence from the city of Tiao-chih (which Hirth identifies with Hira) by river and sea round Arabia, to Aelana, the port of Petra at the head of the Red Sea, and Myos Hormos on the coast of Egypt. We also see that the carrying-trade between China and the Empire was in the hands of the Parthian merchants, whose interest it was to prevent direct communication. The kings of Ta-ts'in "always desired to send embassies to China, but the An-lu [Parthians] wished to carry on trade with them in Chinese silks, and it is for this reason that they were cut off from communication" (*Hou-han-shu*).

This arrangement was changed after the Parthian war of Marcus Aurelius in A.D. 166, and we now have the satisfaction of meeting the name of a Roman Emperor, in a shape that can be easily recognized, in the Chinese Chronicles. We read in the same document this important historical notice (ib. p. 42):

"This [the indirect commerce] lasted till the ninth year of the Yen-hsi period during the Emperor Huan-ti's reign (i.e., A.D. 166), when the king of Ta-ts'in, Antun, sent an embassy who, from the frontier of Jih-nan [Annam], offered ivory, rhinoceros horns, and tortoise-shell. From that dates the [direct] intercourse with this country."

In view of the date, the most sceptical critic can hardly refuse to recognize in Antun the name of (Marcus) Antoninus. But it is not legitimate to infer that a formal embassy was sent by the Emperor. It is more probable (as Hirth points out) that merchants went on their own account and of course used the Emperor's name. When the new direct route was established, Taprobane or Ceylon was the entrepôt, where the Chinese and Roman vessels met and the goods were transhipped.

How far the overland routes were still used is not clear. It is supposed that the

¹ Syria may be mentioned earlier in the *Shih-chi* (written about B.C. 91), under the name of Li-kan, which Hirth proposes to identify with Rekem = Petra (r is regularly represented by l in Chinese pronunciation, at least in certain dialects). Certainly the *Hou-han-shu* expressly identifies Li-kan with Ta-ts'in.

from Seleucia to Antioch is described in the Hou-han-shu (p. 48), where mention is made of a flying-bridge which has been identified by Hirth with the Euphrates-bridge at Zeugma. The road is described as safe from robbers, but dangerous from tigers and lions. Nevertheless there is a difficulty in the interpretation of some of the words, which makes the identification of this route uncertain. But in the statement that "every ten li [in this country] are marked by a 'ling, thirty li by a 'resting-place'" we can recognize the thirty stadia, and the three Arabian miles, which were equivalent to a parasang (Hirth, p. 228).

The chief products which went to China from the Roman orient were: precious stones, glass, the textile fabrics of Syria, including silk rewoven and dyed, storax and other drugs. Syria was famous as a centre of traffic in precious stones. In the Hou-han-shu (p. 48) it is sceptically remarked: "the articles made of rare precious stones produced in this country are sham curiosities and mostly not genuine".

Antioch, the capital of Ta-t'ing, is described in several of these Chinese histories, and its name is given (in the Wei-shu, sixth century) as An-tu. We can recognize in the description (p. 49) the *tetrapolis*, or four cities, of Antioch, and Hirth has shown that the measurements given by the Chinese historians may not be far from the truth. News of the conquest of Antioch and Syria by the Saracens reached China in A.D. 637 and is recorded in another history (tenth century; p. 55).

On Byzantine commerce in the sixth century, see Heyd, *Histoire du commerce pendant le moyen âge* (translation by Farcy Raynaud, with additions by the author), i., 1885, and Diehl, *Justinien*, 538 sqq.

14. JUSTINIAN'S COINAGE—(P. 254)

"Anastasius introduced a new copper coinage in the year 498, in order to relieve the people from the inconvenience resulting from the great variety in the weight and value of the coins in circulation, many of which must have been much defaced by the use and wear of time. The new coinage was composed of pieces with their value marked on the reverse by large numeral letters indicating the number of units they contained. The nummus, which was the smallest copper coin then in circulation, appears to have been taken as this unit, and its weight had already fallen to about 6 grains. The pieces in general circulation were those of 1, 5, 10, 20 and 40 nummi, marked A, E, I, K and M.

"Justin I. followed the type and standard of Anastasius, but the barbarous variety of his coins, even when minted at Constantinople, is remarkable. The same variety and the same barbarism appear in the copper money of Justinian I. until the fifteenth year of his reign, A.D. 538. He then improved the fabric and added the date, numbering the years of his reign on the reverse" (Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. i. 445).

Under Anastasius only three mints were at work, Constantinople, Nicomedia, and Antioch. Under Justin I. two were added, Cyricus and Thessalonica. "But Justinian the organizer of victory has left ineffaceable traces on the coinage, and in the place of the five mint-centres of Justin I. we have the eleven or twelve mints of Justinian. The conquest of northern Africa, of Sicily and Italy, made Carthage, Catania, Rome, and Ravenna Imperial mints." [Money was also coined under Justinian at Alexandria and Cherson.] "His coinage is remarkably abundant and was evidently regularized with care" (Wroth, *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, i. p. xv.).

The portraiture of Justinian in mosaics and coins is discussed by Diehl, *Justinien*, 14 sqq., and Wroth, *op. cit.*, xc. sqq. The bust on the gold and bronze issue of A.D. 538 seems to be a genuine attempt at portraiture and is of the same character as the mosaic representation of Justinian in S. Apollinare nuovo at Ravenna. It is beardless and agrees pretty well with the personal description of Justinian in Procopius, *Hist. arc.*, c. 8. The Emperor's face in S. Vitale has a moustache (cp. John Malalas, 425), and we may suppose that at some time later than A.D. 538 Justinian adopted this fashion. Wroth, however, questions whether we can rely much upon the S. Vitale likeness. On the other hand he thinks that the profile head which appears on bronze coins struck at Rome either by Justinian or the Ostrogoths (Pinder and Friedländer, *Pl. v.*, 8) may be taken as a portrait.

15. ORACLES IN PROCOPIUS—(P. 328)

Two Latin oracles, quoted and translated by Procopius in *Bell. Got.* bk. 7 and 24, have perplexed interpreters. The Latin words, copied by Greek ignorant of Latin, underwent corruption. One general principle of the corruption is clear. Those Latin letters which have a different form from the corresponding Greek were assimilated to Greek letters of similar form but different sound. Thus P was taken for *Rho*, C for *Sigma*, F was assimilated to E. Thus *PERIBIT* would appear as *ερχεθίτα* (as we actually find it in the Oxford Ms. of John Malactas, p. 427, ed. Bonn). *AFRICA CAPTA* would be set down in the form *αφρισα καπτα*.

(1) The oracle concerning Mundus, to which Gibbon refers as obscure, appears thus in the best Ms. (ed. Comparetti, i. p. 47, ed. Haury, p. 33) :—

αφρισα καπτα mundus cum natu περισταλ

(the Laurentian Ms. gives *αφρισας απτα* and *τ(ε)ρισταλ*).

The interpretation of the first five words is clear :—

Africa capta Mundus cum nato . . .

but the last seven (eight ?) characters can hardly represent *peribit* (Braum) or *peristat* (Comparetti).

It has usually been assumed that *Africa capta* is ablative, but we must take the oracle to have been metrical, since Procopius speaks of it as *αἰδόμενον* (ed. Bonn, p. 38, 17). Hence I concluded (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 15, 46, 1906) that *Africa capta* is nominative, and formed the end of a hexameter. I also suggested that *peribit* represents *periet* (for this future form compare Corippus, *Johannis*, 6, 44 ; 8, 20) and that the oracle might have run :

<fuert simul> *Africa capta,*

Mundus cum nato periet—

which Procopius translates *ἡνίκα ἂν Ἀφρικὴ ἐχθται, ὁ κόσμος ἐκ τῆ γῆς ἀνίσταται* (H. Jackson, *Journal of Philology*, 30, 225 sqq., 1906, proposed: *Africa capta sedet*; *Mundus natusque peribit*.)

(2) The Sibylline prophecy with which the besieged Romans consoled themselves in the spring of A.D. 537, that in the month of July a king would arise for the Romans and deliver them from fear of the Goths, is recorded in bk. i. c. 24 (Comparetti, p. 177, Haury, p. 121), and is more difficult. The Vatican Ms. gives the Latin in peculiar characters which cannot be here reproduced; the Laurentian gives the Greek transliteration :—

ἦν τι ποιμεν ζε και ι βενω. και κατε νη σι γρ' σο επικτην ετι συ πιεπιτα.

The interpretation of Procopius is : *χρηνην γαρ τότε βασιλέα Ρωμαίους καταστήσει τινα ἐξ οὗ δὴ Γετικὸν οὐδὲν Ῥώμη τὸ λοιπὸν δείσει.*

Comparetti gives as the original :—

Quintili mense sub novo Romanus rege nihil Geticum iam metuet.

But the words *sub novo Romanus rege* are not there, and there can I think be no doubt that this oracle also was metrical. I have discussed the question of reconstruction in *Byz. Ztsch.*, loc. cit., 45-6, and arrived at the reconstruction :

*Quintili mensē si rex <— —> at in arce
— — — <— — nihil geticum ia <m Ro> ma t <i> meto.*

16. UNOGUNDURS, KUTRIGURS, UTIGURS; TETRAXITE GOTHES—
(P. 369, 454)

Gibbon designates the people of Zabergan who invaded the Illyric peninsula A.D. 559 as Bulgarians. Victor Tonnennensis *ad ann.* 560 has the notice; Bulgares Thraciam pervadunt et usque ad Sycas Constantinopolin veniunt; and it is clear that he refers to the same invasion which is described in detail by Agathias. Malala in his record of the event (p. 490; March A.D. 559), describes the invaders as αὐτοὶ οὐκ

of *Σαλαῖς*, Huns and Slavs (and his notice is copied by Theophanes, p. 283, ed. Boor). But Agathias does not speak of Bulgarians or Slavs; in his history Zaberis is the chief of the Kutrigur Huns, whom we already knew from Procopius. In Gothic War, B. 4, c. 4, 5, 18, Procopius explains that the Kutrigurs dwell "on the side of the Maeotic Lake," the Utigurs beyond it, on the east side of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. The Don was the boundary between their territories. And both Procopius and Agathias represent Kutrigurs and Utigurs as tribes of Huns.¹ The relation of kinship, and at the same time a clearly marked political distinction, between the Kutrigurs, the Utigurs, and the Bulgarians of the Danube, is given by the legends which represent (1) Kutrigur and Utigur as the sons of the same hero, who divided his kingdom (Proc. B. G. iv. 5), and (2) Kotragos as a son of Zarat, the ancestor of the Bulgarians (Nicephorus Patriarch. Brev., p. 88, ed. de Boor; Theophanes, p. 321, ed. de Boor), along with the notice (*ib.*) that the Kotragoi of Lake Maeotis are *δούρυλοι* of the Bulgarians.

It is therefore correct to describe the Kutrigurs as Bulgarians, provided we do not identify them with the Bulgarians who afterwards occupied Messia and founded the modern Bulgarian kingdom. These Bulgarians were distinguished as the Unogundurs (Theophanes, p. 356, ed. de Boor, Nicephorus Patr. Brev., p. 24, ed. de Boor). They moved to the north of the mouths of the Danube after the break up of Attila's Empire (A.D. 454 (op. Marquart, *Die Chronologie der alt-türkischen Inschriften*, 77, 1898)) and abode there between the Danube and the Dniester till they crossed the Danube in the seventh century. These are the Bulgarians who fought with Theodoric and repeatedly invaded the Balkan peninsula in the reign of Anastasius. The Kutrigurs, a branch of the same Hunnic people, lived to the east of the Dnieper, and the Utigurs, another branch, beyond the Don. Both these latter passed afterwards under the dominion of the Khazars.

The previous dealings of Justinian with the Kutrigurs and Utigurs are recorded by Procopius (B. G. 4, 18, 19). He adopted the same principles of policy which were afterwards formulated into a system in the *De Administratione Imperii* of Constantine Porphyrogenetos. The danger to the Empire was from the Kutrigurs who were nearest to it; and so Justinian cultivated friendly relations with the Utigurs who were farthest from it, gave them yearly presents, and endeavoured to stir up discord between the two peoples. In A.D. 550, a band of Kutrigurs, invoked by the Gepids against their enemies the Lombards, crossed the Danube and ravaged Imperial territory. Justinian incited Sandichl, the king of the Utigurs, to invade the Kutrigur territory, where he wrought great destruction (? A.D. 551). The same policy was repeated after the invasion of Zabergan in A.D. 559; and Sandichl, having captured their wives and children, met and defeated the warriors of Zabergan on their return from Thracæ (see Agathias, 5, 24, 25, and Menander, fr. 3, F. H. G. iv. p. 202).

In the attack upon the Kutrigurs in A.D. 551, the Utigurs were assisted by 2000 Tetraxite Goths. This people had established their abodes on the east side of the Cimmerian Bosphorus (straits of Kertch), around the city of Phanagoria, in the peninsula of Taman, south of the Utigurs. They had originally dwelled in the Crimea, and must not be confused with the Crimean Goths (see Loewe, *op. cit.*, *infra*, 22 *sqq.*). Originally the Crimean and the Tetraxite Goths seem to have been all one Germanic people, who occupied the greater part of the Crimea; but probably in the fifth century the Eastern tribes crossed the straits and settled in Taman where they became known as Tetraxites. Loewe has attempted to show that these Germans were not Goths (Ostrogoths who had been left behind), but Heruls.

The Tetraxite Goths were Christians, but they do not seem to have learned their Christianity from Ulfilas, for they were not Arians. Procopius says that their religion was primitive and simple. We here touch on a problem which has not been fully cleared up. In the year 547-8 they sent an embassy to Constantinople. Their ship had died and they asked Justinian to send them a new one. At the same time the ambassadors in a private audience explained the political situation in the regions of Lake Maeotis and set forth the advantages which the Empire could derive

¹ The form *Οὐρόρυποι* used to appear in the texts of Procopius. But the best MSS. preserve the true form *Οὐρί-ρυποι* (see ed. Haury, vol. II. p. 508), which also appears in Agathias.

from fomenting enmities among the Huns. An inscription has been recently found near Taman, on a stone which may have come from Phanagoria, and it possesses interest as being possibly connected with this negotiation. It was published by V. Lashin (in the *Vizantiiski Vremennik*, 1894, p. 657 *sqq.*), who sought to explain it by Justinian's political relations with Bosphorus in A.D. 527-8 (see below), and dated it at 538. But the serious objections to this explanation have been set forth by Kulakovski (*Viz. Vrem.*, 1895, 189 *sqq.*).

We have clearly to do with a building—probably a church—built under auspices, and at the expense (?) of Justinian, in the 11th indiction. The place where the stone was found indicates *prima facie* that it was a building at Phanagoria. Why should a stone relating to a building at Bosphorus lie in the Taman peninsula? We may admit that Kulakovski may be right in identifying “the eleventh indiction” of the inscription with the year A.D. 547-8, in which Justinian gave the Tiberius Goths a bishop. At the same time he may have subscribed money to the construction of a new church or the restoration of an old one. But to whichever of the three eleventh indictions of Justinian's reign the inscription belongs, it is an interesting monument of his influence in Taman.²

Bosphorus, too, was independent, but in the reign of Justin we find him acknowledging the supremacy of New Rome (Procopius, B. P. i. 12). New Rome had settled a small tribe of Huns. At the time of Justinian's succession their name was Grod (Γροδ, Malalas, Cod. Barocc.; Γροδᾶς, Theophanes, who took notice from Malalas);³ and he, desiring to become a Christian, went to Constantinople and was baptized. His journey had also a political object. Justinian gave him money and he undertook to defend Bosphorus. The great importance of Bosphorus at this time lay in its being the chief emporium between the Empire and Hunland. It seems pretty clear that Bosphorus was at this time threatened by Kutrigurs, and the journey of Grod may have been rather due to an invitation from Constantinople than spontaneous. That danger threatened at this moment is shown by the fact that Justinian also placed a garrison in Bosphorus under a tribune. Grod's conversion was not a success. The heathen priests murdered him, and the tragedy was followed by the slaughter of the garrison of Bosphorus. We hear no more of Bosphorus until it was taken by the Turks (Khazars) in A.D. 576. Kulakovski has well shown that Justinian had little interest in maintaining in it a garrison or governor (*Viz. Vrem.*, ii., 1896, 8 *sqq.*), for it was never a centre for political relations with the lands east of the Euxine. Embassies between Constantinople and the Avars or the Abasgians, or the Turks of the Golden Mount, went overland by the coast of the Black Sea and Trebizond, and not *via* Bosphorus. After A.D. 576 Bosphorus was subject to the Khazars.

The inscription which was found in the region of Taman in 1808 and is preserved in Boeckh's *Corpus Inscr. Gr.* 8740, is still mysterious. It has been recently discussed by the two Russian scholars to whom I have already referred, Lashin (*loc. cit.*) and Kulakovski (*Viz. Vrem.*, 1896, 1 *sqq.*).⁴ Only the three last letters of the name of “our most pious and god-protected lord” can be deciphered (ΚΙΟ), the favourite restoration is *Μαυρίκιος*. But this lord is certainly not the Emperor Maurice, as Kulakovski has shown, for (1) the shores of the Bosphorus after A.D. 576 were under the dominion of the Turks, and (2) an Emperor would not be described by such a title. The inscription shows that an officer named Eupaterios, who called himself “the most glorious stratelates and duke of Cherson,” restored a *κτίσις* or palace for a barbarian prince of unknown name, on the east side of the Bosphorus, in some eighth indiction in the fifth or sixth century A.D. (for to establish the writing points). The barbarian was clearly a Christian, and it is hard to see

² Since these words were written, A. Semenov has discussed the inscription (*Изв. Виз. Зсchrift.*, 6, p. 887 *sqq.*, with similar reserve.

³ This name is not included in the list of Hun and Avar names in Vambergy's *magyarok eredete*.

⁴ πρὸς τοῖς λοιποῖς | μεγάλοις καὶ θαυμαστοῖς | κατορθώμασι καὶ τότε τὸ | λαμπρὸν Βοσπόρον | καὶ σάβριον ἀνετίθει | [. . .] | καὶ ὁ εὐσεβέστατος καὶ θεοφύλακτος τῆς δεσπότης διὰ τοῦ γρησίου αὐτοῦ | δούλου Εὐπατερίου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου | στρατηλάτου δουκὸς Χερσῶνος. Ἰνδικτιῶνος ἡ.

so can have been but a chief of the Tetraxite Goths, who got workmen from Cherson. But it is very strange that an officer of Cherson should describe himself as the "loyal servant" of a Gothic prince.⁵

The subject of the Tetraxite Goths has been treated by Vasilievski, in the *Zhurnal Min. Narod. Prosvieschenia*, 195 (1878), p. 105 sqq., and by R. Loewe in *Die Reste der Germanen am schwarzen Meere*, 1896—a book which also deals fully with the Goths of the Crimea. See also W. Tomaschek, *Die Goten in Taurien*, 1881.

17. THE TURKS—(P. 373)

New light has been thrown on early Turkish history by the discovery and decipherment of ancient Turkish inscriptions in Eastern Mongolia in the regions of the Orkhon and Yenissei, especially the inscriptions of Koshu-Tsaidam in the valley of the former river. They were deciphered by Thomsen (*Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées*, 1894), and have been edited, studied and interpreted by W. Radloff: *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, 1895, *Neue Folge* (with an essay by W. Barthold on their historical significance), 1897, and *Zweite Folge* (edition of the Inscription of Tonjukuk discovered in 1897, with essays by F. Hirth and W. Barthold), 1899. The historical bearings and the chronological data have been studied by Marquart, *Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, 1898.

These inscriptions belong to the beginning of the eighth century, and concern mainly the history of the seventh and eighth centuries. They afford much information in regard to the institutions of the Turks (who are designated under this name). The two most important inscriptions of Koshu-Tsaidam, which describe the deeds of Kül-Tägin and Bilgä-Chagan, are prefaced by a short summary of the earlier history of the Turks. But for the fifth and earlier part of the sixth century the most detailed sources are Chinese records, and the problem is to correlate them with the incidental notions of Greek writers. This has been attempted by E. H. Parker, in the *English Historical Review*, July, 1896, 481 sqq. (cp. Bury, *The Turks in the Sixth Century*, ib., July, 1897), and also by Marquart, *Historische Glossen zu den alttürkischen Inschriften*, in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (also called *Vienna Oriental Journal*), xii. 157 sqq., 1898. See also Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, 1896.

According to Parker, a branch of the Hiung-nu, in the central part of the modern province of Kan-suh, was crushed by the Tungusic Tartars: but Asena fled westward with 500 tents to the territory of the Geougen, and his men were employed by them as iron workers in an iron district. Nearly a hundred years after the flight of Asena, his descendant Notur (before A.D. 543) first introduced the word Turk as the name of his folk. The residence of the Turkish Khans, when they overthrew the power of the Geougen, was near the eastern border of the modern Chinese province of Kan-suh, somewhat north of the Kok-o-nor mountains. Here was the iron district where they worked for the Geougen.

The Turks achieved their independence and founded their empire in the middle of the sixth century under a khan who appears in the Chinese sources as Tu-men and is mentioned under A.D. 545 and 552. He was succeeded, after a brief intervening reign, by the great khan Mo-kan (553-572) who extended his power westward, conquering the Hephthalites, who at that time ruled in Transoxiana.

We should be inclined to identify Bumyn Chagan ("the famous Chagan who raised himself above the sons of men"), who is celebrated as the founder of Turkish greatness in the Turkish inscriptions (Radloff, i., p. 4 and 48), with Mo-kan rather than with Tumen, but Marquart may well be right in holding that Turkish tradition had blended both these khans into one figure. I agree with Marquart in his identification of Mo-kan with Menander's Silzibulos (fr. 10, A.D. 562), a name which represents Sil-zybul-baga-qagan.

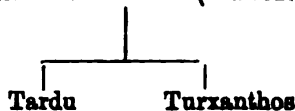
It is clear that under Mo-kan the Turkish empire was divided into two realms, the Eastern and Western. The great khan, who ruled the Eastern realm, had his

⁵The inscription of the Caesar Tiberius Julius Diptunes of Bosphorus, published in vol. 2 of Latyshev's collection of Inscriptions (No. 39), cannot belong to Justinian's reign, as Latyshev now admits, but probably dates from the fourth or fifth century.

seat on the Golden Mountain, north of Koko-Nor (in the Chinese province of Lashu); the Western ruler, who was subordinate to the great khan, resided far to the north, in the west part of the great Altai range, and his residence is Menander's Ektag, "White Mountain" (which Menander renders "Golden Mountain"). Marquart pointed out this in the paper cited above, but was wrong in distinguishing Menander's Ektag (fr. 20) from Ektel (fr. 43), in not distinguishing Silzibulos from Dizabulos, and in assuming that the Khan of Ektag was independent of the Eastern Khan. See Marquart, *Hist. Gloss.*, 188.

Dizabulos was appointed khan of the Western realm by Mo-kan, and he was visited at Ektag by Zemarchos, ambassador of Justin II., in A.D. 568-9 (Menander, fr. 20; but John of Ephesus vi. 23, places this embassy in 572/3). Marquart identified him with She-tie-mi, brother of Tu-men, and this is doubtless right; for She-tie-mi, of the Chinese sources, was father of Ta-t'u-kan, who is certainly the same as Menander's Tardu, and Tardu was *δραμιος*, "brother" of Turxanthos, Dizabulos's son. Marquart thinks that the same person is meant by the Istāmi Khagan of the Turkish inscriptions and by *Στεμβίς-χάγας* of Theophylactus Simocatta (vii. 7, 9).

Tu-men—She-tie-mi (Dizabul)



In A.D. 576 Valentine was sent on an embassy to the Turks by Justin II. At this time Tapur (A.D. 572-81) was the East Turkish and supreme khan; with him Valentine had nothing to do, his mission was to the West Turkish ruler, Dizabulos. But Dizabulos had just died before his arrival and was succeeded by his son Tardu (whom the Chinese regarded as the founder of the West Turkish Empire). The West Turkish Empire was divided into great provinces, and one of the western provinces was ruled by Turxanthos (perhaps a title rather than a proper name, says Marquart), Tardu's brother. The headquarters or camp of Turxanthos is designated by Menander (fr. 43) as τὰ πολεμικά σύμβολα τοῦ Τ. Thence he was sent to Tardu's "Ektel," i.e., Ektag in Mount Altai. The realm of the West Turks under Tardu reached southward to Kashgar, westward to the sea of Aral, and northward to the Steppes (Hirth *apud* Marquart, *Hist. Gloss.*, 196).

Under the khan Mo-kan or Silzibul the Turkish power in its early period seems to have been at its height. He "established a system of government which was practically bounded by Japan and Corea, China and Thibet, Persia and the Eastern Roman Empire". It appears from Turkish inscriptions that the Turks called the Chinese *Tavgas*; and it can hardly be questioned that this is the same word as *Taugast*, a land mentioned by Theophylactus as in the neighbourhood of India. He states that the khan was at peace with Taugast (in the reign of Maurice). Marquart has pointed out that the statements in Theophylactus vii. 7, 8, refer to the conquests of Tu-men and Mo-kan and are falsely transferred to the khan contemporary of Maurice. From the forms Ἀβδαλός = Hephthalites and Ταυγδορ he infers that the written source of Theophylactus was Syriac. The order of the conquests is here given in a different order from that of the Chinese authorities, that of the Hephthalites being placed before that of the Avars.

18. THE AXUMITES AND HIMYARITES—(P. 411 sqq.)

[A. Dillmann, *Zur Geschichte des axumitischen Reiches*, in *Abhandlungen der Berlin Academy*, 1880; L. Duchesne, *Églises séparées*, 281 sqq., 1896.]

The affairs of the kingdom of the Himyarites or Homerites of Yemen (Arabia Felix) always demanded the attention of the Roman sovereigns, as the Himyarites had in their hands most of the carrying trade between the Empire and India. This people carried their civilization to Abyssinia, on the other side of the Red Sea. The capital of the Abyssinian state was Axum, and hence it was known as the kingdom of the Axumites. Our first notice of this state is probably to be

¹ Called Dilzibulos in fr. 43.

ed in the *Periplus of the Red Sea*, which was composed by a merchant in the time of Vespasian. (Best edition of this work by Fabricius, 1880.) There a Zoskales is mentioned, and it is almost certain that an inscription which was Indicopleustes copied at Adulis (C. I. G. 5127 B) refers to him. (See E. Müller, *Denkschriften of the Vienna Academy*, xliii., 1894.) In the fourth century we find that the king of Axum has reduced the Homerites under his sway; C. I. G. 5128, βασιλεὺς Ἀξουμῶν καὶ Ὀμηριῶν. This does not mean that both ones had only one king; it means that the king of the Homerites acknowledged overlordship of his more powerful neighbour.

At the same time Christianity was beginning to make its way in these regions. Originally both Axumites and Homerites were votaries of the old Sabæan religion. In the Jewish diaspora had led to the settlement of Jews in Central Arabia—in the region between the Nabataean kingdom (which reached as far as Leukê Kômê) and Yemen,—and the result was that Judaism took root in the kingdom of the Homerites. The mission of Frumentius to Abyssinia about the middle of the fourth century has been mentioned by Gibbon in a former chapter; the foundations of the Ethiopian Church were laid; but the king himself did not embrace the new doctrine. The name of the king of Axum at that time (c. 346-356 A.D.) was Aizan, and he was pagan (C. I. G. 5128). The conversion of the Homerites was also begun under the auspices of the Emperor Constantius. The missionary was Theophilus, either a Homerite or an Axumite by birth,¹ who had been sent as a hostage to the court of Constantine. The Homerite king, though he had not adopted Christianity, built up Christian churches at his own expense and permitted his subjects to be converted if they wished. It was not till much later, in the reign of Anastasius, that Christianity began to spread, and a bishopric was founded (Theodorus Lector, 2, 58). The progress of the Christian faith advanced at least equally in Axum. It has been supposed (though hardly with good reason) that it was before the end of the fifth century that the king (or "negus") of Abyssinia was converted.²

In the reign of Justin, a Homerite prince named Dhû-Novas (Gibbon's Dunaan) threw off the Axumite yoke, restored the dominance of the Jewish religion, and massacred Christians in Nejrân. The king sent an embassy to Al-Mundir, the chief of the Saracens of Hira, to announce his success against Axum and Christianity. The message happened to come at a moment when envoys of the Emperor Justin had arrived on business to Al-Mundir (Jan. 20, 524). The news of the massacre, which was soon carried to Syria, created a great sensation, and John Psaltes (abbot of a monastery near the Syrian Chalcis) wrote a hymn in honour of the martyrs. (Published by Schröter, *Ztsch. der morgenl. Gesellschaft*, ..) There is also extant a letter of one Simeon Beth-Arsam, on the massacre: prince text with Italian translation, by J. Guidi, in the *Memoirs of the Académie des sciences*, vol. vii., 1880-1. The *Martyrium Aréthas*, *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. x., p. 721 sq., seems to depend on the letter of Simeon. On the intervention of Justin, the king of the Axumites, Elesbaas or Chaleb,³ reconquered Yemen, overthrew Dhû-Novas, and set up Esimphaeus in his stead.⁴ But the revolt of a Christian named

¹ He was a native of the island of Dîbûs. Various suggestions have been made as to the identity of this island. M. Duchesne thinks it was one of the little islands off the coast of Abyssinia.

² This involves the hypothesis that the story of the victory of the Axumite king Andan (or Adad) over the Homerite king Dimnos (or Damianus) is not to be assigned to A.D. 27-8, in which year Malalas who records the story (ed. Bonn, p. 433-4) appears to place it. Theophanes, who takes the notice from Malalas, places it however still later, in A.D. 542-3 A.M. 6085). Andan swore that he would become a Christian if he were successful against the Homerites, and he kept his vow.

³ *Elesbaas*, Nonnosus, Theophanes; *Elesbaas*, Oxford Ma. of Malalas; *Ellistharus*, Procopius; *Ἐλεσβαδ*, Cosmas. Ludolf gives the Ethiopian original as *Ela Atzbeha*.

⁴ For these events the *Martyrium Aréthas* (with the *Vita Gregentii*) and Procopius, B. P. I. 20, are the chief sources. Theophanes briefly mentions the episode under the right year, A.D. 523-4. Procopius gives the name of the new prince or viceroy Esimphaeus, and records the revolt of Abramoe. Malalas (p. 467, ed. Bonn) gives Anganes as the name of the king of the Homerites who was set up by Elesbaas. The form *Ksimphaeus* represents *Ἀσσιμπαῦδ*, which is found on a coin (Rev. Numism. 1868, ii. 8). See further the account of Ibn Ishâq (Nöldeke, Tabari, 197 sq.).

Abramos soon demanded a second intervention on the part of Elesbaas. The negus was unlucky. One Abyssinian army deserted to the rebel, and a second was destroyed. Abramos remained in power, and after the death of Eudaimon recognized the overlordship of his successor.

In connexion with the Homerite persecution, we must notice the shadowy figure of Gregentius, the Homerite bishop, who if he existed—and there seems no reason to doubt it—flourished in the reign of Justin I. and Justinian. To him is attributed two works *Nóμοι τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν* and *ἰδιότης μετὰ Ἰουδαίων Ἐπιστολὴ* (both printed in Migne, P. G. 86, 561 sqq.). There is a short biographical notice of him in the *Synaxarium Ecol. Oplitanæ* under December 19 (828-80, ed. Delehaye, 1908); a full life is also preserved in Mss., and extracts from it have been recently published by A. Vasil'ev, from a Sinai Ms., in the *Visantiiski Vremennik*, 14, 93 sqq. According to this narrative, Abramos was set up by Elesbaas, by the suggestion of Gregentius (who had been consecrated bishop and sent to Yemen by the Patriarch of Alexandria, Proterios). Abramos reigned for thirty years, and Gregentius served him. [For the war of the Ethiopians with the Homerites, compare the articles in *Zeitschrift der morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, by Fell, 35, 74 sqq., 1881; and Mordtmann, 31, 67 sqq., 1877; 35, 698 sqq., 1881; also that of J. Deramsey in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 28, 14 sqq., 1893 (cp. ib., 31, 155 sqq., 1895).]

The embassy of Nonnosus to Elesbaas probably took place in the year 530.⁵ In the year A.D. 542-3 we find, according to Theophanes (p. 213, ap. Boor), Adad, king of the Axumites, and Damian, king of the Homerites, were put to death Roman merchants who entered Yemen, on the ground that they were his Jewish subjects. This policy injured the trade between Abyssinia and the Empire, and Adad and Damian fell out. Then Adad, who was still a heathen, swore that if he conquered the Homerites, he would become a Christian. He was victorious and fulfilled his vow, and sent to Justinian for a bishop. A man named John was sent from Alexandria.

This notice of Theophanes was derived from John Malalas, who however apparently placed it in the first year of Justinian (A.D. 527-8). This date may be right, as Elesbaas was king of the Axumites in that year. M. Duchesne thinks that the episode of Adad (who in Malalas is called Andan) and Damian (Damian in Malalas, more correctly) was anterior to the reign of Elesbaas. This may be a hazardous conjecture. There is no reason why a successor of Elesbaas (whether his son or not) must needs have been a Christian; and it is hard to believe that Theophanes acted purely arbitrarily in placing under the year A.D. 542-3 an event which he found in Malalas under 527-8.⁶ It must be observed that Malalas was the only source of Theophanes. On the other hand Ibn Ishāq (apud Tabari, Nöldeke, p. 219) gives a succession of kings of Yemen which leaves no room for Damian. The succession is Abraha, Yaksūm, Maarūq (who is supposed to be the same as *Sanaturkes* in Theophanes of Byzantium; which seems doubtful; the *Sana* in this name seems to correspond to the Homerite town Sana). Ibn Ishāq assigns an impossible number of years to these kings; and I doubt whether his statements are absolutely decisive as against Theophanes.⁷

It is another question whether, as Gutschmid and Nöldeke have suggested, Malalas and Theophanes and John of Ephesus (who has the same story) have all changed the names of the Axumite and Homerite kings (see Nöldeke, Tabari, p. 177). The reason is that on the obverse of some coins *Διμήτης* appears as the heathen king of the Axumites; while on the reverse *Ἀφίβας* is represented as the vassal king of the

⁵ We know from Nonnosus himself (ap. Phot. Bibl. Cod. 3 = Müller, iv. p. 173) that he was sent to Elesbaas; and it seems justifiable to identify this embassy with the one described by Malalas (p. 457). From the previous dates in Malalas, it seems probable that the year was A.D. 530. The date A.D. 533 (given by Gibbon, Müller, &c.) is too late for the mission must have been previous to the conclusion of the peace.

⁶ The motive of Malalas was to group it with other conversions of heathen kings.

⁷ It is to be observed that the expedition of Abraha against Mecca, being mentioned by Procopius, B. P. i. 20 (see Nöldeke, p. 205), was earlier than A.D. 545; so that Abraha might conceivably have been dead before 542; and another ruler might have intervened between him and Yaksūm (*Ἰαξουμ*).

nerites. (*Revue Numismatique*, 1868, t. ii., 1, 2.) This conjecture seems very probable. In any case the form Dimēan explains the Greek variants Δίμων and Διμός.⁸

The Persian invasion of Yemen took place between 562 and 572 (cp. Nöldeke, 24), and formed one of the causes of the war between Justin and Chosroes. Arsaces was at this time king of the Axumites, and Justin sent an ambassador named Arsaces to him, urging him to hostilities against Persia. In noticing this embassy anno 571-2—A.M. 6084) Theophanes has borrowed the account that is given by Malalas of the reception of the ambassador Nonnosus by Elesbaas; and hence he is always supposed to refer to the same embassy and to have misdated it. But the substitution of the new names (Arethas for Elesbaas, and Julianus for the ambassador whom Malalas does not name) refutes this opinion.

In this note much help has been derived from the valuable article of L. DuRoi, in his *Eglises Séparées* (cited above), where there will also be found an account of the conversions of the Blemmyes and the Nobadae of Upper Egypt.

19. THE WAR IN AFRICA AFTER THE DEATH OF SOLOMON— (P. 416 sqq.)

John—who is distinguished, among the numerous officers who bore the same name, as the “brother of Pappus” (Jordanes calls him *Trogliita*; Rom. 885)—arrived in Africa towards the end of A.D. 546. He had served under Belisarius in the overthrow of the Vandal kingdom and had remained in Africa during the first military governorship of Solomon (Joh. i. 470). He was then commander of the army in Mesopotamia in the Persian War (Procop. B. P. 2, 14), and was engaged in the battle of Nisibis in which Nabedes was defeated in 541. Procopius (ib. 17) represents him as on this occasion rashly involving the army in extreme peril, which was only avoided by the skill of Belisarius; but Corippus ascribes the victory to his hero:—

expulit ut Persas, stravit quo vulnere Parthos
confusus turbis densisque obstare sagittis
tempore quo late manarunt Nitzibis agri
sanguine Persarum, Parthoque a rege secundus
congressus Nabedes, fretus virtute feroci,
amisit socias ipso superante catervas, &c. (l. 58 sqq.).

John contrived to enter Theodosiopolis, when it was besieged by the host of Mermeroes, and took part in the defeat of that general at Daras (Coripp., ib. 70 sqq.). He brought with him to Africa a trusted councillor named Recinarius—*lateri Recinarius hærens* (ib. 2, 314),—who had been employed in the negotiations with Chosroes in A.D. 544.

It would probably have been impossible for the Roman power to hold its own in Africa, if the Moors from the Syrtis Major to Mt. Atlas had been united in a solid league. It is highly important to observe that the success of the Empire depended on the discord of the Moorish chiefs, and that the forces upon which John relied in the war were more Moorish than Roman. The three most important chiefs were Antala, king of the Fraxenees (Fraxinich), in Byzacium; Cusina, whose tribe¹ was settled under Mount Aurasius, in the neighbourhood of Lambæsis; and Jaudas, king of the Moors of Mt. Aurasius. Cusina and Antala were always on opposite sides. Antala was loyal to Rome, when Cusina rebelled in 535; Cusina was true to Solomon, when Antala took up arms in 544. John was now supported by Cusina, and by Ifsadaias, the chief of another tribe in Numidia. The first battle was fought in the interior regions of Byzacium, in the winter A.D. 546-7, and Antala was routed. John returned to Carthage, but in the following summer had to face

⁸ This variation seems in itself to prove that Theophanes had before him another source.

¹ The name is not certain. The verse 3, 408,
Cusina Mastracianis secum viribus ingens
is obviously corrupt.

a great coalition of the Syrtic tribes, including the Lagnantan and the Marmaricæ under the leadership of Carcasan. This league was not joined by Antala. The Romans suffered a complete defeat near Marta, a place about ten Roman miles from Tacape on the Lesser Syrtis (Partsch, *Procop.* p. xxxiii.), and John was unable to resume hostilities till the following year. He retired to Laribus in West Zengitana, a town which Justinian had fortified:—²

urbs Laribus mediis surgit tutissima silvis
et muris munita novis quos condidit ipse
Iustinianus apex, orbis dominator Eoi
occiduique potens Romani gloria regni.

Here he was close to Numidia and his Moorish confederates, the faithful Cusina and the savage Ifsadaia, and here he spent the winter A.D. 547-8. He succeeded in obtaining the help of king Jaudas, who was generally hostile to Rome; and the Roman army, including the immense forces of Cusina and Ifsadaia, assembled in the plain of Arsuris, an unknown place, probably in Byzacium. The Marmaridæ and Southern Moors had now been joined by Antala. His wise advice was not to resort to a battle until they had wearied the enemy out by long marches, and the Romans withdrew to the south of Byzacium. But John declined to pursue them; he fortified himself in a stronghold on the coast of that province, where he would probably have awaited their attack if the event had not been hastened by the impatience of the mutinous soldiers. With the help of his Moorish allies he repressed the sedition but thought it wise to lead his army down into the plains. He encamped in an unknown region called the "fields of Cato," and the Moors, pressed by hunger, were soon compelled to leave their camp and take the field. The defeat of Marta was brilliantly retrieved. Carcasan fell, and the Moors were so effectually broken that Africa had rest for about fourteen years. John remained in Africa as *magister militum*, at least till A.D. 553, in which year we find him undertaking an expedition to Sardinia.³

In A.D. 562 the Moorish troubles broke out again. Cusina, the faithful adherent to the Roman cause, was treacherously killed by John Rogatinus, the *magister militum*, and his sons roused the Moors to vengeance, and devastated the province.

In this account I have been assisted by the disquisition of J. Partsch, in the *Procopium* to his edition of Corippus, and by the narrative of Diehl, in *L'Afrique byzantine*.

20. THE EXARCHS—(P. 418, 452)

The earliest mention of the name Exarch in connexion with the government of Italy is in a letter of Pope Pelagius II. to the deacon Gregory (*Migne, Patr. Lat.* vol. 82, p. 707; cp. Diehl, *Études sur l'administration byzantine dans l'exarchat de Ravenne*, p. 178), dated Oct. 4, 484. Seven years later we meet the earliest mention of an Exarch of Africa (Gregory the Great, *Ep.* i. 59), in July, 591. Under the Emperors Justin and Tiberius (A.D. 565-582) the supreme military governor was entitled *magister militum*. It is therefore undoubtedly right to ascribe to Marcian (Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, p. 478) the investiture of the military governor with extraordinary powers and a new title designating his new position. Gennadius was the first exarch of Africa.

From the first hour of the Imperial restoration in Africa military and civil governors existed side by side, and the double series of *magistri militum* (and exarchs) and *Prætorian Præfects* can be imperfectly traced till the middle of the seventh century.¹ On some exceptional occasions the two offices were united in a single individual. Thus Solomon was both *magister militum* and *Prætorian Præfect* in A.D. 585, and again in A.D. 589, &c.; and Theodorus held the same powers in A.D. 569. Throughout, the tendency was to subordinate the civil to the military govern-

² A plan of the citadel is given in Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, p. 273.

³ *Procop.* B. G. 4, 24.

⁴ John Malalas, p. 495, ed. Bonn. Cp. Diehl, p. 599.

¹ See list of Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, p. 596-9.

and the creation of the exarchate, with its large powers, decisively reduced the importance of the Praetorian Praefect. The importance of this change, as a preparation for similar changes, in the administration of the Eastern provinces, out of which the later Theme-organisation grew, has been brought out by Gelzer, *Die Genesis der byzantinischen Themenverfassung* (Abhandlungen of the Saxon Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, vol. 18, 1889), 8-10.

For the list of the Exarchs of Italy, see Diehl, *Études*, 178; for the succession of the *magistri militum* and Exarchs, and the Praetorian Praefects of Africa, Diehl, *Afrique byzantine*, 596 *sqq.*

21. THE COMET OF A.D. 531—(P. 461)

The identity of the comet of A.D. 1680 with the comets of A.D. 1106, A.D. 531, a.d. 44, &c., is merely an ingenious speculation of Halley. See his *Synopsis of the Astronomy of Comets*, at end of Whiston's "Sir Isaac Newton's mathematick philosophy more easily demonstrated" (1716), p. 440 *sqq.* The eccentricity of the comet of A.D. 1680 was calculated by Halley (*Philosophical Transactions*, 1706, 1882), and subsequently by Encke, Euler, and others,—on the basis, of course, of the observations of Flamsteed and Cassini. Newton regarded its orbit as parabolic (*Principia*, 3, Prop. 41); but it has been calculated that the eccentricity arrived at by Encke, combined with the perihelion distance, would give a period of 313.9 years (J. C. Houzeau, *Vademecum de l'Astronome*, 1887, p. 762-3). The observations were probably not sufficiently accurate or numerous to establish whether the orbit was a parabola, or an ellipse with great eccentricity; but in any case there is nothing in the data to suggest 575 years, nor have we material for comparison with the earlier comets which Halley proposed to identify.

For the Chinese observations to which Gibbon refers, see John Williams, *Observations of Comets from Chinese Annals*, 1871: for comet of a.c. 44, p. 9, for doubtful comet (?) of A.D. 532, p. 33, for comet of A.D. 1106, p. 60.

22. ROMAN LAW IN THE EAST—(C. XLIV.)

New light has been thrown on the development of Imperial legislation from Constantine to Justinian, and on the reception of Roman law in the eastern half of the empire (especially Syria and Egypt), by the investigations of L. Mitteis, in his work "*Reichsrecht und Volksrecht in den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Kaiserreichs*" (1891). The study is mainly based on Egyptian papyri and on the Syro-Roman Code of the fifth century, which was edited by Bruns and Sachau (1880).

It was only to be expected that considerable resistance should be presented to the Roman law, which became obligatory for the whole empire after the issue of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* (or Law of Caracalla), among races which had old legal systems of their own, like the Greeks, Egyptians, or Jews. The description which Iocrates gives of the survival of old customs at Heliopolis, which were contrary to the law of the empire, indicates that this law was not everywhere and absolutely enforced; the case of Athenais, put off by her brothers with a small portion of the paternal property, points to the survival of the Greek law of inheritance; and the will of Gregory Nazianzen, drawn up in Greek, proves that the theoretical invalidity of a testament, not drawn up in Latin and containing the prescribed formulae, was not practically applied. Theory and practice were inconsistent. It was found impossible not to modify the application of the Roman principles by national and local customs; and thus there came to be a particular law in Syria (cp. the Syro-Roman law book) and another in Egypt. The old legal systems of the East, still surviving though submitted to the influence of the Roman system, presently had their effect upon Imperial legislation, and modified the Roman law itself. The influence of Greek ideas on the legislation of Constantine the Great can be clearly traced.¹ It can be seen, for instance, in his law concerning the *bona materni generis*,

¹ Cp. Mitteis, *Beilage III.* p. 543 *sqq.* Ammian calls Constantine *novator turbatorque priscarum legum*.

by which, on a mother's death, her property belonged to the children, their having only the administration and usufruct of it, and no right of alienation. The same law is found in the Code of Gortyn (6, 81 sqq.).

The degeneration of Roman law (*adulterina doctrina*), caused by the success of "Volksrechte" in the eastern provinces, was a motive of the compilation of Justinian's Digest.

28. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO VOLUMES I., II., III. AND IV.

VOL. I.

Chap. viii., n. 64, p. 206. On Timisitheus and the Persian war, see Domaszewski, *Die Inschriften des Timisitheus*, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 58, 218 sqq. 1895. S. Krauss, *Neue Aufschlüsse über Timesitheos und die Perserkriege*, sb. 697 s. The new material utilised by Krauss is the Jewish Apocalypse of Elijah, which has been edited with a German translation by M. Bittnerwieser, 1897 (Leipzig).

Chap. ix., n. 1, p. 231. To the selected list of books on the ancient Germans add K. Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, vol. i., 1891.

Chap. xiv., n. 115, p. 471. The date of the battles of Hadrianople and Chrysoopolis has been discussed (since this note was written) by Jonguet (*Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, Comptes-rend.*, 281 sqq., 1906), who uses the evidence of the papyrus of Theadelphia, and by Pears, *The Campaign against Paganism A.D. 324* (*English Historical Review*, Jan. 1909). Both critics decide in favour of A.D. 324.

Chap. xvii., n. 122, p. 120. Three examples of such *libelli* have been found in Egypt, two in the Fayum (Krebs, *Sitzungsberichte of Berlin Acad.*, 1898; *Wiener Sitzungsberichte of Vienna Acad.*, 1894) and one in Oxyrhynchus (Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, iv., No. 698, 1904). The last of these runs in the translation of the editors:

"To the superintendents of offerings and sacrifices at the city from Aurelius . . . —thion son of Theodorus and Pantonymis of the said city. It has ever been my custom to make sacrifices and libations to the gods; and now also I have in your presence in accordance with the command poured libations and sacrificed and took the offerings together with my son Aurelius Dioscorus and my daughter Aurelia Lais. I therefore request you to certify my statement. The 1st year of the Emperor Caesar Gaius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius Pius Felix Augustus, Pauni 20."

Appendix 1, p. 481. *Historia Augusta*. For further criticism of the lives of Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus, see: Orma F. Butler, *Studies in the life of Heliogabalus* (*University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series*, iv. 1), 1906; J. C. P. Smits, *De fontibus e quibus res ab Heliogabalo et Alexandro Severo gesta colliguntur* (*Amsterdam dissertation*), Kerkrade-Heerlen, 1908.

Appendix 1, p. 485. To the monographs add: R. V. Nind Hopkins, *The Life of Alexander Severus* (*Cambridge Historical Essays*, No. xiv.), 1907.

Appendix 5, p. 490. On the province of Arabia, we have now Brännow and Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, vol. i. *Die Römerstrasse von Mädeba über Peta und Odrub bis El-Akaba*, 1904, and vol. ii. *Der äussere Limes und die Römerstrasse von El-Maan bis Bosra*, 1905. On Pontus, add J. G. C. Anderson, *Studia Pontica: A journey of exploration in Pontus*, 1903 (Brussels).

Appendix 12, p. 494. But the conclusion of Conybeare as to the date of Mose of Chorene will have to be modified in the light of the investigation of E. Hübschmann (*Indogermanische Forschungen*, 16, 197 sqq., 1904), who separates the geographical from the historical part, assigning the latter perhaps to the sixth, the former to the seventh at earliest.

Appendix 12, p. 494. For the defence of the eastern frontier of the Empire (both the fortresses and the troops), the geography of the border provinces, and the military establishments of the Parthians and the Sassanids, the work of V. Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate*, 1907, is of capital importance. For the geography of the Persian kingdom: J. Marquart, *Eränsfahr nach der Geographie des Ptolemäus*, 1901 (in the *Abhandlungen of the Göttingen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften phil.-hist. Kl.*, N.F. iii. 2).

Appendix 21, p. 508. A good general survey of recent investigation of the aims of the Empire, in the light of Roman frontier policy, by E. Kornemann, will be found in *Klio*, 7, 78 sqq.

VOL. II.

Chap. xv., p. 68. The conversion of Iberia. See the articles of A. Palmieri in *Annali Christianus*, ii. 180 sqq., 1902; iii. 148 sqq., 1903, and in *Bessarione*, ix. 483 sq., 1900; and 2nd series ann. iv., i. 218 sqq., 397 sqq., ii. 188 sqq., 283 sqq., 1901-2.

Chap. xvii., n. 211 and 212, n. 202. *Aurum coronarium*. An Imperial edict on this subject, discovered in the Fayûm, has been published by Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth, in the *Fayûm Papyri*, 1900, No. xx. (p. 116 sqq.), and is ascribed by them with great probability to Alexander Severus. The edict remits the *aurum coronarium* in Italy and the provinces voted to the Emperor on his accession, but commands the payment of arrears.

Chap. xxiii., nn. 63 and 64, p. 480. A lady pilgrim visited the Holy Places 380, and an account of her pilgrimage was found by Gamurrini, in an *Aresxas* s., which he published under the title *Peregrinatio Silviae*, identifying her with Ilvania or Silvina, sister of the Prefect Rufinus, who accompanied the party of Galladius from Jerusalem to Egypt (*Hist. Laws*, p. 148, ed. Butler). But the identification is groundless; and the suggestion of Dom Ferotin (in the *Revue des questions historiques*, Oct. 1903, p. 367) is more plausible, that the pilgrim was Atheria of Spain, mentioned in a letter of Valerius (seventh century), Migne, P. G. 7. 421; see Butler, *op. cit.*, ii. 229.

Chap. xxiv., n. 115, p. 550. On the geographical difficulties connected with the meaning of *Transtigritana* and the statements of Ammian and Peter the Patrician, in connexion with this treaty, see Hübischmann, in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 6, 219-20, 1904.

Appendix 1, p. 506. The basis for a new critical edition of *Sosomen* has been laid by the important study of J. Bidez, *La tradition manuscrite de Sozomène et la Tripartite de Théodore le Lecteur*, 1908 (Harnack and Schmidt, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, ii. 2b).

Appendix 7, p. 570. O. Seeck reviews the Imperial persecutions of the Christians from Nero to Galerius, in chap. x. *Die Christen-Verfolgungen*, of the 3rd vol. of *Die Geschichte der Unterangangs der antiken Welt*, 1909.

Appendix 11, p. 584. On the new army system, see also Seeck's article, *Comitatenses*, in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyklopädie*.

Appendix 18, p. 598. Constantine's conversion and religious policy are treated at length in P. V. Gidulianov's introduction to his comprehensive work, *Vostochnyye patriarkhi v period chetyrekh pervykh vœlenskikh soborov*, 1908 (Iaroslav). The subject is treated from a juristic point of view. On the whole subject of the change from paganism to Christianity and the various religious questions which arose under Constantine, see the 3rd vol. of Seeck, *Geschichte des Unterangangs der antiken Welt*, 1909.

Appendix 18, p. 595. On the Donatists, see L. Duchesne's article in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'école française à Rome*, 1890; O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Unterangangs der antiken Welt*, vol. 3, 818 sqq., 1909.

Appendix 22, p. 597. The reconstruction of the Church of the Sepulchre has been methodically investigated by A. Heisenberg in his important work, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, 1908, in two parts, of which Part 1 is entitled *Die Grabeskirche in Jerusalem*. He makes the description of Eusebius (*Vit. Const.*, 3, 23-29) the basis of his reconstruction. For a criticism of his results see the review of O. Wulf in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 18, 538 sqq. (1909).

VOL. III.

Chap. xxxii., n. 48, p. 897. A Greek *Life of Olympias* the deaconess, preserved in a Paris Ms., is published in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. xv. J. Bousquet has translated it into French and distinguished those parts which are derived from the *Historia Lausiaca* and the *Dialogue of Palladius*, in the *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*,

N.S. 1, 225 *sqq.*, 1906. The life seems to have been compiled soon after 450.

Appendix 1, p. 512. Paulinus of Nola. To the literature add: P. Battey, *Studien über die Briefe des heiligen Paulinus von Nola*, 1904.

Appendix 1, p. 514. To the works on Claudian, add J. H. E. Cross, *Claudian as an historical authority* (Cambridge Historical Essays, No. xvii.), 1908.

VOL. IV.

Chap. xxxvi., p. 82. For the ceremonies of the inauguration of Leo I. = Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De Cerimoniis*, i. 91, derived from Peter the Patrician.

Chap. xxxvii., p. 94. On Reccared's relations to Constantinople, see F. Gira, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 41, 97 *sqq.* (1898), and 42, 270 *sqq.* (1899). On the relations of the Visigothic Episcopate to the Roman See from 586 to 680, see the same writer's article, *ib.* 45, 41 *sqq.* (1902).

Chap. xxxix., p. 184, 185. The circumstances of the elevation of Anastasius are described in Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De Cerimoniis*, i. 92—an extract from the ceremonial-book of Peter the Patrician (see above, Appendix 1). For the coronation of Leo II. see *ib.* 94.

Chap. xl., p. 220. For the elevation of Justin, see the account in Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De Cerimoniis*, i. 93, derived from Peter the Patrician. For the inauguration of Justinian, April 4, 527, see *ib.* i. 95.

Chap. xl., n. 79, p. 251. On the date of the remission of the Chrysargyron by Anastasius I., see Mommsen, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 12, 533 (1903), and Nöldeke, *ib.* 13, 135 (1904). The latter points out that the date is given by Joshua Stylites (Wright's translation, 22) as the Seleucid year 809, corresponding to A.D. 497, Oct. 1-498, Sept. 30.

Chap. xl., p. 254. For the aërial tribute (*aerikon*) see Panchenko, *Očerki istorii Prokopii*, Viz. Vrem. 8, 506 *sqq.* (1906).

Chap. xl., n. 118, p. 270. The long Wall of Anastasius has been investigated and described by C. Schuchhardt, in the *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, 16, 107 *sqq.*, 1901.

Chap. xl., n. 136, p. 275. On the Persian army see Rawlinson, *Seventh great Oriental Monarchy*, 648 *sqq.* Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate*, 46 *sqq.* In his thoughtful description in Heliodorus, *Aethiopica*, 9, 14, furnishes a tolerably faithful picture of a Persian army on the march. The costume and arms of the Persian warriors are illustrated by bas-reliefs, see Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, plates xxxi., xlviii., l., and *op. cit.*, 50, 51.

Chap. xl., n. 137, p. 276. For the position and remains of Dara see Sachse, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, 395 *sqq.* (1888); Chapot, *op. cit.*, 313 *sqq.*

Chap. xlii., n. 9, p. 367. On the Langobardi and their wanderings see the special investigations of F. Westberg, *Zur Wanderung der Langobarden*, in *Denkschriften der Zapiski of the St. Petersburg Academy*, viii^e sér., vol. vi., No. 5, 1904, and G. Blag, *Die Wanderzüge der Langobarden*, 1909.

Chap. xlii., n. 16, p. 371. The question of the origin of the work is discussed at length by B. Vári, *Zur Ueberlieferung mittelgriechischer Taktiker*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 15, 47 *sqq.*, 1906. F. Ausseares argues for the authorship of Maimonides in *Revue des études anciennes*, 8, 23 *sqq.*, 1906.

Chap. xlii., n. 16, p. 371. According to J. Peisker, the original home of the Slavs was in the great marsh country (only drained in modern times) in the province of Volhynia and Minsk, through which the Pripiet flows into the Dnieper. The foundation of his view is the result of the investigations of the Polish botanist Rostafinski. The Slavs had no Slavonic name for beech and therefore must have lived beyond the border of the beech country; on the other hand, they had a word for the hornbeam. Rostafinski has shown that the boundary line of the beech region runs from Königsberg to Odessa, while the hornbeam limit embraces the marsh region described above (Polesia). The conditions of such a primitive home explain some of their habits, such as their unmilitary character and their agility.

Her water (noticed by Gibbon), in which they dived to escape the nomad enemies or hunted them down. See Peisker, *Neue Grundlagen der slawischen Altertums-unde*, Ein Vorbericht, 1910. On the relations of the Slavs to the Tartars and the ial conditions of the Slavs in antiquity and the middle ages, see the same writer's portant work, *Die älteren Beziehungen der Slawen zu Turkotataren und Ger-nen und ihre sozialgeschichtliche Bedeutung*, 1905.

APPENDIX

ADDITIONAL NOTES BY THE EDITOR

1. AUTHORITIES

GREEK (AND OTHER) SOURCES

For the later part of his history Menander (for whom see above, vol. iv. Appendix 1, p. 550) had access to the direct knowledge of contemporaries who were concerned in the political events. For the earlier years he possibly used THEOPHANES of Byzantium, who related in ten Books the events from A.D. 566 to 581.¹ Some extracts from Theophanes have been preserved by Photius (Müller, F. H. G. iv. 270; Dindorf, *Hist. Græc. Min.* vol. i.).

JOHANNES of Epiphania (see Evagrius, 5, 24) also wrote a history which overlapped with those of Theophanes and Menander. Beginning with A.D. 572 it came down to A.D. 598, and was chiefly concerned with Persian affairs, on which Johannes was well informed, being acquainted with Chosroes II. and other influential Persians, and knowing the geography of the countries in which the wars were waged. One long fragment of Bk. 1 has come down (Müller, F. H. G. iv. 272 *sqq.*; Dindorf, *Hist. Græc. Min.* vol. i.), but it is probable that we have much material derived from him in Theophylactus Simocatta, Bks. 4 and 5; and his work was also used by Evagrius (B. 6).

JOHN OF EPHESUS (or of ASIA, as he is also styled) was born about A.D. 505 at Amida, and brought up by Maron the Stylite in the Monophysitic faith. He came to Constantinople in A.D. 535, and in the following year was appointed bishop of the Monophysites (Bishop "of Ephesus," or "of Asia"). He enjoyed the favour of the Emperor and Empress; and Justinian assigned him the mission of converting to Christianity the pagans who were still numerous in Asia, Phrygia, Lydia, and Caria; and afterwards (A.D. 546) he was appointed to suppress idolatry in Constantinople itself.² It is remarkable that the orthodox Emperor should have committed this work to a Monophysite; the circumstance illustrates the policy of the Emperor and the influence of Theodora. John founded a Syrian Monastery near Sycae and the Golden Horn; but he was deposed from his dignity of Abbot by the Patriarch John of Sirmium in the reign of Justin II., and imprisoned (A.D. 571). He survived the year 585. His Ecclesiastical History, written in Syriac, began with the age of Julius Cæsar and came down to the reign of Maurice. It was divided into three parts (each of six Books), of which the first is lost. Of the second, large fragments are preserved in the chronicle of Dionysius of Tellmahrê (who was Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch from 818 to 845 A.D.),³ and have been translated into

¹ So Krumbacher, *Gesch. der byz. Litt.*, ed. 2, p. 244; but I feel uncertain as to this conjecture. Theophanes and Menander must have been writing their books very much about the same time. It seems likely that Menander derived his account of the negotiations of the peace with Persia in A.D. 562 from a written relation by the ambassador Peter the Patrician (so too Krumbacher, p. 239).

² John calls himself "idol breaker" and "teacher of the heathen". We learn of his mission from his own work, *Eccles. Hist.* B. ii. 44 and iii. 36, 37. He had the administration of all the revenues of the Monophysites in Constantinople and everywhere else (B. v. 1).

³ And in two Mss. in the British Museum.

Latin by Van Douwen and Land (*Johannis episc. Ephesi comment. de beatis orientalibus*, 1889). Part 8 is extant and is one of our most valuable contemporary sources for the reigns of Justin II. and Tiberius. It has been translated into English by R. Payne Smith, 1860, and into German by J. Schönfelder, 1862. It begins with the year A.D. 571—the year of the persecution of the Monophysites by Justin II. John tells us that this part of his history was mostly written during the persecution under great difficulties; the pages of his Ms. had to be concealed in various hiding-places. This explains the confused order in part of his narrative. The last twelve chapters of Book 6 are lost, but their titles are preserved, and the contents can partly be recovered from the corresponding narratives of Michael of Melitene and Bar-Hebraeus, for which they were the source. See Marquart, in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xii. 198-200, 1898, and *op. his Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, 480 *sqq.*, 1903. [W. Wright, *Syriac Literature* (1894; a reprint, with a few additions, of the article under the same title in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xlii.), p. 102 *sqq.*]

EVAGRIUS (c. 536-600 A.D.; born at Epiphania), an advocate of Antioch, is the continuer of the continuers (Socrates, &c.) of Eusebius. His *Ecclesiastical History*, in six Books, begins with the council of Ephesus in A.D. 431 and comes down to A.D. 598. Apart from its importance as one of the main authorities for the ecclesiastical history of the long period of which it treats, this work has also some brief but valuable notices concerning secular history. Evagrius had the use of older works which are now lost, such as Eustathius (whose chronicle he used in Bks. 2 and 3; see above, vol. iv. p. 544) and Johannes of Epiphania (whose still unpublished work he was permitted to consult in composing Bk. 6).⁴ Evagrius also made use of John Malalas (the first edition; see above, vol. iv. Appendix 1) and Procopius. An attempt⁵ has been made to show that he used the work of Menander (directly or indirectly), but the demonstration is not convincing. The accuracy of Evagrius in using those sources which are extant enables us to feel confidence in him when his sources are lost. For the end of Justinian's reign, for Justin, Tiberius, and Maurice, he has the full value of a contemporary authority. [The old uncritical edition of H. Valesius, 1673, reprinted in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* vol. 86, is now superseded by that of Parmentier and Bidez, in *Methuen's Byzantine Texts*, 1898.]

THEOPHYLACTUS SIMOCATTES, born in Egypt, lived in the reigns of Maurice and Heraclius, and seems to have held the post of an imperial secretary. He wrote, in euphuistic style, works on natural history, essays in epistolary form, and a history of the reign of Maurice. Theophylactus—the chief authority for the twenty years which his history deals with—may be said to close a series of historians, which beginning with Eunapius includes the names of Priscus, Procopius, Agathias, and Menander. After Theophylactus we have for more than three hundred years nothing but chronicles. Theophylactus had a narrow view of history and no discernment for the relative importance of facts (*op. Gibbon*, c. xlv. note 49); the affectation of his florid, periphrastic style renders his work disagreeable to read; but he is trustworthy and honest, according to his lights. Although a Christian, he affects to speak of Christian things with a certain unfamiliarity—as a pagan, like Ammianus or Eunapius, would speak of them. He made use of the works of Menander and John of Epiphania. [Best edition by C. de Boor, 1887.]

Contemporary with Theophylactus was the unknown author of the *CHRONICON PASCHALE* (or *ALEXANDRINUM*, as it is also called): a chronicle which had great influence on subsequent chronography. Beginning with Adam it came down to the year A.D. 629; but, as all our Mss. are derived from one (extant) Vatican Ms. which was mutilated at the beginning and at the end, our text ends with A.D. 628. As far as A.D. 602 the work is a compilation from sources which are for the most part known (*op. above*, vol. ii. Appendix 1, p. 559); but from this point forward its character changes, the author writes from personal knowledge, and the chronicle

⁴ But Evagrius did not make such large use of Johannes as Theophylactus did; it was not his main material. For Bk. 5 he did not use Johannes at all. *Op. Adamek, Beitr. zur Geschichte des byz. Kaisers Mauricius*, ii. p. 10-19.

⁵ By L. Jeep (in 14 *Supp.-Bd. der Jahrb. f. Classische Philologie*, p. 162 *sqq.*). Adamek argues sensibly against this view (*op. cit.* p. 4 *sqq.*).

assumes, for the reigns of Phocas and Heraclius, the dignity of an important contemporary source, even containing some original documents (see above, p. 97, n. 127; 99, n. 129; 100, n. 132). From the prominence of the Patriarch Sergius, it has been conjectured that the author belonged, like George of Pisidia (see below), to the Patriarch's circle. The chronology is based on the era which assigned the creation of the world to March 21, 5507, and is the first case we have of the use of this so-called Roman or Byzantine era. On the relation of the Chronicle to Malalas, see Conybeare, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xi. 395 sqq. [Best edition by Dindorf in the Bonn series. For an analysis of the chronology, see H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus*, ii. 1, 138 sqq.]

The poems of GEORGE PRINDES (a native of Pisidia) are another valuable contemporary source for the Persian wars of Heraclius, to whom he was a sort of poet laureate. It is indeed sometimes difficult to extract the historical fact from his poetical circumlocutions. He writes in smooth and correct Iambic trimeters, which, though they ignore the canon of the Cretic ending rediscovered by Porson, are subject to a new law, that the last word of the verse shall be barytone. They thus represent a transition to the later "political" verses, which are governed only by laws of accent. His chief historical poems are: (1) On the (first) expedition of Heraclius against the Persians, in three cantos (*Akroasis*); (2) On the attack of the Avars on Constantinople and its miraculous deliverance (A.D. 626); (3) The *Heracliad*, in two cantos (but see below), which was composed on the news of the death of Chosroes (A.D. 628). These works were utilised by Theophanes. But Theophanes quotes other verses in the style of George, which are not contained in his extant works and relate to portions of the campaigns which are not treated in those works. I pointed this out in *Later Roman Empire* (ii. 231, 232), and assumed that they are derived from a lost poem. See further, L. Sternbach, *Studia philologica in Georgium Pisidam*, 24 sqq. (Cracow, 1900), who also assumes a lost poem, describing the war from A.D. 624 to 629. But Pernice, who has shown that the second canto of the *Heracliad* relates not to the end of the third, but to the beginning of the second, expedition, makes it highly probable that the *Heracliad* has come down to us in an incomplete form, and that the fragments in Theophanes and others belong to the lost and larger portion (L'imperatore Eraclio, xii. xiii.). This view does justice to the title "*Heraclias*". Some short poems of George, relating to historical matters, have been published by Sternbach in *Wiener Studien*, 1891, i. 4 sqq.: (1) To Heraclius on his return from Africa and victory over Phocas; (2) In praise of Bonus the Patrician, viceregent of the Emperor during his campaigns; (3) On the reading of the Imperial message concerning the restoration of the Cross. [The works of George are printed in Migne, P. G. xli., from Querci's older edition, and the three narrative poems were edited by Bekker in the Bonn series, 1886.]

For the account of the siege of Constantinople in A.D. 626 (probably by THEODORE, private secretary of the Patriarch), see above, p. 98, n. 116. It is entitled *περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀσίων Ἀβάρων τε καὶ Περσῶν κατὰ τῆς θεοφυλάκτου πόλεως μαρινώδους κινήσεως καὶ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τῆς θεοτόκου μετ' αἰσχύνης ἐκείνων ἀποχωρήσεως*. The events of each day of the siege, from Tuesday, July 29, to Thursday, August 7, are related with considerable detail, wrapped up in rhetorical verbiage and contrasting with the straightforward narrative of the *Chronicon Paschale*, with which it is in general agreement. The account, however, of the catastrophe of the Slavs and their boats in the Golden Horn differs from that of the *Chronicon Paschale*.⁶ For the same Theodore's account of the discovery of the Virgin's clothes, see above, p. 81, n. 87.

In connexion with this siege, it should be added that the famous *ἀκρόστιχος ὕμνος*—which might be rendered "Standing Hymn"; the singers were to stand while they sang it—is supposed by tradition to have been composed by the Patriarch Sergius in commemoration of the miraculous deliverance of the city. It would be remarkable if Sergius, who fell into disrepute through his Monothelete doctrines, really composed a hymn which won, and has enjoyed to the present day, unparalleled popularity among the orthodox. A recent Greek writer (J. Butyras) has pointed out that expressions

⁶ The metaphor of Scylla and Charybdis, in c. 9, recalls lines of the *Bellum Avaricum* of George of Pisidia (ll. 204 sqq.), as Mal noticed; but it may be a pure coincidence.

in the hymn coincide remarkably with the decisions of the Synod of A.D. 680 against Monotheletism, and concludes that the hymn celebrates the Saracen siege of Constantinople under Constantine IV.—a siege with which some traditions connect it. (Compare K. Krumbacher, *Gesch. der byz. Litt.*, p. 672.) The hymn was, without due grounds, ascribed to George of Pisidia by Querci. P. F. Krypiakiewicz has recently maintained the thesis (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xviii. 357 *sqq.*) that the hymn had nothing to do with a deliverance of the city, but was composed in honour of the mystery of the Incarnation, and intended for the feast of the Annunciation; and that the proœmium which represents the hymn as a thanksgiving for or deliverance from danger is spurious; he attributes the composition to the great hymn-writer Romanus, who, as is now generally agreed, flourished in the age of Anastasius I. The text will be found in Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* 92, p. 1335 *sqq.*; in Pitra, *Analecta sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, i. 250 *sqq.*; in the *Anthol. Græca of Christ and Paranikas*, 140 *sqq.* See further, Don Plácido de Meester, *L' inno acatisto (Estratto dal Bessarione)*, 1905, and the review by P. Maas, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xiv. 643 *sqq.*, 1905.

The LIFE and martyrdom of ANASTASIUS, an apostate to Christianity from the Magian religion, who suffered on Jan. 22, 628, was drawn up at Jerusalem towards the end of the same year, and deserves some attention in connexion with the Persian wars of Heraclius. It is published in its original form, distinct from later accretions, by H. Usener, *Acta Martyris Anastasii Persæ*, 1894.

The History of Heraclius by SEBAEOS, an Armenian bishop of the seventh century, written in the Armenian tongue, was first brought to light through the discovery of a Ms. in the library of the Etzmiadzin some years before Brosset visited that library in 1848. The text was edited in 1851; Patkanian's Russian translation appeared in 1862; and recently a French version has appeared by F. Macler, *Histoire d'Héraclius par l'évêque Sebéos*, 1904. Two passages in the work show that Sebæos was a contemporary of Heraclius and Constans (c. 30 *ad fin.*, p. 122; and c. 34 *ad init.*, p. 148, tr. Patk.); and this agrees with some brief notices of later writers, who state that Sebæos was present at the Council of Dovin in A.D. 645 (of which he gives a full account in c. 33). It is also stated that he was Bishop of Bagratum. The work is not strictly confined to the reign of Heraclius. It begins in the reign of the Persian king Perozes in the fifth century, and briefly touches the reigns of Kobad and of Chosroes I., of whom Sebæos relates the legend that he was converted to Christianity. The events connected with the revolt of Bahram and the accession of Chosroes II. are told at more length (c. 2-3), and especial prominence is given to the part played by the Armenian prince Musheg, who supported Chosroes. The next seventeen chapters are concerned chiefly with the history of Chosroes and his intrigues in Armenia during the reign of Maurice. It is not till the twenty-first chapter that we meet Heraclius, and not till the twenty-fourth that his history really begins.

In c. 32 we again take leave of him, and the rest of the work (c. 32-38), about a third of the whole, deals with the following twelve years (641-652). The great importance of Sebæos (apart from his value for domestic and ecclesiastical affairs in Armenia) lies in his account of the Persian campaigns of Heraclius. [Besides the Russian translation, Patkanian published an account of the contents of the work of Sebæos in the *Journal Asiatique*, vii. p. 101 *sqq.*, 1866.]

For the ecclesiastical history of the seventh and eighth centuries we are better furnished than for the political, as we have writings on the great controversies of the times by persons who took part in the struggles. Unluckily the synods which finally closed the Monotheletic and the Iconoclastic questions in favour of the "orthodox" views enjoined the destruction of the controversial works of the defeated parties, so that of Monotheletic and Iconoclastic literature we have only the fragments which are quoted in the Acts of Councils or in the writings of the Dyothelite and Iconodule controversialists.

For the Monotheletic dispute we have (besides the Acts of the Councils of Rome in A.D. 649, and of the Sixth General Council of A.D. 680) the works of the great defender of the orthodox view, the Abbot MAXIMUS (A.D. 580-662). He had been a secretary of the Emperor Heraclius, and afterwards became abbot of a monastery

at Chrysopolis (Soutari), where we find him A.D. 630. His opposition to Monotheletism presently drove him to the west, and in Africa he met the Monothelete Patriarch Pyrrhus and converted him from his heretical error (A.D. 645). But the conversion was not permanent; Pyrrhus returned to his heresy. Maximus then proceeded to Rome, and in A.D. 653 was carried to Constantinople along with Pope Martin, and banished to Bizya in Thrace. A disputation which he held then with the Bishop of Caesarea led to a second and more distant exile to Lazica, where he died. A considerable number of polemical writings on the question for which he suffered are extant, including an account of his disputation with Pyrrhus. [His works are collected in Migne, P. G. xc. xci. (after the edition of Combefis, 1675).] Maximus had a dialectical training and a tendency to mysticism. "Pseudo-Dionysius was introduced into the Greek Church by Maximus; he harmonized the Areopagite with the traditional ecclesiastical doctrine, and thereby influenced Greek theology more powerfully than John of Damascus" (Ehrhard, ap. Krumbacher, *Gesch. der byz. Litt.* p. 63).

Another younger opponent of Monotheletism was ANASTASIUS of the monastery of Mount Sinai. He travelled about in Syria and Egypt, fighting with heresies (second half of seventh century). Three essays of his are extant (*περὶ τοῦ κατ' ἐκδρα*) on Monotheletism; the third gives a history of the controversy. [Works in Migne, P. G. vol. lxxxix.]

JOHN OF DAMASCUS was the most important opponent of Iconoclasm in the reigns of Leo III. and Constantine V. The son of a Syrian who was known by the Arabic name of Mansur, and held a financial post under the Saracen government at Damascus, he was born towards the end of the seventh century. He was educated by a Sicilian monk named Cosmas. He withdrew to the monastery of St. Sabas before A.D. 786¹ and died before A.D. 758. What we know of his life is derived from a Biography of the tenth century by John of Jerusalem, who derived his facts from an earlier Arabic biography. (The life is printed in Migne, P. G. xciv. p. 439 *sqq.*) The great theological work of John is the *Πηγή γνῶσεως*, "Fountain of Knowledge," a systematical theology founded on the concepts of Aristotelian metaphysics (here John owed much to Leontius of Byzantium). But the works which concern us are the essays against the Iconoclasts, three in number, composed between A.D. 726 and 736. The first Diatribe was written and published between the edict of Leo and the deposition of the Patriarch Germanus three years later. The second seems to have been written immediately after the news of this deposition reached Palestine; for John, referring to this, makes no reference to the installation of Anastasius which took place a fortnight later (see c. 12; Migne, P. G. xciv. p. 1297). The object of this dissertation was to elucidate the propositions of the first, which had excited much discussion and criticism. The third contains much that is in the first and second, and develops a doctrine as to the use of images.² The great edition (1712) of Lequien, with valuable prolegomena, is reprinted in Migne, P. G. xciv. xcv. [Monographs: J. Langen, *Johannes von D.*, 1879; J. H. Lupton, *St. John of D.*, 1884.]

The defence of image-worship addressed "to all Christians and to the Emperor Constantine Kaballinos and to all heretics," included in John's works (Migne, P. G. xcv. p. 309 *sqq.*), is not genuine. It contains much abuse of Leo and Constantine.

The story of Barlaam and Josaph—a romance founded on the story of Buddha—assumed its Greek form early in the seventh century, in Palestine, and the author of the Greek romance was a monk named John, who perhaps belonged to the monastery of St. Sabas. This John was taken to be John of Damascus, and hence the story of Barlaam and Josaph was ascribed to the famous writer of the eighth century and included in his collected works. The most important Christian source of the composition was the Apology of Aristides, which is practically written out in the sermon of Naochor, so that Mr. J. Armitage Robinson was able to restore the original Greek

¹ John perhaps held his father's post for a while. For the legend of his right hand see above, p. 272, note 22.

² Its genuineness has been questioned on insufficient grounds by the Oxford scholar H. Hody.

text with the help of a Syriac translation (The Apology of Aristides, in *Texts and Studies*, i. 1, 1891). The Buddhistic origin of the legend was first pointed out by Laboulaye. The literary history has been most fully worked out by E. Kuhn, Barlaam und Joasaph, in the *Abhandlungen* of the Bavarian Academy, Phil.-hist. Kl. xx. 1, 1894. He concludes that East Iran was the home of the romance, originally composed in Pehlevi. Hence it passed into Arabic and Syriac, and the Greek version was derived from the Syriac.

When the Paschal Chronicle deserts us in A.D. 627, we have no extant contemporary historians or chroniclers for the general course of the Imperial history until we reach the end of the eighth century. There is a gap of more than a century and a half in our series of Byzantine history. The two writers on whom we depend for the reigns of the Heracliad dynasty and of the early Iconoclast sovereigns lived at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century: the Patriarch Nicephorus and the monk Theophanes. They both used some common sources, of which we have no record.

NICEPHORUS, Patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 806-815, has his place in history as well as in literature. At the time of the second council of Nicaea, A.D. 787, he was an imperial secretary. In A.D. 806 he succeeded Tarasius in the Patriarchate (see above, p. 205) and stood forth as the opponent of the monastic party. Deposed by Leo V. he was, under this and the following Emperor, the most prominent champion of image-worship. He died in exile A.D. 829. He was greater as a theological than as an historical writer. His important works on the iconoclastic question were written during exile: (1) the *Apologeticus minor*, a short treatise defending image-worship; (2) in A.D. 817, the *Apologeticus major*, which is specially important as containing a number of quotations from an iconoclastic work by the Emperor Constantine V. These treatises are printed by Mai, *Nova Patrum Bibl.*, i. 1 sqq., ii. 1 sqq., iii. 1 sqq. [For other works see Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, i. p. 302 sqq., iv. p. 233 sqq. Cp. Ehrhard, *apud Krumbacher, Gesch. der byz. Litt.* p. 72.] The historical works are two: (1) the *Χρονολογικὸν σύστημα*—"Concise list of dates,"—a collection of tables of kings, emperors, patriarchs, &c., from Adam to the year of the author's death; (2) the *Ἱστορία σύστημα*—"concise History,"—beginning with the death of Maurice and ending with A.D. 769.* It is a very poor composition; the author selects what is likely to interest an illiterate public and disregards the relative importance of events. The value of the work is entirely due to the paucity of other materials for the period which it covers. Yet Nicephorus seems to have bestowed some pains on the composition of the work. A Ms. in the British Museum contains a text which seems to represent the author's first compilation of his material before he threw it into the form in which it was "published". See A. Burckhardt, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, v. p. 465 sqq., 1896. [Excellent edition of the historical works by C. de Boor, 1880. This edition includes the life of Nicephorus by the deacon Ignatius written soon after his death.]

George, the Syncellus, had written a chronicle from the creation of the world, which he intended to bring down to his own time. But when death approached (A.D. 810-11) he had only reached the accession of Diocletian, and he begged his friend THEOPHANES to complete the work. Theophanes (born c. A.D. 760) belonged to a good and wealthy family.¹⁰ He was of ascetic disposition and founded a monastery (*ἡ μονὴ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀγροῦ*) called "Great Farm" near Sigriane to the east of Cyzicus.¹¹ Theophanes undertook the charge of his dying friend and wrote his *Chronography* between A.D. 811 and 815. When Leo V. came to the throne, he took a strong position against the Emperor's iconoclastic policy and was imprisoned in the island of Samothrace, where he died (818). The *Chronography* (from A.D. 284 to 813) is arranged strictly in the form of annals. The events are arranged under the successive Years of the World, which are equated with the

* Generally referred to as *Breviarium Nicephori*.

¹⁰ The Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos states that Theophanes was his *μητροφύσιος*, an uncle of his mother. *De Adm. Imp.* iii. p. 106, ed. Bonn.

¹¹ Ruins of the cloister still exist, according to T. E. Evangelides, *ἡ μονὴ τῆς Σιγριανῆς*, 1896.

Years of the Incarnation; and the regnal years of the Roman Emperors and of the Persian Kings (in later part, the Saracen caliphs), and the years of the bishops of the five great Sees, are also added in tabular form. Moreover, many single events are dated by Indictions, although the indictions do not appear in the table at the head of each year. The awkwardness of dating events on three systems is clear.

Theophanes adopted the Alexandrian era of Anianus (March 25, B.C. 5493; see above, vol. ii. Appendix 3), and thus his *Annus Mundi* runs from March 25 to March 24. As the Indiction runs from Sept. 1 to Aug. 31, the only part of the year which is common to the A.M. and the Indiction is March 25 to Aug. 31. It is obvious that, without very careful precautions, the practice of referring to an Indiction under an A.M. which only partly corresponds to it is certain to lead to confusion. And, as it turns out, Theophanes loses a year in the reign of Phocas, whose overthrow he placed in the right Indiction (14th = A.D. 610-11), but in the wrong A.M. (6102 = A.D. 609-10). The mistake has set his dates (A.M.) throughout the seventh century a year wrong; we have always to add a year to the A.M. to get the right date (cp. the discrepancies with the Indiction under A.M. 6150 and 6171¹³). The true chronology is recovered at the year 6193, and the indiction is found once more in correspondence under A.M. 6207. A new discrepancy arises some years later, for which see below, p. 556. In the earlier part of the work Theophanes used (besides Socrates, &c.) a compilation of excerpts from Theodorus Lector (see above, vol. iv. Appendix 1, p. 544). For the sixth century he draws upon John Malalas, Procopius, Agathias, John of Epiphania, and Theophylactus; for the seventh George Pisides. It is possible that all these authors were known to him only indirectly through an intermediate source. He had, in any case, before him an unknown source for the seventh and most of the eighth century (if not more than one), and this was also a source of Nicephorus (see above, p. 530). E. W. Brooks has thrown light on the question by a comparison of Theophanes with the chronicle of Michael of Melitene (The sources of Th. and the Syriac chroniclers, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xv. 578 sqq.). He shows that Th. used "a Palestinian Melchite author who wrote in Greek not long after 780". For the reign of Constantine VI. and Irene, Nicephorus and Michael I., Theophanes has the value of a partial and prejudiced contemporary. [Previous editions have been superseded by De Boor's magnificent edition (1883), vol. i. text; vol. ii. the Latin version of Anastasius, three lives of Theophanes, dissertations by the editor on the material for the text, and splendid Indices. Another Life of Theophanes has been edited by K. Krumbacher, 1897. For the chronology of his life, see Pargoire, *Saint Théophane le Chronographe et ses rapports avec Saint Théodore Studite*, in *Vizantijski Vremennik*, ix. 31 sqq., 1902.]

The writings of THEODORE OF STUDION provide us with considerable material for ecclesiastical history as well as for the state of Monasticism at the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century. For his prominence in questions of church discipline, which assumed political importance (in connexion with the marriage of Constantine VI. and the policy of Nicephorus I.), see above, p. 202, n. 22 and 203, n. 24; and he was a stout opponent of Leo V. in the matter of image-worship. He was born A.D. 759 (his father was a tax-collector); under the influence of his uncle Plato, he and his whole family entered the monastery of Sacoudion, where in A.D. 797 he succeeded his uncle as abbot. In the following year, he and his monks took up their abode in the monastery of Studion; and from this time forward Studion was one of the most important cloisters in the Empire. Three times was Theodore banished: (1) A.D. 795-7, owing to his opposition to the marriage of Constantine; (2) A.D. 809-11, for his refusal to communicate with Joseph who had performed the marriage ceremony; (3) A.D. 814-20, for his opposition to Leo V. Under Michael II. he was not formally banished, but was forced to live outside Constantinople. He died A.D. 826.

The following works of Theodore have historical interest: (1) The three λόγοι ἀντιρρητικοί, and other works in defence of image-worship; (2) the Life of abbot Plato, which gives us a picture of monastic life; (3) the Life of his mother Theoctista, with a most interesting account of his early education, and glimpses of

¹³ Read *Ἰνδικτιῶνες* ἡ (for *d*) in De Boor's ed. p. 356.

family life; (4) a large collection of letters, of the first importance for the ecclesiastical history of the period; they show the abbot at work, not only in his pastoral duties, but in his ecclesiastical struggles for a quarter of a century. [Collected works in Migne, P. G. xix.; but 277 letters, most of which are not included in Sirmond's collection which Migne printed, are edited by J. Cozza-Luzi, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, viii. 1, 1 *sqq.*, 1871. The complicated question of the tradition and arrangement of the correspondence has been fully discussed by the late V. Melioranski in the *Zapiski* of the Imp. Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, viii^e sér. t. iv. no. 5, 1899. Of the two Lives published by Migne, the second (pp. 234 *sqq.*), by Michael the Monk, is the older; it was composed later than Feb. 868. The collection of Theodore's addresses (*κατηχήσεις*) to his brethren and disciples known as the *Parva Catechesis* has been critically edited by E. Auvray, 1891. The *Magna Catechesis* (a similar collection, but not so popular) has been partially edited by Cozza-Luzi, in *Nova Patr. Bibliotheca*, ix. 2. There are several monographs on Theodore: C. Thomas, *Theodor von Studion und sein Zeitalter*, 1892; G. A. Schneider, *Der hl. Theodor von Studion, sein Leben und Wirken*, 1900; A. Gardner, *Theodore of Studium, His Life and Times*, 1905; N. Grossu, *Prepodobnii Theodor Studit, ego vremia, zhizn i tvoreniia*, 1907.]¹³

There are many Lives of Martyrs who suffered at the hands of the iconoclastic Emperors. The most important is that of St. Stephen of Mount Auxentius (distinguished from the protomartyr as "the younger") who suffered in A.D. 767; the biography was written in A.D. 808 by Stephen, deacon of St. Sophia, and furnishes some important material for the history of the iconoclastic policy of Constantine V. For the persecution of Theophilus, we have a life of Theodore Graptus¹⁴ and his brother Theophanes (ed. Combefis, *Orig. rerumque Constantinop. manipulus*, p. 191 *sqq.*), containing a letter of Theodore himself to John of Ozyicus, of which Schlosser has made good use (*Gesch. der bilderst. Kaiser*, p. 524 *sqq.*). Other Lives of importance for the history of the iconoclastic movement are those of Germanus the Patriarch (ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in the *Mavrogordateios Bibliothékê*, Appendix, p. 3 *sqq.*), Theophanes, Confessor (see above); Nicetas, abbot of Medikion in Bithynia (died A.D. 824; *Acta SS.* April 1, Appendix, xxxiv.-xli.); Theodore of Studion (see above); Nicephorus, Patriarch (see above, p. 580); Tarasius, by the deacon Ignatius (ed. Heikel, 1889; Latin version in *Acta SS.* Febr. 25, 576 *sqq.*); the Patriarch Methodius (Migne, P. G. vol. c., p. 1244 *sqq.*); the abbot Nicolaus of Studion (Migne, P. G. cv. 863 *sqq.*). For the ecclesiastical history of the reign of Michael III., the life of Ignatius by Nicetas David Paphlagon is of great importance (Migne, P. G. cv. 487 *sqq.*). These and other less important¹⁵ biographies, in most instances composed by younger contemporaries, have great value in three ways: (1) they give us facts passed over by the chroniclers; (2) many of them were used by the chroniclers, and therefore are to be preferred as furnishing information at first hand; (3) they give us material for a social picture of the period (especially valuable in this respect is the *Life of Plato* by Theodore Studites; see above, p. 531).

The *Life of the Empress Theodora*, combined with relations of the deathbed repentance of Theophilus and of his good deeds, must be mentioned (ed. W. Regel, in *Analecta Byzantino-Russica*, p. 1 *sqq.*¹⁶), but it can hardly have been, as Regel and others suppose, a source of George the Monk.

For Leo the Armenian we have a mysterious fragment of what was clearly a valuable chronicle written by a contemporary, whose name is unknown. The piece which has survived (printed in the vol. of the Bonn series which contains Leo

¹³ Theodore was also celebrated as a composer of hymns; many of his hymns are extant. His brother Joseph must not be confounded with the Sicilian Joseph the hymnographer.

¹⁴ Theodore and Theophanes were called *Graptot*, "marked," because the Emperor Theophilus branded twelve iambic trimeters on their foreheads.

¹⁵ See Ehrhard, ap. Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 193 *sqq.*

¹⁶ The *Diégêsis* printed by Combefis, *Auct. Nov. gr.—lat. patrum bibl.*, vol. ii., 715 *sqq.*, is a late redaction which completely disfigures the original form and contains little of the *Vita Theodora*.

Grammaticus, under the title *Scriptor Incertus de Leone Armenio*) is of great value for the Bulgarian siege of Constantinople in A.D. 815.

Apart from this fragment, and the contemporary biographies of saints, the meagre chronicle of *GEORGE THE MONK* (sometimes styled *George Hamartolus*, "the sinner") is the oldest authority for the thirty years after the point when the chronicle of Theophanes ended (A.D. 813-842). George wrote in the reign of Michael III., and completed his chronicle, which began with the creation, towards the close of that Emperor's reign. It has been divided into four parts; the fourth, beginning with Constantine the Great and ending with the death of Theophilus, is based mainly on the chronicle of Theophanes. For the last thirty years, the author depends on his own knowledge as a contemporary and on oral information; but also makes use of the *Vita Nicephori* by Ignatius (see above). Throughout the ecclesiastical interest predominates.

The chronicle of George became so popular and was re-edited so often with additions and interpolations, that it was a most puzzling problem to penetrate through the accretions to the original form. Until recently the shape and extent of the chronicle and its author's identity were obscured by the circumstance that a continuation, reaching down to A.D. 948 (in some Mss. this continuation is continued to still later epochs), was annexed to the original work of George. The later part of the interpolated work from A.D. 813, with its continuation to 948, was edited by Combes, and reprinted in the Bonn series (along with the *Scriptores post Theophanem*, see below), 1838. The whole work, with its continuations, was edited by Murali in 1859. F. Hirsch, in his *Byzantinische Studien*, 1876, cleared the way to the further investigation of the problems connected with George and the Continuation; and the genuine text of the chronicle of George was at length published by C. de Boor in 1904. He has made it probable that our Mss. are derived from two editions or manuscripts of the author himself, the later of which underwent considerable revision.

The continuation of George is in some Mss. described as the work of "the *Logothete*" and is evidently connected with the considerable additions which have overlaid the work of George in the interpolated Mss. from A.D. 813 to 842. These additions and the continuation appear otherwise as a distinct chronicle. They are virtually the same as the *Chronography* ascribed to *LEO GRAMMATICUS* (ed. Bonn, 1842) and the latter part of the world-chronicle of *THEODOSIUS OF MELITENE* (ed. Tafel, 1859). In regard to *Leo Grammaticus*, it is to be observed that the chronicle which goes under his name (*ἡ τῶν νέων βασιλέων χρονογραφία*, p. 331, ed. Bonn) is preserved in cod. Par. 1711, and that the text which precedes it, pp. 1-207, is derived from a world-chronicle in cod. Par. 854, where it is not assigned to Leo. Cramer, who edited it first, connected it with Leo; Bekker reprinted it in the Bonn ed. The chronicle of Par. 854 reaches down to the reign of Leo VI., and is practically identical with the chronicle of Theodosius so far as it goes.¹⁷ Other Mss. preserve texts which are closely related, and in some of these the work is ascribed to "SYMEON, MAGISTER and Logothete" or "Symeon, Logothete". A large literature has arisen concerning the relations of these texts, the original form of the chronicle, and the identity of Symeon. It must be enough to state here what seem the most probable conclusions: (1) The author of the original chronicle, reaching from the Creation to A.D. 948, was Symeon, Logothete of the Course (ultimately raised to the rank of Magister), whose literary activity extended into the second half of the tenth century, and who is famous as Symeon Metaphrastes, compiler of the well-known collection of *Lives of Saints*; (2) he is identical with "the Logothete" mentioned in Mss. of George the Monk, see above; (3) the complete Greek text of his chronicle, in its original form, is probably not preserved; but (4) is represented by the Slavonic (Bulgarian) translation of the "*Chronicle of Simeon Metaphrastes and Logothete*," which is extant in the Imperial Public Library of St. Petersburg, and has recently been edited by V. Sreznevski (for the Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. P.), 1905; (5) the

¹⁷ There is another redaction known as the *Pseudo-Polydenkes* (because it was passed off as a work of Julius Polydenkes by a Greek copyist named Darmarius), but it breaks off in the reign of Valens, and therefore does not concern us here. See further Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 363, as to another unedited Chronicle of the same kin.

incomplete text of Par. 854 may be a copy of the original Symeon; (6) Theodosius and Leo Grammaticus transcribed from Symeon, but permitted themselves many small interpolations and omissions; this likewise applies to the Continuer of George. [Of the relevant literature may be mentioned (besides Hirsch, *op. cit.*): V. Vasilievski, *Khronika Logotheta na slavianskom i grecheskom*, in *Vizantiiski Vremennik*, ii., 1895; E. Patzig, *Leo Grammaticus und seine Sippe*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, iii., 1905; K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, ii. 358 *sqq.*, 1897; S. Shestakov, *Parizhskaia rukopis' Khroniki Simeona Logotheta*, *ib.* iv., 1897, and *Orukopisiakh Simeona Logotheta*, *ib.* v., 1898; C. de Boor, *Die Chronik des Logotheten*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vi., 1897, and *Weiteres zur Chronik des Logotheten*, *ib.* x., 1901; V. N. Zlatarski, *Izvestiia za Bolgariie v Khronikata na Simeona Metaphrasta i Logoteta*, in the *Bulgarian Sbornik za narodni umotvorennia nauka i knizhnina*, xxiv., 1908.]

Another chronicle, which may be conveniently called the PSEUDO-SYMEON, comes down to the year 963. The last part of the work, A.D. 813-963, was published by Combes (1685) and reprinted by Bekker (Bonn, 1838) under the name of Symeon Magister. The mistake was due to a misleading title on the cover of the Paris Ms. which contains the chronicle. (On the sources of the unknown author, see F. Hirsch, *Byzantinische Studien*.)

In respect to these extremely confusing chronicles with their numerous redactions, Krumbacher makes a good remark: "In Byzantium works of this kind were never regarded as completed monuments of literary importance, but as practical handbooks which every possessor and copyist excerpted, augmented, and revised just as he chose" (p. 362).

Joseph GENESIUS was probably the son of Thomas, a patrician who was Logothete of the Course under Leo VI., and grandson of Constantine who was Drungary of the Watch under Michael III.; and he was probably himself a patrician and Chartulary of the Kanikleion (purple ink used by the Emperor) under Constantine VII.; see C. de Boor, *Zu Genesios*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, x. 62-5. He wrote (between A.D. 944 and 948) at the suggestion of Constantine VII. an Imperial History (*Βασιλείαι*) in four Books, embracing the reigns of Leo V., Michael II., Theophilus, and Michael III.: thus a continuation of Theophanes, who left off at the accession of Leo. V. In Bk. iv. Genesius, clearly departing from the original plan, added a brief account of the reign of Basil I., so that his work reaches from A.D. 813 to 886. Besides oral information and tradition, from which, as he says himself, he derived material, he used the work of George Monachus, and the Life of Ignatius by Nicetas (see above, p. 532). His history is marked by (1) superstition, (2) bigotry (especially against the iconoclasts), (3) partiality to his patron's grandfather Basil. [Ed. Lachmann in Bonn series, 1834. For the sources, &c., see Hirsch, *Byzantinische Studien*, 116 *sqq.*; *op. also* Wäschke in *Philologus*, 87, p. 255 *sqq.*, 1878.]

A SICILIAN CHRONICLE, relating briefly the Saracen conquest of the island, from A.D. 827 to 965, is preserved in Greek and in an Arabic translation. It must have been composed soon after 965. There are three editions: P. Batiffol, 1890 (in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*); Cozza-Luzzi and Lagumina, with the Arabic text, 1890, in *Documenti p. s. alla storia di Sicilia*, 4ta serie, ii.; A. Wirth, *Chronographische Späne*, 1894.

It is unfortunate that the historical monograph which the grammarian THEOGNOSTUS, a contemporary of Leo V. and Michael II., dedicated to the revolt of Euphemius and the first successes of the Saracens in Sicily (A.D. 827), is lost. The work is used by the compilers of Theophanes Continuatus (see p. 82, ed. Bonn).

We have a disappointing account of the siege and capture of Syracuse by the Saracens in 880, from the pen of THEODOSIUS, a monk, who endured the siege and was carried prisoner to Palermo, whence he wrote a letter describing his experiences to a friend. (Published in the Paris ed. of Leo Diaconus, p. 177 *sqq.*)

Besides stimulating Joseph Genesius to write his work, the Emperor Constantine VII. organized another continuation of Theophanes, written by several compilers who are known as the *SCRIPTORES POST THEOPHANEM*, the Emperor himself being one of the *collaborateurs*. It seems probable that the original intention was not to go beyond the death of Basil or perhaps of Leo VI., but the work was

extended after the death of Constantine, and comes down to A.D. 961. It falls into six Books: Bk. 1, Leo V.; Bk. 2, Michael II.; Bk. 3, Theophilus; Bk. 4, Michael III.; Bk. 5, Basil I. (this Book was the composition of the EMPEROR CONSTANTINE). So far the work conforms to a uniform plan; but Bk. 6, instead of containing only Leo VI., contains also Alexander, Constantine VII., Romanus I., Romanus II. It has been conjectured that the author of part of this supplement was THEODORE DAPHNOPATES, a literary man of the tenth century, known (among other things) by some official letters which he composed for Romanus I. The Continuation of Theophanes shows, up to the death of Basil, its semi-official origin by the marked tendency to glorify the Basilian dynasty by obscuring its Amorian predecessors. One of the chief sources of Bks. 1 to 5 is Genesisius or perhaps an older lost source which Genesisius used. Bk. 6 falls into two parts which are markedly distinct: A, Leo VI., Alexander, Constantine, Romanus I., Constantine, caps. 1—7; B, Constantine, 8—end, Romanus II. A is based upon the work of Symeon the Logothete. Now Symeon was an admirer of Romanus I. and not devoted to the family of Constantine VII.; and the sympathies of Symeon are preserved by the compiler of A, notwithstanding their inconsistency with the tendencies of Bks. 1-5. Symeon's work appeared in the reign of Nicephorus Phocas, and must have been utilized almost immediately after its appearance by the compiler of A. It is probable that B was composed early in the same reign by a different author; it seems not to depend on another work, but to have been written from a contemporary's knowledge. [*Scriptores post Theophanem*, ed. Combes, 1685; *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. Bekker, 1838 (Bonn). Analysis of sources, &c., in Hirsch, *Byzantinische Studien*.]

The circumstances of the capture of Thessalonica by the Cretan pirates in A.D. 904 are vividly portrayed for us in the well-written narrative of JOHN CAMENIATES, a narrow-minded priest, ignorant of the world, but one who had lived through the exciting and terrifying scenes which he records and had the faculty of observation and the power of expressing his impressions. The work is printed in the Paris (1685) and in the Bonn (1838) series along with the *Scriptores post Theophanem*.

For the ecclesiastical history of the reign of Leo VI. we have a work of great importance in the anonymous *VITA EUTHYMI* published by C. de Boor (1888); cp. above, p. 221, note 43. The work was composed soon after the ex-Patriarch's death (A.D. 917).

The letters of the Patriarch Nicolaus Mysticus (Migne, P. G. cxi.) are also an important source for this reign. Two Greek texts on the life of Theophano, wife of Leo VI., have been published by E. Kurtz in the *Mémoires* of the St. Petersburg Academy, 1898, Classe Hist.-Phil. (Zwei griechische Texte über die Hl. Theophano). One of these documents is by a contemporary (*Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τῆς . . . Θεοφανῆς*). The other is a discourse on the pious lady's life and merits by Nicephorus Gregoras.

With the history of LEO DIACONUS (Leo Asiaticus) we enter upon a new period of historiography. After an interval of more than three hundred years, he seems to re-open the series which closed with Theophylactus Simocatta. His history in ten Books embracing the reigns of Romanus II., Nicephorus Phocas, and John Tzimisceas (959-975) is—although written after 992—a contemporary work in a good sense; depending on personal knowledge and information derived from living people, not on previous writers. As Leo was born in 950 he is not a contemporary in quite the same sense for the earlier as for the later part of his work. He afterwards took part in the Bulgarian War of Basil II. [Included in the Paris and the Bonn series.]

[For the poem of Theodosius on the reconquest of Crete by Nicephorus, see below, vol. vi., c. lii.]

The work of Leo Diaconus was continued by the most prominent and influential literary figure of the eleventh century, CONSTANTINE PSSELLUS (born A.D. 1018, probably at Nicomedia). He adopted the legal profession; was a judge in Philadelphia under Michael IV.; an imperial secretary under Michael V. He enjoyed

the favour of Constantine IX., who founded a university at Constantinople and appointed Psellus Professor of Philosophy. But his services were required in political life; he became chief secretary (*proto-asecretis*) of the Emperor and one of his most influential ministers. Presently he left the world to become a monk and assumed the name of Michael, by which he is generally known. But monastic life hardly suited him, and after some years he returned to the world. He played a prominent part under Isaac Comnenus and Constantine Duca; and was "prime minister" during the regency of Eudocia and the reign of Michael Parapinaces (a pupil who did him small credit). He died probably in 1078. As professor, Psellus had revived an interest in Plato, whose philosophy he set above Aristotle—a novelty which was regarded as a heresy. In this, he was stoutly opposed by his friend John Xiphilin, who was a pronounced Aristotelian. As young men, Psellus had taught Xiphilin philosophy, and Xiphilin had taught Psellus law. It was through the influence or example of Xiphilin (who withdrew to a monastery on Bithynian Olympus) that Psellus had assumed the tonsure. Xiphilin, who had written on law in his youth, wrote homilies in his later years, and became Patriarch of Constantinople in 1064; his old friend Psellus pronounced his funeral oration in 1075.

For success in the courts of the sovereigns whom Psellus served, candour and self-respect would have been fatal qualities. Psellus had neither; his writings (as well as his career) show that he adapted himself to the rules of the game, and was servile and unscrupulous. His *Chronography* reflects the tone of the time-serving courtier. Beginning at A.D. 976, it treats very briefly the long reign of Basil, and becomes fuller as it goes on. It deals chiefly with domestic wars and court intrigues; passing over briefly, and often omitting altogether, the wars with foreign peoples. The last part of the work was written for the eye of Michael Parapinaces, and consequently in what concerns him and his father Constantine X. is very far from being impartial.

The funeral orations which Psellus composed on Xiphilin, on the Patriarch Michael Cerularius (see above, p. 286) and on Lichudes, a prominent statesman of the time, have much historical importance, as well as many of his letters. (The *Chronography* and these *Epitaphioi* are published in vol. iv., the letters (along with other works) in vol. v., of the *Bibliotheca Græca mediæ ævi* of C. Sathas. A new edition of the *Chronography* by Sathas appeared in Methuen's *Byzantine texts*, 1899.) These works are but a small portion of the encyclopædic literary output of Psellus, which covered the whole field of knowledge. It has been well said that Psellus is the Photius of the eleventh century. He was an accomplished stylist and exerted a great influence on the writers of the generation which succeeded him. [For his life and writings see (besides Leo Allatius, *De Psellis et eorum scriptis*, 1684; *op. Fabricius*, 10, p. 41 *sqq.*) Sathas, *Introductions* in *op. cit.* vols. iv. and v.; A. Rambaud, *Revue Historique*, 3, p. 241 *sqq.*; K. Neumann, *Die Weltstellung des byz. Reiches vor den Kreuzzügen*, 1894; B. Rhodius, *Beitr. zur Lebensgeschichte und zu den Briefen des Psellos*, 1892.]

Important for the history, especially the military history, of the eleventh century is a treatise entitled *Strategicon* by CECAMENUS. Of the author himself we know little; he was witness of the revolution which overthrew Michael V., and he wrote this treatise for his son's benefit after the death of Romanus Diogenes. The title suggests that it should exclusively concern military affairs, but the greater part of the work consists of precepts of a general kind. Much is told of the author's grandfather Cecaumenus, who took part in the Bulgarian wars of Basil II. Joined on to the *Strategicon* is a distinct treatise of different authorship (by a member of the same family; his name was probably Niculitzas): a book of advice to the Emperor "of the day"—perhaps to Alexius Comnenus on the eve of his accession. It contains some interesting historical references. [Extracts were published by B. Vasilievski in 1881 (in the *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosviescheniya*; May, June, July), with notes; the whole text has been edited by Vasilievski and Jernstedt (*Cecaumeni Strategicon et incerti scriptoris de officiis regis libellus*), 1896.]

The latter part of the period covered in the history of Psellus has had another contemporary, but less partial, historian in MICHAEL ATTALEIATES, a rich advocate,

who founded a monastery and a hostelry for the poor (*ptochotropheion*).¹⁸ His abilities were recognized by Constantine Ducas and Nicephorus Botaneiates, from whom he received honorary titles (*Patrician*, *Magister*, *Proedros*), and held posts of no political importance. He accompanied Romanus Diogenes on his campaigns as a "military judge". The history embraces the period 1034-1079, and was completed c. 1080; it is dedicated to Nicephorus III. [First published in the Bonn series, 1878.]

Just as Attaleiates overlaps Psellus and furnishes important material for correcting and completing his narrative, so the work of the prince NICEPHORUS BRYENNIVS, son-in-law of Alexius Comnenus, overlaps and supplements the work of Attaleiates. Nicephorus had good opportunities for obtaining authentic information on the history of the times. His father had aspired to the throne and overthrown Michael VII. (see above, p. 239), but had been immediately overthrown by Alexius Comnenus and blinded. But, when Alexius came himself to the throne, Bryennius found favour at court; and his brilliant son was chosen by the Emperor as the husband of Anna and created Caesar. He played a prominent part on several occasions during the reign of Alexius, conducting, for instance, the defence of the capital against Godfrey of Bouillon in 1097. After his father-in-law's death he refused (cp. above, p. 243) to take part in a conspiracy¹⁹ which his wife organized against her brother John, under whose rule he continued to serve the state until his death in 1087. In his last years, at the suggestion of his mother-in-law Irene, he undertook the composition of a history of Alexius Comnenus, but death hindered him from completing it, and the work covers only nine years, A.D. 1070-9. He describes it himself as "historical material"; it is, as Seger observes, "less a history of the time than a family chronicle, which, owing to the political position of the families, assumes the value of 'a historical source'". It has the common defects of the memoirs of an exalted personage, whose interests have been connected intimately with the events he describes and with the people he portrays. Bryennius makes considerable use of the Chronography of Psellus, and also draws on Attaleiates and Scylitzes. [Included in the Bonn series, 1836. Monograph: J. Seger, Nikephoros Bryennios, 1888.]²⁰

The incomplete work of Bryennius was supplemented and continued by his wife, the literary princess ANNA COMNENA, whose *Alexiad*, beginning with the year 1069, was successfully carried down to 1118, the year of her father's death. Anna (born 1083) retired after the unsuccessful conspiracy against her brother (see above, p. 243) to the monastery of Kecharitomene, which had been founded by her mother Irene, who now accompanied her into retreat. The work which has gained her immortal fame was completed in 1148. Anna received the best literary education that the age could afford; she was familiar with the great Greek classics from Homer to Polybius, and she had studied philosophy. She was impregnated with the spirit of the renaissance which had been initiated by Psellus; she affects, though she does not achieve, Attic purism in her artificial and pedantic style. She had fallen far more completely under the spell of the literary ideals of Psellus than her husband, though he too had felt the influence. The book is a glorification of her father; and naturally her account of the crusades is highly unfavourable to the crusaders. But she was conscientious in seeking for information, oral and documentary.²¹ [Ed. Bonn, vol. i., ed. Schopen, 1839; vol. ii., ed. Reifferscheid, 1878; complete ed. by Reifferscheid (Teubner), 1884. E. Oster, *Anna Comnena* (Programmes, 1, 1868; 2, 1870; 3, 1871); C. Neumann, *Griechische Geschichtschreiber und Geschichtsquellen im 12 Jahrhundert*, 1888.]

¹⁸ The *diataxis*, or testamentary disposition, respecting these foundations, with inventories of the furniture, library, &c., is extant (ed. Sathas, *Bibl. Gr. med. aevi*, vol. i.). It is a very interesting document. Cp. W. Nissen, *Die Diataxis des Michael Attal*. von 1077 (1894).

¹⁹ He was thinking doubtless of his own case when he wrote (p. 20, ed. Bonn) of the refusal of Isaac's brother, John, to take the crown which Isaac pressed upon him. This is well remarked by Seger, *Nikeph. Bryennios*, p. 22.

²⁰ The Introduction to the work is, at all events partly, spurious.

²¹ In chronology she is loose and inaccurate.

The thread of Imperial history is taken up by JOHN CINNAMUS where Anna let it drop. He too, though in a less exalted position, had an opportunity of observing nearly the course of political events. Born in 1143 he became the private secretary of the Emperor Manuel, whom he attended on his military campaigns. His history embraces the reign of John and that of Manuel (all but the last four years²²), A.D. 1118-1180; but the reign of John is treated briefly, and the work is intended to be mainly a history of Manuel. It has been recently proved by Neumann that the text which we possess (in a unique Ms.) does not represent the original work, but only a large extract or portion of it.²³ As a historian Cinnamus has some of the same faults as Anna Comnena. He is a panegyrist of Manuel, as she of Alexius; his narrow attitude of hostility and suspicion to Western Europe is the same as hers, and he treats the Second Crusade with that Byzantine one-sidedness which we notice in her treatment of the First; he affects the same purism of style. But he is free from her vice of long-windedness; there is (as Krumbacher has put it) a certain soldier-like brevity both in his way of apprehending and in his way of relating. As a military historian he is excellent; and he rises with enthusiasm to the ideas of his master. [In the Bonn series, 1836. Study of the work in C. Neumann, Griechische Geschichtschreiber und Geschichtsquellen im 12 Jahrhundert, 1888.]

NICETAS ACOMINATUS (of Chonae). Nicetas filled most important ministerial posts under the Angeli, finally attaining to that of Great Logothete. He was witness of the Latin conquest of Constantinople, and afterwards joined the court of Theodore Lascaris at Nicaea. He was the younger brother of Michael Acominatus, archbishop of Athens, who was also a man of letters. The historical work of Nicetas (in twenty-one Books) begins where Anna Comnena ended, and thus covers the same ground as Cinnamus, but carries the story on to 1206. But he was not acquainted with the work of Cinnamus; and for John and Manuel he is quite independent of other extant sources. He differs remarkably from Anna and Cinnamus in his tone towards the Crusaders, to whom he is surprisingly fair. Nicetas also wrote a well-known little book on the statues destroyed at Constantinople by the Latins in 1204. See further below, vol. vi., cap. lx., ad fin. [Ed. Bonn, 1835, including the essay *De Signis*. Panegyrics addressed to Alexius Comnenus II., Isaac Angelus, Theodore Lascaris, and published in *Sathas, Bibl. Gr. med. aevi*, vol. i. Monograph by Th. Uspenski (1874). Cp. C. Neumann, *op. cit.*]

Another continuator of Theophanes arose in the eleventh century in the person of JOHN SCYLITZES (a *europalates* and *Drungarios* of the Watch), a contemporary of Psellus. Beginning with A.D. 811 (two years before Theophanes ends) he brought his chronicle down to 1079. His chief sources are the *Scriptores post Theophanem*, Leo Diaconus, and Attaleiates; but he used other sources which are unknown to us, and for his own time oral information. His preface contains an extremely interesting criticism on the historiographers who had dealt with his period. Since Theophanes, he says, there has been no satisfactory epitome of history. The works of "the Siceliot teacher" (a mysterious person whose identity has not been established)²⁴ and "our contemporary Psellus" are not serious, and are merely bare records of the succession of the Emperors—who came after whom—and leave out all the important events. This notice is very important; the criticism cannot apply to the *Chronography* of Psellus which we possess, and therefore suggests that Psellus wrote a brief epitome of history which began at A.D. 813, and is now lost. Other historians have treated only short periods or episodes, like Genesius, Theodore Daphnopates, Leo Diaconus and others; and all these have written with a purpose or tendency—one to praise

²² The Ms. is mutilated at the end; the original work doubtless ended with the death of Manuel; it was written not long after his death.

²³ *Griechische Geschichtschreiber*, &c., p. 79 *sqq.*

²⁴ He has been brought into connexion with a certain John the Siceliot, who is named as the author of a chronicle in a Vienna and in a Vatican Ms. The chronicle ascribed to him in the latter (Vat. Pal. 394) is merely a redaction of George Monachus. For the chronicle in Vindob. histor. Gr. 99, see Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 386-7.

an Emperor, another to blame a Patriarch. The whole text of Scylitzes has not yet been published, but is accessible for historical purposes in the Latin translation of B. Gabius (Venice, 1570), combined with the chronicle of Cedrenus, which (see below) contains practically a second ed. of Scylitzes up to A.D. 1057. The Greek text of the latter part of the work, A.D. 1057-1079, is printed in the Paris Byzantine series, and reprinted in the Bonn collection, along with Cedrenus. [On sources, &c., consult Hirsch, *Byzantinische Studien*; on the difficult questions connected with the tradition of the text, C. de Boor, *Zu Johannes Skylitzes*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xiii. 356 *sqq.*, and *Weiteres zu Skylitzes*, *ib.* xiv. 409 *sqq.*]

The Historical Synopsis of GEORGE CEDRENUS (c. 1100 A.D.), from the creation to A.D. 1057, is a compilation, in its earlier part, up to A.D. 811, from Theophanes, George Monachus, Symeon Magister, and above all, Pseudo-Symeon (see above). From A.D. 811 to the end Cedrenus merely wrote out Scylitzes word for word. [Bonn edition in two vols., 1838-9. Cp. Hirsch, *op. cit.*]

JOHN ZONARAS, who flourished in the first half of the twelfth century, held important posts in the imperial service (Great Drungarios of the Watch, and chief of the secretarial staff), and then retired to St. Glyceria (one of the Princes' Islands), where as a monk he reluctantly yielded to the pressure of his friends to compose a profane history. The work begins with the creation and ends in the year A.D. 1118. In form it differs completely from such works as the *Chronicles* of Theophanes or Scylitzes. Zonaras never copies his sources word for word; he always puts their statements in his own way. But this mode of operation is purely formal and not critical; it is merely a question of style; he does not sift his material or bring intelligence to bear on his narrative. Yet he took more pains to collect material than many of his craftsmen; he did not content himself with one or two universal histories such as George Monachus; and he complains of his difficulty in getting books. His work has great importance from the fact that it has preserved the first twenty-one Books of Dion Cassius, otherwise lost. For the second half of the fifth and first half of the sixth century Zonaras has some important notices derived from a lost source; though for the most part he follows Theophanes. For the last three centuries of his work Zonaras used George Monachus and the Logothete's Continuation, the Continuation of Theophanes, Scylitzes, Psellus, &c. [The Bonn ed. contained only Bks. 1-12 (1841-4) till 1896, when the third and concluding volume was added by T. Büttner-Wobst. There is also a complete edition by L. Dindorf in six volumes (1868-75). On the sources of Zonaras from A.D. 450-811 the chief work is P. Sauerbrei, *De fontibus Zon. quaestiones selectae* (in *Comment. phil. Jen. i.* 1 *sqq.*), 1881; on the period A.D. 813-965, Hirsch, *op. cit.* For earlier Roman history there is a considerable literature on Zonaras. Cp. Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 375.]

Among the compilations which supplied Zonaras with material is a (non-extant) Chronicle, which is defined as a common source of Zonaras and a work known as the *SYNOPSIS SATHAS*, because C. Sathas first edited it from a Venetian Ms. (1894; *Bibl. Gr. med. aevi*, vol. vii.). This "Chronological Synopsis" reaches from the creation to A.D. 1261. It is closely related to the unpublished chronicle of Theodore of Cyzicus which covers the same ground. On the common source, and the sources of that common source, see E. Patzig, *Ueber einige Quellen des Zonaras*, in *Byz. Zeitsch.* 5, p. 24 *sqq.* The author of the Synopsis lived in the latter part of the thirteenth century. The range of the chronicle will be understood when it is said that more than two-thirds of it are devoted to the last two hundred years.

The chronicle which served as common source to both Zonaras and the Synopsis was also used by a contemporary of Zonaras, CONSTANTINE MANASSES, who treated the history of the world from its creation to the death of Nicephorus III. (1081) in "political" verses. (Other sources: Dionysius of Halicarnassus, John Lydus, John of Antioch, Pseudo-Symeon.) This versified chronicle was very popular, it was translated into Slavonic, and was one of the chief sources of a chronicle written in colloquial Greek (see K. Prächter, *Byz. Zeitsch.* 4, p. 272 *sqq.*, 1895). Published in the Bonn series along with the worthless chronicle of JOEL (thirteenth century; sources: George the Monk, Symeon, Scylitzes). See Hirsch, *op. cit.*

Another chronographer contemporary with Zonaras was MICHAEL GLYCAS. Of his life little is known except that he was a "secretary," and that for some reason he was imprisoned and "blinded," though not with fatal consequences to his eyesight. His chronicle (from the creation), of which Part iv. reaches from Constantine the Great to the death of Alexius I. (1118), differs considerably in general conception from other chronicles, and is marked, as Krumbacher has well pointed out, by three original features: digressions on (1) natural history and (2) theology, whereby the thread of the chronicle is often lost, and (3) the didactic form of the work, which is addressed to his son. The sources of the latter part are Zonaras, Scylitzes, Psellus, Manasses, Vita Ignatii. (Cp. Hirsch, *op. cit.*) On his life, chronicle and other works, see Krumbacher's monograph, Michael Glycas, 1895. [Edition, Bonn, 1836.]

LATIN SOURCES.

The paucity of other sources renders the *LIBER PONTIFICALIS* of considerable importance for the imperial history of the seventh and eighth centuries in Italy. M. Duchesne, in the Introduction to his great edition of the work, has shown with admirable acuteness and learning how it grew into its present form. The primitive *Liber Pontificalis* was compiled at Rome under the pontificates of Hormisdas, John I., Felix IV., and Boniface II., after A.D. 514, and came down to the death of Felix IV. in A.D. 530. "For the period between 496 and 530 the author may be regarded as a personal witness of the things he narrates." The work was continued a few years later by a writer who witnessed the siege of Rome in A.D. 537-8, and who was hostile to Silverius. He recorded the Lives of Boniface II., John II. and Agapetus, and wrote the first part of the Life of Silverius (A.D. 536-7). The latter part of this Life is written in quite a different spirit by one who sympathized with Silverius; and it was *perhaps* this second continuator who brought out a second edition of the whole work (Duchesne, p. cxxxii.). The Lives of Vigilius and his three successors were probably added in the time of Pelagius II. (A.D. 579-90). As for the next seven Popes, M. Duchesne thinks that, if their biographies were not added one by one, they were composed in two groups: (1) Pelagius II. and Gregory I.; (2) the five successors of Gregory. From Honorius (A.D. 625-38) forward the Lives have been added one by one, and sometimes more than one are by the same hand. Very rarely are historical documents laid under contribution; the speech of Pope Martin before the Lateran Council in A.D. 649 forms an exception, being used in the Lives of Theodore and Martin. In the eighth century the important Lives of Gregory II., Gregory III., Zacharias, &c., were written successively during their lives. The biographer of Gregory II. seems to have consulted a lost (Constantinopolitan) chronicle which was also used by Theophanes and Nicephorus. (Cp. Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* i. p. 411.) The Biography of Hadrian falls into two parts; the first, written in 774, contains the history of his first two years; the second, covering the remaining twenty-two years of his pontificate, is of a totally different nature, being made up of entries derived from vestry-registers, &c. M. Duchesne has shown that most of these biographers to whose successive co-operation the *Liber Pontificalis* is due belonged to the Vestiarium of the Lateran; and when they were too lazy or too discreet to relate historical events they used to fall back on the entries in the registers of their office. [L. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis; Texte, Introduction et Commentaire*, t. I (1886).]

The Letters of Pope GREGORY THE GREAT (for whose life and work see above, p. 35 *sqq.*) are the chief contemporary source for the state of Italy at the end of the sixth century. The Benedictines of St. Maur published in 1705 a complete collection of the Pope's correspondence, which extends from A.D. 591 to 604. This edition, used and quoted by Gibbon, is reprinted in Migne's P. G., lxxvii. The arrangement of the letters in this collection was adopted without full intelligence as to the nature of the materials which were used. It depended mainly on a Vatican Ms. containing a collection of the letters, put together in the fifteenth century by the order of an archbishop of Milan (John IV.). This collection was compiled from three distinct earlier collections, which had never been put together before to form a single collection. Of these (1) the most important is a selection of 681 letters, made under Pope Hadrian I. towards the end of the eighth century. The letters of Gregory range over fourteen indictions, and the "Hadrianic Register," as it is called, falls

into fourteen Books, according to the indictions. This is our basis of chronology. There is (2) a second collection of 200 letters without dates (except in one case), of which more than a quarter are common to the Hadrianic Register. It has been proved that all these letters belong to a single year (A.D. 598-9); but in the text of the Benedictines they are scattered over all the years. (3) The third collection (*Collectio Pauli*) is smaller; it contained 53 letters, of which 21 are peculiar to itself. Here too, though the Benedictine edition distributes these letters over six years, it has been proved that they all belong to three particular years. These results were reached by very long and laborious research by Paul Ewald, whose article in the *Neues Archiv* of 1878 (iii. 433 *sqq.*) has revolutionised the study of Gregory's correspondence and established the order of the letters. A new critical edition, based on Ewald's researches, has appeared in the *Monumenta Germ. Historica*, in two vols. Only Bks. 1-4 are the work of Ewald; but on his premature death the work was continued by L. M. Hartmann. Ewald also threw new light on the biographies of Gregory, proving that the oldest was one preserved in a St. Gall Ms. (and known to, but not used by, Canisius). See his article: *Die älteste Biographie Gregors I.* (in "*Historische Aufsätze dem Andenken an G. Waitz gewidmet*"), 1886. For the Life by Paulus Diac. cp. above, p. 35, note 73; for the Life by John Diac. cp. *ib.*, n. 74. [Monographs: G. T. Lau, *Gregor I. der Grosse nach seinem Leben und seiner Lehre geschildert* (1845); W. Wisbaum, *Die wichtigsten Richtungen und Ziele der Thätigkeit des Papstes Gregor des Gr.* (1884); C. Wolfgruber, *die Vorpäpstliche Lebensperiode Gregors des Gr., nach seinen Briefen dargestellt* (1886), and *Gregor der Grosse* (1890); Th. Wollschack, *Die Verhältnisse Italiens, insbesondere des Langobardenreichs nach dem Briefwechsel Gregors I.* (1888); F. W. Kellelt, *Pope Gregory the Great and his relations with Gaul* (1889); F. H. Dudden, *Gregory the Great*, 1905 (see above, p. 35, n. 73). There is a full account of Gregory's life and work in Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. v. chap. 7; and a clear summary of Ewald's arguments as to the correspondence.]

The earliest historian of the Lombards was a bishop of Trient named Secundus, who died in A.D. 612. He wrote a slight work (*historiola*) on the *Gesta* of the Lombards, coming down to his own time; unluckily it is lost. But it was used by our chief authority on the history of the Lombard kingdom, PAUL THE DEACON, son of Warnefrid, who did for the Lombards what Gregory of Tours did for the Merovingians, Bede for the Anglo-Saxons, Jordanes for the Goths. Paul was born about A.D. 725 in the duchy of Friuli. In the reign of King Ratchis (A.D. 744-9) he was at Pavia, and saw in the king's hand the bowl said to have been made of Cunimund's skull. He followed King Ratchis into monastic retirement at Monte Cassino, and we find him there an intimate friend and adviser of Arichis, Duke of Beneventum, and his wife. He guided the historical studies of this lady, Adelperga, and it was her interest in history that stimulated him to edit the history of Eutropius and add to it a continuation of his own in six Books (the compilation known as the *Historia Miscella*, see above, vol. iii. p. 517-18). Paul's family was involved in the ruin of the Lombard kingdom (A.D. 774); his brother was carried into captivity, and Paul undertook a journey to the court of Charles the Great, in order to win the grace of the conqueror. He was certainly successful in his enterprise, and his literary accomplishments were valued by Charles, at whose court he remained several years. When he returned to Italy he resumed his abode at Monte Cassino. His last years were devoted to the *Historia Langobardorum*. Beginning with the remote period at which his nation lived by the wild shores of the Baltic, Paul should have ended with the year in which the Lombards ceased to be an independent nation; but the work breaks off in the year A.D. 744; and the interruption can have been due only to the author's death. Paul's Life of Gregory the Great has been mentioned above; another extant work is his *Lives of the Bishops of Metz*.

For the legendary "prehistoric" part of his work, Paul's chief source (apart from oral traditions) was the *Origo gentis Langobardorum*. This little work has been preserved in a Ms. of the Laws of King Rotharis, to which it is prefixed as an Introduction.²⁰ It was probably composed soon after 648. (There is also a

²⁰ The text will be found in Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist. Legg.* iv. p. 641-7; and in Waitz, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Scr. rerum Lang.*, p. 2-6. Cp. L. Schmidt, in *Neues Archiv*,

Prologus to the Laws of Rotharis, containing a list of kings; it is important on account of its relative antiquity.) For the early history Paul drew upon Secundus (see above) and Gregory of Tours. When Secundus deserts him (Bk. iv. c. 41) he is lost, and for the greater part of the seventh century his history is very meagre. His chief sources for the period A.D. 612 to 744 are the Lives of the Popes in the *Liber Pontificalis* (from John III. to Gregory II.) and the *Ecclesiastical History* of Bede. The sources of Paul have been investigated by B. Jacobi, *Die Quellen der Langobardengeschichte des Paulus Diaconus* (1877) and by Mommsen in *Neues Archiv*, v., 1880.²⁶ [Best edition by Waitz in the *M. G. H. (Scr. rer. Lang.)*, 1878; and small convenient edition by the same editor in the *Scr. rer. Germ.*, 1878. German translation by O. Abel (in the *Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit*), 1849 (second edition, 1878). For the most recent edition of the *Historia Miscella*, see above, vol. iii. p. 518.]

The chronicle which goes under the name of FREDEGARIUS, on which we have to fall back for Merovingian History when Gregory of Tours deserts us, has also notices which supplement the Lombard History of Paul the Deacon. The chronicle consists of four Books. Bk. 1 is the *Liber Generationis* of Hippolytus; Bk. 9 consists of excerpts from the chronicles of Jerome and Idatius; Bk. 3 is taken from the *Historia Francorum* of Gregory of Tours; Bk. 4, which is alone of importance, continues the history of Gregory (from Bk. vi.; A.D. 583) up to A.D. 642. Two compilers can be distinguished; to one is due Bk. 1, Bk. 2, Bk. 4, chaps. 1-39; to the other (= "Fredegarius") Bk. 3 and Bk. 4, chaps. 40 to end (A.D. 613-642). For the last thirty years the work is contemporary. The lack of other sources makes Fredegarius, such as it is, precious. But for this work we should never have known of the existence, during the reign of Heraclius, of the large Slavonic realm of Samo, which united for a decade or two Bohemia and the surrounding Slavonic countries. [Ed. B. Krusch, in the *M. G. H. (Scr. Hist. Merov., ii.)*, 1888, along with the subsequent continuations of the work to A.D. 568. Articles by Krusch in *Neues Archiv*, vii., p. 249 *sqq.* and p. 423 *sqq.*, 1882.]

ORIENTAL SOURCES.

[An excellent list of Arabic historians and their works will be found in Wüstenfeld's *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, 1882. See also Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2 vols., 1898.]

I. For the Life of Mohammad.

(1) For the life of Mohammad the only contemporary sources, the only sources which we can accept without any reservation, are: (a) the KORAN²⁷ (for the early traditions of the text, see above, p. 365). The order of the Sûras has been investigated by Weil, Nöldeke (see above, p. 365, n. 96) and others, and more recently by H. Hirschfeld (*New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Quran*, being vol. iii. of *Asiatic Monographs* of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1902). From the character and style of the revelations, combined with occasional references to events, they can be arranged in periods (reflecting an evolution in the Prophet's conception of his mission), and in some cases assigned to definite years. The earlier and more numerous Sûras composed at Mecca can be distinguished from the later revelations of Medina; and the former series may with some plausibility be divided into three chronological groups.²⁸ Cp. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islâm*, i. 204 *sqq.*

(b) A collection of TREATIES: see below.

(2) The other source for the life of Mohammad is tradition (*Hadith*). The

xiii. p. 391 *sqq.* (1888); also his *Älteste Gesch. der Langobarden*, 1834; A. Vogeler, *Paulus Diaconus u. die Origo g. Lang.* (1887); Bernheim, *Ueber die Or. g. Lang.*, in *Neues Archiv*, xxi. (1896).

²⁶ Cp. also Waitz, *Neues Archiv*, v. p. 416 *sqq.* (1880); Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, ed. 6, p. 169-71; and the works referred to in preceding note.

²⁷ For translations see above, p. 365, n. 96.

²⁸ A translation of the Koran has been published with the Sûras arranged in approximately chronological order (by Rodwell, 2nd ed., 1876).

Ashāb or companions of Mohammad were unimpeachably good authorities as to the events of his life; and they told much of what they knew in reply to the eager questions of the Tābiūn or Successors,—the younger generation who knew not the Prophet. But it was not till the end of the first century of the Hijra or the beginning of the second that any attempt was made to commit to writing the knowledge of Mohammad's life, which passed from lip to lip and was ultimately derived from the companions, few of whom can have survived the sixtieth year of the Hijra. The first work on Mohammad that we know of was composed at the court of the later Omayyads by al-Zuhri, who died in the year A.D. 742. It is deeply to be regretted that the work has not survived, not only on account of its relatively early date, but because a writer under Omayyad patronage had no interest in perverting the facts of history. Zuhri's book, however, was used by his successors, who wrote under the Abbāsids and had a political cause to serve.

The two sources which formed the chief basis of all that is authentic in later Arabic Lives of the Prophet (such as that of Abū-l-Fidā) are fortunately extant; and, this having been established, we are dispensed from troubling ourselves with those later compilations. (a) The life by MOHAMMAD IBN ISHĀK (ob. 768, a contemporary of Zuhri) has not indeed been preserved in an independent form; but it survives in Ibn Hishām's (ob. 823) History of the Prophet, which seems to have been practically a very freely revised edition of Ibn Ishāk, but can be controlled to some extent by the copious quotations from Ibn Ishāk in the work of Tabarī. Ibn Ishāk wrote his book for Mansūr the second Abbāsīd caliph (A.D. 754-775); and it must always be remembered that the tendency of historical works composed under Abbāsīd influence was to pervert tradition in the Abbāsīd interest by exalting the members of the Prophet's family, and misrepresenting the forefathers of the Omayyads. This feature appears in the work of Ibn Ishāk, although in the world of Islam he has the reputation of being an eminently and exceptionally trustworthy writer. But it is not difficult to make allowance for this colouring; and otherwise there is no reason to doubt that he reproduced truthfully the fairly trustworthy tradition which had been crystallized under the Omayyads, and which, in its general framework, and so far as the outer life of the Prophet himself was concerned, was preserved both by the supporters of the descendants of Alī and by those who defended the claims of the family of Abbās. [The work of Ibn Hishām has been edited by Wüstenfeld, 1859-60, and translated into German by Weil, 1864.]

(b) A contemporary of Ibn Hishām, named (Mohammad ibn Omar al) WĀKIDĪ (ob. 823), also wrote a Life of Mohammad, independent of the work of Ibn Ishāk. He was a learned man and a copious writer. His work met with the same fortune as that of Ibn Ishāk. It is not extant in its original form, but its matter was incorporated in a Life of Mohammad by his able secretary Ibn Sad (Kātib al-Wākidī, ob. 845)—a very careful composition, arranged in the form of separate traditions, each traced up to its source. But another work of Wākidī, the History of the Wars of the Prophet (Kitāb al-Maghāzi), is extant (accessible in an abbreviated German version by Wellhausen, 1882), and has considerable interest as containing a large number of doubtless genuine treaties. The author states that he transcribed them from the original documents.²⁹ Like Ibn Hishām, Wākidī wrote under the caliphate of Mamūn (A.D. 813-833) at Bagdad, and necessarily lent himself to the perversion of tradition in Abbāsīd interests.

AL-TABARĪ (see below) included the history of Mohammad in the great work which earned for him the compliment of being called by Gibbon "the Livy of the Arabians". The original Arabic of this part of the Annals was recovered by Sprenger at Lucknow. It consists mainly of extracts from Ibn Ishāk and Wākidī, and herein lies its importance for us: both as (1) enabling us to control the compilations of Ibn Hishām and Ibn Sad and (2) proving that Ibn Ishāk and Wākidī contained all the authentic material of value for the Life of the Prophet, that was at the disposal of Tabarī. The part of the work (about a third) which is occupied by

²⁹ Wākidī's Kitāb al-Ridda, which related the backslidings of the Arabs on Mohammad's death, the war with Musallima, &c., is lost.

other material consists of miscellaneous traditions, which throw little new light on the biography.

[For a discussion of the sources see Muir, *Life of Mahomet*; essay at the end of edition 2—introduction at the beginning of edition 3. For the life of the prophet: Weil, *Mohammed der Prophet*, 1840; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre Moham-mads*, 3 vols. ed. 2, 1869; H. Grimme, *Muhammed*, 1892; Wellhausen's sketch in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ed. 10 (*sub nomine*); Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i. and ii. 1, 1905-7 (cp. also Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, 4, 1889). For his spirit and teaching: Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Speeches and Table-talk of the Prophet Mohammad*, 1882.]

II. *For the Persian and Saracen Conquests.*

The book on the "Conquest of Syria," on which Ockley's *History* is largely based (see above, p. 442, n. 53), is not a genuine work of Wākidi. It is a much later compilation and is romance rather than history. It is now generally known as *Pseudo-Wākidi*, and has been edited by W. N. Lees, with notes, 1864 (Calcutta).

The most important authority for the history of the Saracen conquests is Abū-Jafar Mohammad ibn Jarir, born in A.D. 839 at Amul in Tabaristān and hence called AL-TABARĪ. He died at Bagdad in A.D. 923. It is only the immense scale of his chronicle that warrants the comparison with Livy. Tabarī had no historical faculty, no idea of criticizing or sifting his sources; he merely puts side by side the statements of earlier writers without reconciling their discrepancies or attempting to educe the truth. Though this mode of procedure lowers our opinion of the chronicler, it has obvious advantages for a modern investigator, as it enables him to see the nature of the now lost materials which were used by Tabarī. Later writers like al-Maknī, Abū-l-Fidā, Ibn al-Athīr, found it very convenient to draw from the compilation of Tabarī, instead of dealing directly with the numerous sources from which Tabarī drew; just as later Greek chronographers used to work on such a compilation as that of George Monachus. Our gratitude to Tabarī for preserving lost material is seriously modified by the consideration that it was largely to his work that the loss of that material in its original form is due. His work was so convenient and popular that the public ceased to want the older books and consequently they ceased to be multiplied.

The *Annals* of Tabarī were carried down to his own time, into the tenth century, but his notices for the last seventy years are very brief. The whole work has not yet been translated. We have already made the acquaintance of the part of it bearing on Persian history in the translation of Nöldeke (1879). A portion of the history of the Saracen conquests has been edited and translated by Kosegarten (1831). For the history of the caliphate from 670 to 775, Weil had the original work of Tabarī before him (in Ms.) in writing his *Geschichte der Chalifen*. A complete Arabic edition of Tabarī has been published by Prof. de Goeje (1879-).

In the year 963 Mohammad Bilamī "translated" Tabarī into Persian, by the order of Mansūr I., the Sāmānid sovereign of Transoxiana and Khurāsān. This "translation" (which was subsequently translated into Turkish) has been rendered into French by Zotenberg (1867-74). But the reader will be disappointed if he looks to finding a *traduction* in our sense of the word. Bilamī's work is far from being even a free rendering, in the freest sense of the term. It might be rather described as a history founded exclusively on Tabarī's compilation;—Tabarī worked up into a more artistic form. References to authorities are omitted; the distinction of varying accounts often disappears; and a connected narrative is produced. Such were the ideas of translators at Bagdad and Bukhārā; and Weil properly observes that Ibn al-Athīr, for instance, who does not pretend to be bound to the text of Tabarī, will often reproduce him more truly than the professed translator.

For Persian history, the chief ultimate source of Tabarī was the *Khudhāi-nāma* or *Book of Lords* (original title of what was afterwards known as the *Shāh-nāma* or *Book of Kings*), officially compiled under Chosroes I. (see above, vol. iv., p. 387), and afterwards carried down to A.D. 628, in the reign of Yazdegerd III. This work was rhetorical and very far from being impartial; it was written from the

standpoint of the nobility and the priests. It was "translated" into Arabic by Ibn Mukaffa in the eighth century; and his version, perhaps less remote from our idea of a translation than most Arabic works of the kind, was used by the Patriarch Eutychius of Alexandria (see below). Tabari did not consult either the Pehlevi original or the version of Ibn Mukaffa, but a third work which was compiled from Ibn Mukaffa and another version. See the Introduction to Nöldeke's invaluable work.

For Tabari's sources for the history of Mohammad, see above.

For the successors of Mohammad, Tabari had Ibn Ishāk's Book on the Moslem conquests and Wākidi's Book on the conquest of Mesopotamia and Armenia (translated and edited by Niebuhr and Mordtmann, 1847); and a history of the Omayyads and early Abbāsids by (Alī ibn Mohammad al) Madā'ini (A.D. 753-840).

An independent and somewhat earlier source for the military history of the Saracen conquests is the Book of the Conquests by Abū-l-Hasan Ahmad ibn Yahyā al-Balādhurī, who flourished in the ninth century (ob. A.D. 892) at the court of Bagdad. Among the sources which he cites are Wākidi, Ibn Hishām, and Madā'ini. His work has been printed (*Liber expugnationis regionum*, ed. De Goeje, 1866) but not translated; and has been used by Weil and Muir for their histories of the caliphate. Weil has given an abridgment—very convenient for references in studying the chronology—"Die wichtigsten Kriege und Eroberungen der Araber nach Beladori," as an Appendix in vol. iii. of his *Gesch. der Chalifen*.

The chronicle of YAKŪBī (who wrote c. A.D. 900) is another source of importance (ed. Houtama, 1883).

E. W. Brooks has collected and translated the notices of these and other Arabic writers, bearing on the Saracen invasions of Asia Minor between A.D. 641 and 750, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xviii. p. 182 *sqq.*, 1898; and in the same *Journal*, xix. p. 19 *sqq.*, 1899, he has given, under the title, *The Campaign of A.D. 716-718 from Arabic Sources*, translations of two accounts of the siege of Constantinople (see below, vol. vi. p. 5 *sqq.*): (1) that in the *Kitāb al-Uyun* (an eleventh century book) and (2) that of Tabari.

Another extant historical work is the Book of Sciences by (Abd-Allah ibn Muslim) IBN KUTĀIBA (ob. c. 889), a contemporary of Balādhurī. It is a brief chronicle, but contains some valuable notices.

Contemporary with these was IBN ABD-AL-HAKAM, who died in Egypt, A.D. 871. He wrote a Book of the Conquests in Egypt and Africa. See above, p. 488, note 158.

A much greater man than any of these was the traveller MASŪDĪ (Abū-l-Hasan Ali ibn al-Husain), born c. A.D. 900, died 956. He travelled in India, visited Madagascar, the shores of the Caspian, Syria, and Palestine, and died in Egypt. He wrote an encyclopædic work on the history of the past, which he reduced into a shorter form; but even this was immense; and he wrote a compendium of it under the title of *The Golden Meadows*, which has come down to us (publ. in Arabic with French translation, by Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, 9 vols., 1861-77). It contains valuable information respecting the early history of Islam, and the geography of Asia. He differs from contemporary Arabic historians in the multiplicity of his interests, and his wide view of history, which for him embraces not merely political events, but literature, religion, and civilisation in general.

The chronicle of EUTYCHIUS, patriarch of Alexandria, in the tenth century, is extant in the Arabic version edited and translated into Latin by Pocock, frequently cited by Gibbon. Pocock's version is reprinted in Migne, P. G. vol. cxi. The chronicle comes down to A.D. 987. We have seen that Eutychius used Ibn Mukaffa's version of the *Khudhāi-nāma*; but a thorough investigation of his sources is still a desideratum. His chronicle was used in the thirteenth century by MAXIM (Elmacin, ob. 1275), a native of Egypt, whose history (coming down to 1260) was also much used by Gibbon (ed. Erpenius, 1625); cp. above, p. 428, n. 11.

JOHN or NIKIU, Jacobite bishop of Nikiu, in the latter part of the seventh century, composed (in Greek or Coptic?) a chronicle from the creation to his own time. It is extremely important for the history of Egypt in the seventh century, and in fact is the sole contemporary narrative of the Saracen conquest. It has come down, but not in its original form. It was translated into Arabic, from

Arabic into Ethiopian (A.D. 1601); and it is the Ethiopian version which has been preserved. The work has been rendered generally accessible by the French translation which accompanies Zotenberg's edition (1888).

A short but important Syriac CHRONICLE dealing with the history of Persia from about 590 to the fall of the Sassanid power was published by I. Guidi. (Acts of VIIIth International Congress of Orientalists at Stockholm in 1889: Leiden, 1893.) There is a Latin translation of it by Guidi in *Scriptores Syri*, ser. iii. vol. iv. (Cronica Minora), 1903; and a German version by Nöldeke in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, Phil.-hist. Cl., vol. 128. The anonymous author was a Nestorian monk who wrote before A.D. 680.

The chronicle of DIONYSIUS of Tell Mahrē, who was Patriarch of the Jacobites from A.D. 818 to 845, came down to c. A.D. 843. The text published with a translation by Chabot under the title, *Chronique de Denys de Tell Mahré*, iv. Partie (1895), has been shown by Nöldeke (in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1896) and Nau (in *Bulletin Critique*, 25 Jan. 1897) to have been a work of earlier date, written c. 775 (by Joshua the Stylite of Zuknin, according to Nau).

The latter part of a Syriac Chronicle of the year 846 was published, with translation, by E. W. Brooks (in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 51, 569 *sqq.*, 1897), who has pointed out that the author used sources which lie behind Theophanes and Michael of Melitene. H. Buk, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xiv. 532-4, discusses the relation of this work to the *Continuatio Isidori byzantia-arabica* (Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* ii. p. 323 *sqq.*), which Nöldeke supposes to be derived from a Greek original written in Syria. The whole Chronicle has been since edited by Brooks in the *Corpus soc. christ. orientalium: Scriptores Syri*, *Chronica Minora*, Pt. 2, 1904.

MICHAEL OF MELITENE, patriarch of Antioch in the twelfth century (1166-99), wrote a chronicle in Syriac, from the creation to his own time. An Armenian abridgment made (by Ishōk) in the following century (1248) has been translated into French by V. Langlois (1868); the part of it which deals with the period 578-717 had been already published in French by Dulaurier in the *Journal Asiatique*, t. 12, Oct. 1848, p. 281 *sqq.*, and t. 13, April to May, 1849, p. 315 *sqq.* The Syriac text is being edited by Chabot, vols. i., ii., 1899-1904, vol. iii. 1 and 2, 1905-1906. In the preface to his work Michael gives a remarkable list of his sources, some of which are mysterious. He mentions Enanus of Alexandria (Anianus), Eusebius, John of Alexandria, Jibeghu (?), Theodore Lector, Zacharias of Melitene [from Theodosius to Justinian], John of Asia (John of Ephesus) [up to Maurice], Goria, the learned (Cyrus, a Nestorian of sixth to seventh century) [from Justinian to Heraclius], St. James of Urfa [Edessa] (end of seventh century) [an abridgment of preceding histories], Dionysius the Deacon (of Tellmahrē) [from Maurice to Theophilus], Ignatius of Melitene, Slives of Melitene, John of Kesun (first half of twelfth century; *op. Assemani*, 2, 364). See Dulaurier, *Journ. As.* t. 12, p. 286. [Wright, *Syriac Literature* (1894), p. 250 *sqq.* H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus*, ii. 1, 402 *sqq.*, ii. 2, 431 *sqq.* E. W. Brooks, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xv. 575 *sqq.* (see above, p. 531).]

Mar Gregor of Melitene, known as BAR-HEBRAEUS or ABULPHARAGIUS (Abū-l-Faraj), lived in the thirteenth century. He belonged to the Jacobite church, of which he was the *maphriān* (from 1264 to 1286), the dignitary second in rank to the patriarch. (1) He wrote in Syriac a chronicle of universal history, political and ecclesiastical, in three parts: Part 1, a political history of the world down to his own time. This was edited, with a Latin translation, by Bruns and Kirsch, 1789; Wright says that text and translation are equally bad (*Syriac Literature*, p. 278). Part 2, a history of the Church, which in the post-Apostolic period becomes a history of the Church of Antioch, and after the age of Severus deals exclusively with the monophysitic branch of the Antiochene church. Part 3 is devoted to the eastern division of the Syrian Church, from St. Thomas: "from the time of Mārūtha (629) it becomes the history of the monophysite maphriāns of Taghrith" (Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 279), up to 1286. These two ecclesiastical parts are edited, with translation, by Abbeloos and Lamy, 1872-7. (2) He also issued a recension of his political history, with references to Mohammedan writers, in

Arabic, under the title of a *Compendious History of the Dynasties*, which, edited and translated by Pocock, 1668, was largely used by Gibbon. The chronicle of Michael of Melitene was one of his chief sources. [Best account: Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 265 *sqq.*]

AGAPIUS, bishop of Manbidj (Hierapolis), wrote in A.D. 941 a chronicle from the creation to his own time, in Arabic. The later portion, from the second half of the eighth century, is lost. It is being edited, with a French translation by A. Vasil'ev, in the *Patrologia Orientalis* (Paris); parts 1 and 2 have appeared, 1910. For Agapius see Vasil'ev's article in *Vizantiiski Vremennik*, xi. 574 *sqq.*, 1904.

For the condition and administration of Egypt in the seventh century, not only before but after the Arab conquest, there is considerable material in the collections of Papyri which have been discovered and published in recent years (*op. above*, p. 485, n. 146). Vol. iv. of the Greek Papyri in the British Museum, ed. F. G. Kenyon, may be specially mentioned as important for the early Arabic period. [The economical condition of Egypt from the fourth to the seventh century is treated in M. Gelzer's recent work, *Studien zur byzantinischen Verwaltung Ägyptens*, 1909.]

MODERN WORKS. Finlay, *History of Greece*, vols. i., ii., iii.; K. Hopf, *Geschichte Griechenlands* (in Ersch und Gruber's *Enzyklopädie*, B. 85); G. F. Hertzberg, *Geschichte Griechenlands*, Pt. 1 (1876); F. C. Schlosser, *Geschichte der bilderstürmenden Kaiser des oström. Reiches* (1812); Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, vol. ii. (1889); Gfrörer, *Byzantinische Geschichten*, vol. iii. (1877); A. Rambaud, *L'empire grec au dixième siècle* (1870); Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vols. v.-viii. (1895, 1899); Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, vols. iv., v.; K. Paparrhegopulos, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους*, vol. iii. (ed. 2), 1888. (H. Gelzer has written an able and original outline of Byzantine history for the second edition of Krumbacher's *Gesch. der byz. Litteratur*. A good sketch of the Byzantine Empire by C. W. C. Oman appeared in the series of the *Story of the Nations*, 1892.) For Chronology: Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, vol. ii. p. 149 *sqq.* (579 to A.D. 641); Muralt, *Essai de Chronographie byzantine*, two vols. (1855-1871); Mas Latrie, *Trésor de Chronologie*, 1889 (convenient tables for the correspondence of years of Hijra and Christian era).

For Italy, besides Hodgkin's work (see above): Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter* (translated into English by Mrs. Hamilton); L. M. Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter*, vols. ii. and iii. 1 (1900-1908); Diehl, *Etudes sur l'administration byzantine dans l'exarchat de Ravenne* (1888); L. M. Hartmann, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der byzant. Verwaltung in Italien* (1889); J. Weise, *Italien und die Langobarden-herrscher von 568 bis 628* (1887); O. Hegel, *Geschichte der Städteverfassung von Italien* (1847).

For the Iconoclastic controversy (besides Schlosser's now somewhat antiquated work mentioned above): K. Schwarzlose, *Der Bilderstreit*, 1890; L. Bréhier, *La querelle des images*, ed. 2, 1904; Lombard's monograph on Constantine V., referred to above, p. 198, n. 19; the monographs, cited above, on Theodore of Studion. For the effects of the iconoclastic movement on art, see Diehl's *Manuel de l'art byzantin*, 1910.

For Mohammad, see above, p. 544. For the Saracen conquests: Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, vol. i.; Muir, *Annals of the Early Caliphate*, 1883; Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Römern in der Zeit der Umayyaden*, in *Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, Heft 4, 1901. The principal and most complete work is L. Caetani's *Annali dell' Islām* (constantly quoted in the last chapters of this volume), of which three volumes have appeared (1905-1910), coming down to the seventeenth year of the Hijra (= A.D. 638-9).

For Africa, see above, p. 488, n. 158. For Spain, p. 504, n. 201.

For Egypt, besides Butler's work (above, p. 76, n. 75; p. 472, n. 118): J. G. Milne, *A History of Egypt under Roman Rule*, 1898; S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, 1901.

Special monographs have been mentioned in appropriate places in the notes and in the foregoing appendix. [In note 41, p. 220 above, A. Struck's article on the capture of Thessalonica in A.D. 904, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xiv. 585 *sqq.*, 1905, should have been mentioned.]

2. THE AVAR CONQUEST—(P. 7)

The "true Avars" of Theophylactus Simocatta (see above, vol. iv. p. 377) have been identified with the Zhu-zhu or Zhuan-zhuan (= worms), who were conquered by the Turks (see above, vol. iv. p. 475) in A.D. 552-3; a remnant of them fled to the Chinese but were surrendered to the Turks and slaughtered. See Marquart, *Historische Glossen zu den alttürkischen Inschriften*, in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xii., 1898.

The Avars of European history were probably a Hunnic people. They conquered the Sabeiroy c. A.D. 558 (Menander, fr. 5). They received, in their western advance, the submission of Ugurs, who had been driven to the west of the Volga by the Sabeiroy; and of the Utigurs south of the Don, and the Kotrigurs west of the Don (cp. above, vol. iv. p. 573). We find them attacking Austrasia and fighting on the Elbe in A.D. 562 (see above, p. 5, n. 9). The subjugation of the Antae¹ (perhaps on the Bug; cp. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, 147) was a stage in the westward progress and must have been prior to A.D. 562. It is clear that their incursions into Frank territory were not made from such a distant basis as south-eastern Russia, the banks of the Dnieper or Don; and it is also certain that they had not reached their ultimate home in Hungary before A.D. 562 or even before A.D. 566, for Hungary was at this time occupied by Lombards and Gepids. The question arises: Where were the Avars settled in the intermediate years between their triumphs on the Don and the Dnieper (A.D. 559-60), and their occupation of Hungary (A.D. 567)? Whence did they go forth twice against the Austrasian kingdom (A.D. 562 and 566)? whence did they send the embassy which was rudely received by Justin (A.D. 566)? whence did they go forth to destroy the Gepids? The statement of the Avar ambassador in Corippus (3, 300)—

nunc ripas Scythici victor rex contigit Istri
densaque per latos figens tentoria campos, &c.,

might seem to prove that the Avars had advanced along the shores of the Pontus and stationed themselves in Wallachia. In that case they would have entered Dacia by the passes of Rothenthurm and Buza, and attacked the Gepids on that side. But Schafarik² has made it highly probable that they entered Upper Hungary from Galicia, through the passes of Dukla. His arguments are: (1) the Slavs of Dacia and the Lower Danube were independent until A.D. 581-4, when they were reduced to submission by the Avars; (2) the assumption of an advance through Galicia will explain the reduction of the Dudleby on the Bug, in Volhynia. The record of this event is preserved only in the Russian Chronicle of Nestor (so-called), but it may be a genuine tradition. The passage is as follows (c. 8, ed. Miklosich, p. 6):—

"These Obrs made war on the Slavs, and conquered the Duljeba, who are Slavs, and did violence to the Duljeb women. When an Obr wished to go anywhere, he did not harness a horse or an ox, but ordered three or four women to be harnessed to his carriage, to draw the Obr; and so they vexed the Duljeba."

The chronicler places this episode in the reign of Heraclius. But Schafarik plausibly argues that it belongs to a much earlier period, before the invasion of Hungary.

To these arguments I may add another. (3) The invasions of Austrasia almost demand more northerly headquarters for the Avars than Wallachia. Nor does the passage of Corippus contradict the assumption that the Avar nation was settled in Galicia, or thereabouts, in A.D. 566. For the passage need imply only that an armed contingent had accompanied the embassy, through Moldavia, to the banks of the Danube, and pitched their tents there to await the return of the envoys.

On the whole, therefore, it seems probable that the Avars in their westward advance followed an inland route from the Dnieper to the Upper Bug (through the Government of Kiev and Podolia).

¹ Menander, fr. 6.

² *Slawische Alterthümer*, ed. Wuttke, ii. 61.

In regard to the extent of the Avar Empire, after the conquest of Hungary, we must of course distinguish between the settlements of the Avars themselves, and the territories which acknowledged the lordship of the Chagan. The Avar settlements were entirely in the old Jazygia, between the Theiss and the Danube, where they dispossessed the Gepids, and in Pannonia, where they succeeded to the inheritance of the Lombards.³ These regions, which correspond to Hungary, were Avaria in the strict sense. But the Chagan extended his power over the Slavonic tribes to the north and east. It is generally agreed that his sway reached into Central Europe and was acknowledged in Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia; but it seems an improbable exaggeration to say that it was bounded on the north by the Baltic.⁴ Baian also subjugated the Slavs of Wallachia and Moldavia, and his dominion extended over the Unogundur and the Kotrigur Bulgarians.

3. GEOGRAPHY OF ITALY IN THE LOMBARD PERIOD, AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE LOMBARD CONQUEST—(P. 12, 13)

The following table will explain the divisions of Italy between the Empire and the Lombards about A.D. 600.

Italy in A.D. 600.

IMPERIAL.—(1) *North*:—Maritime Liguria; Cremona, Placentia, Vulturina, Mantua, Mons Silicis, Patavium, Brixellum; Venetian Coast; Concordia, Opitergium, Altinum (Mutina, Parma, Rhegium?); Ravenna and the Aemilia; Pentapolis (= Ariminum, Pisaurum, Fanum, Senegallia, Ancona); the inland Pentapolis (Aesis, Forum Semproni, Urbinum, Callis, Eugubium); Auximum.

(2) *Central*:—Picenum (coastland south of Ancona, including Firmum, Castrum Truentinum, Castrum Novum); Ortona (farther south on Adriatic coast), Perusia; Rome and the ducatus Romae, from Urbs Vetus (Orvieto) in north to Gaeta and Formis in south.

(3) *South*:—Part of Campania (including Naples, Salernum, Amalfi, Surrentum, Castrum Cumanum, Puteoli), farther south, Acropolis and Paestum; Bruttii, Calabria; Barium; Sipontum.

(4) *Islands*:—Sicily with neighbouring islets; Elba. [Corsica and Sardinia belonged to the Exarchate of Africa.]

FRANK.—Augusta Praetoria (Aosta) and its valley; Segusia or Seusia (Susa) and its valley. These small regions belonged to Burgundia (kingdom of Guntram) c. A.D. 588 (cp. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, v. 228) and probably remained Frankish for some time.

LOMBARD.—The rest.

The following table exhibits chronologically the progress of Lombard Conquest (so far as it can be discovered from our meagre data) from the first invasion to the reign of Rothari.

Lombard Conquests.

A.D. 568 Forum Julii, Vincentia, Verona; all Venetia (except the coast, Patavium, Mons Silicis, Mantua).

.. 569 Liguria, including Mediolanum (except the Maritime Coast, and Ticinum = Pavia). Also Cisalpine Gaul, except Cremona and some smaller places.

.. 570-572 Central and Southern Italy partially conquered, including Tuscany and the duchies of Spolegium and Beneventum.

.. 572 Ticinum (after a three years' siege); possibly Mantua and Placentia.

.. 579 Classis (but lost A.D. 588; recovered and surrendered, c. 720; taken by Liutprand, c. 725).

.. 588 Insula Comacina (in L. Como).

³This is rightly emphasized by Howorth, *The Avars*, in *Journal Asiat. Soc.*, 1889, p. 737.

⁴Howorth, *ib.*, p. 786. The story of the Slavs from the "Western Sea," in Theophylactus, vi. 2, does not warrant the inference.

- A.D. 590 (Lost Mantua, Placentia, Mutina, Parma, Rhegium, Altinum).
 „ 592 Suana (in Tuscany).
 „ 601 Patavium.
 „ 602 Mons Silicis.
 „ 603 Cremona, Mantua (and perhaps about this time most of the other places which the Empire recovered, c. 590), Vulturina (near Brixellum).
 „ 605 Urbs Vetus, Balneus Regis (= Bagnorea).
 Before A.D. 640 Concordia.
 „ „ 642 (?) Sipontum.
 A.D. 640 Maritime Liguria, Altinum, Opitergium.

These tables depend mainly on the notices in Paul's History of the Lombards and on the notitia of George the Cypriote composed c. A.D. 600 (ed. Gelzer, 1890). Cp. Bury, The Roman Empire in A.D. 600, in English Historical Review, April, 1894.

4. THE ARMENIAC PROVINCES OF JUSTINIAN AND MAURICE—(P. 56)

Up to the time of Justinian there were two provinces entitled Armenia, forming part of the Pontic Diocese.

Justinian in A.D. 536 redistributed these districts, creating four provinces of Armenia, which were formed partly out of the two old provinces, partly out of Pontus Polemoniacus, and partly of new territory which had hitherto lain outside the provincial system.¹

(1) First Armenia = part of old First Armenia (Theodosiopolis, Colonea, Satala, Nicopolis) + part of Pontus Polemoniacus (Trapezus and Cerasus).

(2) Second Armenia = rest of old First Armenia + part of Pontus Polemoniacus (Comana, Zela and Brissa).

(3) Third Armenia = old Second Armenia.

(4) Fourth Armenia = Sophanene, district beyond Euphrates, east of Third Armenia (capital, Martyropolis).²

The rest of Pontus Polemoniacus was united with the old Helenopontus to form a new Helenopontus under a governor with the title of *moderator*. Similarly Honorias and the old Paphlagonia were united into a new Paphlagonia under a *praetor*.

The Armenian provinces were reorganized and the nomenclature changed by Maurice, in consequence of the cessions made by Chosroes II. on his accession.

(1) Maurice's First Armenia = Justinian's Third Armenia.

(2) „ Second „ = „ Second „

(3) „ Great „ = „ First „

(4) „ Fourth includes the districts of Sophene, Digisene, Anzitene, Orzianine, Muzuron.

(5) Maurice's Mesopotamia includes Justinian's Fourth Armenia and Arzanene.

See the *Descriptio* of George the Cypriote (cp. above, App. 3), ed. Gelzer, p. 46-49, and Gelzer's preface, p. l. and p. lix.-lxi., where the notices of Armenian writers are reviewed. The territories handed over to Maurice by Chosroes were

(1) Arzanene and the northern part of Mesopotamia (including Daras) as far as Nisibis, and (2) part of Armenia, as far as Dovin. The former districts were added to Justinian's Fourth Armenian, and the whole province named Mesopotamia; the latter were formed into a new Fourth Armenia. Thus the cities of Nisibis in the south, and Dovin in the north, were just outside the Roman frontiers.

¹ Novel xlv. (= xxxi.).

² Procopius speaks of this as ἡ ἑλλη Ἀρμενία (Aed. 3, 1). It was previously administered partly by native *satraps*, partly by Roman officers called *satraps*. On the limits of the province, see H. Kiepert, Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie, 1873, p. 192 sqq.

³ It is possible, but not certain, that (as the Armenian historian John Catholicus asserts) the parts of Pontus which Justinian included in his Armenia I. were separated and made a distinct province. See Gelzer, Georgius Cyprius, p. lvil, lix.

A full study of the geography and administration of Armenia in the sixth century has been recently published : N. Adonts, *Armeniiav epokhu Iustiniana*, 1908.

5. THE RACE OF HERACLIUS AND NICETAS—(P. 71, 72)

The story of the friendly race for empire between Heraclius and Nicetas did not awaken the scepticism of Gibbon. It rests on the authority of Nicephorus (p. 3, ed. de Boor) and Theophanes (*sub ann.* 6101, p. 297, ed. de Boor), who doubtless derived it from the same source. On political grounds, the story seems improbable, but the geographical implications compel us to reject it as a legend. The story requires us to believe that Nicetas, starting from Carthage at the same time as Heraclius and marching overland, had the smallest chance of reaching Constantinople before his competitor's fleet.

There can be no doubt, I think, that the elevation of Nicetas was not contemplated by the two fathers—if it were not as an "understudy" to Heraclius in case anything befell him. The part assigned to Nicetas in the enterprise was not to race Heraclius, but to occupy Egypt, and then to support Heraclius so far as was necessary; and doubtless Nicetas started to perform his work before Heraclius put forth to sea. The possession of Egypt, the granary of the Empire, was of the utmost importance for a pretender to the throne; and its occupation was probably the first care of the African generals. That Egypt (not Constantinople) was the objective of Nicetas comes out clearly in the narrative of John of Nikitu.

A notice of Sebaceous also deserves attention. This historian states that "the general Heraclius revolted against Phocas, with his army, in the regions of Alexandria, and wresting Egypt from him reigned therein" (c. 21, p. 79-80 in Patkanian's Russ. tr., p. 56 in Macler); and the order of his narrative seems to place this event considerably before the overthrow of Phocas. The statement of course is not strictly correct; Sebaceous himself probably did not distinguish the elder from the younger Heraclius; but the fact that Egypt was occupied (by Nicetas) at the instance of the elder Heraclius, seems to be preserved in this notice, uncontaminated by the legend of the race for the diadem. Since the above lines were written the expedition of Nicetas has been placed in its true light by Butler, *Arab Conquest of Egypt*, p. 4 *sqq.*, and Pernice, *L'imperatore Eraclio*, 28 *sqq.*

6. PERSIAN KINGS FROM CHOSROES I. TO YEZDEGERD III.— (P. 11, 480)

(See Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 483-5)

Chosroes I. Anōsharvān	succeeds	A.D. 531, Sept. 13.
Hormisd IV.	"	" 579, Febr.
Chosroes II. Parvēz	"	" 590, summer.
" "	dies	" 628, Febr.
[Bahram VI.]	succeeds	" 590, autumn.]
Kobad (Kavādh) II. (Shērōe)	"	" 628, Febr. 25.
Ardashir III.	"	" 628, Sept.
Shahrbarāz	"	" 630, April 27.
Bōrān (queen)	"	" 630, summer.
Pērōz II.	"	" 631.
Azarmidocht	"	" 631 (?)
Hormisd V.	"	" 631.
Yezdegerd III.	"	" 632-3.
"	dies	" 651-2.

7. THE INSCRIPTION OF SI-NGAN-FU—(P. 159)

Gibbon showed his critical perspicacity when he accepted as genuine the famous Nestorian inscription of Si-ngan-fu, which was rejected by the scepticism of Voltaire and has been more recently denounced as a forgery by Stanislas Julien, Renan and others. All competent specialists, both European and Chinese, now recognise it as a genuine document of the eighth century; and indeed it is impossible to believe

that Alvarez Samedo, the Jesuit missionary who first announced the discovery of the stone, or any one else in the seventeenth century, could have composed this remarkable text. The stone was found at Si-ngan-fu, the old capital of the Tang dynasty, in A.D. 1623 or 1625. The Chinese inscription is surmounted by a cross (of the Maltese shape). Besides the Chinese text, there are some lines of Syriac at the side and at the foot; and the seventy signatures are given in both idioms. The first attempts at translation were those of Athanasius Kircher in his works entitled: "*Prodromus Coptus*" (1636) and "*China illustrata*" (1667); and of Father Samedo.¹ There have been several improved translations in the present century. For the following summary, the versions of Huc (*Le Christianisme en Chine, en Tartarie et au Thibet*, two vols., 1857; in vol. i. chap. 2, p. 52 *sqq.*); A. Wylie (in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. v. p. 277 *sqq.*, 1856); J. Legge (in *Christianity in China*, 1888); and, above all, of MM. Lamy and Gueluy (*Le monument chrétien de Si-ngan-fou*, 1897) have been used. See also Pauthier, *L'inscription Syro-Chinoise*; the summaries in Colonel Yule's *Cathay*, vol. i. p. xcii. *sqq.*, and in Mr. Raymond Beazley's *Dawn of Modern Geography*, p. 169 *sqq.*; and J. E. Heller, *Das Nestorianische Denkmal in Singan-Fu*, 1897 (Budapest).

The title at the head of the inscription is:

"Stone-tablet touching the propagation of the luminous religion of Ta-tsin in the Middle Empire, with a preface; composed by King-ting, a monk of the temple of Ta-tsin."

The Chinese text may be divided into two parts: an exposition of the doctrines of Christianity, and an historical account of the introduction of the religion into China and its propagation there.

1. The nature of the divine Being—the admirable person of the Trinity, the absolute lord, Oloho [*i.e.* Eloha, Syriac for God]—is set forth; then the work of Sa-tan in propagating heresies, whereof the tale is three hundred and sixty-five; and then the coming of the Mi-chi-lo [Messiah], who is the "other himself of the Trinity,"² born of a virgin in Ta-tsin [Syria] through the influence of the Holy Spirit.

2. In the days of the Emperor Tai-tsung, there came from Ta-tsin the Most virtuous Alopen (or Olopan),³ who was clothed with the qualities of the blue clouds,⁴ and possessed the true sacred books. In A.D. 635 he arrived at Chang-ngan [*i.e.* Si-ngan-fu]. The Emperor sent his chief minister, Fang-Huen-Ling, who conducted the western guest into the palace. The sacred books which the missionary brought were translated in the Imperial library; and the sovereign gave orders for the diffusion of the doctrine by which he was deeply impressed. In A.D. 638 he issued a proclamation to the following effect:

"Religion has no invariable name, religious observances have no invariable rites; doctrines are established in accordance with the country. Alopen, of the kingdom of Ta-tsin, has brought his sacred books and images from that distant part, and has presented them at our court. Having examined the principles of this religion, we find its object to be the admirable Empyrean and its mysterious action; investigating its original source, we find it expresses the sum of the perfect life." The Emperor then applies to the new doctrine a quotation from a Chinese classic; and concludes with the command that a Syrian Church should be built in the capital, at E-Ning-fang, and be governed by twenty-one priests.

Then follows a description of Ta-tsin or the Roman Empire, thus given by Hirth:⁵

"According to the Hsi-yü-t'u-chi and the historical records of the Hun and

¹ Gibbon could use Visdelou's translation in D'Herbelot, *Bib. Or.* iv. 375 *sqq.*

² Autre lui-même du Trine (Gueluy).

³ This must be a Chinese corruption of a Syrian name. Assemani thought it was for Jaballaha. Pauthier explains *Alo-pano*, "return of God". Yule (p. xciv.) suggests Rabban. *r* of course appears as *l* in Chinese.

⁴ That is, he was a sage. The metaphor is Buddhistic: Buddha is the sun, and the sage is the cloud which covers the earth and makes the rain of the land fall. So Gueluy, p. 74. But Wylie, &c., translate "observing the blue clouds".

⁵ China and the Roman Orient, p. 61-2.

Wei dynasties, the country of Ta-tsin begins in the south at the Coral Sea [Red Sea], and extends in the north to the Chung-pan-shan [hills of precious stones]; it looks in the west to the 'region of the immortals' and 'the flowery groves';⁶ in the east it bounds on 'the long winds' and 'the weak water'.⁷ This country produces fire-proof cloth; the life-restoring incense; the ming-yüeh-chu [moonshine pearl]; and the yeh-kuang-pi [jewel that shines at night].⁸ Robberies are unknown there, and the people enjoy peace and happiness. Only the *king* ['luminous' = Christian] religion is practised; only virtuous rulers occupy the throne. This country is vast in extent; its literature is flourishing."⁹

There is a panegyric of the Roman Empire!

The Emperor Kao-tsung (650-683) succeeded and was still more beneficent towards Christianity. Every city was full of churches. Then "in A.D. 699 the Buddhists [the children of Che] gaining power raised their voices in the eastern metropolis"; and in A.D. 713 there was an agitation of Confucianists against Christianity in the western capital. The religion revived under Hiwan-tsung (714-755); the "image of perfection of the five" (which Gueluy explains as the quintessence of absolute power) was placed in the church (A.D. 742). This emperor established a convent called the Palace of Progress, in which the monks of Ta-tsin were confounded with other ascetics. The patronage of Christianity by the succeeding emperors, Su-tsung (756-762), Tai-tsung (768-777), and Kien-chung (780-783), is then described, and the minister Izdbuzid, governor of a district in Kan-su, who was gracious to the Church although a Buddhist.

After this follows a metrical summary of the purport of the inscription, and then the date of the inscription: "This stone was erected in the second year of Kien-chung of the great Tang dynasty, in the Tso-yo of the cycle of years, in the month Tai-tsu, on the seventh day [i.e. Sunday], the day of the great Hosannas". The Sunday of the Great Hosannas meant, in the language of eastern Christians, Palm Sunday; and thus the date is precisely fixed to A.D. 781, April 8.¹⁰ The name of Ning-chu, i.e. Hanan Jesus the Catholic patriarch of the Nestorians, is added, and the name of the scribe who drew up the document.

On the left of the monument are two lines of Syriac, which run:

"In the days of the father of fathers, Mar Hanan Jesus [John Joshua], Catholic patriarch;

Adam, priest and chorepiscopus and papashi of Tzinistan [China]".

There is another Syriac inscription at the foot:

"In the year 1092 of the Greeks, Mar Izdbuzid,¹¹ Priest and chorepiscopus of Kumdan [that is, Si-ngan-fu], the royal city, son of Milis [Meletius] of blessed memory, priest of Balkh, city of Tokharistan, erected this tablet of stone, where is inscribed the life of our Saviour and the preaching of our fathers to the king of the Chinese".

There follow the names of signatories in Syriac and Chinese.

Hanan Jesus was the Catholic Patriarch of the Nestorian Church from 775 to 780, as Lamy has proved from the Syrian historian, Elias of Nisibis. His successor Timotheus was appointed on April 11, 780, so that he was dead a year before the erection of the Chinese inscription. Thus a year had elapsed, and the news of his death had not yet reached Si-ngan-fu from Seleucia: a fact which shows at what rate news travelled then in central Asia. *Catholic Patriarch* was the title of the chief of the Nestorians since the end of the 6th century; in the 5th century the title had been simply *Catholic*.¹²

The stone of Si-ngan-fu is supposed to have been buried about A.D. 845, when Wu-tsung issued an edict, aimed at Buddhist and other monks, enjoining the

⁶ La cité fleurie du pays des solitaires (Gueluy).

⁷ A river in Kan-su (cp. Gueluy, *op. cit.*, p. 5).

⁸ It is uncertain what gem is meant. Cp. Hirth, p. 242 *sqq.* He refers to the emeralds shining at night, which are mentioned by Herodotus, 2, 44, and Pliny, 37, 5, 66.

⁹ Tout y brille d'un ordre parfait (Gueluy).

¹⁰ See Gueluy, *op. cit.*, p. 67, 68.

¹¹ His name shows his Persian origin.

¹² See Lamy's important explanations, p. 90 *sqq.*

destruction of monasteries, and commanding foreigners who had come from Muhupa¹³ or from Ta-tsin to cease corrupting China and return to secular life. In the following century Christianity was almost extinct in China.

In 1907 Mr. Fritz Holm of Denmark visited Si-ngan-fu, and succeeded in obtaining a replica of the monument, made of the same local stone ("a black, sub-granular limestone with small oolites scattered through it"), and transporting it to the Museum of New York. It is a very remarkable work. "In the first place, there is not a measure, not a character, not a detail that differs from the original tablet—even the weight is the same. In the second place, this piece of art was executed by four native stone-cutters in eleven days, including polishing. In the third place, the Chinese artisans have been able to accomplish the miracle of carving the crosses and chiseling the Syriac characters, which they did not of course know, to absolute perfection." (See Holm's report, quoted in *The Nestorian Monument*, ed. by P. Carus, Chicago, 1909.)

8. THE LETTER OF NICETIUS TO JUSTINIAN—(P. 149)

The extant letter of Nicetius, Bishop of Trèves, to Justinian, of which Gibbon translates a passage, has been generally explained as referring to the Aphthartodocetic heresy which the emperor adopted shortly before the close of his reign. The meaning of the letter I must leave to theologians; but, without venturing to intrude on subtleties which, to adopt Gibbon's phrase, must be retained in the memory rather than in the understanding, I may express my opinion that there is much force in the view of Rev. W. H. Hutton, who argues, in his *Lectures on the Church in the Sixth Century* (1897), that the letter does not seem to touch upon the incorruptibility of Christ's body, but to be concerned with some other heresy.

Mr. Hutton maintains a theory (which had been promulgated by Crackanthorpe at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and controverted by Hody towards the end of the same century), that Justinian never fell into the Aphthartodocetic heresy. He is compelled to reject the distinct evidence of contemporary writers (cp. above, p. 149, n. 101); and he rests his case, which he has defended with great ability, on the high character for orthodoxy borne by Justinian and his theological learning, and on the fact that his memory was not condemned by the Church. But the direct evidence is too strong, whatever opinion be held either of the sincerity of Justinian in theological matters, or as to the psychological probability of a theologian of seventy or eighty years of age lapsing into a christological heresy. As the edict was never issued, the Church was not called on to condemn him.

On the religious controversies of Justinian's reign, see A. Knecht, *Die Religions-Politik Kaiser Justinians I.*, 1896, and Diehl, *Justinien*, 315 *sqq.*

9. PERIODS OF THE LATER EMPIRE, A.D. 610 TO A.D. 1204— (CHAP. XLVIII.)

Many readers of the xlviiiith chapter, having travelled over the long series of the later Emperors through a period of six hundred years, may come away with a bewildered feeling of having seen much and distinguished little, and with a conviction that it would require an arduous effort of the memory to retain the succession of the princes and the association of each with his own acts. The memory, however, will find the task considerably alleviated when the whole period is divided into certain lesser periods into which it naturally falls; and it might have been well if Gibbon had added to his lucid exposition of the plan of his own work (in the introduction to this chapter) a brief survey of the six hundred years, according to its divisions. These divisions roughly correspond to dynasties.

(1) Heraclian Dynasty. Seventh century. A.D. 610-717.

In this period the Empire declines in power, and the boundaries retreat,

¹³ Gaubil supposes that the Ghebers of Persia are meant.

through the encroachments of the Saracen and Slavonic invaders. It ends with twenty years of anarchy (A.D. 695-717): Justinian II. being overthrown; followed by two tyrants; restored again to power; killed; and followed by three tyrants.

(2) Iconoclastic Period. Eighth and ninth centuries. A.D. 717-867.

This is the period of revival. The territorial extent of the Empire is still further reduced, but, within its diminished borders, between the Haemus and the Taurus, it is consolidated and renovated. This is mainly the work of the two great Emperors Leo III. and his son Constantine V. (717-775). On the principle of dynastic division, this period falls into three parts:—

(a) Syrian (commonly called Isaurian) Dynasty. A.D. 717-802.

(b) Emperors who did not found dynasties. A.D. 802-820.

(c) Amorion Dynasty. A.D. 820-867.

But it may be more usefully divided into two parts, representing the two triumphs and defeats of iconoclasm.

(a) A.D. 717-818. Doctrine of iconoclasm established under the first three Emperors (717-780); reaction against it, and restoration of images, under Irene and Constantine (780-802).

The following Emperor (Nicephorus) is indifferent, and his successor (Michael I.) is an image-worshipper.

(b) A.D. 818-867. Iconoclasm re-established by three Emperors (818-842); reaction against it, and restoration of images, under Theodora and Michael III. (842-867). Thus the history of iconoclasm in the ninth century is a replica of its history in the eighth; and observe that in both cases the reaction was carried out under a female sovereign.

(3) Basilian, or Armenian ("Macedonian"), Dynasty. A.D. 867-1057.

This period is marked by a reaction against the policy of the Iconoclasts (cp. Appendix 10), and by a remarkable territorial expansion, rendered possible by the consolidation which had been the work of the great Iconoclasts. We may conveniently distinguish three sub-periods: (a) A.D. 867-959, marked by great legislative activity, and some attempts to recover lost provinces—successful only in Italy; (b) A.D. 959-1025, marked by large acquisitions of long-lost territory, both in Asia and Europe; (c) A.D. 1025-1057, stationary.

The succession of these three periods of decline, renovation, and expansion, is illustrated by an exact parallel in the succession of three corresponding but shorter periods, in the fifth and sixth centuries. There we see the decline and territorial diminution of the Empire, in the reigns of Arcadius and Theodosius II., under the stress of the Gothic and Hunnic invasions; the renovation, with financial retrenchment, under Zeno and Anastasius; the brilliant territorial expansion, under Justinian, rendered possible by the careful policy of his predecessors. It is also remarkable that the third period in both cycles is marked by great legislative activity. Further, the last part of the Basilian period (A.D. 1025-1057) corresponds to the reigns of Justin II., Tiberius II., and Maurice.

(4) Comnenian Dynasty. A.D. 1057-1204.

At the very beginning of this period, the Empire, undermined by centuries of a pernicious economic system and strained to the utmost by the ambitious policy of the Basilian period, yields to the invasion of the Seljuk Turks and loses territory which it had never lost before. A series of able, nay, brilliant, princes preserve the fabric for another century and a quarter: but, when it passes into the hands of the incapable Angeli, it collapses at the first touch (A.D. 1204).

This period of decline, following on the period of expansion, corresponds to the earlier period of decline in the 7th century, following on the expansion of the 6th. The Persian invasion under Phocas and Heraclius corresponds to the Seljuk invasion under Romanus Diogenes; while Heraclius, Constans II., and Constantine IV. correspond to Alexius, John, and Manuel: we have even a parallel to the wayward Justinian II. in the wayward Andronicus.

The two cycles might be presented thus:—

Revival :	Second half of 5th century.	8th century.
Expansion :	6th century.	9th-11th century.
Decline :	7th century.	11th-12th century.
Result :	Anarchy, c. A.D. 700.	Fall, c. A.D. 1200.

10. A CHRONOLOGICAL QUESTION OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY— (P. 197, 198)

From the year A.D. 726 to the year A.D. 774 there is a consistent inconsistency in the dates of the chronicle of Theophanes. The *Anni Mundi* and the *indictions* do not correspond. Thus A.M. 6220 is equated with Ind. 12; but while A.M. 6230 answers to A.D. 727-8, Ind. 12 should answer to A.D. 728-9. It has been generally assumed that the *Indictions* are right and the *Anni Mundi* wrong; and the received chronology (of Baronius, Pagi, Gibbon, Lebeau, Muralt, Finlay, Hopf, &c., &c.) is based on this assumption. But it was argued (Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, ii. 425-7) that the anomaly was not due to an error of Theophanes (of the same kind as that which he perpetrated in his annals of the preceding century, see above, Appendix 1), since a contemporary document (the *Ecloga* of Leo and Constantine) presents the same inconsistency; and that we must infer that the *Anni Mundi* are right and the *Indictions* wrong. For, while the *Anni Mundi* represented a chronological system based on historical data, with which the government could not conceivably have tampered, the *Indictions* were part of a financial system which might be manipulated by the Emperor. The conclusion was drawn (Bury, *ib.*) that Leo III. had packed two *indictions* into one year of twelve months, for the purpose of raising a double capitation tax; and that, nearly fifty years later, Constantine V. spread one *indiction* over two years of twelve months (A.D. 773-4), so restoring the correspondence between *Anni Mundi* and *Indictions* according to the previous method of computation. This reasoning was confirmed especially by one fact (Bury, *op. cit.* p. 426)—the eclipse of the sun noticed by Theophanes under A.M. 6252, on Friday, Aug. 15, clearly the annular eclipse of A.D. 760 on that day of the month and week. The received chronology would imply that the eclipse took place in A.D. 761, Aug. 15; but astronomy assures us that there was no eclipse on that day, nor was that day Friday.

It would follow that the dates of forty-seven years in the 8th century (from 726-7 to 773-4, are a year wrong, and, e.g., that Leo III. died, not in 741, but in 740, and that the Iconoclastic Synod was held, not in 754, but in 753).

These conclusions were accepted and developed by M. H. Hubert (*Chronologie de Théophane*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vi., p. 491 *sqq.*, 1897), who went through the Papal acts and letters of the period. He pointed out two important consequences of the revised dating. While the Iconoclastic Council of Constantinople was sitting, there were deputies of the Pope in that city,—though not necessarily as his representatives at the Council. More important still is the circumstance that the Council preceded the journey of Pope Stephen II. (in 754) to the court of Pippin and the famous compact which he concluded with the Frank king at Quiersey. The Council would thus appear to be the event which definitely decided the secession of Rome from the Empire. The revised chronology has been adopted by A. Lombard in his monograph, *Constantin V.* (1902).

E. W. Brooks has discussed the subject (in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, viii., p. 82 *sqq.*, 1899). He arrives at the conclusion that Theophanes used two different schemes of chronology, and in the period in question dated sometimes by the one, sometimes by the other, and he throws considerable doubt on the proposed revision of the dates.

11. GRAECO-ROMAN LAW—(P. 192, 219, 221)

The general history of Byzantine law, from Justinian to the fall of the Empire, may be grouped under two epochs easily remembered: the attempt of the first Iconoclastic Emperors to legislate on new Christian principles, and the return to the Roman principles of the Justinianean law by the first "Macedonian" sovereigns.

A word must first be said of the substitution of the Greek for the Latin language in the domain of law. The great legal works of the Illyrian Justinian were composed in Latin, his native tongue. But the fact that to the greater part of the Empire ruled by him, and a still greater part of the Empire ruled by his successors, Latin was unintelligible, rendered a change of vehicle simply inevitable. The work

of transformation began in his own reign. He issued most of his later laws (the Novels) in Greek, and in Novel 7 (15, ed. Zach.) expressly recognised the necessity of using "the common Greek tongue"; Theophilus prepared a Greek paraphrase of the Institutes; and Dorotheus translated the Digest. The Code was also, immediately after its publication in Latin, issued (perhaps incompletely) in a Greek form.¹ After Justinian's time the study of legal texts in Latin seems, at Constantinople and in the Greek part of the Empire, to have soon ceased altogether.

In the troubles of the 7th century the study of law, like many other things, declined; and in the practical administration of justice the prescriptions of the Code and Digest were often ignored, or modified by the alien precepts of Christianity. The religion of the Empire had exerted but very slight influence—no fundamental influence, we may say—on the Justinianean law. Leo III., the founder of the Syrian (vulgarly called Isaurian) dynasty, when he restored the Empire after a generation of anarchy, saw the necessity of legislation to meet the changed circumstances of the time. The settlements of foreigners—Slavs and Mardaites—in the provinces of the Empire created an agrarian question, which he dealt with in his Agrarian Code. But it was not only for special relations that Leo made laws; he legislated also, and in an entirely new way, for the general relations of life. He issued a law book (in A.D. 740 in the name of himself and his son Constantine), which changed and modified the Roman law, as it had been fixed by Justinian. This *Ecloga*, as it is called, may be described as a Christian law book. It is a deliberate attempt to change the legal system of the Empire by an application of Christian principles. Examples, to illustrate its tendency, will be given below.

The horror in which the iconoclasts were held on account of their heresy by the image-worshippers, cast discredit upon all their works. This feeling had something to do with the great reaction, which was inaugurated by Basil I., against their legal reforms. The Christian Code of Leo prevailed in the empire for less than a century and a half; and then, under the auspices of Basil, the Roman law of Justinian was (partially) restored. In legal activity the Basilian epoch faintly reflected the epoch of Justinian itself. A handbook of extracts from the Institutes, Digest, Code and Novels, was published in A.D. 879, entitled the *Prochiron* (or *ἡ πρόχειρος νόμος*), to diffuse a knowledge of the forgotten system. But the great achievement of the Basilian epoch is the *Basilica*—begun under Basil, completed under Leo VI.—a huge collection of all the laws of the Empire, not only those still valid, but those which had become obsolete. It seems that two commissions of experts were appointed to prepare the material for this work. One of these commissions compiled the *Prochiron* by the way, and planned out the *Basilica* in sixty Books. The other commission also prepared a handbook, called the *Epanagoge*, which was never actually published (though a sketch of the work is extant), and planned out the *Basilica* in forty Books. The *Basilica*, as actually published, are arranged in sixty Books, compiled from the materials prepared by both commissions.

The Basilian revival of Justinianean law was permanent; and it is outside our purpose to follow the history further, except to note the importance of the foundation of a school of law at Constantinople in the 11th century by the Emperor Constantine IX. The law enacting the institution of this school, under the direction of a salaried *Nomophylax*, is extant.² John Xiphilin (see above) was the first director. This foundation may have possibly had some influence on the institution of the school at Bologna half a century later.

To illustrate the spirit of the legislation of Leo III., an attempt to reconcile the discrepancies between civil and canonical law, we may glance at his enactments as to marriage, the *patria potestas*, and the guardianship of minors.

In the law of Justinian marriage had by no means the sacrosanct character which the Church assigned to it. Like all contracts, it could easily be dissolved at the pleasure of the contractors, and concubinage was legally recognised. The *Ecloga* enacted that a concubinate should be regarded as a marriage, thus legally abolishing the relation; and in this matter the Macedonian Emperors maintained the principle

¹ Cp. Zachariä, Gr.-Röm. Recht, p. 6.

² Ed. Lagarde in the *Abhandlungen der Akad. zu Göttingen*, xxviii. 195 sqq.

of the Iconoclasts; Leo VI. expressly asserting (Nov. 89) that there is no half-way state between the married and the unmarried.

Roman law had defined a number of hindrances to the contraction of marriage. The tendency of the Church, which regarded marriage as not an admirable thing in itself but only a concession to weakness, was to multiply hindrances. Justinian had forbidden marriages between Christians and Jews; the Ecloga recognises only marriages of Christians (and orthodox Christians are meant).³ But the chief obstacles lay in degrees of relationship. Justinian's Code forbade marriage between blood relatives in the direct line of ascent and descent, between brothers and sisters, and between uncle and niece, nephew and aunt. The Trullan synod of 692 extended the prohibition to first cousins; the Ecloga went further and forbade the marriage of second cousins (*δισσεξάδελφοι*). These prohibitions were preserved by the Macedonian Emperors, and it was generally recognised that marriages within the 6th degree were illegal. It was even regarded as a question whether marriages in the 7th degree were permissible. They were forbidden by the Church in the 11th century, and this decision was confirmed by the Emperor Manuel. A similar progress in strictness can be traced in the case of relationships by adoption, by marriage, and by baptismal sponsorship.

In Justinian's law "consent" was enough for the legal contraction of a marriage, and further forms were necessary only so far as the dowry was concerned. But under the ecclesiastical influence need was felt of giving greater solemnity and publicity to the marriage contract, and the Iconoclasts prescribed a written form of contract to be filled up and signed by three witnesses, but permitted this to be dispensed with by very poor people, for whom it would be enough to obtain the blessing of the Church (*εὐλογία*) or join hands in the presence of friends. The legislation of the Macedonian Emperors maintained the spirit (though not the words) of the Ecloga, in so far as it prescribed *public* marriages with penalties.

And, if the Church made the contraction of marriage more solemn, it made divorce more difficult. It was here that there was the most striking opposition between the law of the Church and of the State, and here the tendency of the Iconoclastic legislation is most strikingly shown. The Church regards marriage as an indissoluble bond, and for a divorced person to marry again is adultery. On the other hand, Roman law, as accepted and interpreted by Justinian, laid down that no bond between human beings was indissoluble, and that separation of husband and wife was a private act, requiring no judicial permission. And persons who had thus separated could marry again. The only concession that Justinian made in the direction of the ecclesiastical view was his ordinance that persons who separated without a valid reason should be shut up in monasteries,—a measure which effectually hindered them from contracting a new marriage. The spirit of the Ecloga is apparent in its full acceptance of the ecclesiastical doctrine in this point—the indissolubility of marriage. Divorce is permitted only in four cases, and this as a concession to the weakness and wickedness of human nature. The Basilian legislation returned to the Justinianean doctrine and the antinomy between the canon and the civil law survives to the present day in Greece.

Another question arises when the dissolution of marriage is due to the hand of death; is it lawful for the survivor to enter again into the state of matrimony? More than once this question assumed political significance in the course of Imperial history. The Church always looked upon the marriage of widowers or widows as reprehensible, founding her doctrine on the well-known prescriptions of St. Paul, in 1 Corinthians, chap. vii. A second marriage might be tolerated, but a third was distinctly unlawful, and a fourth—swinishness (so Gregory Nazianzen; see Zachariä, *Gr.-röm. Recht*, p. 82, note 200). The civil law recognised no such restrictions, and only interfered so far as to protect the interests of the children of the first marriage. But here the ecclesiastical view gained ground. The Ecloga affects not to consider a third marriage conceivable; the Empress Irene distinctly forbade a third marriage. Basil contented himself with recognising the ecclesiastical penalties imposed on persons guilty of a third mar-

³ Theophilus however recognised marriages between Romans and Persians as valid.

riage, but declared a fourth illegal. His son Leo committed this illegality (see above, p. 221); but after Leo's death the "act of unity" (*τόμος τῆς ἐνότητος*) of the synod of A.D. 920 confirmed the ordinance of Basil, with the additional restriction that a third marriage of a person who had children and was over forty years of age was illegal.

The influence of the ecclesiastical view of marriage as a *consortium vitae* can be seen too in the treatment of the property of the married partners. In the Justinianean law, the principle of the elaborate prescriptions for the property of the wife and the husband, for the *dos* and the *propter nuptias donatio*, is the independence and distinction of the property of each. The leading idea of the system developed in the Ecloga is the community of property in marriage,—the equal right of each partner to the common stock, however great the disproportion may have been before the contributions of each. Basil returned to the Justinianean system, but the doctrine of the Ecloga seems to have so firmly established itself in custom that Leo VI. found it necessary to make a compromise, and introduced a new system, which was a mixture of the Iconoclastic and the Justinianean doctrines.

The *patria potestas* still holds an important place in the Justinianean law, although the rights which it gave the father over the children were small indeed compared with the absolute control which he had enjoyed in ancient times. The tendency was to diminish these rights and to modify the stern conception of *patria potestas* by substituting the conception of a natural guardianship; a change corresponding to the change (promoted by Christianity) in the conception of the family, as held together by the duties of affection rather than by legal obligations. The two most important points in the later transformation of the *patria potestas* were (1) its conversion into a parental *potestas*, the mother being recognised as having the same rights and duties as the father (thus her consent as well as the father's is necessary for the contraction of a marriage); and (2) the increased facilities for emancipation when the child came to years of discretion; emancipation seems to have been effected by the act of setting up a separate establishment. These principles were established by the Iconoclasts; but Basil revived the Justinianean legislation. Here, however, as in many other cases, the letter of Basil's law books was not fully adopted in practice, and was modified by a Novel of Leo VI. which restored partly the law of the Ecloga.

In respect to the guardianship of minors the tendency in the later civil law had been to supersede the *tutela* by the *cura*—the *tutor* who was appointed in the interests of the family by the *curator* appointed in the interests of the public. The office of guardian came to be regarded as a public office for the good of the ward. Yet the old distinction of *cura* and *tutela* still subsisted in the Justinianean law books, though in use it was practically obsolete. The Ecloga logically developed this tendency; here *tutela* does not appear at all, only *cura* (*κουρατορεία*). And, as on the death of one parent the children were under the care of the surviving parent, there was no question of guardianship except in the case of orphans. The Ecloga provides—and here we see the ecclesiastical influence—that, when the parents have not designated a guardian, the guardianship of orphans is to devolve on ecclesiastical institutions (e.g., the *ὁρφανοτροφείον* at Constantinople), and to last until the wards marry or reach the age of twenty. Here again the Basilica returned to the Justinianean law.

These examples will give some idea of the general character of the development of Byzantine civil law. Two interesting points may be added in connexion with the law of inheritance. Constantine VII. enacted⁴ that if anyone died intestate and childless, only two-thirds of his property went to relatives (or the fisco), the remaining third going to the Church for his soul's benefit. The other point is the institution of testamentary executors, for so we may best translate the word *ἐκτελεστές* in its Byzantine use.⁵ The institution was but incompletely developed and ultimately fell into disuse, but Zachariä remarks that Byzantine law was "on

⁴This had been preceded by a similar law of Leo VI., applying to persons who died in captivity.

⁵In the old law *ἐκτελεστές* was the translation of *tutor*.

the highway to an institution similar to the English *trustees, executors and administrators*".⁶

In criminal, as in civil law, the Iconoclastic legislators made striking innovations in the Justinianean system—sometimes entirely departing from it, sometimes developing tendencies which were already distinctly perceptible in the civil code of the 6th century. But, whereas in the case of the civil law the Basilian legislation was characterized as a return to the Justinianean system—a return sometimes complete, sometimes partial, but always tending to subvert, so far as possible, the Iconoclastic legislation,—it is quite otherwise in the case of the criminal law. Here, the system established by the Ecloga is retained in most cases, and sometimes developed further.

The criminal law of the Ecloga is very remarkable. It was intended to be, and professed to be, more humane than the old Roman law; but a modern reader is at first disposed to denounce it as horribly barbaric. Its distinguishing feature is the use of mutilation as a mode of punishment—a penalty unknown in Roman law. The principle of mutilation was founded on Holy Scripture (see St. Matthew v. 29, 30: If thine eye offend thee, &c.). Since mutilation was generally ordained in cases where the penalty had formerly been death, the law-givers could certainly claim that their code was more lenient. The penalty of confiscation of property almost entirely disappears. The following table of penalties will exhibit the spirit of the Christian legislation:—

Perjury: amputation of the tongue (*γλωσσοκομῆσθαι*).

High treason: death.

Theft: for the first offence: if solvent, payment of double the value of the thing stolen; if insolvent, flogging and banishment.

" for the second offence: amputation of the hand.

Pæderasty: death.

Bestiality: amputation of the offending member (*καυλοκομῆσθαι*).

Fornication:—

- (1) with persons within the forbidden degrees: amputation of the hand (for both);
- (2) when the act involves a further wrong, *e.g.*:—
 - (a) with a nun (a wrong being done thereby to the Church): amputation of the nose (for both);
 - (b) with a maiden: the man, if he refuses to marry her, pays a fine if he has property, but if he is penniless, is whipped, tonsured, and banished;
 - (c) if the maiden was betrothed to another: amputation of the nose;
 - (d) rape: amputation of the nose (and, if the victim was under thirteen years of age, the ravisher had to pay her half his property, besides losing his nose);
 - (e) of a man with a married woman: amputation of the nose (for both);
- (3) (a) of a married man with an unmarried woman: whipping;
- (b) of an unmarried man with an unmarried woman: lighter whipping; but in these cases the woman were not punished, according to the law of the Ecloga.

For murder the penalty was death. But, while the Justinianean law excluded murderers, ravishers, and adulterers from the asylum privileges secured to those who took refuge in churches, the Ecloga does not make this exception; and, though the enactments of the Basilica follow Justinian, practice seems in the meantime to have secured for murderers the right of asylum, which was definitely recognised by Constantine VII. A novel of this Emperor enacts that a murderer who takes refuge in a church shall do penance according to the canon law, shall then be banished for life from the place where the crime was perpetrated, shall become incapable of holding office, and, if the murder was committed with full premeditation, shall be tonsured and thrust into a monastery. His property shall be divided; one part going to the heirs of the murdered man, another to his own

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 162-5.

relatives, and in case he becomes a monk of his own free will, a portion shall be reserved for the monastic community which receives him.

This enactment must have enabled most murderers to escape the capital penalty.

In general we can see that the tendency of the *Eloga* was to avoid capital punishment so far as possible, and this tendency increased as time went on. Gibbon mentions the fact that under John Comnenus capital punishment was never inflicted (the authority is Nicetas); but this must not be interpreted in the sense that the death penalty was formally abolished, but rather taken as a striking illustration of the tendency of the Byzantine spirit in that direction. We may question whether this tendency was due so much to the growth of feelings of humanity as to ecclesiastical motives, namely, the active maintenance of the asylum privileges of Christian sanctuaries, and the doctrine of repentance. The mutilation punishments at least are discordant with our notions of humane legislation. Zachariä von Lingenthal expresses his opinion that the cruelties practised in modern times in the Balkan peninsula are traceable to the effect produced by the practice of the criminal code of the *Eloga* throughout the Middle Ages.

Finally, it is worth while to observe in the *Eloga* a democratic feature, which marks a real advance, in the interests of justice, on the Justinianean code. The *Eloga* metes out the same penalties to poor and rich; whereas the older law had constantly ordained different punishments for the same offence, according to the rank and fortune of the offender.

[Zachariä von Lingenthal, *op. cit.*, on which (ed. 8, 1892) the foregoing account has been mainly based. The same jurist's *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, pars 3, contains the extant laws of the Emperors after Justinian (1857). Mortreuil, *Hist. du droit byzantin*, 8 vols., 1843-7. W. E. Heimbach, *Griechisch-römisches Recht*, in Ersch and Gruber's *Enzyklopädie*, part 86. The *Eloga* was edited by Zachariä von Lingenthal in 1852; there is a more recent edition by Monferratus (1869).—His edition of the *Basilica* in 6 vols (1833-70) is the *opus magnum* of W. E. Heimbach. A seventh volume has been added (1897) containing as a supplement the unedited fragments preserved in a Ms. in the Ambrosian library at Milan. The *Agrarian Code* (*νόμος γεωργικός*) has been edited by Ferrini in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vii. 558 *sqq.*, 1898, and W. Ashburner (who agrees with Zachariä von Lingenthal that it formed part of the legislation of the Iconoclasts) in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxx. 85 *sqq.*, 1910. For the military laws, *op. Zachariä von Lingenthal* in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, ii. 606 *sqq.*, iii. 487 *sqq.*

12. THE LAND QUESTION—(P. 228)

In order to comprehend the land question, which comes prominently before us in the 10th century, it is necessary to understand the various ways in which land was held and the legal status of those who cultivated it. The subject has been elucidated by Zachariä von Lingenthal; but the scantiness of our sources leaves much still to be explained.

We have, in the first place, the simple distinction of the peasant proprietors who cultivated their own land, and the peasants who worked on lands which did not belong to them.

(1) The peasant proprietors (*χωρίται*) lived in village communities. The community, as a whole, was taxed, each member paying his proportion, but the community, and not the individual, being responsible to the state. To use technical expressions, the lands of such communities are *δμόκτηρα*, and the proprietors are *consortes*. If one peasant failed to pay his quota, the deficiency was made up by an *ἐπιβολή* or additional imposition upon each of the other proprietors. This system, invented for the convenience of the fisc, was never done away with; but its injurious effects in overburdening the land were observed, and it probably was not always strictly enforced. When a piece of land went out of cultivation owing to the incompetence or ill-luck of its proprietor, it bore very hard on his neighbours that their more successful economy should be burdened with an extra charge. We consequently find the Emperor Nicephorus censured for insisting upon this principle of "solidarity"—the *ἀλληλεγγύη* as it was

called. It seems that the principle was now altered so as to impose the additional tax on neighbouring farms, which did not belong to the *δμοκνησα*. Basil II. certainly imposed the extra charge on the domains of large neighbouring proprietors, whose lands were quite independent of the village community; but this unpopular measure—part of that Emperor's warfare against large estates—was repealed by Romanus III.

Under this system of solidarity, each member of the community was directly interested in the honesty and capacity of his neighbours, and could fairly claim some right to interfere for the purpose of hindering any farm from passing into the hands of a person incapable of making it yield enough to pay his quota of taxation. This claim was recognised by Constantine the Great, and afterwards distinctly affirmed in laws of the 5th century which forbade the sale or alienation of a farm to any one except a farmer of the same village (*vicanus*). When in later times the fiscal responsibility was laid not upon the *vicus*, but upon the neighbours of the defaulting farm, the neighbours obtained a right of pre-emption; and in the 10th century the rights of pre-emption were strictly defined by a Novel¹ of Romanus I.

(2) Opposed to these groups of small farms and the peasant proprietors who cultivated them, were the large estates (*ἰδιόκτητα*) of rich owners and the dependent *coloni* who tilled them. Many of these estates belonged to churches and abbeys; others were crown estates (part of the *res privata*, or the *patrimonium*, or the *divina domus*); others were owned by private persons. The peasants who worked on these estates were of two kinds:—

(a) Free tenants (*μισθωτοί, liberi coloni*), who cultivated their holdings at their own expense, paying a rent (whether in gold or kind) to the proprietor. At the end of thirty years of such tenure, the tenant (and his posterity) became bound to the land in perpetuity; he could not give up his farm, and on the other hand the proprietor could not eject him. But except for this restriction he had no disabilities, and could enter into ordinary legal relations with the proprietor, who had no claims upon his private property.

(b) The labourers (*ἐπαπόγραφοι, adscriptitii*) were freemen like the tenants, and (like the tenants of over thirty years) were "fixed to the clod". But their indigence distinguished them from the tenants; they were taken in by a proprietor to labour on his estate, and became his serfs, receiving from him a dwelling and board for their services. Their freedom gave these labourers one or two not very valuable privileges which seemed to raise them above the rural slaves; but we sympathize with Justinian when he found it hard to see the difference between *servi* and *adscriptitii*.² For good or bad, they were in their master's power, and the only hold they had on him was the right of not being turned off from his estate. The difference between the rural slave and the serf, which seemed to Justinian microscopic, was gradually obliterated by the elevation of the former class to the dignity of the latter.

As to the origin of the *adscriptitii*, it seems to have been due to the financial policy of the Constantinian period, which aimed at allowing no man to abandon the state of life to which he or his father before him had been called.

Such were the agricultural classes in the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries—peasant proprietors on one hand, and on the other the cultivators of great estates, whether tenants bound to the soil or serf-labourers. And these classes continued to exist till the latest age of the Empire. If the Iconoclastic reformers had had their way, perhaps the history of the agricultural classes would have been widely different. The abolition of the principle which the first Christian Emperor had adopted, of nailing men to the clod, was part of the programme which was carried out by the Iconoclast Emperors and reversed by their successors.

The storms of the 7th century, the invasions of Slavs and Saracens, had made considerable changes in the condition of the provincial lands. The Illyric peninsula had been in many parts occupied by Slavonic settlers; in many cases

¹ Nov. 2, p. 234 *sqq.* in Zachariä, *Jus Graeco-Romanum*. A.D. 922.

² Cod. Just. 11, 48, 21.

the dispossessed provincials had fled to other parts of the Empire; and Emperors had transferred whole populations from one place to another, to replenish deserted districts. These changes rendered a revision of the land laws imperative; and, when an able sovereign at length came to the throne, he set himself the task of regulating the conditions of agriculture. The Agricultural Code (*νόμος γεωργικός*, see above, Appendix 12) was issued either by Leo III. or by his son, who worked in the same spirit as the father; it consists chiefly of police provisions in regard to rural crimes and misdemeanours, but it presumes a state of things completely different from that which existed in the 6th century and existed again in the 10th. In this Code no man is nailed to the clod, and we hear nothing of serf-labourers (*adscriptitii*) or of services owed by freemen to landlords. We cannot ascribe this radical change, the abolition of what we may call serfdom, to any other sovereign than the reformer Leo III.

The Agricultural Code shows us peasant proprietors in their village communities as before; but it shows us, too,—and here we get a glimpse of the new settlements of the barbarians—communities which own the land in common, no member possessing a particular portion as his own.

As for tenants—now fully free, no longer bound to the soil,—of these there are two classes, according to the agreement made with the landlord. There are the tithe-rent tenants, *μοριταί*, and the *meddayer* tenants, *ἡμισιασταί*. The *μοριτίτης* paid a tenth of the produce to the landlord, as rent for the land. The *ἡμισιαστής* worked his farm at the landlord's expense, and the produce was divided equally between landlord and tenant. (Thus the ground rent = $\frac{1}{10}$ of the yearly yield; the interest on capital = $\frac{1}{10}$; and the labour = $\frac{1}{10}$). The *μοριτίτης*, then, corresponds to the *μισθωτός* or "free colon" of the Justinianean code, and the *ἡμισιαστής* corresponds to the *εὐεργάτης*, in respect of the condition of tenancy; with the important difference that neither *μοριτίτης* nor *ἡμισιαστής* is bound to the soil.

The abolition of serfdom and service of the Iconoclastic reformers was not agreeable to the great landlords, secular or ecclesiastical. The restoration of the old condition of things, large estates instead of small properties tilled by the owners, was brought about gradually in the 9th century; and Finlay attributes it largely, so far as Asia Minor is concerned, to the rebellion of Thomas the Slavonian (A.D. 821-3), which, he thinks, ruined the small farmers. In the second half of the 9th century Basil's legislation restored the old order. The tenants³ were once more nailed to the soil. Among other things the landlords were not satisfied with the ground rent of $\frac{1}{10}$, fixed in the Agricultural Code; it was insufficient, they said, to make the estate pay, when the taxation was allowed for.

The failure of the land reforms of Leo and Constantine, and the reversion to the old system, close the history of the tenants; but there still remains an important chapter in the history of the peasant proprietors. In the 10th century we find the large estates growing still larger at the expense of the small proprietors whose lands they absorb, and these small proprietors passing by degrees into the condition of tenants. This evil has been briefly touched upon in connexion with Romanus I. and Tzimisces; see above p. 228, n. 46, and p. 229, n. 57. The decline of the class of small farmers was due to two causes: the influence of the ascetic ideal and the defective economical conditions of the time.

The attraction of monastic life induced many proprietors to enter cloisters, and bestow their property on the communities which admitted them, or, if they were rich enough, to found new monastical or ecclesiastical institutions. The cultivation of the lands which thus passed to the church was thereby transferred from peasant proprietors to tenants.

The want of a sound credit system, due to the ignorance of political economy, and the consequent depression of trade, rendered land the only safe investment for capital; and the consequence of this was that landowners who possessed capital were always seeking to get more land into their hands. Hence they took every occasion that presented itself to induce their poor neighbours, who lived

³ In the 9th century *εὐεργάτης* comes into use as the general word for the tenants on a landlord's estate.

from hand to mouth and had no savings, to pledge or sell their land in a moment of need. The farmer who thus sold out would often become the tenant of the holding which had been his own property.

The increase of large estates was regarded by the government with suspicion and disapprobation.⁴ The campaign against the great landlords was begun by Romanus I. in A.D. 922, when, in the law (already mentioned) which fixed the order of pre-emption, he forbade the magnates (*oi dyvatoi*) to buy or receive any land from smaller folk, except in the case of relationship. It was also enacted that only after a possession of ten years could a property acquired in this way become permanently the property of the magnate. But a few years later the magnates had an unusually favourable opportunity and could not resist the temptation of using it. There was a long succession of bad harvests and cold winters (A.D. 927-939), which produced great distress throughout the country. The small farmers, brought to penury, standing on the brink of starvation, had no resource but to purchase bread for themselves and their families by making over their little farms to rich neighbours. For this was the only condition on which the magnates would give them credit. The distress of these years in the reign of Romanus formed an epoch in the history of peasant proprietorship. It was clear that the farmers who had pledged their land would have no chance of recovering themselves before the ten years, after which their land would be irreclaimable, had expired. The prospect was that the small farmer would wholly disappear, and Romanus attempted to forestall the catastrophe by direct legislation. His Novel of A.D. 984 (see above, p. 223) ordained that the unfair dealings with the peasants in the past years should be righted, and that for the future no such dealings should take place.

The succeeding Emperors followed up the policy of Romanus. They endeavoured to prevent the extinction of small farmers by prohibiting the rich from acquiring villages and farms from the poor, and even by prohibiting ecclesiastical institutions from receiving gifts of landed property. A series of seven laws⁵ on this subject shows what stubborn resistance was offered to the Imperial policy by the rich landlords whose interests were endangered. Though this legislation was never repealed, except so far as the Church was interested,⁶ and though it continued to be the law of the Empire that the rich landlords should not acquire the lands of peasants, there is little doubt that the law was evaded, and that in the last ages of the Empire peasant farms were rare indeed. In the 11th century Asia Minor consisted chiefly of large domains.

It must be remembered that, though the formation of these large estates gave their proprietors wealth and power which rendered them dangerous subjects, they were formed not with the motive of acquiring political influence, but from the natural tendency of capital to seek the best mode of investment.

In studying the Imperial land legislation, and the relations of landlord and tenant in South-eastern Europe and Asia Minor, it is of essential importance for a modern student to bear in mind two facts, which powerfully affected that development in a manner which is almost inconceivable to those who are familiar with the land questions in modern states. These facts—both of which were due to the economical inexperience of ancient and mediæval Europe—are: (1) the legislation was entirely based on fiscal considerations; the laws were directly aimed at filling the treasury with as little inconvenience and trouble as possible on the part of the state: the short-sighted policy of making the treasury full instead of making the empire rich; (2) the lamentably defective credit-system of the Roman law, discouraging the investment of capital and rendering land almost the only safe speculation, reacted, as we have seen, in a peculiar way on the land

⁴ It was a law of Justinian that high officials should not acquire landed property. Leo VI. however had repealed this law.

⁵ (a) A.D. 947, Nov. 6 of Constantine VII.; (b) A.D. 959-63, Nov. 15 of Romanus II.; (c, d, e) A.D. 964, 967, Nov. 19, 20, 21 of Nicephorus Phocas; (f) A.D. 983, Nov. 26 of Basil II.; (g) A.D. 996, Nov. 29 of Basil II.; all ap. Zacharia, *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, iii.

⁶ Basil II. repealed the law of Nicephorus that Churches, &c., should not acquire real property.

question. Something more is said of this economical weakness in the later Empire in the following note.

[Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Griechisch-römisches Recht*, ed. 3, 218 *sqq.*; P. Kalligas, *Περὶ δουλοπαροικίας παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Βυζαντίοις, in Μελέται καὶ λόγοι*, 1882. For the 13th and 14th centuries there is considerable material in monastic documents, which have been studied, as well as the *Nómos γεωργικός* of the Iconoclasts, by B. A. Panchenko, *Krest'ianskaia sobstvennost v Vizantii*, in the *Izvestiia* of the Russian Archaeological Institute at Constantinople, ix., 1 *sqq.*, 1904.]

13. INTEREST, CREDIT, AND COMMERCE—(THE RHODIAN CODE)

1. The interest on a loan of money was fixed by the two parties to the transaction, but could not, according to the law of Justinian, exceed (a) in ordinary cases, 6 per cent. per annum, (b) when the lender was a person of illustrious rank, 4 per cent., (c) when the lender was a professional money-changer or merchant, 8 per cent., (d) when the money was to be employed in a transmarine speculation, 12 per cent. (*nauticum fœnus*).

This system of interest was calculated on the basis of a division of the capital into 100 parts, and each part into 12 unciae. The new coinage, introduced by Constantine, led to a change in the rate of interest, to the disadvantage of the borrower. Seventy-two nomismata were coined to a pound of gold, and 24 keratia went to each nomisma. The practice was introduced of calculating the annual interest by so many keratia to a nomisma, instead of the monthly interest by the fraction of the capital. Thus the old *trientes* ($= \frac{1}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{12}$ of the capital per month) = 4 per cent. per annum was replaced by 1 keration per 1 nomisma per annum = $4\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. per annum. Similarly 6 per cent. became $6\frac{1}{3}$, 8 per cent. $8\frac{1}{3}$.

In the 10th century the adjustment of the old unit of 100 to the new unit of 72 went farther to the disadvantage of the borrower. Six per cent. was converted into 6 nomismata per pound, i.e., per 72 nomismata; or in other words, where 6 per cent. had been paid before, $8\frac{33}{100}$ was paid now. (So 11·11 replaced 8, and 5·55 replaced 4 per cent.) There was thus a considerable elevation of the legal maxima of interest.

2. The free circulation of capital was seriously impeded by the difficulty in obtaining good securities. The laws respecting mortgage were not calculated to secure the interests of the creditor; and it is significant that in the *Ecloga* no notice is taken of either mortgage or personal security. Another hindrance to credit was the defectiveness of the mode of proceedings¹ open to a creditor for recovering his money from a defaulting debtor.

The defects of the credit-system of the Empire could not fail to react unfavourably on commerce; and the consequence ultimately was that the trade, which ought to have been carried on by the Greeks of Constantinople and the towns of the Aegean, fell into the hands of Italians. The settlements of Venetian and Genoese merchants in the East were due largely to the defects of the Imperial legislation.

On the condition of Greek commerce in the 7th and 8th centuries we have some slight information from the "Rhodian Nautical Code". This code of sea-law is printed in Leunclavius, *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, ii. 265 *sqq.*; in Pardessus, *Collection de lois maritimes*, i. c. 6 (1828); Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, iv. *Ecloga ad Proch. mutata*, tit. xl.; Heimbach's *Basilica*, vol. vii., edd. Ferrini and Mercati, p. 108 *sqq.* It has recently been admirably edited, from many Mss., by W. Ashburner, *The Rhodian Sea-law*, 1909, with a translation, commentary and long introduction. Ashburner concludes that it was not in any way connected with the legislation of Leo III., but was "probably put together by a private hand between A.D. 600 and A.D. 800," "from material of very different epochs and character".

From this document we learn that at this period it was not usual for a merchant to hire a ship and load it with his own freight, but a merchant and a ship-owner used to form a joint-stock company and divide the profit and loss. All

¹ Zachariä, *op. cit.*, p. 392 *sqq.*

accidental injuries befalling ship or cargo, were to be borne in common by skipper, merchant, and passengers—a system which has prevailed in Greek waters down to the 19th century. It has been remarked that these regulations point to the depression of maritime commerce, easily explained by the fact that from the 7th century forward the Aegean and Mediterranean were invested by Slavonic and Saracen pirates. In such risky conditions men did not care to embark on sea ventures, except in partnership.

It is interesting to observe that a man with a small capital (c. £300 to £1000) could purchase, if he chose, a life-annuity, with a title into the bargain. Certain titular dignities (even the high title of *protospathar*) were for sale, and an extra payment entitled the dignitary to a yearly salary (called *βόγα*), which brought him in 10 per cent. on his outlay.

There were also a number of minor posts at the Imperial court, with salaries attached, and these could be purchased outright, the purchasers being able to sell them again or leave them to their heirs. These investments produced about 2½ per cent. It is presumable, however, that there was some limit to the number of these posts, and that, although practically sinecures, they could be assigned only to residents at Constantinople.

These two institutions present the only analogy to a national debt in the Eastern Empire.

Cp. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

14. THE LETTERS OF GREGORY II. TO THE EMPEROR LEO III.— (P. 275)

It is incorrect to say that "the two Epistles of Gregory II. have been preserved in the Acts of the Nicene Council". In modern collections of the Acts of Ecclesiastical Councils, they have been printed at the end of the Acts of the Second Nicene Council. But they first came to light at the end of the 16th century and were printed for the first time in the *Annales Ecclesiastici* of Baronius, who had obtained them from Fronton le Duc. This scholar had copied the text from a Greek Ms. at Rheims. Since then other Mss. have been found, the earliest belonging to the 11th, if not the 10th, century.

In another case we should say that the external evidence for the genuineness of the epistles was good. We know on the authority of Theophanes that Gregory wrote one or more letters to Leo (*ἐπιστολὴν δογματικὴν*, *sub* A.M. 6172, & *ἐπιστολῶν*, *sub* A.M. 6221); and we should have no external reasons to suspect copies dating from about 300 years later. But the omission of these letters in the Acts of the Nicene Council, though they are stated to have been read at the Council, introduces a shadow of suspicion. If they were preserved, how comes it that they were not preserved in the Acts of the Council, like the letter of Gregory to the Patriarch Germanus? There is no trace anywhere of the Latin originals.

Turning to the contents, we find enough to convert suspicion into a practical certainty that the documents are forgeries. This is the opinion of M. l'Abbé Duchesne (the editor of the *Liber Pontificalis*), M. L. Guérard (*Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, p. 44 *sqq.*, 1890), Mr. Hodgkin (*Italy and her Invaders*, vol. vi., p. 501 *sqq.*). A false date (the beginning of Leo's reign is placed in the 14th instead of the 15th indiction), and the false implication that the Imperial territory of the *Ducatus Romae* terminated at twenty-four stadia, or three miles, from Rome, point to an author who was neither a contemporary of Leo nor a resident in Rome. But the insolent tone of the letters is enough to condemn them. Gregory II. would never have addressed to his sovereign the crude abuse with which these documents teem. Another objection (which I have never seen noticed) is that in the 1st Letter the famous image of Christ which was pulled down by Leo is stated to have been in the *Chalkoprateia* (bronzesmiths' quarter). whereas, according to the trustworthy sources, it was above the *Chalké* gate of the Palace.

Rejecting the letters on these grounds—which are supported by a number of

smaller points—we get rid of the difficulty about a Lombard siege of Ravenna before A.D. 727: a siege which is not mentioned elsewhere and was doubtless created by the confused knowledge of the fabricator.

15. THE ICONOCLASTIC EDICTS OF LEO III.—(P. 269)

Leo issued his first edict against the worship of images in A.D. 725,¹ and began actively to carry it into effect in the following year (A.D. 726).²

Gibbon (who is followed by Finlay) states that the first edict did not enjoin the removal of images, but only the elevation of them to such a height that they could not be kissed or touched by the faithful. He does not give the authority for this statement, but he derived it from Cardinal Baronius (*Ann. Eccl.* ix., ad ann. 726, 5), who founded his assertion on a Latin translation of a *Vita Stephani Junioris*. This document is published in the edition of the Works of John of Damascus, by J. Billius (1608), and differs considerably from the Greek text (and Lat. transl.) published by Montfaucon in his *Analecta Græca* towards the end of the same century.³ The passage in question (p. 488 B) states that Leo, when he saw the strong opposition against his policy, withdrew from his position, changing about like a chameleon, and said that he only wished to have the pictures placed higher, so that no one should touch them with his mouth. It has been recognised that this notice cannot be accepted (Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, iii. 347; Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, ii. 482; Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vi. 432; Schwarzlose, *der Bilderstreit*, p. 52⁴). It is obviously inconsistent with the incident of the destruction of the image over the palace-gate, which happened immediately after the first edict (Theophanes, A.M. 6218).⁵ A Lombard (Constantin v., p. 108, n. 2) comes to the same conclusion.

In A.D. 727 there was a revolt in Greece, but this revolt was probably caused not entirely by the iconoclastic edict, but also by heavy taxation (see Bury, *op. cit.*, ii., p. 437). In the same or the following year we must place the First Oration of John of Damascus on behalf of image-worship.⁶ In the first month of A.D. 730 a *silentium* was held, the Patriarch Germanus who resisted Leo's policy was deposed, and a new patriarch, Anastasius, elected in his stead.⁷ In

¹Theoph., A.M. 6127. I do not see that we are justified in rejecting this date of Theophanes, as most critics are disposed to do. The First Epistle of Gregory to Leo says "in the tenth year" of Leo's reign, but it is not genuine.

²Theoph., A.M. 6128.

³The relation of these documents deserves to be investigated.

⁴But Schwarzlose does not distinguish the older Latin translation from Montfaucon's text and translation of the *Vita Stephani*. In his valuable article, *Kaiser Leons III. Walten im Innern* (*Byz. Ztsch.*, v., p. 291), K. Schenk defends the view that Leo's first edict ordered the pictures to be hung higher. He cites the Life of Stephanus without giving any reference except "Baronius ad annum, 726," and does not distinguish between Montfaucon's edition and the older Latin version. Until the source of that old Latin version has been cleared up and its authority examined, it seems dangerous to accept a statement which depends on it alone. Schenk meets the argument that the mild character of the edict is inconsistent with the destruction of the picture by rejecting the latter fact. But his objections concern the account of the destruction of the picture in the 1st Letter of Gregory to Leo and do not touch the account in Theophanes; so that their only effect is to reinforce the arguments against the genuineness of the Pope's letter.

⁵The *Vita Stephani* places it after the deposition of Germanus (in A.D. 730), and therefore Pagi placed it in 730 (A.D. 716-9 and 720, 3, 5). Hefele refutes Pagi by the 1st Letter of Pope Gregory to Leo, which he (Hefele) regards as genuine. Cp. above, p. 566.

The chronology in the *Vita Stephani* is untrustworthy. There can be little doubt that the Ecclesia which is there stated (Migne, P. G., 100, p. 1083) to have been held when the new policy was inaugurated (i.e., A.D. 725 or 726) is really the *silentium* of A.D. 730 (Theoph., A.M. 6221). See Hefele, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

⁶Bury, *op. cit.*, p. 436.

⁷Theoph., A.M. 6221 (= A.D. 728-9). Theophanes gives the date of the *silentium* as "January 7th, Tuesday," and the date of the appointment of Anastasius as "Jan. 22".

(1) According to the vulgar chronology, which refers these dates to A.D. 730, the day of the

the same year the Second Oration of John of Damascus was published. The second edict was issued after the election of Anastasius, and probably differed from the first chiefly in the fact that the Imperial policy was now promulgated under the sanction of the head of the church in Constantinople.⁸

Gibbon does not mention the fact that the chief ecclesiastical counsellor of Leo in the inauguration of the iconoclastic policy was Constantine, Bishop of Naoclia in Phrygia. For this prelate see the two letters of the Patriarch Germanus, preserved in the acts of the Second Council of Nicæa (Mansi, Conc. 13, 99 *sqq.*).

16. SOME QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE RISE OF THE PAPAL POWER IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY—(P. 288, 290, &c.)

An enormous literature has grown up in connexion with the policy of the bishops of Rome and the rise of the papal power in the 8th century, especially concerning (1) the secession of Italy from the Empire, (2) the relations of the Popes to the Frank monarchy, (3) the donations of Pippin and Charles, and the growth of the papal territory. It can hardly be said that any final or generally accepted conclusions have been attained; and here it must be enough to call attention to one or two points which may be regarded as certain.

The attitude of Gregory II. is misrepresented by Gibbon. Gregory, though he stoutly opposed Leo's iconoclastic policy, did not arm against the Empire; and the disaffection in Italy, which led to the elevation of tyrants under his pontificate, was not due to the iconoclastic decrees, but to the heavy taxation which the Emperor imposed.¹ Gregory, so far from approving of the disaffection, saw that division in Imperial Italy would result in the extension of Lombard dominion, and discouraged the rebellion.² This is quite clear from the *Liber Pontificalis*, V. Greg. II. It was because there was no prospect of help from Constantinople that Gregory III. appealed to Charles Martel in A.D. 739 to protect the Duchy of Rome against Lombard attacks. But the final breach (not indeed intended at the time to be a final breach) with the Empire did not come till fifteen years later. The exarchate had fallen, and Rome was girt about by the Lombard power; but Pope Stephen would hardly have decided to throw himself entirely into the hands of the Frank king if the Council of Constantinople in A.D. 753 had not set a seal on the iconoclastic heresy. It was when the news of this Council reached Rome that the Pope went forth on his memorable visit to King Pippin. The revision of the chronology of the 8th century (see above, p. 556) places this visit in a new light. But even now the Pope did not intend to sever Italy from the Empire; the formal authority of the Emperor was still recognised. Pippin made over to the Church the lands which the Lombard king, Aistulf, was forced to surrender, but this bestowal was designated as a *restitu-*

week is inconsistent with the day of the month. January 7 fell on Saturday. (2) According to the revised chronology there is equally an inconsistency, for January 7 fell on Friday. (3) Neither date could be reconciled with the length of the pontificate of Germanus as given by Theophanes (14 years 5 months 7 days, *loc. cit.*; Germanus was appointed on August 11, 715). Now if Germanus was deposed on January 17, 730, everything can be explained. That day was Tuesday; and January 22, on which Anastasius was installed, was the Sunday following. (Sunday was a favourite day for such installations.) The years, days and months of the pontificate work out accurately. The emendation in the text of Theophanes is very slight—{ for C'. This highly plausible solution is due to Hefele. The difficulty lies in the year; for Theophanes assigns the events to the thirteenth indiction; whereas if A.D. 730 was the year he should have assigned it to the fourteenth indiction, according to his own reckoning (see above, p. 556). But notwithstanding this, I believe that Hefele's correction is right, and that Germanus was deposed in A.D. 730.

⁸ So Schwarzlose, p. 54, rightly.

¹ The discontent with the taxation and the dissatisfaction at the iconoclastic decrees must be kept distinct. Cp. Dahmen, *das Pontifikat Gregors II.*, p. 69 *sqq.* (1898); Schenk, *B. Z.*, 5, 260 *sqq.*; Duchesne, *L. P.*, i. 412.

² Kehr, *Gött. Nachrichten*, 1896, p. 109, has brought out the point that owing to the Lombard danger the Pope represented the interests of Byzantine Italy.

tion—not to the Church, for the Church never possessed them, but to the Empire. This of course was only the formal aspect. Practically the Pope was independent of the Emperor; his position was guaranteed by the Franks.³

The attempts to derive the territorial dominion of the Church from the patrimonies of St. Peter have been unsuccessful.⁴ The Church as a territorial proprietor is an entirely different thing from the Church as a territorial sovereign. The possession of large estates, in Corsica for instance, might be urged as a reason for the acquisition of the rights of sovereignty; but there was a distinct and a long step from one position to the other. In the *ducatus Romæ* the Pope possessed the powers of political sovereignty in the 8th century; we have no clear record how this position was won; but it was certainly not the result of the patrimony of St. Peter.

In regard to the donation of Pippin it may be regarded as certain that (1) a document was drawn up at Ponthion or Quierzy in A.D. 754, in which Pippin undertook to restore certain territories to Peter,⁵ and (2) that Pippin did not promise the whole Exarchate and Pentapolis, but only a number of cities and districts, enumerated in the deed.

The fictitious constitution of Constantine the Great, making the Bishop of Rome secular lord of Rome and the west, was drawn up under Pope Paul I. not long after the donation of Pippin. But it is not certain that it was drawn up with the deep design of serving those ends which it was afterwards used to serve; it may have been intended merely to formulate a pious legend.⁶

In regard to the sending of the keys of St. Peter to Charles Martel in A.D. 739 and to Charles the Great in A.D. 796 there can be no question that Sickel is right in denying that this was a "pledge or symbol of sovereignty," as Gibbon says, or of a protectorate. If it were a symbol transferring to the Frank king any rights of sovereignty it would have involved the transference of that which the keys opened. Thus the presentation of the keys of Rome would have made the king lord of the city. And if the presentation of the keys of the tomb of St. Peter had any secular meaning, it could only be that the Pope alienated the tomb from his own possession and made the king its proprietor. The act must have had a purely religious import—the mere bestowal of a relic, intended to augment the interests of the kings in the Holy See. Gregory I. had long ago given a key of the famous sepulchre as a sort of relic (Mansi, Conc. 13, p. 804). See Sickel, *op. cit.*, p. 851-3.

[Some recent literature: Friedrich, die Constantinische Schenkung, 1889; Kehr, *op. cit.*, and art. in Sybel's Historische Zeitschrift, 1893, 70, p. 388 *sqq.*; Schaube, *ib.*, 1894, 72, p. 193 *sqq.*; Schnürer, Die Entstehung des Kirchenstaates, 1894; Sickel, *op. cit.*, and article in Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft, 11, 12, 1894; Sackur, in the Mittheilungen des Inst. für oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, 16, 1896; T. Lindner, Die sog. Schenkungen Pippins, Karls des Grossen und Ottos I. an die Päpste, 1896. See also Oelsner's Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reiches unter K. Pippin, and Simson's Jahrb. d. fr. R. unter Karl dem Grossen; Gregorovius, Rome in the Middle Ages, Eng. tr., vol. ii.; the notes in Duchesne's Liber Pontificalis; Duchesne, Les premiers temps de l'état pontifical in the Rev. d'hist. et de litt. religieuses, i. (in three parts), 1896; Döllinger, Die Pabstfabeln des Mittelalters (Gregory II. und Leo III., p. 151 *sqq.*; Die Schenkung Constantins, p. 61 *sqq.*). H. Hubert, Etude sur la formation des états de l'église; les papes Grégoire II., Grégoire III., Zacharie et Etienne II., et leurs relations avec les empereurs iconoclastes (726-757), in the Revue historique, lxi., 1899; E. Mayer, Die Schenkungen Konstantins und Pippins, in Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht (3 Folge), xiv., 1 *sqq.*

There is a considerable literature on the False Decretals of Isidore (Decretales Pseudoisidorianæ, ed. Hinschius, 1863). The following studies may be noted:

³ Cp. Sickel, Gött. Gel. Anz., 1897, 11, p. 842-3.

⁴ Sickel, *ib.*, 839.

⁵ The Liber Pontificalis makes no mention of a document, but the deed (*donatio*) is distinctly mentioned in a letter of Pope Stephen of A.D. 755 (Cod. Car., p. 493), civitates et loca vel omnia quæ ipsa donatio continet.

⁶ Cp. Sickel, *op. cit.*, p. 845.

Simson, *Die Entstehung der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen in Le Mans*, 1885; De Schulte, *Marius Mercator und Pseudo-Isidor*, in the *Sitzungsberichte of the Vienna Academy*, cxlvii., vii., 1908; *Wasserschleben, Ueber das Vaterland der falschen Dekretalen*, in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, lxiv., 1890; Lurz, *Ueber die Heimath Pseudo-Isidors*, 1902; Fournier, *Étude sur les fausses décrétales*, 1907 (Douvain). Cp. also Tardif, *Histoire des sources du droit canonique*, 1887; Lot, *Études sur le règne de Hugues Capet et la fin du X^e siècle*, 1898; Lesne, *La Hiérarchie épiscopale en Gaule et en Germanie*; and the articles of Seckel, in the *Neues Archiv*, xxvi., xxix. and xxxi. (1900-1905).]

17. GOLD IN ARABIA—(P. 335)

Gibbon states that no gold mines are at present known in Arabia, on the authority of Niebuhr. Yet gold mines seem to have existed in the Hijāz under the caliphate, for M. Casanova has described some gold dinārs bearing the date 105 A.H. (723-4 A.D.) and inscriptions containing the words: "Mine of the commander of the Faithful in the Hijāz" (Casanova, *Inventaire sommaire de la coll. des monnaies musulmanes de S. A. la Princesse Ismaïl*, p. iv., v., 1896).

For this note I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. S. Lane-Poole.

18. THE SABIANS—(P. 353, 354)

Vague and false ideas prevailed concerning Sabianism, until the obscure subject was illuminated by the labours of Chwolsohn and Petermann in the nineteenth century. Gibbon does not fall into the grosser, though formerly not uncommon, error of confusing the Sabians with the Sabaeans (of Yemen); the two names begin with different Arabic letters. But in his day the distinction had not been discovered between the true Sabians of Babylonia and the false Sabians of Harran. The first light on the matter was thrown by Norberg's publication of the *Sacred Book of the Sabians* entitled *Sidra Rabba*, "Great Book," which he edited under the name of the *Book of Adam* (or *Codex Nasiræus*). But the facts about the two Sabianisms were first clearly established in Chwolsohn's work, *Ssabier und Ssabismus* (1856).

This book is mainly concerned with an account of the false Sabians of Harran. It was in the 9th century A.D. that this spurious Sabianism was so named. The people of Harran, in order not to be accounted heathen by their Abbāsīd lords, but that they might be reckoned among the unbelievers to whom a privileged position is granted by the Koran—Jews, Christians, and Sabians—as they could not pretend to be Christians or Jews, professed Sabianism, a faith to which no exact idea was attached. The religion, which thus assumed the Sabian name, was the native religion of the country, with Greek and Syrian elements superimposed. It is to this spurious Sabianism, with its star-worship, that Gibbon's description applies.

The true Sabianism sprang up in Babylonia in the 1st and 2nd centuries of the Christian era, and probably contains as its basis misunderstood gnostic doctrines. Its nature was first clearly explained by Petermann, who travelled for the purpose of studying it, and then re-edited the *Sidra Rabba*, which is written in a Semitic dialect known as Mandæan. There were two original principles: matter, and a creative mind ("the lord of glory"). This primal mental principle creates Hayya Kadmaya ("first life"), and then retires from the scene of operations; and the souls of very holy Sabians have the joy of once beholding the lord of glory, after death. The emanation Hayya Kadmaya is the deity who is worshipped; from him other emanations proceed. (For the ceremonies and customs of modern Sabians, see Siouffi's *Études sur la religion des Soubbas*, 1880. For a good account of the whole subject, see Stanley Lane-Poole's *Studies in a Mosque*, c. viii.)

19. TWO TREATIES OF MOHAMMAD—(P. 391, 397)

The text of the treaty of Hudaibiya between Mohammad and the Koreish in A.D. 628, is preserved by Wākīdī, and is thus translated by Muir (*Life of Mahomet*, p. 346-7):—

"In thy name, O God! These are the conditions of peace between Mohammad, son of Abdallah, and Suhail, son of Amr [deputy of the Koreish]. War shall be suspended for ten years. Whosoever wisheth to join Mohammad or enter into treaty with him, shall have liberty to do so; and likewise whosoever wisheth to join the Koreish or enter into treaty with them. If one goeth over to Mohammad without the permission of his guardian, he shall be sent back to his guardian; but should any of the followers of Mohammad return to the Koreish, they shall not be sent back. Mohammad shall retire this year without entering the City. In the coming year Mohammad may visit Mecca, he and his followers, for three days, during which the Koreish shall retire and leave the City to them. But they may not enter it with any weapons, save those of the traveller, namely, to each a sheathed sword." This was signed by Abū Bekr, Omar, Abd ar-Rahmān, and six other witnesses. See Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i. 719.

As another example of the treaties of Mohammad, I take that which he concluded (A.D. 630) with the Christian prince of Aila,—the *diploma securitatis*, mentioned by Gibbon; who refrains from pronouncing an opinion as to its authenticity. It was preserved by Ibn Ishāk and there is no fair reason for suspecting it. Here again I borrow the translation of Muir (p. 428):—

"In the name of God the Gracious and Merciful! A compact of peace from God and from Mohammad the Prophet and Apostle of God, granted unto Yuhanna [John], son of Rubah, and unto the people of Aila. For them who remain at home and for those that travel by sea and by land there is the guarantee of God and of Mohammad, the Apostle of God, and for all that are with them, whether of Syria or of Yemen or of the sea-coast. Whoso contraveneth this treaty, his wealth shall not save him; it shall be the fair prize of him that taketh it. Now it shall not be lawful to hinder the men of Aila from any springs which they have been in the habit of frequenting, nor from any journey they desire to make, whether by sea or by land. The writing of Juhaïm and Sharāhbīl by command of the Apostle of God."

20. CHRONOLOGY OF THE SARACEN CONQUEST OF SYRIA AND EGYPT —(CHAP. LL)

The discrepancies in the original authorities (Greek and Arabic) for the Saracen conquests in the caliphates of Abū Bekr and Omar have caused considerable uncertainty as to the dates of such leading events as the battles of the Yermūk and Cadesia, the captures of Damascus and Alexandria, and have led to most divergent chronological schemes.

I. CONQUEST OF SYRIA. Gibbon follows Oockley, who, after the false Wākidi, gives the following arrangement;—

- A.D. 633. Siege and capture of Bosra. Siege of Damascus. Battle of Ajnādāin (July).
- " 634. Capture of Damascus.
- " 635. Siege of Emesa.
- " 636. Battle of Cadesia. Battle of the Yermūk.
- " 637. Capture of Heliopolis and Emesa. Conquest of Jerusalem.
- " 638. Conquest of Aleppo and Antioch. Flight of Heraclius.

Clinton (*Fasti Romani*, ii., p. 173-5) has also adopted this scheme.

Weil¹ revised the chronology, placing the battle of the Yermūk in Aug. 634, and the capture of Damascus subsequent to it. The engagement of Ajnādāin he placed shortly before that of the Yermūk, on July 30, A.D. 634, but had to assume that Khālid was not present. As to the battle of Cadesia, he accepts the year given by Tabarī (tr. Zotenberg, iii., p. 400) and Masūdi (A.H. 14, A.D. 535) as against that

¹ Weil falls into error (l, p. 48) when he states that Theophanes is only a year wrong in the date of Mohammad's death. He places it in the year A.D. 630; and his reference to the 4th Indiction under that year is justified by the fact that the first half of the Indiction is concurrent with the A.M. Weil miscalculates the Indiction, which corresponds to 630-1, not to 631-2.

alleged by the older authority Ibn Ishāk (ap. Masūdī) as well as by Abū-l-Fidā and others (*op. cit.*, p. 71). Finlay follows this revision of Weil:—

- A.D. 684. Battle of Ajnādāin (July 30). Battle of the Yermūk (Aug. 23).
- „ 685. Capture of Damascus (Jan.). Battle of Cadesia (spring).
- „ 686. Capture of Emesa (Feb.). Capture of Madāīn.
- „ 687-8. Conquest of Palestine.

The reader may like to have before him the order of events in Tabarī; Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole has kindly supplied me with the references to the original text (ed. de Goeje):—

- Abū Bekr sends troops into Syria (A.H. 13), i., 2079.
- Khālid brings up reinforcements in time for the Yermūk, i., 2089.
- Battle of the Yermūk, i., 2090 *sqq.*
- Battle of Ajnādāin (end of July, 684), i., 2126-7.
- Battle of Fihl (Jan., Feb., 635), i., 2146.
- Capture of Damascus (Aug., Sept., 635), i., 2146.

As to the date of the capture of Jerusalem, Weil does not commit himself; Muir places it at the end of A.D. 636 (so Tabarī, followed by Abū-l-Fidā, while other Arabic sources place it in the following year). Theophanes, under A.M. 6127, says: “In this year Omar made an expedition against Palestine; he besieged the Holy City, and took it by capitulation at the end of two years”. A.M. 6127 = March, 634-635; but, as the Anni Mundi are here a year late (see above), the presumption is that we must go by the Anni Incarnationis and interpret the A.M. as March, 635-636. In that case, the capitulation would have taken place at earliest in March, 637—if the *two* years were interpreted strictly as twelve months. (But *δύο ἔτη* might be used for two military years, 635 and 636; so that the notice of Theophanes might be consistent with Muir's date.) The same writer agrees with Weil in setting the battle of Cadesia in A.H. 14, with Tabarī, but sets it in Nov. 635, instead of near the beginning of the year. Nöldeke (in article on Persian History in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ed. 10) gives 636 or 637 for Cadesia. Muir's arrangement of the chronology is as follows:—

- A.D. 634. April, the opposing armies posted near the Yermūk. May and June, skirmishing on the Yermūk. August (23), battle of the Yermūk.
- „ 635. Summer, Damascus capitulated; battle of Fihl. November, battle of Cadesia.
- „ 636. Spring, Emesa taken. Other Syrian towns, including Antioch, taken. Heraclius returns to Constantineple. Spring, battle of Ajnādāin. End of the year, Jerusalem capitulates. Summer, siege of Madāīn begins.
- „ 637. March, capture of Madāīn.
- „ 638. Capture of Caesarea. Foundation of Basra and Kūfa.

All the difficulties connected with the chronology have been fully treated by Caetani, in vol. iii. of his *Annali dell' Islām*. His dates are as follows:—

- A.D. 633-4. Dec.-Jan., battles of Arabah and Dāthinah.
- „ 634. July 30, battle of Ajnādāin.
- „ 634-5. Dec.-Feb., first expedition of the Saracens against Hims.
- „ 635. Jan., battle of Fihl.
- „ „ Feb., battle of Marj al-Suffar.
- „ „ March 12, beginning of first siege of Damascus.
- „ „ April-May, second expedition against Hims.
- „ „ Sept. 4, capture of Damascus.
- „ 635-6. Dec.-Jan., third expedition against Hims and its surrender.
- „ 636. May-June, the Arabs abandon Damascus.
- „ „ Aug. 20, battle of Yarmūk.
- „ „ Flight of Heraclius.
- „ „ Oct.-Dec., second siege and final conquest of Damascus.

- A.D. 637. July, beginning of siege of Jerusalem.
 " " Battle of Cadesia.
 " " Capture of Madāyn.
 " " Nov.-Dec., battle of Jalūlā.
 " " Foundation of Basra.
 " 638. Capture of Jerusalem.
 " " Foundation of Kūfa.

It will be observed that an important point in this reconstruction is the double siege and capture of Damascus (this is recognised explicitly in the Chronicle of Michael of Melitene; cp. Caetani, iii. 396). The confusion of the two sieges has been one of the causes of the difficulties and contradictions in the sources. As to the exact date of the capture of Bosra, Caetani leaves it uncertain, only establishing that it was posterior to the battle of Ajnādāin (iii. 182-3. Khālid did not pass Bosra on his march to Syria; cp. above, p. 444, n. 59).

The first irruption of the Arabs into southern Palestine occurred in the winter of A.D. 633-4 (end of A.H. 12). The governor Sergius, whose residence was Caesarea, moved against them, with 3000 or 5000 men. He was defeated by their superior forces at Arabah, and pursued. In a second conflict at Dāthinah the Greeks were again routed, and Sergius slain. De Goeje, Miednikov, and Caetani agree that Dāthinah (Δάθεσμος in Theophanes, cp. above, p. 462, n. 92, Tādūn in Eutychius) is a village in the district of Gaza; and identify Arabah with Ayn al-Hamr, at the mouth of the Wādī al-Hamr, to the south. See Caetani, ii. 2, 1135-1148.

[Besides the works quoted above, see also De Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*, ed. 2, 1900; N. A. Miednikov, *Palestina ot zavoevaniia eia Arabami do krestovyykh pokhodov, po arabskim istochnikam*, 4 vols., 1899-1907.]

II. CONQUEST OF EGYPT. Our Greek authorities give us no help as to the date of the conquest of Egypt, and the capture of Alexandria; and the Arabic sources conflict. The matter, however, was cleared up in the main points by E. W. Brooks (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, iv., p. 435 *sqq.*), who brought on the scene an earlier authority than Theophanes, Nicephorus and all the Arabic histories,—John of Nikiu a contemporary of the event. (For his work see above, Appendix I.) Brooks proved that the citadel of Babylon was taken on April 9, A.D. 641, and argued that Alexandria capitulated on October 17, A.D. 641 (towards the end of A.H. 20). This date agrees with the notice of Abū-l-Fidā, who places the whole conquest within A.H. 20, and is presumably following Tabarī (here abridged by the Persian translator); and it is borne out by a notice of the 9th century historian Ibn Abd-al-Hakam (cp. Weil, i., p. 115, note). Along with the correct tradition that Alexandria fell after the death of Heraclius, there was concurrent an inconsistent tradition that it fell on the 1st of the first month of A.H. 20 (Dec. 21, A.D. 640); a confusion of the elder Heraclius with the younger (Heraclonas) caused more errors (Brooks, *loc. cit.*, p. 437); and there was yet another source of error in the confusion of the first capture of the city with its recapture, after Manuel had recovered it, in A.D. 645 (*loc. cit.*, p. 443).²

Butler has since examined minutely the chronology, on the basis of the investigation of Brooks, from whom he differs in some points, notably in placing the beginning of the siege of Alexandria in June, A.D. 841 (instead of August, A.D. 840) and its capitulation on Nov. 8 (instead of Oct. 17), A.D. 841. See his *Arab Conquest of Egypt*, Appendix D. The chief dates at which he arrives are:—

- A.D. 639. Dec., Amru enters Egypt.
 " 640. a. Jan. 20, capture of Pelusium.
 " " July, battle of Heliopolis, and occupation of Misr.
 " " Sept., siege of citadel of Babylon begun.
 " " Oct., treaty made by Mukaukas (denounced by the Emperor).
 " 641. April 9, Babylon surrenders.
 " " End of June, Alexandria attacked.
 " " Sept. 14, Mukaukas (Cyrus) returns.

² By this means Brooks most plausibly explains the origin of the traditional self-contradictory date, Friday, 1st of Muharram, A.H. 20. In that year Muharram 1 did not fall on Friday; but it fell on Friday in A.H. 25, the year of the recapture.

- A.D. 641. Nov. 8, Alexandria surrenders.
- „ 642. Sept. 17, Alexandria evacuated by Romans.
- „ 645. End, revolt of Manuel.
- „ 646. Summer, Alexandria recaptured.

The identity of Mukaukas with the orthodox (Melchite) Patriarch Cyrus, to whom the government of Egypt was entrusted by Heraclius (cp. above, p. 478, n. 128), has been fully proved by Butler (Appendix C.). He rejects Karabacek's explanation of the name al-Mukaukas or al-Mukaukis as = $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}\varsigma$. His own tentative conjectures as to the derivation are not persuasive.

APPENDIX

ADDITIONAL NOTES BY THE EDITOR

1. AUTHORITIES

GREEK SOURCES

PHOTIUS was born at Constantinople about the beginning of the ninth century. He was related by blood to the Patriarch Tarasius, and his uncle was a brother-in-law of the Empress Theodora (wife of Theophilus). He had enjoyed an excellent training in grammar and philology, and devoted his early years to teaching, a congenial employment which he did not abandon after he had been promoted to the Patriarchate (A.D. 858). "His house was still a salon of culture, the resort of the curious who desired instruction. Books were read aloud and the master of the house criticized their style and their matter."¹ He was an indefatigable collector of books, and his learning probably surpassed that of any of the mediæval Greeks (not excepting Psellus). For his historical importance and public career, see above, p. 384-5.

Of his profane works the most famous—which Gibbon singles out—was his *Myriobiblon* or *Bibliotheca*, written (before A.D. 858) for his brother Tarasius, who desired information about the books which during his absence had been read and discussed in the circle of Photius. It contains most valuable extracts from writers whose works are no longer extant, and the criticisms of Photius are marked by acuteness and independence. The *Lexicon*, compiled doubtless by a secretary or pupil, is a later work.² There are about 800 extant letters (260 in Migne, P. G. vol. 102, and in the edition of Valettas, 1864; others edited by Papadopoulos—Kerameus, Petersburg, 1896).

A recent critic has said that the importance of Photius as a theologian has been often exaggerated.³ Of his theological writings only those pertaining to the controversy of the day need be mentioned here. In the treatise *On the Mystagogia* of the Holy Ghost he has put together all the evidence from scripture and the Fathers in favour of the Greek doctrine, but assigns more weight to theological argument than to authority. This is characteristic of the man. It is also to be observed (as Ehrhard remarks) that he does not attack the Roman church directly; but he appeals to previous Popes as supporters of the true view, in opposition to Jerome, Augustine, &c.

Two of the homilies of Photius have historical importance as sources for the Russian invasion of A.D. 860. They were edited by P. Uspenski in 1864, and with improved text by A. Nauck in *Lexicon Vindobonense*, p. 201-232 (1867); reprinted in Müller's *Frag. Hist. Gr.* 5, p. 162 *sqq.*, and included in the complete edition of Aristarchos, *Λόγοι καὶ δμῦλαι*, 2 vols., 1900.

Most of the works of Photius are collected in Migne's *Patr. Gr.* vols. 101-104. The chief work on Photius is that of J. Hergenröther, in 3 volumes: Photius,

¹ Krumbacher, *Gesch. der Byz. Litt.* [p. 516.

² Ed. S. A. Naber, 1864-5.

³ Ehrhard, in Krumbacher's *Byz. Litt.* p. 74.

Patriarch von Konstantinopel, sein Leben, seine Schriften, und das griechische Schisma (1867-9), a learned, and valuable work.

The *Tactica* of the Emperor Leo VI. contains a great deal that is merely a re-edition of the Strategicon ascribed to the Emperor Maurice. The general organisation, the drill, the rules for marching and camping, the arms, are still the same as in the 6th century. But there is a great deal that is new. A good account and criticism of the work will be found in Oman's History of the Art of War, vol. 2, p. 184 *sqq.* "The reader is distinctly prepossessed in favour of Leo by the frank and handsome acknowledgment which he makes of the merits and services of his general, Nicephorus Phocas, whose successful tactics and new military devices are cited again and again with admiration. The best parts of the book are the chapters on organisation, recruiting, the services of transport and supply, and the methods required for dealing with the various barbarian neighbours of the empire. . . . The weakest point, on the other hand,—as is perhaps natural,—is that which deals with strategy. . . . Characteristic, too, of the author's want of aggressive energy, and of the defensive system which he made his policy is the lack of directions for campaigns of invasion in an enemy's country. Leo contemplates raids on hostile soil, but not permanent conquests. . . . Another weak point is his neglect to support precept by example; his directions would be much the clearer if he would supplement them by definite historical cases in which they had led to success" (*ib.*, p. 184-5).

Zachariä von Lingenthal propounded⁴ the theory that the Leo to whom the title of the *Tactica* ascribes the authorship was not Leo VI. but Leo III., and consequently the work belongs to the first half of the eighth century. But internal evidence is inconsistent with this theory. Besides the references to Nicephorus Phocas mentioned above, the author speaks of "our father the Emperor Basil" and describes his dealings with the Slavs, 18, § 101; the Bulgarians who were still heathen in the reign of Leo the Iconoclast appear as Christians in this treatise, 18, § 42, 44, and 61; the capture of Theodosiopolis from the Saracens (under Leo VI., cp. Const. Porph., de Adm. Imp. c. 45, p. 199-200, ed. Bonn) is mentioned.

The most interesting chapters of the work are c. 18, which contains an account of the military customs of the nations with which the empire was brought into hostile contact (Saracens, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Slavs, Franks), and c. 19, on naval warfare (see below, Appendix 5). [The edition of Meursius used by Gibbes is reprinted in Migne's *Patr. Gr.* 107, p. 671 *sqq.*]

Only a part of the two Books *De Cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae* which pass under the name of CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENNETOS is really due to that Emperor.

The first 83 chapters of Bk. I. represent the treatise on the *Court Ceremonies* which he compiled by putting together existing documents which prescribed the order of the various ceremonies. The work is arranged as follows: Chaps. 1-17, religious ceremonies (thus chap. 1 gives the order of processions to the Great Church—St. Sophia; chap. 2, the ceremonies on Christmas Day; chap. 3, those on the Epiphany, &c., in the order of the calendar); chaps. 38-44, the ceremonies on great secular occasions, such as the coronation of the Emperor and the Empress; chaps. 45-59, ceremonies on the promotions of ministers and palace functionaries; chaps. 60-64, an Emperor's funeral, and other solemnities; chaps. 65-83, palace banquets, public games, and other ceremonies.⁵

The remaining chapters of Bk. I. are an excrescence and were added at a later date. Chaps. 84-95 are an extract from the work of Peter the Patrician who wrote under Justinian I. (cp. headings to chaps. 84 and 95). Chap. 96 contains an account of the inauguration of Nicephorus Phocas, and chap. 97 perhaps dates from the reign of Tzimiscees.

The matter printed in the Bonn ed. as an Appendix to Book I. is a treatise

⁴ In *Byz. Zeitschrift*, ii. 606 *sqq.*; iii. 437 *sqq.*

⁵ C. 83 contains the famous *Γοτθικόν* or Gothic Weihnachtspiel which has given rise to much discussion, German antiquarians vainly trying to find in the acclamations old German words.

distinct work, dealing with military expeditions against the Saracens led by the Emperor in person, as I have shown in Eng. Hist. Review, July, 1907, where I propose to call it *περὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ταξείδων*.

The second Book, as it stands, contains many documents which did not originally form part of Constantine's treatise. Thus chaps. 44 and 45 contain the returns of the expenses, &c., of naval armaments against Crete in A.D. 902 and 949; chap. 50 contains a list of themes which belongs to the reign of Leo VI.; chap. 52-4, a separate treatise on the order of precedence at Imperial banquets composed by Philotheus protospatharius in A.D. 899-900.

The work of Philotheus (entitled *Klétorologion*), which is a highly important source for the official organization of the Empire in the 9th and 10th centuries, has been edited separately by Bury, *Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century* (Supplemental Papers of British Academy, i., 1911).

The Ceremonies are included in the Bonn ed. of the Byzantine writers (1829), with Reiske's notes in a separate volume. The composition of the work has been analysed by Bury, the Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogenetos, Eng. Hist. Review, April and July, 1907; for the elucidation of the ceremonies, &c., see D. Bielisaiev, *Byzantina*, vol. 2 (1898), vol. 3 (1907). See also Ebersolt, *Le grand Palais de Constantinople et le livre des cérémonies*, 1910.

The work on the *Themes* (in 2 Books, see above, p. 70 *sqq.*) was composed while Romanus I. was still alive, and after, probably not very long after, A.D. 934 (see Rambaud, *L'empire grec au dixième siècle*, p. 165). For an Armenian general Melias is mentioned, who was alive in 934, as recently dead; and the theme of Seleucia is noticed, which seems to have been formed after 934. For the contents of the book, *op. below*, Appendix 3.

The treatise on the *Administration of the Empire* is dealt with in a separate note below, Appendix 4.

GEORGE CODINUS (probably 15th century) is merely a name, associated with three works: a short, worthless chronicle (ed. Bonn, 1843); an account of the offices of the Imperial Court and of St. Sophia, generally quoted as *De Officiis* (ed. Bonn, 1839); the *Patria* of Constantinople (ed. Bonn, 1843). But it is only with the third of these works that Codinus, whoever he was, can have any connexion. The Chronicle is anonymous in the Mss., and there is no reason for ascribing it to Codinus. The *De Officiis* is likewise anonymous, and the attribution of it to Codinus was due to the blunder of an editor; it is a composition of the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century. As for the *Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, see above, vol. ii., Appendix 8, p. 574.

EUSTATHIUS, educated at Constantinople, became Archbishop of Thessalonica in 1175; he died c. 1198. Besides his famous commentaries on Homer, his commentary on Pindar, and his paraphrase of the geographical poem of Dionysius, he composed an account of the Norman siege of Thessalonica in A.D. 1185. This original work was published by L. F. Tafel in A.D. 1832 (*Eustathii Opuscula*, i. p. 267-307) and reprinted by Bekker at the end of the Bonn ed. of Leo Grammaticus. There are also extant various speeches (*e.g.* a funeral oration by the Emperor Manuel) which have been published by Tafel in his edition of the lesser works of Eustathius and in his treatise *De Thessalonica ejusque agro* (1839). A collection of letters (some not by Eustathius but by Psellus) is also published by Tafel (*Eustathii Op.* p. 507 *sqq.*) and some others by Regel, *Fontes rerum Byzantinorum*, I. (1892).

GEORGE ACROPOLITES, born in 1217 at Constantinople, migrated to Nicaea at the age of eighteen, and studied there under the learned Nicephorus Blemmydes. He was appointed (1244) to the office of Grand Logothete, and instructed the young prince Theodore Lascaris who afterwards became emperor. Unsuccessful as a general in the war with the Despot of Epirus (1257), he was made prisoner, and after his release he was employed by Michael Palaeologus as a diplomatist. He represented the Greek Emperor at the Council of Lyons, for the purpose of bringing

about a reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches. He died in 1382. His history embraces the period from 1203 to the recovery of Constantinople in 1261, and is thus a continuation of Nicetas. For the second half of the period treated it is not only a contemporary work, but the work of one who was in a good position for observing political events. [The *Χρονική συγγραφή* in its original form was published by Leo Allatius in 1651, and is reprinted in the Venice and Bonn collections. These editions have been superseded by that of A. Heisenberg, 2 vols., 1903. An abridgment was published by Dousa in 1614. There is also, in a Ms. at Milan, a copy of the work with interpolations (designated as such) by a contemporary of Acropolites (see Krumbacher, *Gesch. der byz. Litt.*, p. 287; A. Heisenberg, *Studien zur Turkgeschichte des Georgios Akropolites*, 1894).]

GEORGE PACHYMERES (A.D. 1242-1310) carries us on from the point where Acropolites deserts us. He is the chief literary figure of the first fifty years of the restored Empire. His work in 13 Books begins at A.D. 1255 and comes down to 1308. His chief interest was in the theological controversies of the day, and there is far too much theology and disputation about dogma in his history; but this was what absorbed the attention of the men of his time. "Pachymeres, by his culture and literary activity, overtops his contemporaries, and may be designated as the greatest Byzantine Polyhistor of the 13th century. We see in him the lights and shadows of the age of the Palæologi. He is not wanting in learning, originality and wit. But he does not achieve the independence of view and expression, which distinguishes a Photius or a Psellus." Other works of Pachymeres are extant, but only his autobiography in hexameter verses need be mentioned here (it was suggested by Gregory Nazianzen's *περὶ ἑαυτοῦ*). It is worthy of note—as a symptom of the approaching renaissance—that Pachymeres adopted the *Attic*, instead of the Roman, names of the months. [The edition of Possinus, used by Gibbon, was printed in the Bonn collection, 1835.]

NICEPHORUS GREGORAS (1295-c. 1359) of Heraclea in Pontus was educated at Constantinople, and enjoyed the teaching of Theodore Metochites, who was distinguished not only as a trusted councillor of the Emperor Andronicus, but as a man of encyclopædic learning.⁶ Nicephorus won the favour of Andronicus, but on that Emperor's deposition in 1328 his property was confiscated and he had to live in retirement. He came forth from his retreat to do theological battle with the pugnacious Barlaam of Calabria, who was forming a sort of school in Constantinople (see above, c. lxiii. p. 580); and his victory in this controversy was rewarded by reinstatement in his property and offices. Subsequently he played a prominent part in the renewed attempt at reuniting the eastern and western churches. He fell into disfavour with Cantacuzenus and was banished to a monastery. His Roman History in 37 Books begins with the Latin capture of Constantinople in 1204, and reaches to 1359. But the greater part of this period, 1204-1320, is treated briefly in the first 13 Books, which may be regarded as an introduction to the main subject of his work, namely his own times (1320-1359). This history, like that of Pachymeres, is disproportionately occupied with theological disputation, and is, as Krumbacher says, "eine memoirenhafte Parteischrift im vollsten Sinne des Wortes". In c. lxv. Gregoras essays to imitate Plato; for such base uses has Platonic prose been exploited. [Only Books 1-24 were accessible to Gibbon, as he complains (ed. Bonn, 1702). The remaining Books 25-37 (numbered 28-36) were first edited by E. B. in the Bonn ed., vol. 3, 1855. Among other works of Gregoras may be mentioned his funeral oration on Theodore Metochites, ed. by Meursius, 1618 (*Th. Metoch. hist. Rom., liber singularis*).]

For the Emperor CANTACUZENUS and his history, see above, cap. lxiii. and c. lxv. p. 518, n. 21. Cp. also J. Dräseke, *Zu Johannes Kantakuzenos*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 9, 72 sqq., 1900. [In the Bonn series, ed. by Schopen in 3 vols., 1828-30.]

⁶ His chief literary remains are a collection of Miscellaneous Essays, which has been edited by C. G. Müller and T. Kiessling, 1821; and a large number of rhetorical, exegetical and astronomical and scientific treatises. His occasional poems have not yet been completely published.

NICEPHORUS BLEMMYDES was, beside George Acropolites, the most important literary figure at the court of the Emperor of Nicaea. He was born at Constantinople (c. 1198), and soon after the Latin Conquest migrated to Asia; and in Prusa, Nicaea, Smyrna, and Scamander he received a liberal education under the best masters of the day. He became proficient in logic, rhetoric and mathematics, and studied medicine. He finally embraced a clerical career; he took an active part in the controversies with the Latins in the reign of John Vatatzes, and was a teacher of the young prince THEODORE LASCARIS. The extant correspondence of Theodore and Blemmydes testifies their friendly intimacy. But Blemmydes was an opinionated man; he was constantly offending and taking offence; and he finally became a monk and retired to a monastery at Ephesus which he built himself. He had the refusal of the Patriarchate in 1255, and he died c. 1272. His autobiography and his letters (monuments of pedantry and conceit) have importance for the history of his time. Besides theological, scientific, and other works, he composed an icon basilike (*Βασιλικὸς ἀνέκδοτος*) for his royal pupil.⁷ [The autobiography (in two parts) has been edited by A. Heisenberg, 1896. An edition of the Letters is a desideratum. The Letters of the Emperor Theodore Lascaris II. were published by N. Festa (*Epistulae* ccxvii) in 1898.]

In the first quarter of the 14th century, a native of the Morea, certainly half a Frank, and possibly half a Greek, by birth, composed a versified chronicle of the Latin conquest of the Peloponnesus and its history during the 13th century. This work is generally known as the *CHRONICLE OF MOREA*.⁸ The author is thoroughly Grecized, so far as language is concerned; he writes the vulgar tongue as a native; but feels towards the Greeks the dislike and contempt of a ruling stranger for the conquered population. He may have been a *Gasmul* (*Γασμούλος*, supposed to be derived from *gas* (*garçon*) and *mulus*), as the offspring of a Frank father by a Greek mother was called. It is a thoroughly prosaic work, thrown into the form of wooden political verses; and what it loses in literary interest through its author's lack of talent, it gains in historical objectivity. A long prologue relates the events of the first and the fourth crusades; the main part of the work embraces the history of the Principality of Achaia from 1205 to 1292. The book appealed to the Franks, not to the Greeks, of the Peloponnesus; and shows how Greek had become the language of the conquerors. It was freely translated into French soon after its composition; and this version (with a continuation down to 1304), which was made before the year 1341, is preserved (under the title "The Book of the Conquest of Constantinople and the Empire of Roumania and the country of the Principality of Morea"). J. A. Buchon was the first to edit both the Greek and the French; but he sought to show that the French was the original and the Greek the version. The true relation of the two texts has been established by the researches of the late John Schmitt (*Die Chronik von Morea*, 1889).

[Of the Greek original there are two widely different redactions, of which one, preserved in a Paris Ms., was published by Buchon in his *Chroniques étrangères relatives aux expéditions françaises pendant le xiii. siècle*, in 1840; the other, preserved in a Copenhagen Ms., was published in the second volume of his *Recherches historiques sur la principauté française de Morée et ses hautes baronies* (1845), while in the first vol. of this latter work he edited the French text. A final edition, with the Paris and Copenhagen texts on opposite pages, and a collation of the Turin Ms., by John Schmitt, appeared in 1904 (London).]⁹

SLAVONIC SOURCES

The old Russian chronicle, which goes by the name of *Nestor* and comprises the history of Russia and the neighbouring countries from the middle of the ninth

⁷ It will be found in Migne, P. G., vol. 142, p. 611 *sqq.*

⁸ It is sometimes referred to as *Βιβλίον τῆς κορυμμένης*, a title which the first editor Buchon gave it without authority.

⁹ There are also versions in Aragonese and in Italian.

century to the year 1110, has come down in two redactions: (1) the Laurentian Ms., written by Laurence of Souzdal in 1377, and (2) the Hypatian, written in the monastery of St. Hypatius at Kostroma in the 15th century. All other Mss. can be traced back to either of these two. In neither of them does the old chronicle stand alone; it is augmented by continuations which are independent.

The work was compiled apparently in the year 1114-1115,¹⁰ and it can be divided into two parts.¹¹ (1) Caps. 1-12, without chronological arrangement. It is to this part alone that the title refers: "History of old times by the monk of the monastery of Theodosius Peshtcherski, of the making of Russia, and who reigned first at Kiev (cp. c. 6), and of the origin of the Russian land". (2) The rest of the works, chaps. 13-89, is arranged in the form of annals. It falls into three parts, indicated by the compiler in cap. 13. (a) Caps. 14-36, from the year 852 to death of Sviatoslav, 972; (b) caps. 37-58, to the death of Jaroslav, 1054; (c) caps. 59-89, to the death of Sviatopolk, 1114.¹²

Sources of the chronicle: ¹³ (1) George the monk, in an old Bulgarian translation of 10th century (cp. chap. 11; see also chaps. 24, 65). (2) A work ascribed to Methodius of Patara (3rd cent.): "On the things which happened from the creation and the things which will happen in the future"—also doubtless through a Slavonic translation.¹⁴ (3) Lives of the apostles of the Slavs, Cyril and Methodius. (4) The Bible. (5) The Palaia (collection of Bible-stories), in Slavonic form. (6) The *Symbolum Fidei* of Michael Synceallus in Slavonic version (c. 42). (7) Oral information indicated by the chronicler; communications of (a) the monk Jeremiah who was old enough to remember the conversion of the Russians, c. 68; (b) Gurals Bogovich of Novgorod, c. 80; (c) John, an old man of ninety, from whose mouth the chronicler received many notices. (8) A relation of the murder of Boris and Gleb by their brother Sviatopolk; an account which does not agree with the biography of these saints by the monk Nestor, but does agree with the relation of the monk Jacob.¹⁵ (9) A Paschal calendar in which there were a few notices entered opposite to some of the years. (10) Written and dated notices preserved at Kiev, beginning with A.D. 882, the year in which the centre of the Russian realm was transferred from Novgorod to Kiev. Srkulj conjectures that these notices were drawn up in the Norse language by a Norman who had learned to write in England or Gaul, and perhaps in Runic characters. (11) Local chronicles, cp. a chronicle of Novgorod, of the existence of which we are otherwise certified. (12) Possibly a relation of the story of Vasilko, c. 82.

The traditional view that the monk Nestor, who wrote the biography of Boris and Gleb, and a life of Theodosius of Peshtcherski (see above, p. 173), was the author of the chronicle is generally rejected. Nestor lived in the latter part of the 11th century, and, as we do not know the date of his death, so far as chronology is concerned, he *might* have compiled the chronicle in 1115. But not only does the account of Boris and Gleb (as noticed above) not agree with Nestor's biography of those sainted princes, but there are striking discrepancies between the chronicler's and Nestor's accounts of Theodosius. And, while the chronicler expressly says that he was an eye-witness, Nestor expressly says that he derived his information from others. It is very hard to get over this. There are two other candidates for the authorship: (1) Sylvester, abbot of St. Michael, who states, at the end of the Chronicle in the Laurentian Ms., that he "wrote these books of annals" in

¹⁰ Sreznevski, *Drevnije pamjatniki russk. pisima i jazyka*, p. 47.

¹¹ Cp. Bestuzhev-Riumin, *O sostavie russkich Listopisei* (in the *Listopisi sianov. arheogr. Kommissii* 1865-6), p. 19-35.

¹² There is a question as to the end of the chronicle. M. Leger thinks it reached down to 1113; but in the Laurentian Ms. it stops in 1110.

¹³ See a good Summary in Stjepan Srkulj, *Die Entstehung der ältesten russischen sogenannten Nestorchronik* (1896), p. 7 *sqq.*; Leger, *Introduction to his translation*, p. xiv.-xvii.; Pogodin, *Nestor, eine hist.-crit. Untersuchung*, tr. Loewe (1844); Bestuzhev-Riumin, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ Suhomlinov ascribes the work to the Patriarch Methodius of the 9th century. See Srkulj, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

¹⁵ Sreznevski, *Skazanie o sv. Borisie i Gliemie*, 1860. Some think that Jacob used the account in the Chronicle, c. 47.

A.D. 1116; as long as Nestor was regarded as the author, the word for *wrote* was interpreted as *copied* (though a different compound is usually employed in that sense), but Golubinski and Kostomarov have proposed to regard the abbot as the author and not a mere copyist; (2) the monk Basil who is mentioned in the story of Vasilko (c. 82), and speaks there in the first person: "I went to find Vasilko". But this may be explained by supposing that the compiler of the chronicle has mechanically copied, without making the necessary change of person, a relation of the episode of Vasilko written by this Basil. The authorship of the chronicle is not solved; we can only say that the compiler was a monk of the Pechtcherski monastery of Kiev.

[For a minute study of Nestor the editions of the Laurentian (1846 and 1872) and the Hypatian (1846 and 1871) Mss. published by the Archaeographical Commission must be used. For ordinary purposes the text of Miklosich (1860) is still convenient. Excellent French translation by L. Leger, *Chronique dite de Nestor*, 1884, with an index ¹⁶ which is half a commentary.]

LATIN AND OTHER WESTERN SOURCES

AMATUS of Salerno, monk of Monte Cassino and bishop of an unknown see, wrote about A.D. 1080 a history of the Norman conquest of southern Italy, taking as a model the *Historia Langobardorum* of Paul the Deacon. We do not possess the work in its original shape, but only in a faulty French translation, made perhaps c. 1800 A.D., which has survived in a single Ms. It was edited for the first time, and not well, by Champollion-Figeac in 1835 (*L'Ystoire de li Normant et la Chronique de Robert Viscont, par Aimé, moine de Mont-Cassin*), but has been recently edited by O. Delarc, 1892. The work is divided into 8 Books, and embraces the history of the Normans, from their first appearance in Italy to A.D. 1078. "It is," says Giesebrecht, "no dry monosyllabic annalistic account, but a full narrative of the conquest with most attractive details, told with charming naïveté. Yet Amatus does not overlook the significance of the events which he relates, in their ecumenical context. His view grasps the contemporary Norman conquest of England, the valiant feats of the French knights against the Saracens of Spain, and the influence of Norman mercenaries in the Byzantine empire. In beginning his work (which he dedicates to the Abbot Desiderius, Robert Guiscard's intimate friend) he is conscious that a red thread runs through all these undertakings of the knight-errants and that God has some special purpose in His dealings with this victorious race." [For criticism of the work, see F. Hirsch in *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, 8, p. 205 *sqq.* (1868).]

Amatus was unknown to Gibbon, but he was a source of the most important works which Gibbon used. He was one of the sources of the poem of WILLIAM OF APULIA (begun c. A.D. 1099, finished by A.D. 1111), who also utilised the *Annals of Bari*. Now that we have Amatus (as well as the *Annals of Bari*) the value of William lies in the circumstance that he used also a lost biography of Robert Guiscard. [New ed. by Wilmans, in *Pertz, Mon.* ix. p. 239 *sqq.*]

Amatus was also a source of GEOFFREY MALATERRA, who wrote the history of the Normans in Sicily (up to 1099) at the instance of Count Roger (see above, Gibbon's notes in chap. lvi.). [For the relation of this to the *Anonymi Vaticani Historia Sicula*, see A. Heikel, *Die Hist. Sic. des Anon. Vat. und des Gaufrédus Malaterra*, 1891.]

LEO, monk and librarian of Monte Cassino, afterwards Cardinal-bishop of Ostia (died 1115), wrote a chronicle of his monastery, which he carried down to A.D. 1075. It is a laudable work, for which ample material (discreetly used by Leo) lay in the library of the monastery. [Ed. by Wattenbach in *Pertz, Mon.* vii. p. 574 *sqq.* Cp. Balzani, *Le cronache Italiane nel medio evo*, p. 150 *sqq.* (1884).] The work was continued (c. 1140) by the Deacon PETRA, who belonged to the family of the Counts of Tusculum, as far as the year 1137. [Ed. Wattenbach, *ib.* p. 727 *sqq.*]

¹⁶ There are unfortunately many mistakes in the references to the numbers of the chapters.

Other sources (*Annales Barenses*, *Chron. breve Nortmannicum*, &c.) are mentioned in the notes of chap. lvi. It should be observed that there is no good authority for the name "Lupus protospatharius," under which name one of the Bari chronicles is always cited. Contemporary Beneventane annals are preserved in (1) *Annales Beneventani*, in Pertz, *Mon.* iii. p. 173 *sqq.*, and (2) the incomplete *Chronicon of the Beneventane Falco* (in *Del Re's Cronisti*, vol. i. p. 161 *sqq.*); both of which up to 1112 have a common origin. *Op. Giesebrecht, Gesch. der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, iii. 1069.

The credibility of the history of HUGO FALCANDUS has been exhibited in some detail by F. Hillger (*Das Verhältniss des Hugo Falcandus zu Romuald von Salerno*, 1878), and Gibbon's high estimate seems to be justified. Gibbon is also right in rejecting the guess of Clément the Benedictine that the historian is to be identified with Hugo Foucault, Abbot of St. Denis (from 1186-1197). In the first place Foucault would never be Latinised as Falcandus. In the second place, the only plausible evidence for the identification does not bear examination. It is a letter of Peter of Blois to an abbot H. of St. Denys (*Opera*, ed. Giles, ep. 116, i. p. 178), in which Peter asks his correspondent to send him a *tractatus quem de statu aut potius de casu vestro in Sicilia descripsistis*. But this description does not apply to the *Historia Sicula* of Falcandus; and it has been shown by Schröter that the correspondent of Peter is probably not Hugo Foucault, but his successor in the abbacy, Hugo of Mediolanum. Schröter has fully refuted this particular identification, and has also refuted the view (held by Amari, Freeman, and others) that Falcandus was a Norman or Frank. On the contrary Falcandus was probably born in Sicily, which he knew well, especially Palermo, and when he wrote his history, he was living not north of the Alps (for he speaks of the Franks, &c., as *transalpini*, *transmontani*) but in southern Italy. He wrote his *Historia Sicula*, which reaches from 1154 to 1169, later than 1169, probably (in part at least) after 1181, for he speaks (p. 272, ed. Muratori) of Alexander III. as *qui tunc Romanas praesidebat ecclesias*, and Alexander died in 1181 (F. Schröter, *Über die Heimath des Hugo Falcandus*, 1880). The letter to Peter of Palermo which is prefixed to the History as a sort of dedication seems to have been a perfectly independent composition, written immediately after the death of William the Good in November, 1189, and before the election of Tancred two months later. [*Opera* cit. of Schröter and Hillger; Freeman, *Historical Essays*, 3rd ser.; and *op. Holzsch, op. cit.* above, p. 228, note 145; *Del Re*, preface to his edition (*op. above*, p. 228, note 145).]

Compared with Falcandus, ROMUALD, Archbishop of Salerno, is by no means so ingenuous. Although he does not directly falsify facts, his deliberate omissions have the effect of falsifying history; and these omissions were due to the desire of placing the Sicilian court in a favourable light. He is in fact a court historian, and his Annals clearly betray it. The tendency is shown in his cautious reserve touching the deeds and policy of the cruel and ambitious Chancellor Majo. Romuald was related to the royal family and was often entrusted with confidential and important missions. He was a strong supporter of the papacy, but it has been remarked that he entertained "national" ideas—Italy for the Italians, not for the trans-Alpines. He was a learned man and skilled in medicine. [*Op. above*, p. 216, n. 111; p. 217, n. 116.]

On the diplomatic documents of the Norman kings, see K. A. Kehr, *Die Urkunden der normannisch-Sizilischen Könige*, 1902.

The name of the author of the *Gesta Francorum* was unknown even to those contemporary writers who made use of the work. Whatever his name was, he seems to have been a native of Southern Italy; he accompanied the Norman crusaders who were led by Boemund, across the Illyric peninsula, and shared their fortunes till the end of 1098, when he separated from them at Antioch and attached himself to the Provençals, with whom he went on to Jerusalem. He was not an ecclesiastic like most authors of the age, but a knight. He wrote his history from time to time, during the crusade, according as he had leisure. It falls into eight divisions, each concluded by *Amen*; and these divisions seem

to mark the various stages of the composition; they do not correspond to any artistic or logical distribution of the work. Having finished his book at Jerusalem, the author deposited it there—perhaps in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre—where it could be, and was, consulted or copied by pilgrims of an inquiring turn of mind. The author was a pious and enthusiastic crusader, genuinely interested in the religious object of the enterprise; he entirely sinks his own individuality, and identifies himself with the whole company of his fellows. Up to the autumn of 1098 he is devoted to his own leader Boemund; but after c. 29 it has been noticed that the laudatory epithets which have hitherto attended Boemund's name disappear, and, although no criticism is passed, the author thus, almost unintentionally, shows his dissatisfaction with the selfish quarrels between Boemund and Raymond, and has clearly ceased to regard Boemund as a disinterested leader. No written sources were used by the author of the *Gesta* except the Bible and Sibylline Oracles. [See the edition by H. Hagenmeyer, 1889, with full introduction and exegetical notes.]

TUDEBOD of Sivrai, who himself took part in the First Crusade, incorporated (before A.D. 1111) almost the whole of the *Gesta* in his *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*; and it used to be thought that the *Gesta* was merely an abridged copy of his work. The true relation of the two works was shown by H. von Sybel.

The *HISTORIA BELLI SACRI*, an anonymous work, was compiled after A.D. 1181, from the *Gesta* and Tudebod. The works of Raymond of Agiles and Radulf of Caen were also used. [Ed. in the *Recueil*, iii. p. 169 *sqq.*] The *EXPEDITIO CONTRA TURCOS*, c. 1094, is also for the most part an excerpt from the *Gesta*.

RAYMOND of Agiles, in his *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Jerusalem*, gives the history of the First Crusade from the Provençal side. It has been shown by Hagenmeyer (*Gesta Francorum*, p. 50 *sqq.*) that he made use of the *Gesta*; and Sybel, who held that the two works were entirely independent, remarks on the harmony of the narratives. Raymond is impulsive and gushing, he is superstitious in the most vulgar sense; but his good faith is undoubted, and he reproduces truly his impressions of events. In details he seems to be very accurate. (See the criticism of Sybel, *Gesch. des ersten Kreuzzuges*, ed. 2, p. 15 *sqq.*; C. Klein, Raimund von Aguilers, 1892.)

FULCHER of Chartres accompanied the host of Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois through Apulia and Bulgaria to Nicosa. At Marash he went off with Baldwin against Edessa, and for events in Edessa he is the only eye-witness among the western historians; but from the moment when he begins to be of unique value for Edessa, he becomes of minor importance for the general course of the Crusade. After Godfrey's death he accompanied Baldwin, the new king, to Jerusalem, and remained at his court. His work, which seems to have been written down as a sort of diary, from day to day or month to month, is of the highest importance for the kingdom of Jerusalem from the accession of Baldwin down to 1127 where it ends. Fulcher consulted the *Gesta* for the events of the First Crusade, of which he was not an eye-witness. (Cp. Sybel, *op. cit.* p. 46 *sqq.* Hagenmeyer, *op. cit.* p. 58 *sqq.*)

GUINERT (born A.D. 1153), of good family, became abbot of Nogent in 1104. In his *Historia quae dicitur Gesta per Francos*, he has thrown the *Gesta Francorum* into a literary form and added a good deal from other sources. The history of the First Crusade ceases with Bk. 6, and in Bk. 7 he has cast together a variety of notices connected with the kingdom of Jerusalem up to 1104. He had been present at the Council of Clermont, he was personally acquainted with Count Robert of Flanders, from whom he derived some pieces of information, and he had various connexions throughout France which were useful to him in the composition of his book. He is conscious of his own importance, and proud of his literary style; he writes with the air of a well-read dignitary of the Church. (Cp. Sybel, *op. cit.* p. 33-4.)

BALDRIC, who became Archbishop of Dol in 1107, was of a very different character and temper from Guibert, and has been taken under the special protection of Sybel,

who is pleased "to meet such a pure, peaceful, and cheerful nature in times so stern and warlike". Baldric was opposed to the fashionable asceticism; he lived in literary retirement, enjoying his books and garden, taking as little a part as he could in the ecclesiastical strife which raged around, and exercising as mildly as possible his archiepiscopal powers. He died in 1130. His *Historia Jerusalem*, composed in 1108, is entirely founded on the *Gesta*,—the work, as he says, of *nescio quis compilator* (in the Prologue). See Sybel, *op. cit.* p. 35 *sqq.*

Of little value is the compilation of Robert the Monk of Reims, who (sometime in the first two decades of the 12th century) undertook the task of translating the *Gesta* into a better Latin style and adding a notice on the Council of Clermont. It has been shown by Sybel that there is no foundation for the opinion that Robert took part in the Crusade or visited the Holy Land; had he done so, he would certainly have stated the circumstances in his Prologue. (Sybel, *op. cit.* p. 44-6.)

Of Fulco, who wrote an account in hexameters of the events of the First Crusade up to the siege of Nicæa, we know nothing more than that he was a contemporary and was acquainted with Gilo who continued the work. His account has no historical value; he used the *Gesta*, but did not rifle that source in such a wholesale manner as Gilo of Toucy, his collaborator, who took up the subject at the siege of Nicæa. Gilo, who calls himself :

o nomine Parisiensis
incola Tuciaci non inficiandus alumnus,

was appointed in 1121 bishop of Tusculum, and composed his *Libellus de via Hierosolymitana* between 1118 and 1121. For the first four Books he used Robert the Monk and Albert of Aachen as well as the *Gesta*; for Bks. 5 and 6 he simply paraphrased the *Gesta*. (Cp. Hagenmeyer, *op. cit.* p. 74-6.) [Complete ed. in Migne, P. L. vol. 155.]

RADULF of Caen took no part in the Crusade, but he went to Palestine soon afterwards and stood in intimate relations with Tancred. After Tancred's death he determined to write an account of that leader's exploits, *Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana*, which he dedicated to Arnulf, Patriarch of Jerusalem. For all that concerns Tancred personally his statements are of great value, but otherwise he has the position merely of a second-hand writer in regard to the general history of the First Crusade. The importance of his information about the capture of Antioch has been pointed out by Sybel. Hagenmeyer has made it probable that he used the *Gesta*. [Ed. in Muratori, *Sor. rer. It.*, vol. 5, p. 285 *sqq.*; *Recueil*, iii. p. 603 *sqq.*]

The chronicle of ALBERT of Aachen contains one of the most remarkable of the narratives of the First Crusade. From this book, says Sybel, we hear the voice not of a single person, but of regiments speaking with a thousand tongues; we get a picture of western Europe as it was shaken and affected by that ecumenical event. The story is told vividly, uninterrupted by any reflections on the part of the author; who is profoundly impressed by the marvellous character of the tale which he has to tell; has no scruple in reporting inconsistent statements; and does not trouble himself much about chronology and topography. But the canon of Aachen, who compiled the work as we have it, in the third decade of the 12th century, is not responsible for the swing of the story. He was little more than the copyist of the history of an unknown writer, who belonged to the Lotharingian crusaders and settled in the kingdom of Jerusalem after the First Crusade. Thus we have, in Albert of Aachen, the history of the Crusade from the Lotharingian side. The unknown author probably composed his history some time after the events; Hagenmeyer has shown that he has made use of the *Gesta*. [The most important contribution to the criticism of Albert is the monograph of Kugler, *Albert von Aachen*, 1885, which is to be supplemented by Kühn's article in the *Neues Archiv*, 12, p. 545 *sqq.*, 1887.]

The *Hierosolymita* (or *Libellus de expugnatione Hierosolymitana*) of EKKHARD, of the Benedictine abbey of Aura near Kissingen, was published in the *Amplissima Collectio* of Martene and Durand (vol. 5, p. 511 *sqq.*), where it might have been consulted by Gibbon, but he does not seem to have known of it. Ekkehard went overland to Constantinople with a company of German pilgrims in 1101, sailed from the Imperial city to Joppa, remained six weeks in Palestine, and started on his return journey before the year was out. He became abbot of his monastery and died in 1125. His *Chronicon Universale* is a famous work and is the chief authority for German history from A.D. 1080 to the year of the author's death. The *Hierosolymita* has the value of a contemporary work by one who had himself seen the Holy Land and the Greek Empire. [Edited in Pertz, *Mon.* vi. p. 265 *sqq.*; and by Riant in the *Recueil*, vol. 5, p. 1 *sqq.*; but most convenient is the separate edition of Hagenmeyer, 1877.]

Another contemporary writer on the First Crusade, who had himself visited Palestine, is CAFARO di Caschifellone, of Genoa. He went out with the Genoese squadron which sailed to the help of the Crusaders in 1100. He was at Jerusalem at Easter 1101 and took part in the sieges of Arsuf and Caesarea in the same year. He became afterwards a great person in his native city, was five times consul, composed *Annales Genuenses*, and died in 1166. His work *De Liberatione civitatum Orientis* was not accessible to Gibbon; for it was first published in 1859 by L. Ansaldo (*Cronaca della prima Crociata*, in vol. i. of the *Acts of the Società Ligure di storia patria*). It was then edited by Pertz, *Mon.* xviii. p. 40 *sqq.*; and in vol. v. of the *Recueil des historiens des croisades*. Contents: chaps. 1-10 give the events of the First Crusade before the author's arrival on the scene; c. 11 relates the arrival of the Genoese fleet at Laodicea, and the defeat of the Lombard expedition in Asia Minor in 1101; chaps. 12-18 (in the edition of the *Recueil*) are an extract from the *Annales Genuenses*, inserted in this place by the editor Riant, and describing the events of the year 1100-1101; chaps. 19-27 enumerate the towns of Syria and their distances from one another; describe the capture of Margat in 1140 by the Crusaders; a naval battle between the Genoese and Greeks; and the capture of Tortosa, Tripolis, and other places. The work seems never to have been completed.

For the authorship of the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta regis Ricardi*, see above, p. 367, note 89. It remains to be added that in its Latin form the work is not an original composition, but is a very free elaboration of a French poem written by a Norman named AMBROSE, in rhyming verses of seven syllables. In the prologue to the Latin work (p. 4, ed. Stubbs) the writer says *nos in castris fuisse cum scripsimus*; but we should expect him to mention the fact that he had first written his account in Franco-Gallic. Nicholas Trivet (at the beginning of the 14th cent.) distinctly ascribes the *Itinerarium* to Richard of London, Canon of the Holy Trinity (*qui itinerarium regis prosa et metro scripsit*);¹⁷ but the contemporary *Chronicon Terrae Sanctae* (see below) states that the Prior of the Holy Trinity of London caused it to be translated from French into Latin (*ex Gallica lingua in Latinum transferri fecit*).¹⁸ The natural inference is that Richard the Canon transformed the rhymed French of Ambrose into a Latin prose dress; but it is not evident why the name of Ambrose is suppressed. Nor is it quite clear whether Trivet, when he says *prosa et metro*, meant the French verse and the Latin prose, or whether *metro* refers to the Latin rhymes which are occasionally introduced (chiefly in Bk. I.) in the *Itinerarium*. [Extracts from the *Carmen Ambrosii* are edited by P. Liebermann (1885) in Pertz, *Mon.* 27, 582 *sqq.* See Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, ed. 6, ii. p. 316.]

For the crusade of Richard I. RALPH OF COGGESHALL's *Chronicon Anglicanum* (A.D. 1086-1238) is an important authority, and it was the source of the account in Matthew Paris. Ralph, who was abbot of the Cistercian Monastery of Coggeshall, in Essex, died about 1228, was not in the Holy Land himself, but he obtained his information from eye-witnesses (e.g. from Hugh de Neville, who described for him the

¹⁷ Stubbs, Introduction, p. xli.

¹⁸ *Ib.*, p. xli.

episode of Joppa in Aug. 1192, and from Anselm, the king's chaplain). [Edited in the Rolls series by J. Stevenson, 1875.]

Another contemporary account of the Third Crusade is contained in the *CHRONICON TERRÆ SANCTÆ*, ascribed without any reason to Ralph of Coggeshall, and printed along with his Chronicle in Martene and Durand, *Ampl. Coll.* vol. 5, and in the Rolls series (p. 209 *sqq.*). An independent narrative, derived apparently from a crusader's journal,¹⁹ is incorporated in the *Gesta Henrici II. et Ricardi I.*, which goes under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (who, though he did not compose the work, caused it to be compiled). [Edited by Stubbs in the Rolls series, 1867.] Material for Richard's Crusade will also be found in other contemporary English historians, such as Ralph de Diceto, William of Newburgh, &c.

WILLIAM OF TYRE is the greatest of the historians of the Crusades and one of the greatest historians of the Middle Ages. He was born in Palestine in 1127 and became archbishop of Tyre in 1174. A learned man, who had studied ancient Latin authors (whom he often cites), he had the advantage of being acquainted with Arabic, and he used Arabic books to compose a history of the Saracens from the time of Mohammad (see his Prologue to the History of the Crusades). He was always in close contact with the public affairs of the kingdom of Jerusalem, political as well as ecclesiastical. He was the tutor of Baldwin IV., and was made Chancellor of the kingdom by that king. His great work (*Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*) falls into two parts: (1) Books 1-15, to A.D. 1144: so far his narrative depends on "the relation of others" (Bk. 16, c. 1), and he has used (though he does not say so) the works of earlier writers (such as Fulcher of Chartres, and Albert of Aachen), as well as the memories of older men with whom he was acquainted; but his judgment is throughout entirely independent. (2) Books 16-23, to A.D. 1184: here he writes as a contemporary eye-witness, but he is careful and conscientious in informing himself, from every possible source, concerning the events which he relates; and he is remarkably cautious in his statements of facts. The miraculous seldom plays a part in his story; he is unfeignedly pious, but he seeks an earthly explanation of every earthly event.²⁰ His history, along with the Book of the Assises, is the chief material for forming a picture of the Latin colonies in Palestine. Chronology, Sybel remarks, is the weak side of his work; and we may add that it is often spoiled by too much rhetoric. It was translated into French in the second quarter of the 13th century. [Included in the *Recueil, Hist. Occ.*, vol. i. (1844).]

The work of William of Tyre was continued in French by ERNOUL (squire of Balian, lord of Ibelin; he had taken part in the battle of Hittin and the siege of Jerusalem) down to 1229; and by BERNARD (the Treasurer of St. Peter at Corbie) down to 1231. These continuations were continued by anonymous writers down to 1277; and the French translation of William along with the continuations was current as a single work under the title of the *Chronique d'Outremer*, or *L'Estoire de Éracle*.²¹ [The Continuations were first critically examined and analysed by M. de Mas-Latrie,²² who edited the works of Ernoul and Bernard (1871). Edition of Guillaume de Tyr et ses Continuateurs, by P. Paris, 2 vols., 1879-80.]

It may be added here that the charters and letters pertaining to the Kingdom of Jerusalem have been edited under the title *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, by Röhrich, 1893. The documents bearing on the First Crusade have been collected by Hagenmeyer, *Epistolæ et chartæ ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes quæ supersunt ævo æquales et genuinæ*, 1901. The numismatic material has been collected and studied by M. G. Schlumberger: *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin*, 1878.

Marshal VILLEHARDOUIN's Conquest of Constantinople is, along with Nicetas, the main guide of Gibbon in his account of the Fourth Crusade. Gibbon thought,

¹⁹ Cp. Stubbs, *Introd. to Itinerarium*, p. xxxviii.

²⁰ Sybel, *Gesch. des ersten Kreuzzuges*, ed. 2, p. 120.

²¹ An absurd title taken from the opening sentence of William of Tyre.

²² *Essai de classification*, &c., in *Bibl. de l'école des chartes*, Sér. V. t. i. 38 *sqq.*, 140 *sqq.* (1860); and in his ed. of Ernoul and Bernard, p. 473 *sqq.*

and it has been generally thought till late years, that this famous book, composed by one of the wisest and most moderate of the Crusaders, was a perfectly naïve and candid narrative, partial indeed to the conduct of the conquerors, but still—when allowance has been made for the point of view—a faithful relation of facts without an *arrière pensée*. But, if there are some who, like his editor M. de Wailly, still maintain the unblemished candour of Villehardouin as an author, recent criticism in the light of new evidence leaves hardly room for reasonable doubt that Villehardouin's work was deliberately intended to deceive the European public as to the actual facts of the Fourth Crusade. There can be no question that Villehardouin was behind the scenes; he represents the expedition against Constantinople as an accidental diversion, which was never intended when the Crusade was organized; and therefore his candour can be rescued only by proving that the episode of Constantinople was really nothing more than a diversion. But the facts do not admit of such an interpretation. During the year which elapsed between the consent of the Venetian Republic to transport the Crusaders and the time when the Crusaders assembled at Venice (A.D. 1201-2), the two most important forces concerned in the enterprise—Venice and Boniface of Montferrat—had determined to divert the Crusade from its proper and original purpose. Venice had determined that, wherever the knights sailed, they should *not* sail to the place whither she had undertaken to transport them, namely to the shores of Egypt. For in the course of that eventful year she made a treaty with the Sultan of Egypt, pledging herself that Egypt should not be invaded. And on his part, Boniface of Montferrat had arranged with the Emperor Philip and Alexius that the swords of the Crusaders should be employed at Constantinople. (For all this see above, p. 400-1, n. 51 and 53, and p. 404, n. 63.) On these facts, which were of the first importance, Villehardouin says not a word; and one cannot hesitate to conclude that his silence is deliberate. In fact, his book is, as has been said, an "official" version of the disgraceful episode. The Fourth Crusade shocked public opinion in Europe; men asked how such a thing had befallen, how the men who had gone forth to do battle against the infidels had been drawn aside from their pious purpose to attack Christian states. The story of Villehardouin, a studied suppression of the truth, was the answer. [Mas-Latrie and Riant take practically this point of view, which has been presented well and moderately by E. Pears in his *Fall of Constantinople* (an excellent work), 1885. J. Tessier, *La diversion sur Zara et Constantinople* (1884), defends Villehardouin. Cp. also L. Streit's *Venedig und die Wendung des vierten Kreuzzuges gegen Constantinopel*; and W. Norden, *Der vierte Kreuzzug im Rahmen der Beziehungen des Abendlandes zu Byzanz*, 1898.—Editions: by N. de Wailly, 3rd ed., 1882; E. Bouchet, 2 vols., 1891.]

Besides Gunther's work, which Gibbon used (see p. 401, note 54), some new sources on the Fourth Crusade have been made accessible. The most important of these is the work of ROBERT DE CLARY, *Li estoires de chiaux qui conquissent Constantinoble*; which, being "non-official," supplies us with a check on Villehardouin. [Printed by Riant in 1868 and again in 1871, but in so few copies that neither issue could be properly called an edition. Edited (1873) by Hopf in his *Chroniques Gréco-romanes*, p. 1 sqq.]

Another contemporary account is preserved, the *DEVASTATIO CONSTANTINOPOLITANA*, by an anonymous Frank, and is an official diary of the Crusade. [Pertz, *Mon.* xvi. p. 9 sqq.; Hopf, *Chron. Gréco-romanes*, p. 86 sqq.]

The work of Moncada, which Ducange and Gibbon used for the history of the Catalan expedition, is merely a loose compilation of the original Chronicle of RAMON MONTANER, who was not only a contemporary but one of the most prominent members of the Catalan Grand Company. A Catalonian of good family, born at Peralada, in 1255, he went to reside at Valencia in 1276, witnessed the French invasion of Philip the Bold in 1285, and in 1300 set sail for Sicily and attached himself to the fortunes of Roger de Flor, whom he accompanied to the east. He returned to the west in 1308; died and was buried at Valencia about 1336. The account of the doings of the Catalans in the east is of course written from their

point of view; and the adventurer passes lightly over their pillage and oppression. It is one of the most interesting books of the period. [Most recent edition of the original Catalan, by J. Corolen, 1886; conveniently consulted in Buchon's French version, in *Chroniques étrangères* (1860). Monographs: A. Rubió y Lluch, *La expedición y dominación de los Catalanes en oriente juzgadas por los Griegos*, 1888, and *Los Navarros en Grecia y el ducado Catalan de Atenas en la época de su invasión*, 1886 (this deals with a later period); G. Schlumberger, *Expédition des "Almugavars" ou routiers catalans en Orient*, 1902.]

ORIENTAL SOURCES

[Extracts from the writers mentioned below, and others, will be found in vol. iv. of Michaud's *Bibliothèque des Croisades* (1829), translated and arranged by M. Reinaud.]

IMĀD AD-DĪN al-Kātib al-Ispahāni was born at Ispahan in A.D. 1125, and studied at Baghdad. He obtained civil service appointments, but fell into disfavour and was imprisoned; after which he went to Damascus, where Nūr ad-Dīn was ruling. He became the friend of prince Saladin, and was soon appointed secretary of state under Nūr ad-Dīn, but after this potentate's death his position was precarious, and he set out to return to Baghdad. But hearing of Saladin's successes in Egypt he went back to Damascus and attached himself to his old friend. After Saladin's death (A.D. 1193) he withdrew into private life. He wrote a history of the Crusades with the affected title: *Historia Cossica* [Coss was a contemporary of Mohammad; *de expugnatione Codsica* [that is, Hierosolymitana], of which extracts were published by Schultens; he also wrote a *History of the Seljūks*. See Wüstenfeld, *Arabische Geschichtschreiber*, no. 284.

BAHĀ AD-DĪN (the name is often corrupted to Bohadin) was born in 1145 at Mōsil, and became professor there in 1174 in the college founded by Kamāl ad-Dīn. In 1188 he made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and on his way back visited Damascus, where Saladin sent for him and offered him a professorship at Cairo. This he declined, but he afterwards took service under Saladin and was appointed judge of the army and to a high official post at Jerusalem. After Saladin's death he was made judge of Aleppo, where he founded a college and mosque, and a school for teaching the traditions of the Prophet. He died in 1234. His biography of Saladin is one of the most important sources for the Third Crusade, and the most important source for the life of Saladin. [Edited with French translation in vol. iii. of the *Recueil des historiens des Croisades*, Hist. Or. (Here too will be found a notice of the author's life by Ibn Khallikān.) Translation (unscholarly) published by the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1897.]

Abū l-Hasan Alī IBN AL-ATHIR was born A.D. 1160. He studied at Mōsil and was there when Saladin besieged it in 1186. He was in Syria about 1189, so that he saw something of the Third Crusade. But he was a man of letters and took little part in public affairs. He wrote (1) a history of the Atābegs of Mōsil and (2) a universal history from the creation of the world to A.D. 1231. The part of this second work bearing on the Crusades, from A.D. 1098 to 1190, will be found in the *Recueil*, Hist. Or. vol. i. p. 189 *sqq.*; and on the author's life see *ib.* p. 752 *sqq.* The history of the Atābegs is published in the 2nd part of vol. ii.

KAMĀL AD-DĪN ibn al-Adīm, born c. A.D. 1192, belonged to the family of the cadhis of Aleppo. Having studied at Baghdad and visited Damascus, Jerusalem, &c., he became judge of Aleppo himself, and afterwards vizier. When the Tartars destroyed the place in A.D. 1260, he fled to Egypt. He wrote a *History of his native city*, and part of this is the *Récit de la première croisade et des quatorze années suivantes*, published in Defrémery, *Mémoires d'histoire orientale*, 1854. [*Recueil des hist. des Croisades*, Hist. Or. vol. iii. p. 577 *sqq.*]

Abū-l-Kāsim ABD AR-RAHMĀN (called Abū Shāma, "father of moles") was born in Damascus A.D. 1202 and assassinated A.D. 1266. He wrote *Liber duorum hororum de historia duorum regnorum*, a history of the reigns of Nūr ad-Dīn and Saladin, which is edited by Quatremère in vol. ii. of the *Recueil des hist. des Croisades*, Hist. Or.

JALĀL AD-DĪN (A.D. 1207-1298) was born at Hamāh in Syria and afterwards went to Egypt, where he was a witness of the invasion of Louis IX. He visited Italy (1260) as the ambassador of the Sultan Baybars to King Manfred. He was a teacher of Abū-l-Fidā, who lauds his wide knowledge. He wrote a history of the Ayyūbid lords of Egypt. The work which Reinaud used for Michaud's *Bibliothèque des Croisades* is either part of this history or a separate work.

ASU-L-FIDĀ, born at Damascus A.D. 1273, belonged to the family of the lords of Hamāh (a side branch of the Ayyūbids). He was present at the conquest of Tripolis in A.D. 1289 and at the siege of Acre (which fell A.D. 1291); and he joined in the military expeditions of his cousin Mahmūd II. of Hamāh. He took part also in the expeditions of the Egyptian Sultan, to whom he was always loyal. In A.D. 1310 he received himself the title of sultan, as lord of Hamāh. But in this new dignity, which he was reluctant to accept, he used to go every year to Cairo to present gifts to his liege lord. He died in A.D. 1332, having ruled Hamāh for eleven years. His great work, *Compendium historiae generis humani*, came down to A.D. 1329. (The first or pre-Mohammadan part has been edited with Lat. tr. by Fleischer in 1831; the second, or Life of Mohammad—ed. by Gagnier, 1728—was translated into French by M. des Vergers, 1837.) The post-Mohammadan part of this work was edited by Reiske in 5 vols. under the title *Annales Moslemici*, with Lat. transl. (1789-1794); Gibbon had access to extracts in the *Auctarium* to the *Vita Saladini* of Schultens (1782). A summary of Abū-l-Fidā's account of the Crusades will be found in vol. i. of the *Recueil*, Hist. Or. [F. Wilken, *Commentatio de bellorum cura ex Abulf. hist.*, 1798.]

A large number of extracts from Armenian writers, bearing on the Crusades, are published with French translation by Dulaurier in the *Recueil des historiens des Croisades*, Doc. Arm. tome i. Among these is the Chronological Table (A.D. 1076-1307) of HARRUM (p. 469 sqq.), who belonged to the family of the princes of Lampron, and became Count of Courcy (Gorigos). He became a monk of the Præmonstratensian order in 1305 and went to Cyprus. He visited Clement V. at Avignon, and Gibbon refers to the *History of the Tartars*, which he dictated, at the Pope's request, in French to Nicolas Falconi, who immediately translated it into Latin. This work of "Haythous" is extant in both forms. Among the other sources included in this collection of Dulaurier may be mentioned: a rhymed chronicle on the kings of Little Armenia, by Vahram of Edessa, of the 13th cent. (p. 493 sqq.); works of St. Narses of Lampron (born 1153); extracts from Cyriac (Guiragos) of Gantsac (born 1201-2), who wrote a history of Armenia²² from the time of Gregory Illuminator to 1289-70. There are also extracts from the chronicle of SAKUNK of Ani, which reached from the beginning of the world to 1177-8 (p. 447 sqq.), and from its continuation up to 1339-40: this chronicle was published in a Latin translation by Mai and Zohrab, 1818, which is reprinted in Migne's *Patr. Gr.* 19, p. 599 sqq. But the best known of these Armenian authors is MATTHEW of Edessa, whose chronicle covers a century and three quarters (A.D. 968-1136). We know nothing of the author's life, except that he flourished in the first quarter of the 12th century. His work is interesting as well as valuable; his style simple, without elegance and art; for he was a man without much culture and had probably read little. He depended much on oral information (derived from "old men"); but he has preserved a couple of original documents (one of them is a letter of the Emperor Tzimisceas to an Armenian king, c. 16). He is an ardent Armenian patriot;

²² This has been translated (along with a tenth century historian, Uchtaues of Edessa) by Brosset, 1870-1.

he hates the Greeks as well as the Turks, and he is, not without good cause, bitter against the Frank conquerors. [French translation by Dulaurier (along with the Continuation by the priest Gregory to A.D. 1164), 1858, in the *Bibliothèque hist. Arménienne*. Extracts in the *Recueil*, p. 1 sqq.]

COINS. W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins* [of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards, and] of the Empires of Thessalonica, Nicæa, and Trebizond, in the British Museum, 1911.

MODERN WORKS. Finlay, *History of Greece*, vols. ii.-iv.; Hopf, *Griechische Geschichte* (in Ersch und Gruber, *Enzyklopädie, sub Griechenland*); Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, 1897; Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, vol. 8. For military history: C. Oman, *History of the Art of War*, vol. 2, books iv. and v. For papal diplomacy from eleventh to fifteenth century: W. Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, 1903.

For the ecclesiastical schism in the eleventh century: L. Bréhier, *Le schisme orientale du xie siècle*, 1899; J. Dräseke, *Psellos und seine Anklageschrift gegen den Patriarchen Michael Kerularios*, in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 48, 194 sqq., 362 sqq. (1905).

For the Normans: G. de Blasiis, *La insurrezione pugliese e la conquista Normanna nel secolo xi.*, 1864; J. W. Barlow, *The Normans in Southern Italy*, 1886; O. Delarc, *Les Normands en Italie*, 1883; L. von Heinemann, *Geschichte der Normannen in Unter-Italien und Sizilien*, vol. i., 1893; F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la Normandie en Italie et en Sicile*, 2 vols., 1907. See also J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin*, 1904; E. Caspar, *Roger II. (1101-1154) und die Gründung der normannisch-sizilischen Monarchie*, 1904.

For the Crusades: F. Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge*, 7 vols., 1807-32; Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades* (in 6 vols.), 1825 (Eng. tr. in 3 vols., by W. Robson, 1852); H. von Sybel, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges*, 1881 (ed. 2); B. von Kugler, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 1880, and *Studien zur Gesch. des 2ten Kreuzzuges*, 1866; Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, 1898; *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges*, 1901; H. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 1883; Archer and Kingsford, *The Crusades*; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Muslims*, 1890; W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusades in the East*, 1907 (in this work the Crusades are treated as part of *eastern* history, and there are valuable corrections of the chronology); L. Bréhier, *L'Eglise et l'Orient au moyen âge: Les Croisades*, 1907. See also Chalandon's monograph on Alexius Comnenus, referred to above, vol. v. p. 242, n. 71. For Frederick Barbarossa: K. Zimmert, *Der Friede zu Adrianopel (Februar 1190) in Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 11, 303 sqq., 1902, and *Der deutsch-byzantinische Konflikt vom Juli 1189 bis Februar 1190*, *ib.* 12, 42 sqq., 1903. For the crusade of Louis IX.: Davis, *The Invasion of Egypt in 1249*, by Louis IX., 1898. For the Knights of St. John: I. Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre (1100-1310)*, 1904. For the institutions and organisation of the Kingdom: G. Dodu, *Hist. des institutions monarchiques dans le royaume latin de Jér.*, 1894.

For the Latin Empire of Romania: E. Gerland, *Geschichte des lateinischen Kaiserreiches von Konstantinopel*, 1ter Teil, 1905. For the Latin States founded in Greeklands after 1204: Sir Rennell Rodd, *The Princes of Achaia and the Chronicles of Morea, A Study of Greece in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols., 1907; W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant, A History of Frankish Greece (1204-1566)*, 1908. See also G. Caro, *Genua und die Mächte am Mittelmeer (1257-1311)*, 2 vols., 1895, 1899. For smaller monographs, see below, Appendix 18.

For the Empire of Nicæa: A. Méliarakès, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Βασιλείου τῆς Νικαίας καὶ τοῦ Δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἠπείρου (1204-1261)*, 1898; I. B. Pappadopoulos, Théodore II. Lascaris, Empereur de Nicée, 1908; A. Heisenberg, Kaiser Johannes Batatzes der Barmherzige, Eine mittelgriechische Legende, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 14, 160 sqq., 1905. The general history of the Greek Empire in the 13th and 14th centuries is reviewed in the first chapters of E. Pears, *The Destruction of the Greek Empire*, 1903.

2. SARACEN COINAGE—(P. 5)

The following account of the introduction of a separate coinage by the Omayyads is taken from Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole's *Coins and Medals*, p. 164 *sqq.*

"It took the Arabs half a century to discover the need of a separate coinage of their own. At first they were content to borrow their gold and copper currency from the Byzantine Empire, which they had driven out of Syria, and their silver coins from the Sassanian kings of Persia, whom they had overthrown at the battles of Kadisia and Nehavend. The Byzantine gold served them till the seventy-sixth year of the Flight, when a new, but theologically unsound and consequently evanescent, type was invented, bearing the effigy of the reigning Khalif instead of that of Heraclius, and Arabic instead of Greek inscriptions. So, too, the Sassanian silver pieces were left unaltered, save for the addition of a governor's name in Pahlvi letters. The Khalif 'Aly or one of his lieutenants seems to have attempted to inaugurate a purely Muslim coinage, exactly resembling that which was afterwards adopted; but only one example of this issue is known to exist, in the Paris collection, together with three other silver coins struck at Damascus and Merv between A.H. 60 and 70, of a precisely similar type. These four coins are clearly early and ephemeral attempts at the introduction of a distinctive Mohammadan coinage, and their recent discovery in no way upsets the received Muslim tradition that it was the Khalif 'Abd-El-Melik who, in the year of the Flight 76 (or, on the evidence of the coins themselves, 77), inaugurated the regular Muslim coinage which was thenceforward issued from all the mints of the empire, so long as the dynasty endured, and which gave its general character to the whole currency of the kingdoms of Islam. The copper coinage founded on the Byzantine passed through more and earlier phases than the gold and silver, but it always held [an] insignificant place in the Muslim currency. . . ."

The gold and silver coins of 'Abd-El-Melik "both bear the same formulae of faith: on the obverse, in the area, 'There is no god but God alone, He hath no partner'; around which is arranged a marginal inscription, 'Mohammad is the apostle of God, who sent him with the guidance and religion of truth, that he might make it triumph over all other religions in spite of the idolaters,' the gold stopping at 'other religions'. This inscription occurs on the reverse of the silver instead of the obverse, while the date inscription, which is found on the reverse of the gold, appears on the obverse of the silver. The reverse area declares that 'God is One, God is the Eternal: He begetteth not, nor is begotten'; here the gold ends, but the silver continues, 'and there is none like unto Him'. The margin of the gold runs, 'In the name of God: the Dīnār was struck in the year seven and seventy'; the silver substituting 'Dirhem' for 'Dīnār,' and inserting the place of issue immediately after the word Dirhem, *e.g.*, 'El-Andalus (*i.e.* Andalusia) in the year 116'. The mint is not given on the early gold coins, probably because they were usually struck at the Khalif's capital, Damascus.

"These original dīnārs (a name formed from the Roman denarius) and dirhems (drachma) of the Khalif of Damascus formed the model of all Muslim coinages for many centuries; and their respective weights—65 and 43 grains—served as the standard of all subsequent issues up to comparatively recent times. The finest was about .979 gold in the dīnār, and .960 to .970 silver in the dirhem. The Mohammadan coinage was generally very pure. . . . At first ten dirhems went to the dīnār, but the relation varied from age to age."

Thus the dīnār of the Omayyad Caliphs, weighing on the average 65.8 grains of almost pure gold, was worth about 11s. 6d. In later times there were double dīnārs, and under the Omayyads there were thirds of a dīnār, which weighed less than half a dirhem.

As to a coin which Gibbon supposes (p. 5, note 9) to be preserved in the Bodleian Library, Mr. S. Lane-Poole kindly informed me that no such coin exists there. "The Wāsi coins there preserved were acquired long after Gibbon's time and none has the date 88 A.H. There is a dirhem of that year in the British Museum weighing 44.6 grains. [S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Mohammadan Coins in the Bodleian Library*, 1888; *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol. i. no. 174 (1875).]"

3. THE THEMES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE—P. 65, 70 sqq.)

[Modern investigations : Rambaud, *L'empire grec au dixième siècle*, p. 175 sq.; Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, vol. ii., p. 339 sqq.; Diehl, *L'origine du régime des thèmes dans l'empire byzantin* (in *Études d'histoire du moyen âge dédiées à Gabriel Monod*, 1896); Schlumberger, *Sigillographie byzantine*, passim, 1884; Gelzer, *Die Genesis der byzantinischen Themenverfassung*, *Abhandlungen der kön. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Cl. xviii., 1899; Brooks, *Arabic Lists of the Byzantine Themes*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxi. p. 67 sqq., 1901; Kulakovski, *Крѣпості themakh vizantiiskoi imperii*, *Izbornik Kievskii*, 25, No. xi., 1904.]

In the eighth century we find the Empire divided into a number of themes, each of which is governed by a *stratēgos*. Not only the title of the governor, but the word theme (*θέμα*, a regiment) shows their military origin. These themes originated in the seventh century. In the latter part of that century we find an empire consisting of a number of large military provinces, not yet called themes but probably known as *στρατηγία*. We have no official list of them; but from literary notices we can reconstruct an approximate list of the provinces c. 700 A.D. :—

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1. The Armeniacs. | 6. The Helladica. |
| 2. The Anatolics. | 7. Italy. |
| 3. The Opsikion. | 8. Sicily. |
| 4. The Marines. | 9. Africa. |
| 5. Thrace. | |

We have to consider first how this system originated, and secondly how it developed into the system of themes which we find two centuries later. The origin and development up to the end of the eighth century have been worked out most fully by Gelzer in the admirable work named above.

The identification of the *stratēgoi* of the seventh century with the *magistri militum* of the sixth century gives the clue to the origin of the thematic system. (This was pointed out in Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, ii. 346-8.) The *stratēgos* of the Armeniacs is the *magister militum* of Armenia, instituted by Justinian; the *stratēgos* of the Anatolics is the *magister militum per Orientem*; the "count" of the Opsikians corresponds to the *mag. mil. praesentalis*; the *stratēgos* of Thrace is the *mag. mil. per Thraciam*; the *stratēgos* of the Helladica is probably the representative of the *mag. mil. per Illyricum*. The *magistri militum* of Africa and Italy remain under the title of *exarchs*. The maritime provinces arose probably, as Diehl attractively suggests, from the province of Caria, Cyprus, Rhodes, the Cyclades and Scythia, instituted by Justinian, and placed by him under a *quaesitor Justinianus*.

Thus, what happened was this. In the seventh century the old system of dioceses and provinces was swept away. Its place was taken by the already existing division of the Empire into military provinces—the spheres of the *magistri militum*; and a new Greek nomenclature was introduced. The cause of the change was the extreme peril of the Empire from the Saracens. The needs of defence suggested a military organization; when the frontier was reduced and every province was exposed to the attacks of the enemy, there was a natural tendency to unite civil and military power. In the west, the *exarch* of Africa and the *exarch* of Italy are the *magistri militum* who have got into their hands the power of the Praetorian prefects of Africa and Italy respectively; and in the same way in the east, the *stratēgoi* of Thrace, the Anatolics, the Armeniacs and the Opsikians, have each a parcel of the prerogatives of the Praetorian Prefect of the East.

During the eighth and ninth centuries the provinces came to be generally called themes, and the list was modified in several ways. (1) It was reduced by loss of territory; thus Africa was lost. (2) Some of the large provinces were broken up into a number of smaller. (3) Some small frontier districts, which were called

¹ Diehl, *L'origine des Thèmes*, p. 9; Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, ii. p. 345.

² Diehl, *ib.* p. 15. Diehl has developed this explanation more fully.

clisurarchies (κλεισούρα, a mountain pass), and had been dependent on one of the larger districts, were raised to the dignity of independent themes. For example, the Marine theme ultimately became three: the Cibyrrhaeot,³ the theme of Samos, and the Aegean Sea.

We can trace in the chronicles some changes of this kind which were carried out between the seventh and the tenth centuries. But it is not till the middle of the ninth century that we get any official list to give us a general view of the divisions of the Empire. The treatise on the themes by the Emperor Constantine (see above, p. 70 sqq.), composed about A.D. 984, is generally taken as the basis of investigation, and, when historians feel themselves called upon to give a list of the Byzantine themes, they always quote his. In my opinion this is a mistake. We possess better lists than Constantine's, of a somewhat earlier date. Emperor though Constantine was, his list is not official; it is a concoction, in which actual facts are blended with unmethodical antiquarian research. His treatise is valuable indeed; but it should be criticised in the light of the *official* lists which we possess.

(1) The earliest list is the *Taktikon*, published by Uspenski in the *Izvestiia russkago arkheol. Instituta v. Konstantinopolia*, iii., 109 sqq., 1898. It was drawn up in the reign of Michael III. and Theodora (A.D. 842-856), probably soon after A.D. 842. It was unknown to Gelzer, but has been utilised by Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century*, 1910, and by the same writer in his *History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, Chapter VII., 1912.

Belonging to the same period we have a list of themes, preserved in Arabic writers (Ibn Khurdadhbah, etc.), utilised by Gelzer and examined more fully by Brooks (article cited above).

From these data, combined with various incidental notices in Byzantine writers, we are able to conclude that at the very beginning of the ninth century there were *five* large Asiatic Themes: Anatolic, Armeniac, Opsikian, Thracesian, and Bucellarian; that in A.D. 842 there were *seven*, Paphlagonia and Chaldia having been added (while Cappadocia, Charsianon, and Coloneia formed minor provinces); that in A.D. 868 there were *nine*, Cappadocia and Coloneia having been elevated to the rank of strategiai (while Charsianon and Seleucia were clisurarchies). At the last date, there were two naval Themes, Cibyrrhaeot and the Aegean; and nine European Themes, Thrace, Macedonia, Hellas, Peloponnesus [created before A.D. 813, probably by Nicephorus I.], Thessalonica, Dyrrhachium, Cephalonia, Sicily, and the Klimata (Cherson); while Calabria was under a *dux*, and Dalmatia and Cyprus under archons. See Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, Chap. VII., § 2.

(2) The next list is one included in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheus (see above, p. 541): Const. Porph. De Cer., Bk. ii. c. 52, p. 713-14 and 727-8. The strategoi of the themes are enumerated with other officials in their order of precedence. The list of Philotheus represents the system of the early years of Leo VI.

(3) A table of the salaries of the governors of themes and clisurae, in the reign of Leo VI., included in c. 60 of the Second Book of the De Cerimoniis. But its editor lived in the reign of Romanus I. For he speaks of the governors of Sebastea, Lycandos, Seleucia, Leontoomis, as having been *at that time*, that is in Leo's reign, clisurarchs (ἐς ἃν τότε κλεισουργῆς). In other words, a list was used in which these four districts appeared as clisurarchies. Subsequently they were made themes (strategiai) and the editor brought them up to date.

(4) The *Treatise on the Themes*. We must criticise Constantine for including Sicily and Cyprus, which did not belong to the Empire, and at the same time omitting Dalmatia, where there was the semblance of a province. Constantine raises the Optimaton to the dignity of a theme, but apologizes for doing so; it is only a quasi-theme. In this he was justified; for, though the Optimaton was not governed by a strategos but by a domesticus, and was not in a line with the other themes, it was a geographical province. But the most serious matter that calls for

³ The Cibyrrhaeot Theme was not promoted to thematic dignity till the latter part of the eighth century. This is proved by the seal of "Theophilus, Imperial spathar and curmarch of the Cibyrrhaeots," see Schlumberger, *Sigillographie byzantine*, p. 261.

criticism is Constantine's inconsistency in stating definitely that *Charnianon* and *Cappadocia* are themes, and yet not enumerating them in his list. He discusses them under the heading of the *Armeniac* theme, but they should have headings of their own. This unaccountable procedure has led to the supposition that these two themes were temporarily merged in the *Armeniac*, out of which they had originally been evolved.

(5) A number of notices in the treatise de Administrations supply material for reconstructing a list of the themes c. A.D. 950-2.

(6) To these sources must be added, the seals of the various military and civil officers of the themes. M. Gustave Schlumberger's important work, *Sigillographie byzantine* (1884), illustrates the lists.

Sardinia passed away from the empire in the 9th century, but it seems to have never formed a regular theme. We have however traces of its East-Roman governors in the 9th cent. A seal of Theodotus, who was "hypatos and dux of Sardinia," has been preserved; and also seals of archons of Cagliari, with the curious style *APXONTI MEPEIAZ KAAPEOZ*.

4. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENNETOS ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE EMPIRE—(P. 66-96)

The treatise of Constantine Porphyrogenetos on the Administration of the Roman Empire is one of the most interesting books of the Middle Ages, and one of the most precious for the early mediæval history of south-eastern Europe. The author wrote it as a handbook for the guidance of his son Romanus. Internal evidence allows us to infer the exact date of its composition: A.D. 948-952. See Bury, *The Treatise De administrando imperio*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 15, 517 *sqq.*, where the work is analysed, the dates of a number of the chapters determined, and the sources investigated.

In his preface¹ Constantine promises his son instruction on four subjects. He will explain (1) which of the neighbouring nations may be a source of danger to the Empire, and what nations may be played off against those formidable neighbours; (2) how the unreasonable demands of neighbouring peoples may be eluded. (3) He will give a geographical and ethnographical description of the various nations and an account of their relations with the Empire; and (4) enumerate recent changes and innovations in the condition and administration of the Empire. This programme is followed. A summary of the contents of the book will probably interest readers of Gibbon, and it may be divided under these four heads.

I. (Chaps. 1-12)

Chap. 1. Concerning the Patzinaks, and the importance of being at peace with them.

- c. 2. The relations of the Patzinaks with the Russians (*Ῥῆς*).
- c. 3. The relations of the Patzinaks with the Hungarians (*Τούρκοι*).
- c. 4. Conclusion, drawn from c. 3 and c. 4, that, if the Empire is on good terms with the Patzinaks, it need not fear Russian or Hungarian invasions, since the Russians and Hungarians cannot leave their countries exposed to the depredations of the Patzinaks.
- c. 5. Relations of the Patzinaks with the Bulgarians.
- c. 6. Relations of the Patzinaks with the Chersonites.
- c. 7. The sending of Imperial ambassadors to the Patzinaks via Cherson.
- c. 8. The route of Imperial ambassadors to the Patzinaks via the Danube and the Dnieper.
- c. 9. The route of Russians coming by water from Russia to Constantinople. An account of the Dnieper waterfalls (cp. below, Appendix 15).
- c. 10. Concerning Chazaria. War can be made on the Chazars with the help of their neighbours the Uzes, or of the Alans.
- c. 11. Concerning the forts of Cherson and Bosphorus, and how the Alans can attack the Chazars.

¹ P. 66, ed. Bonn.

- c. 12. **Black Bulgaria** (i.e. Bulgaria on the Volga) can also attack the Chazars. [Thus there are three checks on the Chazars: the Uzes, the Alans, and the Eastern Bulgarians.]
- c. 13a. The nations which march on the Hungarians.

II. (c. 13)²

- c. 13b. Showing how unreasonable requests on the part of barbarian nations are to be met. Three such requests, which an Emperor must never grant, are dealt with: (1) for Imperial robes and crowns (of the kind called *καμελαύκια*); (2) for Greek fire; (3) for a bride of the Imperial family. The authority of Constantine the Great is in all cases to be quoted as a reason for refusal. For the exceptions to (3) see above, p. 91.

III. (c. 14-46)

- c. 14. The genealogy of Mohammad.
- c. 15. The race of the Fātimids.
- c. 16. The date of the Hijra (*ἡζοδος* of the Saracens).
- c. 17. An extract from the Chronicle of Theophanes on the death of Mohammad and his doctrine.
- c. 18. Abū Bekr.
- c. 19. Omar (at Jerusalem).
- c. 20. Othmān.
- c. 21, c. 22. Extracts from the Chronicle of Theophanes on the caliphates of Muāwīa and some of his successors.
- c. 23, c. 24. Iberia and Spain. (Quotations from old geographers.)
- c. 25a. Extract from Theophanes on Aetius and Boniface (in the reign of Valentinian III.).
- c. 25b. On the divisions of the Caliphate.³
- c. 26. The genealogy of King Hugo of Burgundy (whose daughter married Romannus II.). [A.D. 949-50.]
- c. 27. The theme of Lombardy, its principates, and governments. (An account of Italy, containing strange mistakes and curious transliterations.) [A.D. 948-9.]
- c. 28. The founding of Venice.
- c. 29. Dalmatia and the adjacent peoples. Gives an account of the Croats and Serbs; enumerates the coast cities of Dalmatia, names the islands off the coast, &c., &c.
- c. 30. Account of the themes of Dalmatia. Historical and geographical information about the Croatian and Servian settlements. [A.D. 951-2.]
- | | | |
|--|---|---------------|
| <p>c. 31. More about the Croats (<i>Χρῶαδοι</i>).</p> <p>c. 32. More about the Serbs (<i>Σέρβοι</i>).</p> <p>c. 33. The Zachlums.</p> <p>c. 34. The Terbuniates and Kanalites.</p> <p>c. 35. The people of Dioleas.</p> <p>c. 36. The Paganoi or Arentans.</p> | } | [A.D. 948-9.] |
|--|---|---------------|
- c. 37. The Patzinaks, their country, history, and social organization. [A.D. 952 or 951.]
- c. 38. The Hungarians, their migrations.
- c. 39. The Kabars (a tribe of the Khazars).
- c. 40. The tribes of the Kabars and Hungarians. More about the Hungarians and their later history.
- c. 41. Moravia and its prince Sphendoplok.

² The first two paragraphs of c. 13, with the title of the chapter (p. 81, ed. B.), really belong to part i., and should be separated from the rest of c. 13 (which ought to be entitled *περὶ τῶν ἀκαίρων αἰτήσεων τῶν ἑθνῶν*).

³ P. 113, l. 6 to end; this piece ought to be a separate chapter.

- c. 42. Geography of the regions from Thessalonica to the Danube and Belgrade; of Hungary and the Patzinak land, as far as Sarkel (fort on the Don) and Russia; of Cherson and Bosphorus. Also of Zichia, Papagia, Kazachia, Alania, Abasgia up to Soteriupolis [the lands between Chazaria and the Caucasus].
- c. 43. The land of Taron, and its relations with Leo VI. and Romanus I.
- c. 44. About Armenia and the principality of Manzikert.
- c. 45. About the Iberians, and the history of their recent relations with the Empire. [A.D. 951-2.]
- c. 46. About the genealogy of the Iberians and the fort of Adrunutzion.
- c. 47. About Cyprus and how it was repopulated.
- c. 48a. Canon of the sixth General Council about Cyprus.

IV. (c. 48-53)

- c. 48b. Transition to part iv.
- c. 48c. A note about the invention of Greek Fire.
- c. 49. How the Slavs of the Peloponnese were made subject to the church of Patrae.
- c. 50a. The Slavs of the Peloponnese; the Melingi and the Ezerites, and their tribute. Likewise concerning the Mainotes and their tribute.
- c. 50b. Information concerning (1) changes in some of the themes, (2) the catapans or governors of the Mardaites, (3) the succession of Imperial chamberlains.
- c. 51. Concerning the galleys (*δρομώνια*), first introduced by Leo VI. for Imperial excursions, instead of the old barges (*ἀγρόρια*); concerning their crews; concerning the protospathars of the Phiale (a part of the Palace) to whom the superintendence of this Imperial yacht service was entrusted; and concerning some remarkable naval officers who distinguished themselves in the reigns of Leo VI., Romanus I., and Constantine VII.
- c. 52. The tribute of horses imposed on the Peloponnesus in the reign of Romanus.
- c. 53. A history of Cherson, beginning with the time of Diocletian. Contains the story of Gycia.⁴

5. THE BYZANTINE NAVY—(P. 95 *sqq.*)

The history of the Byzantine sea-power has still to be written. The chief sources (up to the tenth century) are Leo's *Tactics*, c. 19 (*περὶ ναυμαχίας*); the official returns of two expeditions to Crete in the tenth century, included in "Constantine's" *de Cerimoniis*, ii. c. 44 and 45; and (on naval commands under Basil I. and Leo VI.) Constantine, *De Adm. Imp.* c. 51. The chief modern studies that treat the subject are: Gfrörer, *Das byzantinische Seewesen* (c. 22 in his *Byzantinische Geschichten*, Bd. ii. p. 401 *sqq.*); C. de la Roncière, *Charmagne et la civilisation maritime au ix^e siècle* (in *Moyen Age*, 2^e sér. t. i. p. 201 *sqq.*, 1897); C. Neumann, *Die byzantinische Marine; Ihre Verfassung und ihr Verfall* (in *Hist. Zeitschrift*, B. 45, p. 1 *sqq.*, 1898); Bury, *The Naval Policy of the Roman Empire*, in the *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, vol. ii., 21 *sqq.* (Palermo), 1910. Add G. Schlumberger, *Nicéphore Phocas*, p. 52-66.

In the 6th century, after the fall of the Vandal kingdom, the Empire had no sea-foes to fear, and there was therefore no reason to maintain a powerful navy. The Mediterranean, though all its coasts were not part of the Empire, was practically once more an Imperial lake. This circumstance is a sufficient defence against the indictment which Gfrörer¹ brought against Justinian for neglecting the navy.

⁴See Finlay, ii. 354 *sqq.*, and R. Garnett, *The Story of Gycia in the Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xii. p. 100 *sqq.* (1897), where it is made probable that this episode belongs not to the Byzantine, but to an earlier period of the history of Cherson, probably to 36-16 A.D.

¹*Op. cit.* p. 402-4.

The scene changed in the second half of the seventh century, when the Saracens took to the sea. The Emperors had to defend their coasts and islands against a hostile maritime power. Consequently a new naval organization was planned and carried out; and we must impute the merit of this achievement to the successors of Heraclius. We have indeed no notices, in any of our authorities, of the creation of the Imperial navies, but it is clear that the new system had been established before the days of Anastasius III. and Leo III. Under Theophilus and Michael III. the naval organization was remodelled and improved; the settlement of the Saracens in Crete, and their incursions in the Aegean, were facts which urgently forced the Emperors to look to their ships. From this time till the latter part of the eleventh century, the fleets of the Empire were the strongest in the Mediterranean.

There were two fleets, the Imperial and the Provincial (Thematic).² The several contingents of the provincial fleet supplied by the themes of the Cibyrrhaeots, the Aegean, and Samos,³ were always ready for action, like the thematic armies. A standing Imperial fleet existed in the 9th century under the Amorion Emperors and was commanded by the Imperial Admiral (*δρουγγάριος τῶν πλοίων*).⁴ This admiral, the great Drungarios, was strictly commander of the Imperial fleet, but on occasions when the Imperial and Provincial fleets acted together he would naturally be the commander in chief. The admirals of the divisions of the Provincial fleet had the title of drungarios, when they were first instituted.⁵ But they were afterwards promoted to the title of *stratēgos*.

The Imperial fleet in the tenth century was larger than the Provincial. Thus in the Cretan expedition of A.D. 902—for which Gibbon gives the total figures (p. 98)—the contingents of the fleets were as follows:—

Imperial Fleet		{ 60 dromonds.
		{ 40 pamphylians.
Provincial Fleet	Cibyrrh. Theme	{ 15 dromonds.
		{ 16 pamphylians.
	Samos	{ 10 dromonds.
	"	{ 12 pamphylians.
	Aegean	{ 10 dromonds.
		{ 7 pamphylians.
Total		{ 35 dromonds.
		{ 35 pamphylians.

(Helladic Theme, 10 dromonds.)

But, though the provincial squadrons formed a smaller armament, they had the advantage of being always prepared for war.

The causes of the decay of the Byzantine navy in the eleventh century have been studied by O. Neumann, in the essay cited above. He shows that the anti-military policy of the emperors in the third quarter of that century affected the navy as well as the army (op. above, vol. 5, p. 222, n. 67). But the main cause was the Seljuk conquest. It completely disorganized the themes which furnished the contingents of the Provincial fleet. In the 12th century the Emperors depended on the navy of Venice, which they paid by commercial privileges.

The dromonds or biremes were of different sizes and builds. Thus the largest size might be manned by a crew of 300 to 290. Those of a medium size might hold, like the old Greek triremes, about 200 men. There were still smaller ones, which, besides a hundred oarsmen who propelled them, contained only a few

² A system seems to have been established whereby, in case Constantinople itself were threatened, a squadron of vessels could be got together for its defence without much delay. This was managed by an arrangement with the shipowners of the capital; but as to the nature of this arrangement (it seems to have been a sort of "indenture" system) we have only some obscure hints. Theophanes, *sub.* A.M. 6302, p. 487, ed. de Boor.

³ Hellas also supplied naval contingents sometimes (as in the Cretan expedition, A.D. 902), but was not one of the fleet themes proper.

⁴ Cp. Cedrenus, ii. p. 219, p. 227; Gfrörer, *op. cit.* p. 433.

⁵ Cp. Leo, *Tactics*, 19, § 23, 24.

officers, steersmen, &c. (perhaps twenty in all). Then there was a special kind of biremes, distinguished by build, not by size, called Pamphylians, and probably remarkable for their swiftness. The Emperor Leo in his *Tactics* directs that the admiral's ship should be very large and swift and of Pamphylian build.⁶ The pamphylians in the Cretan expedition of A.D. 902 were of two sizes: the larger manned by 160 men, the smaller by 130. The importance of these Pamphylian vessels ought, I think, to be taken in connexion with the importance of the Cibyrrhaeot theme (see above, App. 3), which received its name from Pamphylian Cibra. We may suspect that Cibra was a centre of shipbuilding.

Besides the biremes, ships with single banks of oars were used, especially for scouting purposes. They were called galleys.⁷ The name *dromond* or "runner" was a general name for a warship and could be applied to the galleys⁸ as well as to the biremes; but in common use it was probably restricted to biremes, and even to those biremes which were not of Pamphylian build.

Gibbon describes the *ξυλόκαστρον*, an erection which was built above the middle deck of the largest warships, to protect the soldiers who cast stones and darts against the enemy. There was another wooden erection at the prow, which was also manned by soldiers, but it served the special purpose of protecting the fire-tube which was placed at the prow.

The combustible substances on which the Byzantines relied so much, and apparently with good reason, in their naval warfare, were of various kinds and were used in various ways; and the confusion of them under the common name of Greek or marine fire (of which the chief ingredient was naphtha) has led to some misapprehensions. The simplest fire weapon was probably the "hand-tube" (*χρυσίφων*),⁹ a tube full of combustibles, which was flung by the hand like a "squib" and exploded on board the enemy's vessel. The marines who cast these weapons were the "grenadiers" of the Middle Ages.¹⁰ "Artificial fire"—probably in a liquid state—was also kept in pots (*χύτραι*), which may have been cast upon the hostile ships by engines. Such pots are represented in pictures of warships in an old Arabic Ms. preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and reproduced by M. Schlumberger in his work on Nicephorus Phocas.¹¹ But there was another method of hurling "artificial fire". Combustibles which exploded when they reached the enemy's ships were propelled through tubes, which were managed by a gunner (siphonator).

6. THE PAULICIAN HERESY—(C. LIV.)

In Gibbon's day the material for the origin, early history, and tenets of the Paulicians consisted of Bk. i. of the work of Photius on the Manichaeans, and the *History of the Manichaeans* by Petros Sikeliotēs. The work of Photius was edited by J. C. Wolf in his *Anecdota Graeca*, i., ii. (1722);¹ but Gibbon did not consult it (above, chap. liv. note 1). There was further the account of the Bogomils in the *Panoplia* of Euthymius Zigabenus, a monk who lived under Alexius Comnenus and is celebrated in the *Alexiad* of Anna. A Latin translation was published by P. F. Zinos in 1555; the Greek text edited by a Greek monk (Metrophanēs) in 1710. It may be read in Migne, P. G., vol. 130. The section on the Bogomils was edited separately by Gieseler in 1841-2.

⁶ 19, § 37, τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον πᾶμφυλον. Gfrörer attempted to prove that the pamphylians were manned by chosen crews, and derived their name from πᾶμφυλος ("belonging to nations"), not from the country. But the passage in the *Tactics* does not support this view. The admiral's ship is to be manned by ἐξ ἀπαντος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπιλέκτους; but this proves nothing for other pamphylians. But the large number of pamphylians in both the Imperial and Provincial fleet (cp. the numbers in the Cretan expedition, given above) disproves Gfrörer's hypothesis.

⁷ *Tactics*, 19, § 10, γαλαῖας ἢ μονήρεις.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Tactics*, 19, § 57.

¹⁰ Some Arab grenades (first explained by de Sauley) still exist. Cp. illustration in Schlumberger, *Nicéphore Phocas*, p. 59.

¹¹ P. 66, 57.

¹ Reprinted in Migne, P. G., vol. 102.

The documents which have come to light since are closely connected with the accounts of Photius and Peter; they bring few new facts or fictions, but they bring material for criticizing the facts and fictions already known. (1) In 1849 Gieseler published a tract¹ of a certain Abbot Peter, containing an account of the Paulicians similar to that of Photius and Peter Sikeliotēs (with whom Gieseler identified the author). (2) The publication of the chronicle of George Monachus by Murlat in 1859 showed that this chronicle had incorporated a similar account in his work.

We have then four documents, which presume one original account whereon all depend, directly or indirectly, if indeed one of them is not itself the original source. The problem of determining their relations to one another and the common original is complicated by (1) the nature of Photius, Bk. i., and (2) the variations in the Mss. of George Monachus.

The "First Book" of Photius falls into two parts: I. chaps. 1-15, which contains (a) a history of the Paulicians, chaps. 1-10; and (b) an account of earlier Manichaean movements, chaps. 11-14; II. chaps. 15-27, a history of the Paulicians, going over the same ground, but differently, and adding a brief notice of the revolt of Chrysocheir. Part I. (a) corresponds closely to the accounts of Abbot Peter, Peter Sik.,² and George Mon.; and its Photian authorship seems assured by the testimony of Euthymius Zigabenus. Part II. was a distinct composition originally, and was tacked on to the Photian work. Thus "Photius" resolves itself into two documents, one Photian, the other Pseudo-Photian.

The credit of having made this clear belongs to Karapet Ter-Mkrtschian, who published in 1893 a treatise entitled "*Die Paulikianer im byzantinischen Kaiserreiche und verwandte ketzerische Erscheinungen in Armenien*". This investigation, although it is ill arranged and leads to no satisfactory conclusion, has yet been of great use in opening up the whole question, as well as by publishing out-of-the-way evidence on various obscure Armenian sects. While Gieseler held that the treatise of the "Abbot Peter" was simply an extract from the work of Peter Sikeliotēs, Ter-Mkrtschian tries to prove that the Abbot Peter is the oldest of our existing sources—the source of George Monachus, and Photius (Bk. 1 (a)). [The Armenian scholar further propounded (p. 122 sqq.) the impossible theory that Peter Sikeliotēs wrote in the time of Alexius Comnenus—when the Paulician and Bogomil question was engaging the attention of the court and the public. It is impossible, because the date of the Vatican Ms. of the treatise of Peter is earlier. As to the Pseudo-Photian account, Ter-Mkrtschian holds that its author utilised the work of Euthymius Zigabenus (p. 8-9).]

After Ter-Mkrtschian came J. Friedrich (*Der ursprüngliche bei Georgios Monachos nur theilweise erhaltene Bericht über die Paulikianer*, published in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy, 1896, p. 67 sqq.). Friedrich denied that the Abbot Peter's tract was the source used by George Monachus; and he published (p. 70-81), as the original source of all the extant accounts, the passage of George Monachus as it appears in the Madrid Ms. of the chronicle. In this Ms. the passage is more than twice as long than in other Mss., the additional matter consisting chiefly of directions to Christians how they were to refute a Paulician heretic when they met one. According to Friedrich, the work of the Abbot Peter is an extract from this treatise, preserved in the Madrid Ms.; and the accounts in the other Mss. of George Monachus are likewise extracts.

But the view of Friedrich has been upset conclusively by C. de Boor, the only scholar who is thoroughly master of the facts about the Mss. of George Monachus. In a short paper in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vii. p. 40 sqq. (1898), de Boor has shown that the additional matter in the Madrid Ms. comes from an interpolator. George seems to have made a second version of his chronicle, and in revising it he consulted his sources, or some of them, again. This seems to be the only hypothesis on which the peculiarities of one Ms., Coislin. 305, can be explained. In the case of the Paulician passage, de Boor points out that in the first form of his work (represented by Coislin. 305) he used an original source;

¹ Title: Πάτριον ἀλαχίστου μοναχοῦ Ἡγουμένου περὶ Παυλικιανῶν τῶν καὶ Μανιχαίων.

² Peter Sik. reverses the order of (a) and (b).

from which he again drew at more length on a second revision (represented by the other Mss.). It is therefore the second revision which we must compare with the work of the Abbot Peter in order to determine whether the Abbot Peter is the original source. De Boor does not decide this; but calls attention to two passages which might seem to show that the Abbot used the second revision of George the Monk, and one passage which rather points to the independence of the Abbot. On the whole, the second alternative seems more probable.

The present state of the question may be summed up as follows: The (1) original sketch of the Paulician heresy, its origin and history—whereon all our extant accounts ultimately depend—is lost. This original work was used by (2) George the Monk (in the 9th century) for his chronicle; (a) in Coislin. 305 we have a shorter extract, (b) in the other Mss. (and Muralt's text) we have a fuller extract. (3) The tract of the Abbot Peter was either taken from the second edition of George the Monk, or was independently extracted from the original work; but it was not the original work itself. (4) It is not quite certain whether the treatise of Photius was derived from the derivative work of the Abbot Peter (so Ter-Mkrtschian; and this is also the opinion of Ehrhard, in Krumbacher's *Byz. Litt.* p. 76; but Friedrich argues against this view, *op. cit.* p. 85-6); perhaps it is more likely that Photius also used the original work. (5) The position of Peter Sikeliotēs is quite uncertain (see below). (6) The interpolation in the Madrid Ms. of George the Monk (see above) was added not later than the 10th century, in which period the Ms. was written. Then come (7) Euthymios Zigabenus in the *Panoplia*, c. 1100 A.D., and (8) Pseudo-Photius.

The unsolved problem touching Peter Sikeliotēs would have no historical importance, except for his statements about his own mission to Tephrioe, and the intention of the Paulicians of the east to send missionaries to Bulgaria, and the dedication of his work to an Archbishop of Bulgaria. He says that he himself was sent to Tephrioe by Michael III. for the ransom of captives. But the title of the treatise is curious: Πέτρου Σικελιώτου ἱστορία . . . προσωποποιηθεῖσα ἐν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Βουλγαρίας. The word *προσωποποιηθεῖσα* suggests that the historical setting of the treatise is fictitious. In denying the historical value of this evidence as to the propagation of Paulicianism in Bulgaria at such an early date, Ter-Mkrtschian (p. 13 *sqq.*) and Friedrich (p. 101-2) are agreed. According to the life of St. Clement of Bulgaria (ed. Miklosich, p. 34) the heresy did not enter the country till after Clement's death in A.D. 916 (Friedrich, *ib.*).

Ter-Mkrtschian endeavours to prove that the Paulicians were simply Marcionites. Friedrich argues against this view, on the ground of some statements in the text which he published from the Madrid Ms., where the creator of the visible world is identified with the devil. But these statements may have been interpolated in the tenth century from a Bogomil source.

On the Armenian Paulicians and cognate sects, see Döllinger's *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters*; Ter-Mkrtschian's work, already cited; and Conybeare's *Key of Truth* (see below). The basis of Döllinger's study was the treatise "Against the Paulicians" of the Armenian Patriarch John Ozmiensis (published in his works, 1834, ed. Archer). Cp. Conybeare, *op. cit. infra*, App. iv. Ter-Mkrtschian has rendered new evidence accessible.

In his *History of the Bulgarians*,⁴ Jireček gives the result of the investigation of Rački and other Slavonic scholars into the original doctrines of the Bogomils. (1) They rejected the Old Testament, the Fathers, and ecclesiastical tradition. They accepted the New Testament, and laid weight on a number of old apocryphal works. (2) They held two principles, equal in age and power: one good (a triune being = God); the other bad (= Satan), who created the visible world, caused the Fall, governed the world during the period of the Old Testament. (3) The body of Christ the Redeemer was only an apparent, not a real body (for everything corporeal is the work of Satan); Mary was an angel. The sacraments are corporeal, and therefore Satanic, symbols. (4) They rejected the use of

⁴ *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, p. 176 *sqq.*

crucifixes and icons, and regarded churches as the abodes of evil spirits. (5) Only adults were received into their church; the ceremony consisted of fasting and prayer—not baptism, for water is created by Satan. (6) They had no hierarchy; but an executive, consisting of a senior or bishop, and two grades of Apostles. (7) Besides the ordinary Christians there was a special order of the Perfect or the Good, who renounced all earthly possessions, marriage, and the use of animal food. These chosen few dressed in black, lived like hermits, and were not allowed to speak to an unbeliever except for the purpose of converting him. (8) No Bogomil was allowed to drink wine. (9) The Bulgarian Bogomils prayed four times every day and four times every night; the Greek seven times every day, five times every night. They prayed whenever they crossed a bridge or entered a village. They had no holy days. (10) They had a death-bed ceremony (called in the west *la convenensa*). Whoever died without the advantage of this ceremony went to hell, the ultimate abode of all unbelievers. They did not believe in a purgatory.

We cannot, however, feel certain that this is a fair presentation of the Bogomil doctrines. It is unfortunate that none of their books of ritual, &c., are known to exist.

As early as the tenth century a schism arose in the Bogomil church. A view was promulgated that Satan was not coeval with God, but only a later creation, a fallen angel. This view prevailed in the Bulgarian church, but the Dragovići clung to the old dualism. The modified doctrine was adopted for the most part by the Bogomils of the west (Albigenses, &c.) except at Toulouse and Albano on Lake Garda (Jireček, *op. cit.* p. 213).

The kinship of the Bogomil doctrines to the Paulician is obvious. But it has not been proved that they are historically derived from the Paulician; though there are historical reasons for supposing Paulician influence.

Since the above was written, F. C. Conybeare published (1898) the Armenian text and an English translation of the book of the Paulicians of Thonrak in Armenia. This book is entitled the Key of Truth and seems to have been drawn up by the beginning of the ninth century. This liturgy considerably modifies our views touching the nature of Paulicianism, which appears to have had nothing to do with Marcionism, but to have been a revival of the old doctrine of Adoptionism according to which Jesus was a man and nothing more until in his thirtieth year he was baptized by John and the Spirit of God came down and entered into him; then and thereby he became the Son of God. Of this Adoptionist view we have two ancient monuments, the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Acts of Archelaus*. The doctrine survived in Spain until the 8th and 9th centuries; and this fact suggests the conjecture that it also lingered on in southern France, so that the heresy of the Cathars and Albigenses would not have been a mere imported Bogomilism, but an ancient local survival. Conybeare thinks that it lived on from early times in the Balkan peninsula, "where it was probably the basis of Bogomilism".

There can be no doubt that Conybeare's discovery brings us nearer to the true nature of Paulicianism. In this book the Paulicians speak for themselves, and free themselves from the charges of Manichaeism and dualism which have been always brought against them. Conybeare thinks that *Paulician*, the Armenian form of *Paulian*, is derived from Paul of Samosata, whose followers were known to the Greeks of the 4th century as Pauliani. Gregory Magistros⁵ (who in the 11th century was commissioned by the Emperor Constantine IX. to drive the Paulicians or Thonraki out of Imperial Armenia) states that the Paulicians "got their poison from Paul of Samosata," the last great representative of the Adoptionist doctrine. Conybeare suggests that, the aim of the Imperial government having been to drive the Adoptionist Church outside the Empire, the Paulians "took refuge in Mesopotamia and later in the Mohammedan dominions generally, where they were tolerated and where their own type of belief, as we see from the *Acts of Archelaus*,

⁵ Conybeare publishes a translation of Letters of Gregory which bear on Paulicianism, in Appendix iii.

had never ceased to be accounted orthodox. They were thus lost sight of almost for centuries by the Greek theologians of Constantinople and other great centres. When at last they again made themselves felt as the extreme left wing of the iconoclasts—the great party of revolt against the revived Greek paganism of the eighth century—it was the orthodox or Grecised Armenians that, as it were, introduced them afresh to the notice of the Greeks" (Introduction, p. cvi.).

7. THE SLAVS IN THE PELOPONNESUS—(P. 73)

All unprejudiced investigators now admit the cogency of the evidence which shows that by the middle of the eighth century there was a very large Slavonic element in the population of the Peloponnesus.¹ The Slavonic settlements began in the latter half of the sixth century, and in the middle of the eighth century the depopulation caused by the great plague invited the intrusion of large masses. The general complexion of the peninsula was so Slavonic that it was called *Slavonia*. The only question to be determined is, how were these strangers distributed, and what parts of the Peloponnesus were Slavized? For answering these questions, the names of places are our chief evidence. Here, as in the Slavonic districts which became part of Germany, the Slavs ultimately gave up their own language and exerted hardly any sensible influence on the language which they adopted; but they introduced new local names which survived. It was just the reverse, as has been well remarked by Philippson, in the case of the Albanese settlers, who in the fourteenth century brought a new ethnical element into the Peloponnesus. The Albanians preserved their own language, but the old local names were not altered.

Now we find Slavonic names scattered about in all parts of the Peloponnesus; but they are comparatively few on the Eastern side, in Argolis and Eastern Laconia. They are numerous in Arcadia and Achaia, in Elis, Messenia and Western Laconia. But the existence of Slavonic settlements does not prove that the old Hellenic inhabitants were abolished in these districts. In fact we can only say that a large part of Elis, the slopes of Taygetus, and a district in the south of Laconia, were exclusively given over to the Slavs. Between Megalopolis and Sparta there was an important town, which has completely disappeared, called Veligosti; and this region was probably a centre of Slavonic settlers.

See the impartial investigation of A. Philippson, *Zur Ethnographie des Peloponnes*, in *Petermann's Mittheilungen*, vol. 36, p. 1 *sqq.* and 33 *sqq.*, 1890.

The conversion and Hellenization of the Slavs went on together from the ninth century, and, with the exception of the settlements in Taygetus and the Arcadian mountains, were completed by the twelfth century. At the time of the conquest of the Peloponnesus by Villehardouin, four ethnical elements are distinguished by Philippson: (1) Remains of the old Hellenes, mixed with Slavs, in Maina and Tzakonia (Kynuria), (2) Byzantine Greeks (i.e., Byzantinized Hellenes and settlers from other parts of the Empire) in the towns. (3) Greek-speaking Slavo-Greeks (sprung from unions of Slavs and Greeks). (4) Almost pure Slavs in Arcadia and Taygetus. The 2nd and 3rd classes tend to coalesce and ultimately become indistinguishable (except in physiognomy).

The old Greek element lived on purest perhaps in the district of north-eastern Laconia. The inhabitants came to be called Tzakones and the district Tzakonia; and they developed a remarkable dialect of their own. They were long supposed to be Slavs. See A. Thumb, *Die ethnographische Stellung der Zakonen* (*Indogerman. Forschungen*, iv. 195 *sqq.*, 1894).

Fallmerayer, in harmony with his Slavonic theory, proposed to derive the name *Morea* from the Slavonic *more*, sea. This etymology defied the linguists.

¹ The thesis of Fallmerayer, who denied that there were any descendants of the ancient Hellenes in Greece, was refuted by Hopf (and Hertzberg and others); but Hopf's arguments are not convincing. Fallmerayer's brilliant book stimulated the investigation of the subject (*Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea im Mittelalter*, 2 vols. 1830-6).

laws of Slavonic word-formation. Other unacceptable derivations have been suggested, but we have at last got back to the old mulberry, but in a new sense. *ἡ Μορέας* is formed from *μορέα*, "mulberry tree," with the meaning "plantation or region of mulberry trees" (= *μορεών*). We find the name first applied to Elis, whence it spread to the whole Peloponnesus; and it is a memorial of the extensive cultivation of mulberries for the manufacture of silk. This explanation is due to the learned and scientific Greek philologist, G. N. Hatzidakēs (Byz. Zeitsch., 2, p. 283 sqq. and 5, p. 341 sqq.).

8. EARLY HISTORY OF THE BULGARIANS—(P. 136 sqq.)

Bulgaria and Russia are Slavonic countries, Bulgarian and Russian are Slavonic languages; but it is an important historical fact that the true Bulgarians and the true Russians, who created these Slavonic states, were not Slavs themselves and did not speak Slavonic tongues. The Russian invader was a Teuton (Scandinavian); he belonged, at all events, to the same Indo-European family as the Slavs whom he conquered. But the Bulgarian invader was a Tartar, of wholly different ethnic affinities from the people whom he subdued. It both cases the conqueror was assimilated, gradually forgot his own tongue, and learned the language of his subjects; in both cases he gave the name of his own race to the state which he founded. And both cases point to the same truth touching the Slavs: their strong power of assimilation, and their lack of the political instinct and force which are necessary for creating and organizing a political union. Both Bulgaria and Russia were made by strangers.

(1) We first met Bulgarians in the fifth century, after the break-up of the Empire of Attila. We then saw them settled somewhere north of the Danube—it is best to say roughly between the Danube and the Dnieper—and sometimes appearing south of the Danube. (2) We saw them next, a century later, as subjects of the Avar empire. We saw also (above, vol. 4, App. 15) that they were closely connected with the Utigurs and Kotrigurs. (3) The next important event in the history of the Bulgarians is the break-up of the Avar empire. In this break-up they themselves assisted. In the reign of Heraclius, the Bulgarian king Kur't revolts against the chagan of the Avars and makes an alliance with Heraclius, towards the close of that emperor's reign (c. 635-6).¹ At this time the Bulgarians (Onogundurs) and their fellows the Utigurs seem to have been united under a common king; Kur't is designated as lord of the Utigurs. (4) Soon afterwards under Kur't's second successor Esperikh, the Bulgarians crossed the Danube and made a settlement on the right bank near the mouth, at Oglos, marked by earth fortifications at S. Nikolitsel (near the ancient Noviodunum). This town was probably that which is mentioned in later times under the name of Little Preslav. The date of this movement to the south of the Danube appears from a native document (the Regnal List, see next Appendix) to be A.D. 659-60 (not as was usually supposed from a confused notice in Theophanes, c. A.D. 679).

The Bulgarians on the Danube had kinsfolk far to the east, who in the tenth century lived between the Volga and the Kama. They are generally known as the Bulgarians of the Volga, also as the Outer Bulgarians; their country was distinguished as Black Bulgaria² from White Bulgaria on the Danube. The city of these Bulgarians was destroyed by Timour, but their name is still preserved in the village of Bolgary in the province of Kasan. Towards the end of the ninth century the Mohammedan religion began to take root among the Bulgarians of the Volga, and the conversion was completed in the year A.D. 922. We have a good account of their country and their customs from the Arabic traveller Ibn Fozlan.³

¹ Nicephorus, p. 24, ed. de Boor. Nicephorus calls him Kuvrat "lord of the Onogundurs"; he is clearly the same as Kuvrat (or Κοβράτες) lord of the "Huns and Bulgarians" mentioned below, p. 36; the Krovat of Theophanes and the Kur't of the old Bulgarian list (see next Appendix).

² Constantine Porphy., De Adm. Imp. c. 12, ἡ μαύρη Βουλγαρία. Cp. Βελοχρονία (white Croatia), Μαυροβλαχία, &c.

³ See C. M. Frahn, Aeltere Nachrichten über die Wolga-Bulgharen, in Memoirs of the Academy of St. Petersburg (series vi.), t. p. 550 (1832). Cp. Roeder, Romanische Studien, p. 242 sqq.

The Outer Bulgarians are to be distinguished from the Inner Bulgarians, who are identical with the Utigurs, in the neighbourhood of the Lake of Azov.

Roesler, Hunfalvy and others have sustained that the Bulgarians were not of Turkish, but of Finnish race. But they have not proved their case.⁴

For the customs of the Danubian Bulgarians which point to their Tartar origin, see the Responses of Pope Nicholas (in the ninth century) to the matters on which they consulted him.⁵

[For the Inner and Outer Bulgarians, cp. F. Westberg, Beiträge zur Klärung orientalischer Quellen über Osteuropa, i. and ii., in Izviestija imp. Akad. Nauk. xi. 4. Nov. and Dec. 1899; and K analizu vostocnikov istochnikov o vostocnoi Evrope. 2 parts, in Zhurnal min. nar. prosvieschenia (N.S.) xiii. and xiv., 1908.]

9. LIST OF ANCIENT BULGARIAN PRINCES—(P. 139)

A curious fragment of an old list of Bulgarian princes from the earliest times up to A.D. 765, was edited by A. Popov in 1866 (Obzor Chronographov ruselki redaktsii, i. 25, 866). It is reproduced by Jireček (Geschichte der Bulgaren, p. 12'). The list is drawn up in the language of the Slavs of Bulgaria, but contains no Slavonic words, belonging to the tongue of the Bulgarian conquerors. Various attempts were made to explain the Bulgarian words (by Hilferding, Kunik, Radix, Kuun), but none of them was satisfactory. A Greek inscription discovered some years ago at Chatalar, near the ancient Preslav, in Bulgaria, supplied a clue. The inscription records the foundation of Preslav by Omurtag, and dates it to the 15th indiction of the Greeks and the year σιγοραλεμ of the Bulgarians. The only 15th indiction in Omurtag's reign was A.D. 821-2. Now σιγοραλεμ is identical with *šegor alem* in our document. With this clue, the Bulgarian numerals in the List can be interpreted, and the List (which has evidently suffered considerable corruption) can be largely revised and reconstructed, as I have shown in my article: The Chronological Cycle of the Bulgarians, in Byzantinische Zeitschrift, xix. 127 sqq., 1910. I believe I have demonstrated that the Bulgarians reckoned by a chronological cycle of 60 lunar years, of which the era was the year of the crossing of the Danube by Esperikh (A.D. 659-60, see last Appendix). *Šegor alem* is, for instance, year 58 of this cycle (*alem* = 50, *šegor* = 8). The other numerals are: 1 *vereni*, 2 *dvanj*, 3 *tokh*, 4 *somor*, 5 *dilom*, 6 *dokhs*, 9 *tek* (?), 10 *ekhtem*, 20 *al'tom*, 30 *tvirem*, 40 *vechem*, 60 *tutom*.

The translation of the document according to my revised text is as follows:—

[A.D. 159-450.] "Avitochol lived 300 years; he belonged to the race of Dulo; and his year was *dilom tvirem*.

[A.D. 450-554.] "Irnik lived 100 years and 8; he belonged to the race of Dulo; and his year was *dilom tvirem*.

[A.D. 554-567.] "Gostun ruled as viceroy [for 13 years; he belonged to the race of ; and his year was *tokh al'tem*.

[A.D. 567-579.] "(Anon.) ruled as viceroy] for 12 years; he was of the race of Ermi; and his year was *dokhs tvirem*.

[A.D. 579-637.] "Kur't reigned for 60 years; he was of the race of Dulo; but his year was *šegor vĕtem*.

[A.D. 637-640.] "Bezmĕr 3 years; he was of the race of Dulo; and his year was *šegor vĕtem*.

"These 5 princes (k'nez) held the principality on the other side of the Danube for 515 years, with shorn heads.

[A.D. 659.] "And then Esperikh, prince, came to (this) side of the Danube, where they are till this day.

[A.D. 640-660.] "Esperikh, prince 21 years; he was of the race of Dulo; his year was *vereni alem*. [Ἀσπαρῶχ.]

[A.D. 660-687.] "(Anon.) reigned for 28 years; he was of the race of Dulo; and his year was *dvanš echtem*.

⁴ For the Turkish side see Vámbéry, A magyarok eredete, cap. iv. p. 48 sqq.

⁵ They will be found in any collection of Acta Conciliorum, e.g. in Mansi, vol. xv. p. 401 sqq.

- [A.D. 687-696.] "[(*Διον.*) reigned for 9 years; he was of the race of Dulo; and his year was] *ivirem*.
 [A.D. 696-719.] "Tervel 24 years; he was of the race of Dulo; his year was *tek vechem*. [*Τερβέλης.*]
 [A.D. 719-729.] "[(*Διον.*) 10 years; he was of the race of Dulo; his year was *tokh ekhtem*.]
 [A.D. 729-744.] "Sevar 15 years; he was of the race of Dulo; his year was *tokh al'tom*.
 [A.D. 744-760.] "Kormisoš 17 years; he was of the race of Vokil; his year was *legor ivirem*. [*Κορμίσωσ.*]
 "This prince changed the race of Dulo—that is to say Vich-tun (?).
 [A.D. 760-763.] "Telets 8 years; he was of the race of Ugain; and his year was *somor alem*. He too was of another race. [*Τελέττης.*]
 [A.D. 763-770.] "Vinech 7 years; he was of the race of Ukil; his year was *legor alem*.
 [A.D. 770?] "Umor 40 days; he was of the race of Ugil; his [year] was *dilom tulom*." [*Ούμαρος.*]

It is to be observed that Vinech is obviously identical with Sabinos (son-in-law of Kormisoš) whose elevation and deposition are recorded by Theophanes and Nicephorus. Baian (Paganos) was raised to the throne in his place. Nicephorus relates that Umar was set up by Sabinos as a rival of Baian, who is not recognised at all by the compiler of the Regnal List.

[My results are described and developed by V. N. Zlatarski, *Imali si sŭ Blgaritie svoe lietobroenie, in Spisanie na Blgarskata akademiia na naukite*, I. 1, 1911.]

10. OLD BULGARIAN INSCRIPTIONS—(P. 140)

Stone records of Bulgarian khans of the ninth century, with Greek inscriptions, have been found in various parts of Bulgaria, and throw light upon obscure corners of Bulgarian history. Some of these memorials were found at Pliska, which is now known to be the name of the early Bulgarian capital. Pliska lay to the north-east of Shumla, close to the modern village of Aboba. The fortified town and the palatial residence within it were excavated some twelve years ago under the direction of Th. Uspenski and K. Shkorpil. The archaeological results have been published as the xth volume of the *Izvestiia* of the Russian Archaeological Institute at Constantinople, and in this publication most (not all) of the Greek Bulgarian inscriptions are collected. An account of Pliska will be found in Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, chap. viii. § 1.

The most important inscriptions are records of Omurtag and his successor Malamir. One of them, mentioned above in Appendix 9, records the foundation of Preslav, the town which was to supersede Pliska, by Omurtag. Another, on a pillar of red marble preserved in a church at Trnovo, states that the same khan built a new house on the Danube, and a tomb halfway between this house and the old palace (at Pliska). The new house was probably at Kadykei, near Tutrakan (the ancient Transmarisea), an important point on the Danube, and the tomb has been identified with a mound at Mumdzhilar. The text of the inscription is given in a defective form by Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, p. 148; it has been revised by Uspenski in his paper *O drevnostiakh goroda Trnova* in the *Izvestiia* of the Russian Archaeological Institute at Constantinople, vii. 1. *sqq.*, 1902.

Another valuable inscription is one found at Suleiman-Keui, which records, as I have shown, the terms of the Thirty Years' Treaty which Omurtag concluded with the Emperor Leo V. in A.D. 815-6. The text will be found in *Izvestiia*, x. 220 *sq.*, and (with English translation) in Bury, *The Bulgarian Treaty of A.D. 814*, in *English Historical Review*, April, 1910.

11. THE NORTHERN LIMITS OF THE FIRST BULGARIAN KINGDOM —(P. 139)

There is evidence to show that the kingdom over which Esperikh and Orum ruled was not confined to the Lower Moesia, the country between the Danube and

the Balkan range. There is no doubt that Bulgaria included Walachia and Bessarabia, and it is probable that it extended to the Dnieper, which was in the 8th and 9th centuries the western limit of the loose empire of the Khazars, until about the middle of the 9th century the Patzinaks pressed forward to the Dnieper, while the Hungarians occupied the lands farther west towards the Danube and curtailed the Bulgarian dominion. We have certain evidence for the extension of Bulgaria as far as the Dnieper in an inscription of the Khan Omurtag (cp. Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, 866).

The extension of Bulgaria north of the Danube in the time of Crum is proved by a passage in the Anonymous writer of the ninth century, of whose work a fragment on the reign of Leo V. is preserved (p. 345 in the Bonn ed. of Leo Grammaticus). There we find "Bulgaria beyond the Danube" (*ἐκείθεν τοῦ ἱστροῦ ποταμοῦ*); Crum transported a multitude of prisoners thither. This is borne out by the Bavarian geographer of the ninth century, who mentions the country of the Bulgarians as one of the countries *north* of the Danube.¹

There is also reason to suppose that the Bulgarians exercised a loose supremacy in Transylvania. The chief evidence is the enumeration of a number of Dacian towns as belonging to the regions occupied by the Bulgarians, in the *Ravennate Geographer*; ² and the circumstance that the Bulgarians used to sell salt to the Moravians ³ (there being salt mines in Transylvania, and none in Bulgaria south of the Danube).

To an unbiassed inquirer the evidence certainly renders it probable that during the 8th century when the Avar monarchy was weak and soon about to yield to the arms of Charles the Great, the Bulgarians extended their power over the Slavs and Vlachs of Siebenbürgen. This was certainly what under the circumstances was likely to happen; and the scanty evidence seems to point to the conclusion that it did happen. There is no reason to suppose that a part of the Bulgarian people settled in Siebenbürgen; only that Siebenbürgen was more or less subject to the princes of Bulgaria during the ninth century until the Magyar invasion. Unfortunately, this question is mixed up with the burning Roumanian question; and the Hungarians firmly reject the idea of a Bulgarian period in Siebenbürgen. The first active promulgator of the view seems to have been Engel,⁴ and Hunfalvy devotes several pages to the task of demolishing the "*képzelt tízszáz Bolgárság*," as he calls it, "the imaginary Bulgaria on the Theiss".⁵ The Roumanians welcome the notion of a northern Bulgaria, because it would explain the existence of the Bulgarian rite in the Roumanian church, and deprive the Hungarians of an argument for *their* doctrine, that the Roumanians are late intruders in Transylvania and carried the Bulgarian rite with them from the country south of the Danube.

For the temporary dominion of the Bulgarians in the regions of the Drave and Save, including the towns of Sirmium and Singidunum (Belgrade), in the ninth century, see Bury, *op. cit.* 865.

12. THE CONVERSION OF THE SLAVS—(P. 140)

It is remarkable that Gibbon has given no account of the Apostles of the Slavs, the brothers Constantine and Methodius; whose work was far more important for the conversion of the Slavonic world to the Christian faith than that of Ulfilas for the conversion of the Germans. Little enough is known of the lives of these men, and their names were soon surrounded with discrepant traditions and legends in various countries—in Moravia and Bohemia, Pannonia and Bulgaria.

¹ Ad septentrionalem plagam Danubii. . . . Vulgarii, regio est immensa et populus multus habens civitates V. The others mentioned are Bohemia and Moravia; and the three countries are described as regions "que terminant in finibus nostris". See Schafarik, *Slavische Altertümer*, ed. Wuttke, ii. p. 673.

² Ed. Pinder and Parthey, p. 185.

³ *Annals of Fulda* in Pertz, *Mon.* i. 408. Cp. Xénopol, *Histoire des Roumains*, i. p. 134.

⁴ In his *Geschichte des alten Pannoniens und der Bulgarei* (1767).

⁵ *Magyarország Ethnographiája*, p. 167 *sqq.*

There seems no reason to doubt that they were born in Thessalonica, and the date of the birth of Constantine, the elder of the two, probably falls about A.D. 827. In Thessalonica they were in the midst of Slavonic districts and had opportunities of becoming acquainted with the Slavonic language in their youth. Constantine went to Constantinople and became a priest. His learning won him the title of Philosopher and the friendship of Photius;¹ but, when Photius started the doctrine of two souls in man, Constantine opposed him. It was probably soon after the elevation of Photius to the Patriarchate (Dec. A.D. 858) that Constantine, who had a gift for languages, went as a missionary to the Chazars (perhaps A.D. 860-1), who are said to have begged the Emperor to send them a teacher. While he was at Cherson, learning the Chazaric language, he "discovered" the remains of the martyr Pope Clement I., which he afterwards brought to Rome.² On his return from Chazaria he undertook a new mission. Christianity had already made some way among the Slavs of Moravia, through the missionary activity of the bishops of Passau. Thus Moravia seemed annexed to the Latin Church. But the Moravian king Rostislav quarrelled with his German and Bulgarian neighbours, and sought the political support of the Eastern Emperor. He sent ambassadors to Michael III., and asked, according to the legend, for a man who would be able to teach his flock the Christian faith in their own tongue. Constantine, by his knowledge of Slavonic and his missionary experience, was marked out as the suitable apostle; and he went to Moravia, taking with him his brother Methodius (A.D. 864). They worked among the Moravians for about three and a half years, having apparently obtained the reluctant recognition of the bishop of Passau. Pope Nicholas summoned the two brothers (A.D. 867) to Rome, but died before their arrival; and his successor Hadrian II. ordained Methodius a priest (A.D. 868). A premature death carried Constantine away at Rome (Feb. 14, A.D. 869); he assumed *Cyril* as a monastic name before his death. Methodius returned to Moravia. He was afterwards made bishop of Pannonia and died in 885.

The great achievement of Constantine or Cyril was the invention of a Slavonic alphabet. His immediate missionary work was in Moravia; but by framing an alphabet and translating the gospels into Slavonic he affected, as no other single man has ever done, every Slavonic people. He did what Ulfilas did for the Goths, what Mesrob did for the Armenians, but his work was destined to have incomparably greater ecumenical importance than that of either. The alphabet which he invented (doubtless before A.D. 863) is known as the *glagolitic*; and we have a good many early documents written in this character in various parts of the Slavonic world. But ultimately the use of it became confined to Istria and the Croatian coast; for it was superseded by another alphabet, clearer and more practical. This later alphabet is known as the *cyrillic*; and has been supposed—and is still supposed—by many to be the alphabet which Cyril invented. The cyrillic alphabet is undisguisedly Greek; the letters are Greek uncials (capitals) with a few additional signs. The glagolitic, on the other hand, has deliberately disguised its origin from Greek cursive letters. This disguise doubtless facilitated and was intended to facilitate its reception by the Slavs. It is probable that Constantine, in his literary work, had his eye on Bulgaria; for his translations, composed in Macedonian Slavonic, were unsuited for the Moravians, who spoke a different form of Slavonic (Slovak). Cp. Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, 397 *sqq.*

Directly neither Cyril nor Methodius had anything to do with the conversion of Bulgaria. But the conversion of Bulgaria took place in their days; the invention of the alphabet facilitated the conversion. The fact seems to be that, fearing that Boris, who had made an alliance with King Lewis the German in A.D. 862, would embrace Latin Christianity—a serious political danger for the Eastern Empire—Michael III. made a military demonstration in Bulgaria in the summer of A.D. 863, and induced Boris to consent to receive Christianity from Constantinople. In return

¹ Cp. the Preface of Anastasius to the Council of A.D. 869; *Mansi*, Conc. 16, 6.

² This is the subject of the *Translatio S. Clementis* (in *Acta Sanctorum*, March 9), probably composed under the direction of the contemporary Gauderic, bishop of Velletri. It is an important source, and new light has been thrown on it by a letter of Anastasius to Gauderic, published by J. Friedrich in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy, Heft 3, 1892.

for this submission, a small district in Thrace was conceded to Bulgaria. (See Bury, *op. cit.*, 383 sq.) Boris was baptised; the Emperor stood sponsor; and he too the name of Michael. He then introduced Christianity forcibly among his people, executing fifty-two persons who resisted. The date of the conversion is A.D. 865. But it was not long before Boris turned away from Constantinople and sought to connect the Bulgarian Church with Rome. He sent envoys (A.D. 866) to Pope Nicholas I., with 106 questions, and the answers of the Pope,² which are preserved, throw some interesting light on Bulgarian customs. If the successor of Nicholas had shown tact and discretion, Bulgaria might have been won for the Latin Church; but Hadrian II. tried the patience of Boris, and in A.D. 870 Bulgaria received an archbishop from Constantinople and ten bishoprics were founded. Boris sent his son Simeon to be educated at New Rome. It was not long before Slavonic books and the Slavonic liturgy were introduced into Bulgaria.

[Only a few works out of the enormous literature on the apostles of the Slavs need be mentioned. J. A. Ginzler, *Geschichte der Slawenapostel Cyrill und Method*, und der *Slawischen Liturgie* (1857). V. Jagić, article in the *Zapiski of the Imperial Acad. of St Petersburg*, vol. li. (1886). L. K. Goetz, *Gesch. der Slavenapostel Konstantinus und Methodius* (1897). F. Pastrnek, *Dějiny slovanských Apoštolii Cyrilla a Methoda* (Prague, 1902). F. Snopek, *Konstantinus—Cyrillus und Methodius, die Slavenapostel* (Kremsier, 1911). A. Brückner, *Thesen zur cyrillo—methodianischen Frage*, in *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, 28, 229 sqq., 1906. V. Jagić, *Zur Entstehungs-geschichte der kirchenslavischen Sprache*, 2 parts, in *Denkschriften der k. Akad. der Wissenschaften in Wien*, phil.-hist. Cl., 47, 1900. Cp. also the account in Bretholz's *Geschichte Mährens*.]

13. THE HUNGARIANS—(P. 143 sqq.)

The chief sources for the history of the Hungarians, before they took up their abode in Hungary, are (1) Leo, *Tactics*, c. 18, § 45 sqq.; and Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De Adm. Imp.*, c. 38, 39, 40; (2) the accounts of Ibn Rusta, who wrote A.D. 912-13 and other Arabic writers; (3) some notices in western chronicles of the ninth century; (4) traditions in the native chronicles of Hungary. It has been proved that the chronicle of the Anonymous Scribe of King Béla,¹ which used to be regarded as a trustworthy source for early Hungarian history, is a "Machwerk" of the 13th century;² but the author as well as Simon de Kéza (for his *Chronicon Hungaricum*) had some old sources, from which they derived some genuine traditions, which criticism can detect and may use with discretion. A collection of the texts of all the documents relating to early Hungarian history, with Hungarian translations, will be found in the volume published by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, entitled *A Magyar Honfoglalás Kútjöi*, 1900.

The main questions in dispute with regard to the Hungarians and their early antiquity are two: concerning their ethnical affinity, and concerning the course of their wanderings from the most primitive habitation, to which they can be traced, up to their appearance between the Dnieper and the Danube. It may be said, I think, that we have not sufficient data to justify dogmatism in regard to either of these questions.

As to their ethnical position, are the Hungarians Turkish or Finnic? Their language shows both elements; and the two rival theories appeal to it. Those who maintain that the Hungarians are Turkish explain the Finnic part of the vocabulary by a long sojourn in the neighbourhood of the Voguls and Ostjaks; while those who hold that they were brethren of the Voguls, Ostjaks, and Finns, explain the Turkish element by borrowings in the course of their subsequent wanderings. For the latter theory it must be said that the most elementary portion of the Hungarian vocabulary is undoubtedly related to the Vogul, Ostjak, and their kindred languages. This comes out clearly in the numerals, and in a large number of common words.³ If we set side by side lists of Hungarian words which are

² Included in Collections of *Acta Conciliorum*.

¹ Best ed. by C. Fejérpataky (1892).

² R. Roesler, *Römische Studien*, p. 147 sqq. On the Hungarian sources, see H. Marczali, *Ungarns Geschichtsquellen*, 1882.

³ As a specimen, for comparison of the Hungarian language with the Vogulic which

clearly Turkish or clearly Finnic, leaving out all the unconvincing etymologies which the rival theorists serve up, it is difficult to avoid concluding that the primitive element is the Finnic.⁴

It seems most probable that the Magyars at one time dwelled in Jugria, in the regions of the Irtysh, where they were neighbours of the Voguls. They migrated southward and in the beginning of the 9th century they had taken up their abode within the empire of the Chazars, and they amalgamated with themselves a Chazaric tribe called the Kabars (Const. Porph. c. 39), who became part of the Hungarian nation. These Kabars, according to Constantine, taught the Hungarians the tongue of the Chazars. Hence the upholders of the Finnic origin of the Turks can explain the Turkish element in Hungarian by a known cause, the coalition with the Kabars. But it is probable that, before the incorporation of the Kabars, the Hungarians had been seriously affected by the influence of Turkish neighbours.

According to the text of Constantine, the Hungarians abode only three years in "*Lebedia* near Chazaria". This land of *Lebedia* was probably between the Don and the Dnieper; and it has been supposed that the date of their sojourn there was between A.D. 830 and 840. For it is in the reign of Theophilus, c. 837-39, that they first appear upon the horizon of the Eastern Empire (cp. the Continuation of George Mon. [i.e. Simeon Magister, p. 818, ed. Bonn], where they are called *Ὀβρυποι*, *Ὀβροί*, and *Τούροι*). But "three years" in Constantine's text is certainly wrong. It may be an error for "thirty-three" or "thirty or some much higher figure"; in any case the sojourn in *Lebedia* was much longer than three years. Cp. Bury, History of the Eastern Roman Empire, 491. At some time in the ninth century, the Patzinaks drove the Hungarians westward, and they established themselves in *Atelkuzu* (probably meaning "between rivers"), as they called the land between the Dnieper and the Danube. The date of the migration has been recently assigned by Westberg to A.D. 825 or thereabouts (*K analizu vostochnik istochnik o vostochnoi Evropie*, in *Zhurnal min. nar. prosv.*, 49 sqq., March, 1908); but I believe it to have been later, c. A.D. 860 (see Bury, *op. cit.* 489 sq.).

The same enemies, who had driven the Hungarians out of *Lebedia*, drove them again out of *Atelkuzu*. The Patzinaks were themselves subdued by a combined attack of the Khazars and the Uzes; they crossed the Dnieper, dislodged the Hungarians, who were thus driven farther west; and this was the cause of their settlement in the modern Hungary. The event happened fifty-five years before Constantine wrote c. 87 of his *De Administratione*; i.e., probably in A.D. 896 or 897 (cp. Appendix 4). The notice in Regino's *Chronicle* under the year 889 anticipates subsequent events.⁵

is the most closely connected, I subjoin the names of the first seven numerals (the original numerical system seems to have been heptadic):—

- 1: H. *egy*, V. *ak*, *akve*.
- 2: H. *két*, *kettő*, V. *kit*, *kiti*.
- 3: H. *hárm*, V. *korm*.
- 4: H. *nég*, V. *neljä*.
- 5: H. *öt*, V. *át*.
- 6: H. *hat*, V. *kat*.
- 7: H. *hét*, V. *sat*.

(The Turkish words for these numbers are totally different.)

The word for 100 is the same in both languages: H. *száz*, V. *sata* (Finnish *sata*). But 10 is quite different: H. *tíz*, V. *lau* (and Finnish *kymmen* differs from both); 20 coincides: H. *húsz*, V. *kus*; and in the first part of the compound which signifies 8 (probably 10 - 2) the same element occurs: H. *nyolcz*, V. *n'ala-lu*; so for 80: H. *nyolcz-van*, V. *n'ol-sat* (100 - 20).

⁴ For the Finnic origin, P. Hunfalvy, *Magyarország Ethnographiája*, 1876, and *Die Ungern oder Magyarern*, 1881. For the Turkish, A. Vámbéry, *A Magyarok eredete*, 1882. For the "Ukrain" or Finnic or "Ugro-Finnic" languages, see Budenz in the 4th vol. of *Heizenberger's Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen* (Die Verzweigung der Uralischen Sprachen).

⁵ On the chronology see E. Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reichs* (ed. 2), iii. 438 sqq.—Count Géza Kuun in his *Relationum Hungarorum—Hist. Antiquissima*, vol. i. (1893), p. 136, tries to establish, instead of a three years' sojourn in *Lebedia* and a long (fifty years') sojourn in *Atelkuzu*, a long sojourn in *Lebedia* (up to A.D. 889) and a short (seven or eight years') sojourn in *Atelkuzu*.

It is to the Hungarians as they were when they lived in Atelkuzu, and not to the contemporary Hungarians who were already settled in their final home, that the description of Ibn Rusta (taken from some earlier writer) applies. He describes their land as between the Patzinaks and the Esægal tribe of the Bulgarians (clearly a tribe north of the Danube, in Walachia or Bessarabia). Ibn Rusta further mentions two rivers in the land of the Hungarians, one of them greater than the Oxus. Probably the Dnieper and the Bug are meant.⁶ He says that *Kende* is the title of their king, but there is another dignitary whom all obey in matters connected with attack or defence, and he is entitled *jila*. The *kende* clearly corresponds to the prince or *ἄρχων* of Constantine Porphyrogennetos (c. 40): Arpad, for example, was a *kende*. The *jila* is also mentioned by Constantine, as *γυλᾱς*; to whom, however, he ascribes the function of a judge.⁷ It seems that the title *kende* was adopted by the Hungarians from the Chazars; for the title of the Chazar viceroy was *kenderchagan*.

Ibn Rusta says that the Hungarians rule over the Slavs, whom they oppress with heavy burdens; that they worship fire; that they trade in the slaves whom they capture, with Greek merchants at Kerch.⁸

A word may be said about the name Magyar. It was doubtless the name of a single tribe before it became the name of the whole people; and the third of the 8 tribes enumerated by Constantine (c. 40 *ad init.*) was that of Magerê (τοῦ Μερύρη). In another place (c. 87) Constantine mentions the Μάγαροι as dwelling in the 9th century near the river Ural, where they were neighbours of the Patzinaks; but without any suggestion that they are identical with the Hungarians, whom he always calls *Turks*. I suspect that the Bashkirs are really meant. Hungarian scholars find other traces of the Magyar name between the Black Sea and the Caspian: thus there are two villages called Mājār in the neighbourhood of Derbend;⁹ and E. Szabo wished to detect the word in Muager (Μουαγέρη), whom Theophanes mentions as the brother of Gordas, king of the Huns near the Cimmerian Bosphorus. It has also been proposed to connect the name of a fortress, τὸ Μαρδάριον (mentioned by Theophylactus Simocatta, ii. 18, 7). It was on the confines of the Roman and Persian dominions, but its exact position is unknown.

14. ORIGIN OF RUSSIA—(P. 154 *sqq.*)

No competent critic now doubts that the Russians, who founded states at Novgorod and Kiev, subdued the Slavonic tribes and organized them into a political power,—who, in short, made Russia,—were of Scandinavian or Norse origin. It is therefore unnecessary to treat this matter any longer as a disputed question; it will be enough to state briefly the most important evidence. The evidence is indeed insuperable, except to insuperable prejudice.

(1) The early writers, who mention the Russians, attest their identity with the Scandinavians or Normans. The first notice is in the *Annales Bertiniani ad ann.* 889 (Pertz, *Mon. i.* 484), Rhos vocari dicebant . . . comperit eos gentis esse Sueonum. Liutprand (*Antapodosis*, v. 15) says that they were Normans (nos vero a positione loci nominamus Nordmannos). The chronicle of "Nestor" identifies them with the Varangians, or regards them as belonging to the Varangian stock; and for the Scandinavian origin of the Varangians see above, p. 155, note 58. The Continuation of George the Monk (Symeon Magister) states more generally and less accurately their German origin (= Theoph. Contin. p. 423, ed. B., ἐκ Φράγγων γένους)¹.

⁶ Cp. Kuun, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 184.

⁷ Constantine mentions a third dignitary, inferior to the *γυλᾱς*, and entitled *ἄρχων*.

⁸ The notice of Ibn Rusta will be found in some shape in all recent works on the early Hungarians, e.g. in Kuun's work cited above, vol. i. p. 165-6, and in the Hungarian collection mentioned in the first paragraph of this Appendix. Ibn Rusta used to be called Ibn Dasta.

⁹ Kuun, *op. cit.* p. 93.

¹ Yakûbi, writing before the end of the 9th cent., calls the heathen who attacked Seville in 844 *Rûs*.

(2) The Russians spoke Norse, not Slavonic. This is proved by the 9th chapter of Constantine's *de Administratione*, where the Russian and Slavonic languages are distinguished (*Ῥωσιστὶ* and *Σλαβωνιστὶ*), and the Russian names of the waterfalls are unmistakably Scandinavian. See below, Appendix 15.

(3) The names of the first Russian princes and the names of the signatories of the first Russian treaties are Norse. *Riurik* is the old Norse *Hraerikr*; *Oleg* is *Helgi*; *Olga*, *Helga*; *Igor* (*Ἰγγωρ*; *Inger* in Liutprand) is *Ingvarr*. The boyars who are named in the treaty of A.D. 912 (Nestor, c. 22) are *Kary* (Swedish, *Kari*), *Ingeld* (O. Norse, *Ingialdr*), *Farlof* (Swedish), *Vermud* (O. Norse, *Vermunde*), *Rulaf* (O. Norse, *Hrodleifr*), *Ruald* (O. Norse, *Hroaldr*), *Goud* (cp. *Runic Kudil*), *Karn* (Scandinavian), *Frelal* (O. N., *Fridleifr*), *Rouar* (O. N., *Hroarr*), *Trouan* (O. N., *Droandr*), *Lidouf* (O. N., *Liduf*?), *Fost* (Swedish). There remain two uncertain names, *Aktevou* and *Stemid*. Similarly the large proportion of the names in the treaty of 945 (c. 27) are Scandinavian.

(4) The Finnish name for Sweden is *Ruotsi*, the Estonian is *Rõts*; and we can hardly hesitate to identify this with the name of Russia; Old Slavonic *Rous*, Greek *Ῥῶς*.² The name (neither Finnish nor Slavonic) is derived by Thomsen from the Scandinavian *rods* (*rods-menn* = rowers, oarsmen); the difficulty is the dropping out of the dental in *Rous*, *Ῥῶς*.

Thus the current opinion which prevailed when the Russians first appeared on the stage of history; the evidence of their language; the evidence of their names; and the survival of the ancient meaning of the Russian name in Finnic, concur in establishing the Scandinavian origin of the Russians.

For a development of these arguments and other minor evidence see V. Thomsen's work, *The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia*, and the *Origin of the Russian State* (Ilohester Lectures), 1877; E. Kunik, *Die Berufung der Schwedischen Rodesen durch die Finnen und Slaven*, 1844; and see *Mémoires de the Imperial Academy of Russia*, vii. sér. 22, p. 279 *sqq.* and 409 *sqq.*; *Bestuzhev-Riumin*, *Russkaia Istoriia* (vol. i.), 1872; *Pogodin*, *O proisikhzhdenii Rusi*, 1825, *Drevniaia Russkaia Istoriia*, 1871, and other works. The two most eminent opposition advocates were: *Ilovaiski*, *Razyskaniia o nachalie Rusi*, 1876, and *Istoriia Rossii* (Part 1, Kiev period), 1876; and *Gedeonov*, *Issledovaniia o variashakom voprosie*, 1862, *Variagi i Rus*, 1876.

15. THE WATERFALLS OF THE DNIEPER—(P. 159)

In the 9th chapter of his *Treatise on the Administration of the Empire*, Constantine Porphyrogenetos gives a most interesting description of the route of Russian merchants from Novgorod (*Νεβογροδός*) to Constantinople, by way of Kiev and the Dnieper, and enumerates the rapids of this river, giving in each case both its Russian and its Slavonic name. This passage is of high importance, for it shows that the language which Constantine meant by Russian (*Ῥωσιστὶ*) was Scandinavian and not Slavonic. Vilhelm Thomsen of Copenhagen in his *Ilohester lectures on "Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia, and the Origin of the Russian State"* (1877) has supplied an excellent commentary.

1st waterfall is called *Esapē* (*Ἐσσευρή*) in both languages, with the meaning *sleepless* (*μη κοιμᾶσθαι*). It follows that the two names sounded nearly alike to Constantine. The Slavonic for "do not sleep" would be *ne spi* (and perhaps *Ἐσσευρή* is an error for *Νεσσευρή*); and Professor Thomsen says that the corresponding phrase in Old Norse would be *sofeigi* or *vofattu*. This is not quite satisfactory.

2nd waterfall is (a) in Russian, *Ulvorsi* (*Οὐλβορσι*), and (b) in Slavonic, *Ostrovni-prah* (*Ὀστροβουπράχ*), with the meaning, the islet of the fall; (a) = *holm-fors*; (b) = *ostrov' nii prag* (islet-fall).

3rd waterfall is called *Gelandri* (*Γελανδρί*), which in Slavonic means noise of the fall. Only one name is given, and it is said to be Slavonic. But it

² *Ῥῶς* is the exact equivalent of Nestor's *Rous*, which is a collective tribe name — "the Russians". *Ῥωσία*, Russia, was formed from *Ῥῶς*, and the Russian name *Rossia* was a later formation on Greek analogy.

obviously represents the Norse participle *gellandi*, "the echoing"; so that the Slavonic name (probably nearly the same as the modern name *svonets* with the same meaning) is omitted. Constantine's usual formula is ῥωσιστίμην . . . Σκλαβανιστί δέ; but in this place he changes it: τὸν λεγόμενον Γελανδρί, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται Σκλαβανιστί ἤχος φραγμοῦ. I would suggest that (βωιτς or σβιιτς or something of the kind fell out after Σκλαβανιστί.

4th waterfall is Aelfor (Ἀειφόρ, so in Paris Ms. 2009) in Russian, and Neasii (Νεασήη) in Slavonic,—so called, Constantine says, because pelicans make their nests in the stones. The old Slavonic for pelican closely resembles *Neasήη*, but the fall cannot have been called pelican; this must have been a misinterpretation. Thomsen very ingeniously suggests that the true name corresponded to the modern *Nenasyllets* and meant insatiable (a name appropriate to the nature of this rapid); while Aelfor (ei-forr) meant ever-forward, ever-precipitate.

5th waterfall is Varuforos (Βαρουφόρος) in Russian, Vulne prach (Βουλυνπρίχ) in Slavonic; "because it forms a great lake," or, if we read *δισση* for *λίμνην*, "because it forms a great vortex". Both words can be recognised at once as meaning "wave-fall".

6th waterfall is Leanti (Λέντι) in Russian, Verutze (Βερούτζη) in Slavonic, meaning "the seething of water" (βρόσμα νερού). Verutze is obviously from *v'risti*, to boil. Thomsen explains Leanti as the participle *hlaejandi*, laughing. In this case the meanings of the two names are not identical.

7th waterfall is Strukun (Στρούκουν, so in Paris Ms. 2009) in Russian, Napreze (Ναπρεζή) in Slavonic, meaning a small waterfall. Thomsen identifies Strukun with Norse *strok*, Swedish *struk*, a rapid current (especially where narrow—as in the case of this rapid); and suggests that the Slavonic name might be connected with *δρς*, quick. I suspect that (Na-) *πρεζή* represents a diminutive of *porog*, *prag* (waterfall).

16. THE ASSISES OF JERUSALEM—(P. 380)

It is agreed by most competent critics of the present century that Godfrey of Bouillon neither drew up the Assises of Jerusalem as they have come down to us nor put into writing any code of law whatever. This is the opinion of such special students of the Crusades as Wilken, Sybel, Stubbs, Kugler, and Prutz; and it has been very forcibly put by Gaston Dodu in his *Histoire des Institutions monarchiques dans le royaume Latin de Jérusalem 1099-1291* (1894). In the first place, we find no mention of such a code in contemporary sources; the earliest authorities who mention it are Ibelin and Philip of Novara in the 13th century. Then, supposing such a code had been compiled, it is hard to understand why it should have been placed in the Holy Sepulchre and why the presence of nine persons should have been necessary to consult it. For the purpose of a code is that it should be referred to without difficulty. Thirdly, the remark of William of Tyre as to the experience of Baldwin III. in judicial matters makes distinctly against the existence of a code. He says: *juris consuetudinarii quo regnum regebatur Orientale, plenam habens experientiam: ita ut in rebus dubiis etiam seniores regni principes eius consularent experientiam et consult. pectoris eruditionem mirarentur* (xvi. 2, cp. on Amalric i. xix. 2). The expression "the customary law by which the kingdom was governed" suggests that no code existed.

Fourthly, if the code existed, what became of it? Ibelin and Philip of Novara say that it was lost when Jerusalem was taken by Saladin in 1187. But the circumstances of that capture are inconsistent with the probability of such a loss. There were no military excesses and Saladin allowed the inhabitants a delay of forty days to sell or save their property before he entered the city (Ernouf, c. 18; cp. Dodu, p. 45). It is highly unlikely that the Christians would have failed to rescue a possession so valuable and portable as their Code. The Patriarch could not have overlooked it when he carried forth the treasures of the churches (as

bn al-Athir mentions). And, if it were unaccountably forgotten, we should have to suppose that Saladin caused it to be destroyed afterwards when it was found. And had he done so, it is highly unlikely that the act would not have been mentioned by some of the Frank chroniclers.

The conclusion is that the kings of Jerusalem in the twelfth century did not give decisions according to a code drawn up at the time of the foundation of the kingdom, but themselves helped to build up a structure of Customary Law, which in the following century was collected and compiled in the book of the Assises by John Ibelin, A.D. 1255.

This book of Ibelin has not come down to us in its original form. There were two redactions: (1) at Nicosia in Cyprus in 1368 under the direction of an assembly of Cypriot lords, and (2) in the same place in 1581, by a commission appointed by the Venetian government. Both these rehandlings introduced a number of corrections into the *Assises de la haute cour*.

The *Assises de la cour des bourgeois* stands on a different footing. This work seems to have existed perhaps from the end of the twelfth century. It was not supposed to have been destroyed in 1187; it was not, so far as we know, edited by Ibelin; nor was it revised at Nicosia in 1368. (Cp. Dodu, p. 54, 55.)

The study of the Assises of Jerusalem may now be supplemented by the Assises of Antioch, preserved in an Armenian version, which has been translated into French (published by the Mekhitarist Society, Venice, 1876).

How far is the policy of Godfrey of Bouillon represented in the Assises? In answer to this question, the observations of Stubbs may be quoted:—¹

"We trace his hand in the prescribing constant military service (not definite or merely for a certain period of each year), in the non-recognition of representation in inheritance, in the rules designed to prevent the accumulation of fiefs in a single hand, in the stringent regulations for the marriages of widows and heiresses. These features all belonged to an earlier age, to a time when every knight represented a knight's fee, and when no fee could be suffered to neglect its duty; when the maintenance of the conquered country was deemed more important than the inheritances of minors or the will of widows and heiresses. That these provisions were wise is proved by the fact that it was in these very points that the hazard of the Frank kingdom lay. . . . Other portions of the Assises are to be ascribed to the necessities of the state of things that followed the recovery of Palestine by the Saracens; such, for instance, as the decision how far deforcement by the Turks defeats seisin; and were of importance only in the event of a reconquest."

17. THE ACCIAJOLI—(P. 506)

If Gibbon had been more fully acquainted with the history of the family of the Acciajoli, he would have probably devoted some pages to the rise of their fortunes. They rose to such power and influence in Greece in the 14th century that the subjoined account, taken from Finlay (vol. iv. p. 157 sqq.)—with a few additions in square brackets—will not be out of place.

"Several members of the family of Acciajoli, which formed a distinguished commercial company at Florence in the thirteenth century, settled in the Peloponnesus about the middle of the fourteenth, under the protection of Robert, king of Naples. Nicholas Acciajoli was invested, in the year 1354, with the administration of the lands which the company had acquired in payment or in security of the loans it had made to the royal House of Anjou; and he acquired additional possessions in the principality of Achaia, both by purchase and grant, from Catherine of Valois, titular empress of Romania and regent of Achaia for her son prince Robert. [It is disputed whether he was her lover.] The encroachments of the mercantile spirit on the feudal system are displayed in the concessions obtained by Nicholas Acciajoli in the grants he received from Catherine of Valois. He was invested with the power of mortgaging, exchanging, and selling his fiefs,

¹ *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* (Rolls series), Introduction, p. xc., xci.

without any previous authorisation from his suzerain. Nicholas acted as principal minister of Catherine during a residence of three years in the Morea; and he made use of his position, like a prudent banker, to obtain considerable grants of territory. He returned to Italy in 1341 and never again visited Greece; but his estates in Achaia were administered by his relations and other members of the banking house at Florence, many of whom obtained considerable fiefs for themselves through his influence.

"Nicholas Acciajoli was appointed hereditary grand seneschal of the kingdom of Naples by queen Jeanne, whom he accompanied in her flight to Provence when she was driven from her kingdom by Louis of Hungary. On her return he received the rich country of Amalfi, as a reward for his fidelity, and subsequently Malta was added to his possessions. He was an able statesman and a keen political intriguer, and he was almost the first example of the superior position the purse of the moneyed citizen was destined to assume over the sword of the feudal baron and the learning of the politic churchman. Nicholas Acciajoli was the first of that banking aristocracy which has since held an important position in European history. He was the type of a class destined at times to decide the fate of kingdoms and at times to arrest the progress of armies. He certainly deserved to have his life written by a man of genius, but his superciliousness and assumption of princely state, even in his intercourse with the friends of his youth, disgusted Boccaccio, who alone of Florentine contemporaries could have left a vivid sketch of the career which raised him from the partner of a banking-house to the rank of a great feudal baron and to live in the companionship of kings. Boccaccio, offended by his insolence, seems not to have appreciated his true importance as the type of a coming age and a new state of society; and the indignant and satirical record he has left of the pride and presumption of the mercantile noble is by no means a correct portrait of the Neapolitan minister. Yet even Boccaccio records in his usual truthful manner that Nicholas had dispersed powerful armies, though he unjustly depreciates the merit of the success, because the victory was gained by combinations effected by gold, and not by the headlong charge of a line of lances. [Boccaccio dedicated his *Donne illustri* to Niccolo's sister Andrea, the countess of Monte Oderisio.]

"Nicholas Acciajoli obtained a grant of the barony and hereditary governorship of the fortress of Corinth in the year 1358. He was already in possession of the castles of Vulcano [at Ithome], Piadha near Epidaurus, and large estates in other parts of the Peloponnesus. He died in 1365;¹ and his sons Angelo and Robert succeeded in turn to the barony and government of Corinth. Angelo mortgaged Corinth to his relative [second cousin], Nerio Acciajoli, who already possessed fiefs in Achaia, and who took up his residence at Corinth on account of the political and military importance of the fortress as well as to enable him to administer the revenues of the barony in the most profitable manner.

"Nerio Acciajoli, though he held the governorship of Corinth only as the deputy of his relation, and the barony only in security of a debt, was nevertheless, from his ability, enterprising character, great wealth, and extensive connexions, one of the most influential barons of Achaia; and, from the disorderly state of the principality he was enabled to act as an independent prince."

"The Catalans were the constant rivals of the Franks of Achaia, and Nerio Acciajoli, as governor of Corinth, was the guardian of the principality against their hostile projects. The marriage of the young countess of Salona [whose father Count Lewis died 1382] involved the two parties in war. The mother of the bride was a Greek lady; she betrothed her daughter to Simeon [Stephen Ducas], son of the prince of Wallachian Thessaly; and the Catalans, with the two Laurias at their head, supported this arrangement. But the barons of Achaia, headed by Nerio Acciajoli, pretended that the Prince of Achaia as feudal suzerain of Athens was entitled to dispose of the hand of the countess. Nerio was determined to bestow

¹[There is great memorial of Niccolo at Florence, the Gothic Certosa San Lorenzo Gregorovius calls it "the first monument of historical relations between Florence and Greece"; for just as Pisa used her revenue from Constantinople to build her cathedral, Niccolo devoted moneys from Greece to build San Lorenzo. His tomb is to be seen in a subterranean chapel.]

the young countess, with all her immense possessions, on a relative of the Acciajoli family, named Peter Sarrasin.¹ The war concerning the countess of Salona and her heritage appears to have commenced about the year 1886 [1885]. The Catalans were defeated: and Nerio gained possession of Athens, Thebes, and Livadea."

"About the commencement of the year 1894 Ladislas, king of Naples conferred on him by patent the title of Duke of Athens—Athens forming, as the king pretended, part of the principality of Achaia."

Nerio died in 1894. His illegitimate son Antonio inherited Thebes and Livadia, and wrested to himself the government of Athens, which Nerio's will had placed under the protection of Venice on behalf of his daughter (the wife of Count Tocco of Cephalonia). Under Antonio "Athens enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity for forty years. The republic of Florence deemed it an object worthy of its especial attention to obtain a commercial treaty with the duchy, for the purpose of securing to the citizens of the republic all the privileges enjoyed by the Venetians, Catalans, and Genoese." The conclusion of this treaty is almost the only event recorded concerning the external relations of Athens during the long reign of Antonio. The Athenians appear to have lived happily under his government: and he himself seems to have spent his time in a joyous manner, inviting his Florentine relations to Greece, and entertaining them with festivals and hunting parties. Yet he was neither a spendthrift nor a tyrant; for Chalcocondylas, whose father lived at his court, records that, while he accumulated great wealth with prudent economy, he at the same time adorned the city of Athens with many new buildings. He died in 1435, and was succeeded by Nerio II., grandson of Donato, the brother of Nerio I.

[Buchon, *Nouvelles Recherches*, vols. i. and ii.: L. Tanfani, Niccolo Acciajoli, 1863; Hopf, *De Historiæ Ducatus Atheniensis Fontibus*; Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, vol. ii.]

18. THE ISLAND DYNASTIES AFTER THE LATIN CONQUEST—(P. 505)

The facts about the history of the Greek islands during the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries were enveloped in obscurity, and fictions and false hypotheses were current, until the industry of C. Hopf drew the material from the archives of Vienna and Venice. His publications rendered the work of Buchon and Finlay obsolete so far as the islands are concerned. He won the right of referring with contempt to Buchon's *schönrednerische Fabeleien* und Finlay's *geistreich-unkritischer Hypothesenwust*. The following list of the island-lordships is taken from his *Urkunden und Zusätze zur Geschichte der Insel Andros und ihrer Beherrscher in dem Zeitraume von 1207 to 1566*, published in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, 1856, vol. 31, p. 321 *seq.*

Corfu.	Venetian 1207-c. 1214; to Despotate of Epirus c. 1214-1259; King Manfred and Filippo Chinardo 1259-1267; Neapolitan 1267-1886; Venetian 1886-1797.
Cefalonia, Zante, Ithaca.	Despotate of Epirus 1205-1337; Greek Empire 1337-1357; the Tocchi 1357-1482.
Santa Maura.	Despotate of Epirus 1205-1331; Giorgi 1331-1362; the Tocchi 1362-1482.
Pazo.	With Cefalonia 1205-1357; St. Ippolyto 1357-1444; Ugoth (Gotti) 1484-1527. With Cerigotto 1527-1797.
Cerigo (Cythera).	The Venieri 1207-1269; the Monojanni 1267-1309; the Venieri 1309-1797.

¹[His own brother-in-law; for he was married to Agnes Saraceno.]

- Cerigotto.
- Salamis.
- Aegina.
- Delos, Gyaros, Cythnos, (Patmos).
- Tinos and Miconos.
- Andros.
- Syra.
- Zia (Ceos).¹
- Serfene (Seriphos).¹
- Thermia (Cythnos).
- Sifanto (Siphnos), Sikino, }
Polycandro (Pholegandros). }
- Milos and Cimolos.
- Santorin (Thera) and Therasia.
- Namfio (Anaphe).
- Nio (Anaea).
- Paros and Nausa.
- Antiparos.
- The Viari 1207-1655; the Foscari and Giustiniani 1655-1797.
- With Athens.
- With Carystos 1205-1817; Aragonese 1317-c. 1400; Cavopena c. 1400-1451; Venetian 1451-1537.
- With Naxos. [Sanudo allowed Patmos, the apostle's island, to preserve its independence.]
- The Ghisi 1207-1390; Venetian 1390-1718. (Held in fief by Venetian counts belonging to the houses of Bembo, Quirini, and Fabieri 1407-1429.)
- The Dandoli 1207-1233; the Ghisi 1233-c. 1250; the Sanudi c. 1250-1384; the Zeni 1384-1437; the Sommaripa 1437-1566.
- With Naxos.
- ‡: The Giustiniani 1207-1366; the da Corona 1366-1464; the Gozzadini 1464-1537.
- { ‡: The Michieli 1207-1355; the Premarini 1355 forward.
- { ‡: The Ghisi 1207-1328; the Premarini 1328-1375.
- { ‡: The Premarini 1375-1537.
- { ‡: The Sanudi 1375-1405; the Gozzadini 1405-1537.
- ‡: the Michieli 1207-1537.
- ‡: the Giustiniani 1207-c. 1412; the Adoldi 1412 forward.
- ‡: the Ghisi 1207-1334; the Bragadini 1334-1354; the Minotti 1354-1373; the Adoldi 1373-1432; the Michieli 1432-1537.
- The Sanudi 1207-c. 1320; the Castelli c. 1322-1381; the Gozzadini 1381-1537.
- The Sanudi 1207-1269 (titular 1341; the Grimani titular 1341-1537); Greek Empire 1269-1807; the da Corona 1307-1464; the Gozzadini 1464-1617.
- The Sanudi 1207-1376; the Crispi 1376-1566.
- The Barozzi 1207-1335; with Naxos 1335-1477; the Pisani 1477-1487; with Naxos 1487-1537.
- The Foscoli 1207-1269; Greek Empire 1269-1807; the Gozzadini 1307-1420; the Crispi 1420-1469; the Barbari 1469-1538; the Pisani 1528-1537.
- The Sanudi 1207-1269; Greek Empire 1269-1292; the Schiavi 1292-c. 1320; with Naxos c. 1320-1420; collateral branch of the Crispi 1420-1508; the Pisani 1508-1537.
- With Naxos 1207-1889; the Sommaripa 1389-1516; the Venieri 1516-1581; the Sagredi 1581-1537.
- With Paros 1207-1439; the Loredani 1439-c. 1490; the Pisani 1490-1587.

¹ Ceos and Seriphos were under the Greek Empire from 1269 to 1296.

Naxos.	The Sanudi 1207-1362; the Dalle Carceri 1362-1383; the Crispi 1383-1566.
Seyros, Sciathos, } Chelidromi. } Scopelos.	The Ghisi 1207-1269; Greek Empire 1269-1455; Venetian 1455-1587.
	The Ghisi 1207-1262; the Tiepoli 1262-1810; the Greek Empire 1810-1454; Venetian 1454-1538.
Negroponte.	‡: the dalle Carceri 1205-1254; the Da Verona 1254-1383; the Sommaripa 1383-1470.
	‡: the Peccorari 1205-1214; the dalle Carceri 1214-c. 1300; the Ghisi c. 1300-1390; Venetian 1390-1470.
	‡: The da Verona 1205-1383; the da Noyer 1383-1470.
Carystos (in Negroponte).	The dalle Carceri 1205-c. 1254; the Ciccons c. 1254-1292; the da Verona, 1292-1317; Aragonese 1317-1365; Venetian 1365-1386; the Giustiniani 1386-1404; Venetian 1404-1406; the Giorgi 1406-1470.
Lemnos.	The Navigajosi (with these, subsequently, the Gradenighi and Foscarini) 1207-1269; Greek Empire 1269-1453; the Gattilusj 1453-1462.
Lesbos.	The Greek Empire 1205-1355; the Gattilusj 1355-1462.
Chios, Samos.	With Constantinople (Empire of Romania) 1205-1247; with Lesbos 1247-1308; the Zaccaria 1308-1383; Greek Empire 1383-1346; the joint stock company of the Giustiniani, in 14 and more branches, 1346-1566.
Nikaria (Icaria).	The Beazzani 1205-1383; with Chios 1383-1481; the Knights of St. John 1309-1521.
Stampali (Astypalaea).	The Quirini 1207-1269; Greek Empire 1269-1310; the Quirini and Grimani 1310-1537.
Amorgos.	The Ghisi 1207-1267; Greek Empire 1269-1296 [? 1303]; the Ghisi 1296-1368; ‡: the Quirini 1368-1537; ‡: the Grimani 1368-1446; the Quirini 1446-1537.
Nisyros, Piscopia, Calchi.	With Rhodes 1205-1306; the Assanti 1306-1385; with Rhodes 1385-1521.
Rhodes.	Gavalas 1204-1246; Greek Empire 1246-1288; the Aidonoghlii 1288-1309; the Knights of St. John 1309-1521.
Scarpanto (Carpathos).	With Rhodes 1204-1306; the Moreschi 1306-1309; the Cornari 1309-1522.
Candia.	Montferrat 1203-1204; Venetian 1204-1669.

[See further Hopf's *Chroniques gréco-romaines inédites ou peu connues* (1873), genealogical tables at the end, and his *Griechische Geschichte* (cited above, App. 1, *ad fin.*); on Carystos, his art. in the *Sitzungsber. of the Vienna Acad.*, 11, p. 555 *sqq.* (1853); on Andros, *ib.*, 16, p. 23 *sqq.* (1855); on Chios, his article on the Giustiniani in Ersch and Gruber's *Enzyklopädie*, vol. 68, p. 290 *sqq.*, 1859 (cp. T. Bent, *The Lords of Chios*, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 4, p. 467 *sqq.* (1889), and W. Miller, *The Zaccaria*

of Phocaea and Chios (1275-1329), *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 31, 1911; on the Archipelago Hopf's *Veneto-byzantinische Analekten*, 1860, and his article on the Ghisi in *Ersch and Gruber*, vol. 64, p. 336 *sqq.*, 1857; on Negroponte, see J. B. Bury, *The Lombards and Venetians in Euboea*, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 7, p. 309 *sqq.*, 8, p. 194 *sqq.*, 9, p. 91 *sqq.* (1886-8); L. de Mas-Latrie in the *Rev. de l'Orient Latin*, 1, p. 413 *sqq.* (1898).]

APPENDIX

ADDITIONAL NOTES BY THE EDITOR

1. AUTHORITIES

LAONICUS CHALCONDYLES¹ belonged to a good Athenian family. He went twice as an ambassador to the Sultan Murad, and was on both occasions imprisoned. His History in 10 books covers the period 1298-1463, and thus includes the fall of the Empire of Trebizond. He was a man of great ability, and, though we may wish that he had not set it before himself to imitate Herodotus and Thucydides, we must recognise the talent which he displayed in handling a most intractable period of history. It is very interesting to pass from his predecessors in the series of the Byzantine historians to this writer. We no longer watch events from the single and simple standpoint of Constantinople. The true theme of Chalcondyles is not the decline of the diminished empire, but the growth and development of the Ottoman State.² The centre of events shifts with the movements of the sultan. The weakest point of Chalcondyles is his chronology. (Ed. Baumbach (Geneva), 1615; ed. Bekker (Bonn), 1843.)

DUCAS was a grandson of Michael Ducas (a scion of the imperial family of that name), who is mentioned as having taken part in the struggle between Cantacuzenus and John Palæologus in the 14th century. He was secretary of the Genoese podestà at Phocæa, before the siege of Constantinople, and afterwards he was employed by the Gattilusi of Lesbos as an ambassador to the sultan. His connexion with the Genoese helped, probably, to determine his ecclesiastical views; he was a hearty supporter of union with the Latin Church, as the great safeguard against the Turks. His History covers the period 1341-1462; he is more accurate than Chalcondyles. In language he is not a purist; his work is full of foreign words. (Ed. Bullialdus (Paris), 1649; ed. Bekker (Bonn), 1834, with a 15th cent. Italian translation, which fills up some gaps in the Greek.)

George PHRANTZES (cp. above p. 102 note), born 1401, was secretary of the Emperor Manuel, whose son Constantine he rescued at Palias in 1429. In 1432 Protovestiarios, he was made Prefect of Sparta in 1448, and then elevated to the post of Great Logothete. See further, above p. 102 and p. 162 *sqq.* Taken prisoner on the capture of Constantinople (cp. above p. 204), he fled to the Peloponnesus, visited Italy, and ended his life as Brother Gregory in a monastery of Corfu, where he composed his Chronicle. This work, when Gibbon wrote, was accessible only in the Latin translation of Pontanus (1604). The Greek original was first published by F. K. Alter (Vienna, 1796), from an inferior Ms. An improved text was issued by Bekker in the Bonn series, 1838.³ The history covers a longer period than that of Chalcondyles; beginning A.D. 1258, it comes

¹ Chalcondyles, for Chal<oc>ondyles, is explained by Krumbacher as meaning the man with the bronze handle (Gesch. der byz. Litt., p. 305).

² This has been excellently brought out by Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

³ There is also extant an abbreviated version of the Chronicle in colloquial Greek, and it seems to have been prepared by Phrantzes himself. Cp. Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 308. It has been edited in Mai's Class. Auct. ix. p. 594 *sqq.*, 1837, and reprinted in Migne, P.G., 156.

down to A.D. 1476, the year before the work was completed. Bk. 1 comes down to the death of Manuel; Bk. 2 to the death of John; Bk. 3 treats of the reign of Constantine and the capture of the city; Bk. 4 the events of the following twenty-three years. The high position which he held in the State and his opportunities of knowledge render Bks. 2 and 3 especially valuable. He is naturally a good hater of the Turks, from whom he had suffered so much. His style is not pedantic like that of Chalcondyles. (Biographical Monograph by G. Destunis in the *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodn. prosv.*, vol. 287, p. 427 *sqq.*, 1898.)

CRITOULUS of Imbros wrote a history of the deeds of Mohammad II. from A.D. 1451 to 1467. Although he is not out of sympathy with his countrymen, he has thrown in his lot with the conquerors, and he writes from the Turkish point of view. This is the interesting feature of his work, which is thus sharply contrasted with the histories of Chalcondyles and Ducas. He inscribes the book, in a dedicatory epistle, to Mohammad himself, whom he compares to Alexander the Great. Like Ducas and Chalcondyles, he describes the siege of Constantinople at second hand; but like theirs his very full description is a most valuable source for comparison with the accounts of the eye-witnesses. He can indeed be convicted of many small inaccuracies. For example, he states that Giustiniani was wounded in the chest, and that Constantine was slain near the Cercoporta; and in other parts of his work his chronology is at fault. He was an imitator of Thucydides, and puts Thucydidean speeches into the mouth of Mohammad. But he does not scruple to use a "modern" foreign word like *τούφακες*, "guns" (from the Turkish; cp. modern Greek *τουφέκι*, a gun). The history of Critobulus is extant in an Ms. at Constantinople, and it was first published by C. Müller, in the 2nd part of vol. v. of *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, p. 40 *sqq.*, 1870, with very useful notes.

The description of Murad's siege of Constantinople by JOHN CANANUS is mentioned above p. 80, note 98; and that of the siege of Thessalonica in 1430, by JOHN ANAGNOSTES, on p. 145, note 14.

The chronicle of the last years of the empire is briefly told in the anonymous *ΕΚΤΗΣΙΣ ΧΡΟΝΙΚΗ*, a work of the 16th century, published by C. Sathas in *Bibl. Græc. Med. Æv.* vii. p. 556 *sqq.* (1894). A new edition of this little work by Prof. Lampros was published in 1902 (London).

It remains to mention the Anonymous Dirge concerning Tamurlane, *Ἐρῆνος περὶ Ταμυρλάγγου*, written during the campaign of Timur into Asia Minor. It is published by Papadimitriu in the *Lietopis ist.-phil. obschestva* of Odessa (*Vizant. Otdiel.*), ii. p. 173 *sqq.* (Older, bad ed., in Wagner's *Medieval Greek Texts*, p. 105 *sqq.*) Timur's name also appears in this poem as *Ταμυρλάνης* (l. 47) and *Τεμύρης* (l. 41).

RASHĪD AD-DĪN, born 1247 at Hamadān, was originally a physician, but became Vizir of Persia, 1298. He was executed by Abū Said in 1318. In the preface to his *Jāmi at-Tawārikh* he acknowledges his obligations to a minister of Mongol birth and name, who was versed in Turkish and Mongolian history. He refers to the *Allan depler*, a book of Mongol annals which was in the Khan's treasury, text and Russian translation by J. N. Berezin, 1858 *sqq.*

Alā ad-Dīn Ata-mulk JUVAINĪ composed a work entitled *Jahān Kushāi* (a history of the Conqueror of the World) on the last ten years of Chingis, and coming down as far as A.D. 1257. Born in Khorāsān in A.D. 1227-8, he visited the court of Mangū Khān c. A.D. 1249. His work (of which there is a Ms. in the British Museum) has never been printed, though he is one of the best authorities on the history of his time. But it has been largely used by D'Ohsson and others. For his biography see *Fundgruben des Orients*, i. 220-34.

Minhāj-i-Sirāj JŪZĀNĪ, son of a cadi of the army of Mohammad Ghōri, lived c. A.D. 1200-70, and wrote his history, the *Tabākāt-i-Nāsiri*, about the middle of the century, at the court of Nāsir ad-Dīn Mahmūd, King of Delhi. Beginning with the Patriarchs, he brought his history down to his own day, and Bk. 28 is occupied with the incursions of the Turks and Mongols,—the *Karā-Khitāy* Chingis and his successors, to A.D. 1259. The author writes in a clear straight-

forward style, and supports his narrative by references to sources. The work was translated by Major Raverty in the *Bibliotheca Indica* (1848, etc.), and there are large extracts in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own historians*, ii. 266 *sqq.*

The second and third Books of the *Memoirs of Timūr* are the *Institutions and Designs* which were translated by Major Davy (1788) and used by Gibbon. Book iv. coming down to 1375 A.D. has since been translated by Major Charles Stewart, 1880 (the *Mulfuzāt Timūry*, or autobiographical *Memoirs of the Moghul Emperor Timūr*). The original memoirs were written in Turkish (in the "Jagtay Tūrkī language") and were rendered into Persian by Abū Tālib Husainī. The English translations are made from the Persian version.

Mirza Haidar lived in the 16th century and was a cousin of the famous Bābar. His *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (transl. by Elias and Ross, see above p. 5, note 12, with learned apparatus of introduction and notes) is "the history of that branch of the Moghul Khans who separated themselves, about the year 1321, from the main stem of the Chaghatai, which was then the ruling dynasty in Transoxiana; and it is the only history known to exist of this branch of the Moghuls" (Elias, *ib.* p. 7). There are two parts of the work; the second contains memoirs of the author's life, etc., which do not concern any events touched upon by Gibbon. In the first part, written in 1544-6 in Cashmir, the author follows the history of two dynasties: the Khans of Moghulistan, beginning with Tughluk Timūr; and their vassals the Dughlat amirs of Eastern Turkestan, from one of whom Haidar was descended. This part of the work is based largely on oral traditions, but the author also made use of the work of Sharaf ad-Din. Elias criticizes "the weakness of the chronology and the looseness with which numbers and measurements are made".

Of Chinese authorities for the history of the Mongols, the most important is the annals entitled *YUAN SHI*, of which Bretschneider (*Mediaeval Researches for Eastern Asiatic Sources*, 1888) gives the following account (vol. i. p. 180 *sqq.*). In 1369 "the detailed records of the reigns of the thirteen Yüan emperors were procured, and the emperor (Hungwu) gave orders to compile the history of the Yüan [Mongols], under the direction of *Sung Lien* and *Wang Wei*. The work, which occupied sixteen scholars, was begun in the second month of 1369 and finished in the eighth month of the same year. But as at that time the record of the reign of Shun ti (the last Mongol emperor in China) was not yet received, the scholar *Ou yang Yu* and others were sent to *Pei p'ing* to obtain the required information. In the sixth month of 1370 the Yüan Shi was complete." There were various subsequent editions. "The Yüan Shi has been compiled from official documents. Perhaps we must except the biographies, for which the information was probably often derived from private sources. It seems that the greater part of the documents on which the Chinese history of the Mongols is based had been drawn up in the Chinese language; but in some cases they appear to have been translated from the Mongol. I conclude this from the fact that in the Yüan Shi places are often mentioned, not, as usually, by their Chinese names, but by their Mongol names represented in Chinese characters" (p. 183). The Yüan Shi (p. 185 *sqq.*) is divided into four sections: (1) consists of the lives of the 13 Mongol Khans in Mongolia and China, and the annals of their reigns from Chingiz to Shun ti (1368); (2) memoirs (geographical, astronomical, politico-economical notices; regulations on dress, rites, public appointments, etc.; military ordinances, etc.); (3) genealogical tables and lists; (4) about a thousand biographies of eminent men of the period [Bretschneider observes that these biographies "bear evidence to the liberal views of the Mongol emperors as to the acknowledgment of merit. They seem never to have been influenced by national considerations"]; and notices of foreign lands and nations south and east of China (*e.g.*, Korea, Japan, Burma, Sumatra).

An abstract of the annals of the Yüan shi is contained in the first ten chapters of the *YUAN SHI LEX PIEN* (an abbreviated History of the Mongols) which were translated by Gaubil in his *Histoire de Gentchiscan* (see above p. 5, note 11). From this abstract, and the Yüan shi and another work entitled the *Shi Wei* (Wool of History), R. K. Douglas compiled his *Life of Jinghiz Khān*, 1877.

The YÜAN CH'AO PI SHI, Secret History of the Mongol dynasty, is a Chinese translation of a Mongol work, which was completed before 1240. It contains the early history of the Mongols, the reign of Chingiz, and part of the reign of Ogotai; and it was translated into Chinese in the early period of the Ming dynasty. An abridgment of this work was translated into Russian by Palladius, and published in 1866 in the Records of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission at Peking, vol. 4. It was only six years later that Palladius found that the work was extant in a fuller form. Bretschneider says: This document "corroborates generally Rashid-eddin's records, and occasionally we find passages in it which sound like a literal translation of the statements of the Persian historiographer. This proves that Rashid had made use of the same source of information as the unknown author of the Yüan ch'ao pi shi. As to the dates in the latter work, they are generally in accordance with the dates given by the Mohammadan authors: but in a few cases the Yüan ch'ao pi shi commits great chronological blunders and misplacements of events, as, for instance, with respect to the war in the west."

In his work cited above Bretschneider has rendered accessible other Chinese documents bearing on Mongol history, especially some relations of Chinese travellers and envoys; for example, an extract (i. p. 9 *sqq.*) from the Si Yu Lu (Description of Journey to the West) of Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai, a minister of Chingiz who attended him to Persia, 1219-24. (There is a biography of this Ye-lü in the Yüan Shi.) Bretschneider makes valuable contributions to the difficult subject of geographical identifications, and discusses among other documents the account of the Armenian prince Haithon's visit to Mongolia, written by Guiragos Gandzaketsi. This Haithon I. must not be confounded with Haithon, the monk of Prémontré, mentioned by Gibbon (above, p. 6, note 13). The account of Guiragos was translated into French by Klaproth (Nouv. Journ. Asiat., p. 273 *sqq.*, 1833) from a Russian version by Argutinski; but the history of Guiragos has since been translated by Brosset.

See also above, p. 5, n. 11.

SSANANG SSETSEN, a prince of the tribe of Ordus and a descendant of Chingiz, born A.D. 1604, wrote in Turkish a history of the eastern Mongols which he finished in 1662. It was thus written after the Manchus had conquered China and overthrown the Mongols. The earlier part of the book is practically a history of Tibet. The account of the origin of the Mongols is translated from Chinese sources. The author is a zealous Buddhist and dwells at great length on all that concerned the interests of his religion; other matters are often dismissed far too briefly. The relation of the career of Chingiz is marked by many anachronisms and inaccuracies. The work was made accessible by the German translation of I. J. Schmidt, under the title, *Geschichte der Ostmongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses*, 1829.

MODERN WORKS. Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. J. von Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, vol. i., 1834. J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, vol. i., 1840. E. Pears, *The Destruction of the Greek Empire and the Story of the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks*, 1903. N. Jorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, vols. i. and ii., 1908-9. Sir H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols* (see above, p. 5, note 12). Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages* (see above, p. 219, note 2).

For sketches of the history of the Ottoman Turks: S. Lane-Poole, *Turkey (Story of the Nations)*, 1888; La Jonquière, *Histoire de l'empire Ottoman*, 1897.

For the laws, constitution, etc., of the Ottoman empire, the chief work is Mouradja d'Ohsson's *Tableau général de l'empire Ottoman*, 7 vols., 1788-1824.

For Mongols, see above, p. 5, note 12. For Serbia: C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, I. (bis 1871), 1911. For the schism of the Greek and Latin Churches, see above, p. 87, note 1. For the capture of Constantinople, see below, Appendix 3.

2. THE MONGOL INVASION OF EUROPE, A.D. 1241—(P. 15-17)

It is only recently that European history has begun to understand that the successes of the Mongol army which overran Poland and occupied Hungary in the spring of A.D. 1241 were won by consummate strategy and were not due to a mere

overwhelming superiority of numbers. But this fact has not yet become a matter of common knowledge; the vulgar opinion which represents the Tartars as a wild horde carrying all before them solely by their multitude, and galloping through Eastern Europe without a strategic plan, rushing at all obstacles and overcoming them by mere weight, still prevails. It will therefore not be amiss to explain very briefly the plan and execution of the Mongol campaign. The nominal commander-in-chief was Batu, but there is no doubt that the management of the expedition was in the hands of Subutai.

The objective of Subutai was Hungary,—the occupation of Hungary and the capture of Gran (Strigonium), which was then not only the ecclesiastical capital but the most important town in the country. In advancing on Hungary, his right flank was exposed to an attack from the princes of Poland, behind whom were the forces of Bohemia and North Germany. To meet this danger, Subutai divided his host into two parts, which we may call the northern and the southern army. The duty of the northern army was to sweep over Poland, advance to Bohemia, and effectually prevent the princes of the north from interfering with the operations of the southern army in Hungary. Thus strategically the invasion of Poland was subsidiary to the invasion of Hungary, and the northern army, when its work was done, was to meet the southern or main army on the Danube.

The northern army advanced in three divisions. The main force under Baidar marched through the dominions of Boleslaw the Chaste, and took Cracow; then bearing north-westward it reached Oppeln on the Oder, where it defeated prince Mieczyslaw; and descended the Oder to Breslau. At the same time Kaidu advanced by a more northerly route through the land of Conrad, prince of Mosovia and Cujavia; while on the extreme right a force under Ordu terrified the Lithuanians and Prussians and crossed the Lower Vistula. The three divisions reunited punctually at Breslau, the capital of Henry II. of Lower Silesia; and all took part in the battle of Liegnitz (April 9), for which King Wenzel of Bohemia arrived too late. Just one day too late: the Mongol generals had skilfully managed to force Prince Henry to fight before his arrival. Wenzel discreetly withdrew beyond the mountains into Bohemia; all he could hope to do was to defend his own kingdom. Saxony now lived in dread that its turn had come. But it was no part of the plan of Subutai to launch his troops into Northern Germany. They had annihilated the forces of Poland; it was now time for them to approach the main army in Hungary. The Mongols therefore turned their back upon the north, and marched through Upper Silesia and Moravia, capturing town after town as they went. Upon Wenzel who watched them with a large army, expecting them to invade Bohemia, they played a trick. He was posted near the defile of Glatz and the Mongols were at Ottmachau. They were too wary to attack him in such a position; it was necessary to remove him. Accordingly they marched back as if they purposed to invade Bohemia by the pass of the Königstein in the north. Wenzel marched to the threatened point; and when the Mongols saw him safely there, they rapidly retraced their steps and reached Moravia (end of April, beginning of May).

Meanwhile the main army advanced into Hungary in three columns converging on the Upper Theiss. The right wing was led by Shaiban, a younger brother of Batu, and seems to have advanced on the *Porta Hungarise*—the north-western entrance to Hungary, in the Little Carpathians. The central column under Subutai himself, with Batu, marched on the *Porta Rusciæ*, the defile which leads from Galicia into the valley of the Theiss. The left column, under Kadan and Buri, moved through Transylvania towards the Körös.

The *Porta Rusciæ* was carried, its defenders annihilated, on March 15; and a flying column of Tartars shot across Hungary, in advance of the main army. On March 15 they were half a day's journey from Pest, having ridden about 180 miles in less than three days. On the 17th they fought and defeated an Hungarian force, and on the same day Shaiban's right column captured Waitzen, a fort near the angle where the Danube bends southward. The object of Subutai in sending the advance squadron Pestward was doubtless to multiply difficulties for the Hungarians in organizing their preparations. These preparations were

already hampered by the conflicts and jealousies between the king and his nobles; and then towards the end of March befell the murder of Kutan, the chief of the Cumans, and the consequent revolt of the Cumans,—mentioned by Gibbon,—which demolished the defence of Eastern Hungary. Meanwhile Kadan's left column had advanced through Transylvania and passed the Körös and Theiss; in the first days of April it advanced to the Danube, in the neighbourhood of Pest. Subutai had in the meantime arrived himself with the main central column, and the three columns of the central army were now together in position on the left bank of the Danube from Waitzen to Pest. But the Hungarian army with its German allies and Slavonic contingents had united at Pest, about 100,000 strong; and it was impossible for the Mongols to cross in the face of such a host. Accordingly Subutai began a retreat, drawing the enemy after him. He retired behind the Sajó, not far from the confluence of that river with the Theiss,—a central position on the route from Pest to Galicia, where he was in touch with his own base of operations near Ungvár and the Porta Rusciae. The Hungarians took up their position on the opposite bank in the plain of Mohi. By skilful tactics the Mongols surrounded their camp and cut them to pieces on April 11, two days after the northern army had gained the battle of Liegnitz.

It was wonderful how punctually and effectually the arrangements of the commander were carried out in operations extending from the Lower Vistula to Transylvania. Such a campaign was quite beyond the power of any European army of the time; and it was beyond the vision of any European commander. There was no general in Europe, from Frederick II. downward, who was not a tiro in strategy compared to Subutai. It should also be noticed that the Mongols embarked upon the enterprise, with full knowledge of the political situation of Hungary and the condition of Poland; they had taken care to inform themselves by a well-organized system of spies: on the other hand, the Hungarians and Christian powers, like childish barbarians, knew hardly anything about their enemies.

The foregoing summary is founded on the excellent study of G. Strakosch-Grassmann, *Der Einfall der Mongolen, in Mitteleuropa in den Jahren 1241 und 1242*, 1893, and the vivid account of L. Cahun, in his *Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Asie*, p. 352 *sqq.* The chief defect in Strakosch-Grassmann's book is that he does not give to Subutai his proper place. The important Chinese biography of Subutai is translated in the first vol. of Bretschneider's *Mediæval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, 1888. All the western authorities have been carefully studied and analysed by Strakosch-Grassmann. (The account of the Mongol campaigns in Köhler's *Die Entwicklung des Kriegswesens und der Kriegführung in der Ritterzeit*, vol. 3, pt. 3, 1889, may also be compared.) For a short and good sketch of the Mongol invasions, see F. H. Skrine and E. D. Ross, *The Heart of Asia*, 1899.

8. SOURCES FOR THE SIEGE OF CONSTANTINOPLE, A.D. 1453— (CHAP. LXVIII.)

For the siege of Constantinople, Gibbon had only three accounts by eye-witnesses, that of Phrantzes, that of Leonardus of Chios, and that of Cardinal Isidore (see above p. 170, note 12). The most important new source is the history of Oritobulus (see above p. 340), though he was not an eye-witness. Several other relations by persons who were in the city during the siege have been published during the present century.

Chief among these is the *Journal of a Venetian*, Nicolò Barbaro: *Giornale dell'assedio di Constantinopoli 1453*, edited by E. Cornet, 1856.¹ It is invaluable for determining the diary of the siege; but it is marked by hostility and spite towards the Genoese, especially Giustiniani, and by contempt for the Greeks.

An "Informacion" sent by Francesco de Tresves to the Cardinal d'Avignon, and also by Jehan Blanchin and Jacques Tedardi (or Tedaldi) of Florence, on the

¹ There is a good analysis of the contents in Ellissen's *Analekten*, vol. iii., Appendix, p. 84 *sqq.*

capture of Constantinople. Edited in Martene and Durand, *Thesaurus*, i. p. 1819 *sqq.* (1717), and in Chartier's *Chroniques de Charles VII.*, iii. p. 20 *sqq.*, 1858. Tedardi was an eye-witness. He escaped by throwing himself into the water, and was rescued by a Venetian boat.

Ubertino Pusculo of Brescia, who was also fortunate enough to escape, has left an account of the last episode of the history of the Empire in four Books of Latin hexameters. It contributes little enough to our knowledge of facts. The description of the siege does not begin till the middle of the Third book. In the First book there is an account of the battle of Varna, and much about the ecclesiastical antagonism of the Greeks and Latins. The Second begins with the death of John Palæologus and the accession of Constantine, and contains a virulent description of the moral degeneration of the people of Constantinople (v. 117 *sqq.*):—

obscuræ sanctæ pietatis in urbe
nec species nec forma fuit, nec gratia recti,
nec virtutis amor (v. 141).

The work is published in Ellissen's *Analekten*, vol. iii., as an Appendix, 1857.

An anonymous Greek poem, in political verses, under the title of Capture of Constantinople (*Ἀλωσις Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*) is misnamed, for it touches only incidentally on the facts of the siege and is in this respect of little historical importance. It is really an appeal to the powers of the West—

αὐθένταις εὐγενέστατοι, τῆς Δύσης μεγιστάνες—

French and English, Spanish and Germans

Φραγγίζους καὶ Ἀγκέζιδες, Σπανιόλους, Ἀλαμάνους—

to combine and recover Constantinople from the unbelievers. The Venetians are especially encouraged and urged to set the example—

Ὁ Βενετζίδοι φρόνιμοι, πρακταῖοι κ' ἐπιδέξιοι.

The Hungarians, Servians, and Walachians are incited to avenge the defeat of Varna:—

Ὁ Βλαχία πολέθλιβη, Σερβία πονεμένη,
θυμίσθε ταῖς αἰχμαλωσιαῖς, Οὐγκρία λυπημένη.

The author, though orthodox, was not extreme in his ecclesiastical views. He probably lived within reach of Mohammad's arm, for he will not disclose his name:—

Τώρα σκεπάζω τὸνομα καὶ κρίβω τὸνομό μου,
νὰ μὴ τὸ ξεύρουν οἱ πολλοὶ τίς ὁ τοιαῦτα γράψας,

but gives his friends the means of knowing his identity by mentioning two bodily marks—a black mole on the little finger of his right hand, and another of the same size on his left hand (vv. 10, 20 *sqq.*). The work was first edited by Ellissen in vol. iii. of his *Analekten* (1857), with introduction, translation, and analysis, under the title *Dirge of Constantinople* (*Θρήνος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*)—a misnomer, for it is not a dirge but a tearful appeal. Legrand published an improved text in 1880 in vol. i. of his *Bibl. grecque vulgaire*, p. 169 *sqq.*

There are five other laments (*θρήνοι*) known. See Papadopoulos-Kerameus, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xii. 267 *sqq.* (1) *ἀνακάλυμμα τῆς Κπόλεως*, Legrand, *Collection de monuments pour servir à l'étude de la langue néo-hellénique*, N.S., No. 5, 1875. (2) A dialogue between the four Eastern Patriarchs, published by Krumbacher, *Ein dialogischer Threnos auf den Fall von Konstantinopel*, 1901. (3) *Θρήνος*, published by S. Lampros in *Ἑστία*, 1886, 821 *sqq.* from a Ms. of Mt. Athos. (4) *Μοιρολόγιον θλιβερόν*, not printed, found by Papadopoulos-K. in a Ms. of the Patriarchal Library at Cairo. (5) *Θρήνος*, in a Ms. of the Patriarchal Library at Jerusalem, published by Papadopoulos-K., *loc. cit.*

A Slavonic account, written probably by a Slav of some of the Balkan countries, is also preserved, and has been published by Sreznevski under the title, *Skazaniia o vziatii Tsargrada bezbozhnym turetskym sultanom*, in the *Zapiski* of the 2nd Division of the St. Petersburg Academy of Science, vol. i. p. 99 *sqq.*, 1854.

We have another Slavonic account, written in a mixture of Polish and Servian, by a Janissary of Mohammad, named Michael, who took part in the siege. He was a Servian of Ostrovica, and in his later years he went to Poland and wrote his *Memoirs*, which were edited, as "*Pamiętniki Janiczara*," by Galezowsky in 1828, in vol. v. of his collection of Polish writers (*Zbiór Pisarzy Polskich*). This relation is especially valuable as written from outside, by one who knew what was going on in the camp of the besiegers. It has been utilised by Mijatovich in his account of the siege (see below).

A report by the Father Superior of the Franciscans who was at Galata during the siege was printed by Muratori in vol. 18 (p. 701) of the *Sor. Ber. It. : Rapporto del Superiore dei Francescani presente all' assedio et alla presa di Constantinopoli*. It seems to have escaped the notice of Gibbon.

An account by Christoforo Riccherio (*La presa di Constantinopoli*) is inserted in Sansovino's *Dell' Historia Universale dell' origine et imperio de Turchi* (1564), p. 348 *sqq.*

Abraham, an Armenian monk, who was present at the siege, wrote a "*Mélodie élégiaque*," which was translated into French by Brosset and printed in St. Martin's ed. of Lebeau's *Histoire du Bas-Empire* (xxi. p. 307 *sqq.*) which Brosset completed.

Adam de Montaldo, of Genoa : *De Constantinopolitano excidio ad nobilissimum juvenem Melleducam Cicalam, amicam optimum*; edited by C. Desimoni, in the *Atti della Società Ligure di storia patria*, x. p. 325 *sqq.*, 1874.

Besides these relations of eye-witnesses we have some additional contemporary accounts which were not accessible to Gibbon. The most important of these sources, Critobulus, has been spoken of in Appendix 1.

Zorzi Dolphin wrote an account of the "siege and capture of Constantinople in 1453," which was published by G. M. Thomas in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy, 1868. His sources were the reports of Leonardo of Chios, Philip da Rimano, and anonymous eye-witnesses. He adds little to the story.

A letter of the Genoese "Podestà of Pera," written on June 23, 1853, giving a brief account of the capture, was published by Sylvestre de Sacy in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque du Roi*, xi. 1, p. 74, 1827.

Documents throwing light on the policy of the Genoese in the fatal year will be found in Vigna's *Codice diplomatico delle Colonie Tauro-Liguri, durante la Signoria dell' ufficio de S. Georgio* (1453-1475), 1868.

Of little importance for the siege is the *Amyris of Filelfo*—on the life and deeds of Mohammad in 4 Books—published in Hopf's *Chroniques gréco-romanes*.

A Monody of Andronicus Callistus, in Migne's *Patr. Gr.*, 161, p. 1124, teaches us, as Paspates has pointed out, that there was water in the ditch outside the western wall.

The final scene of the siege is briefly described in Spandugino Cantacuzino's *Della origine de principi Turchi* (which is included in Bk ii. of Sansovino's *Dell' Historia Universale*, p. 187 *sqq.*), p. 195-6.

There are a number of other documents extant which have not yet been printed. C. Hopf and A. Dethier had designed and prepared the publication of these in the *Monumenta Hungar. Hist.*, along with many sources which had been already published. Two volumes lie in Ms.; two have been printed, but were never in the market, and are almost impossible to procure. A description of their contents is given by Krumbacher in his *Gesch. der byzantinischen Litteratur*, p. 311-12. Op. Pears, *Destruction of the Greek Empire*, xiii. *sq.*

Brosset gathered some material from Armenian and Georgian sources; see the last vol. of St. Martin's ed. of Lebeau's *Histoire du Bas-Empire*.

The Turkish authorities are of very little value for the siege; they were utilised by Hammer. The earliest Ottoman historians belong to the end of the 15th century, *vis.*, the History of the great-grandson of Ashik-Pasha (who lived under Murad I.); the anonymous chronicle, *Tarikhi Ali Osmân*; the *World-view*

of Neshri. See Hammer's Introduction to his History. These earlier works were used by the most famous of Ottoman historians, Sad ad-Din, in his *Crown of Histories* (written under Murad III., end of 16th cent.). His account of the siege has been translated by E. J. W. Gibb, 1879. For Ahmad Muktar Pasha's work see Pears, *op. cit.* xiv.

The following is a list of the chief modern accounts of the siege that have appeared since Gibbon wrote:—

Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, i. p. 398 *sqq.*, 1834.

Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, i. p. 811 *sqq.*, 1840.

Stassulevich (J.), *Osada i Vziatie Vizantii Turkami*, 1854.

Sreznevski, *Poviest o Tsargradie*, 1855.

Mordtmann (A. D.), *Belagerung und Eroberung Constantinopels durch die Türken im Jahre 1453*; 1858. (This had two advantages over previous accounts. Mordtmann knew the ground; and he made use of the diary of Barbaro.)

Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 503 *sqq.*

Krause (J. H.), *Die Eroberungen von Constantinople im dreizehnten und fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, 1870.

Broadribb and Besant, *Constantinople, a sketch of its history from its foundation to its conquest by the Turks*, 1879.

Vlasto (E. H.), *Les derniers jours de Constantinople*, 1883.

Paspatis (A. G.) *Πολιορκία καὶ ἄλωσις τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν Ὀθωμανῶν ἐν ἔτει*, 1453; 1890.

Mijatovich (Ch.) *Constantine, Last Emperor of the Greeks*, 1892.

Pears (E.), *The Destruction of the great Empire and the Story of the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks*, 1903.

The sources have been dealt with in an article by P. Pogodin in the *Zhurnal min. narod. prosv.*, vol. 283, August, 1889.

A. van Millingen's *Byzantine Constantinople* (1899) contains much material for the study of the siege, and many difficulties in the episode are discussed. Pears (*op. cit.* vi.) refers to "two valuable papers" entitled *Die letzten Tage von Byzanz*, by A. Mordtmann, in the *Mitteilungen des deutschen Exkursions-Klubs in Konstantinopel*, 1895.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(By H. M. BEATTY, M.A., LL.D., F.R.Hist.S.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GIBBON'S HISTORY, MINOR AND MISCELLANEOUS WORKS, AND LETTERS; AND OF THE CONTROVERSIAL REPLIES TO HISTORY

ABBREVIATED REFERENCES

Bury = the present edition.

Misc. Works = the 1814 edition (unless otherwise stated) of Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works.

Murray = The Autobiographies of E. G., edited by John Murray (1896).

Prothero = Private Letters of E. G., edited by R. E. Prothero (1896).

Read = Historic Studies in Vaud . . . by General Meredith Read (1897).

Sévery = La Vie de Société dans le Pays de Vaud (1911-12).

Hill = The Memoirs of E. G., edited by G. B. Hill (1900).

Graesse = Trésor de livres rares (1859-69).

Oettinger = Historisches Archiv (1841).

Quérard = (unless otherwise stated) La France littéraire (1827-64).

Brunet = Manuel du Libraire (1860-65).

Lowndes and Allibone = the well-known bibliographies.

B.M. = British Museum.

D.N.B. = Dict. Natl. Biography.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
History, editions in English	348
„ Mutilations, abridgments, etc., in English	352
„ Translations (entire or abridged)	353
Minor Works; and translations thereof	356
Miscellaneous Works; Memoirs; and translations thereof	358
Letters, etc.	360
Controversial replies to the History in English and other languages	361

The place of publication is London, when not otherwise stated.

THE DECLINE AND FALL: EDITIONS IN ENGLISH

“The moment of conception; the fifteenth of October, 1764” (Murray, p. 270).

“As early as 1771 . . . a rough draught” (Bury, iii. p. 283).

VOLUME THE FIRST (CHAPTERS 1-16):

1776, February 16th, The | History | Of The | Decline And Fall | Of The | Roman
Empire. | By Edward Gibbon Esq.; | Volume The First. |
Jam provideo animo . . . videbatur [Livy, xxxi.-l., motto omitted in later
editions].

London: | Printed For W. Strahan; And T. Cadell, In The Strand. | MDCCLXXVI. |

Preface (pp. v-viii), "Bentinck St., Feb. 1, 1776"; Contents (8 pp.); History (pp. 1-586); "Advertisement" [to Notes, one page]; Notes (pp. i-lxxxviii); Errata (one page). 1000 copies. "The volume (a handsome quarto) costs one guinea unbound" (Read, ii. p. 387). "On February 16, I gave myself to the universe" (Read, *ibid.*). In Murray, p. 311, Gibbon says "February 17," and this was the date appointed (Prothero, i. p. 279); but the 17th was a Saturday, and perhaps therefore abandoned. The dates in the Memoirs are often contradictory. "It sold like a threepenny pamphlet"; "in a fortnight not a single copy remained" (Read, *ibid.*).

1776, June 3rd, Second Edition, 1500 copies, 4to (Strahan & Cadell). The notes are still at the end of the book. "My new birth happened last Monday, 700 of the 1500 were gone yesterday" ("June the 6th, 1776, from Almaack's, where I was chose last week," Prothero, i. p. 284).

Dublin, 1776, two volumes, 8vo (printed for Wm. Hallhead, 63 Dame St.). "The bookseller's property was twice invaded by the pyrates of Dublin" (Murray, p. 311). "The natives have printed it very well, and the notes at the bottom take up much less space than I could have imagined" (Prothero, i. p. 288).

1777, April (Strahan & Cadell). "We are now printing a third edition in quarto of 1000 copies (in all 3500) with the notes at the bottom" (March 29, 1777; Prothero, i. p. 304). Evidently revised:—"I shall usually refer to the third edition, unless there are any various readings" (*Vindication*, 1779, in *Misc. Works*, iv. p. 526). Gibbon's two-thirds profits on this edition were £326 13s. 4d. (*Misc. Works*, ii. p. 167; where the price given, 16s., was no doubt for the trade; the sale price, as shown by an advertisement at the end of *A Vindication*, was £1 ls. in boards).

1781 (Strahan & Cadell). The Fourth Edition, with engraving ("Publish'd as the Act directs Febr. 1st 1780") by Jno. Hall of portrait [1779] by Reynolds of "Edward Gibbon Esqr. born the 8th May 1737". Preface and P.S. ("Bentinck-Street, March 1, 1781"), "Advertisement," detailed Table of Contents (12 pp.), History, pp. 1 to 704. Notes at the bottom of page.

This edition and the Dublin of 1776 are recorded in G.'s own catalogue of his library (on the backs of playing cards) in the B.M.; which, in spite of his personal preference, records no edition with the notes at the end.

SECOND AND THIRD VOLUMES (CHAPS. 17-26 AND 27-38):

"The commencement of my Second Volume, 1777, December" (Murray, p. 316).

1781, March 1st, vols. ii. and iii., 4to (printed for W. Strahan and T. Cadell, in the Strand, £2 2s.).

Second Volume: portrait by Reynolds and map of the Eastern part of the Roman Empire; pp. 1-640, with notes at the bottom of the pages; Errata.

Third Volume: map of the Western part of the Roman Empire; pp. 1-640; Table of Contents of vols. i., ii., iii.; Errata.

1781, vols. ii. and iii., 4to, Second Edition (Strahan & Cadell), no portrait, maps as before, but Table of Contents and Errata at the *beginning* of each vol.

Dublin, 1781, chaps. 17-38, in four volumes, 8vo (printed for Wm. Hallhead).

FIRST, SECOND, AND THIRD VOLUMES (CHAPS. 1-38):

1782 (Preface dated March 1), Vols. 1, 2, 3, 4to (Strahan & Cadell). For the variants introduced by Gibbon into the text, see vol. i., pp. 506-9 of the present edition.

1783, six volumes, first octavo edition of chaps. 1-38, portrait and map; not further revised, see "Advertisement," dated Bentinck St., April 20, 1783 (Strahan & Cadell).

1788, six volumes, 8vo (Strahan & Cadell).

1789, three volumes, 4to. "New edition" (Strahan & Cadell).

FOURTH, FIFTH, AND SIXTH VOLUMES (CHAPS. 39-47; 48-57; 58-71):

Vol. iv. "begun March 1, 1782—ended June, 1784".

Vol. v. "begun July, 1784—ended May 1, 1786".

Vol. vi. "begun May 18, 1786—ended June 27, 1787".

"These three volumes were sent to press August 15, 1787, and the whole impression was concluded April following."

"The day of publication was delayed that it might coincide with the fifty-first anniversary of my own birthday" (Misc. Works, i. pp. 256 and 260). 1788, May 8th, vols. iv., v., vi., 4to; printed for A. Strahan and T. Cadell, in the Strand; 3000 copies; £3 8s. in boards.

Fourth Volume: Preface, pp. i-vi; P.S., pp. vii-viii; Table of Contents; pp. 1-620.

Fifth Volume: Table of Contents; pp. 1-684.

Sixth Volume: Table of Contents; pp. 1-646; General Index to the entire work. Errata to vols. 4, 5, 6.

1790, 6 vols., 8vo (Strahan & Cadell, £1 10s.).

"I do not propose making any improvements or corrections in the octavo edition which you meditate" (Letter of 11th February, 1789, to Cadell, Misc. Works, edn. 1796, i. p. 684).

EDITIONS OF THE COMPLETE WORK IN ENGLISH

Basil, 1787-9, 13 vols., 8vo (J. J. Tourneisen). The notes of vols. i.-vi. are at the end of each vol.; those of vols. vii.-xii. form the contents of vol. xiii. No map or portrait.

Quérard places this edition as: "Basil (Strasbourg)]".

Basil, 1789, 14 vols., 8vo (J. J. Tourneisen).

"The type is neat, the paper tolerable, and the text *wonderfully* correct" (Letter 11th February, 1789, *ut supra*).

"I cannot be displeased with the two numerous and correct impressions of the English original, which have been published for the use of the Continent at Basil in Switzerland. Of their fourteen octavo Volumes, the two last include the whole body of the notes. The public importunity had forced *me* to remove them from the end of the Volume to the bottom of the page, but I have often repented of my compliance" (Murray, p. 339).

Dublin, 1788-9, 6 vols., 8vo, portrait and two maps (printed for Luke White, No. 86, Dame Street). Vol. v. is dated 1788. This has apparently mislaid Lowndes and Graesse.

1791, 12 vols., 8vo, portrait and maps (Strahan & Cadell, £3 12s.).

1796, 6 vols., 4to, adorned with the Head of the Author and Maps adapted to the Work (printed for T. Cadell, Jun., and W. Davies, successors to Mr. Cadell, £7 10s.).

1797, 12 vols., 8vo, portrait and maps (printed for A. Strahan; and T. Cadell, Jun., and W. Davies in the Strand).

1802, 12 vols., 8vo, portrait and folding maps, £3 12s.; large paper in royal 8vo, £6 6s. (printed by A. Strahan, Printers St., for T. Cadell, Jun., and W. Davies).

1806, 12 vols., 8vo, portrait and maps (Vernor, Hood & Sharpe in the Poultry and others).

1807, 12 vols., royal 18mo, with some account of the life of the author, portrait and maps (printed for Cadell & Davies and others).

1809, 9 vols., 8vo, new edition with numerous embellishments, portrait, and map (with a second title engraved, bearing date 1808; Oddy & Co. and Maxwell).

Edinburgh, 1811, 12 vols., 8vo, with a life of the author, portrait, and maps (printed for Bell & Bradfute, Peter Hill, Silvester Doig and A. Stirling and John Ogle).

1813, 12 vols., 8vo, portrait after Reynolds and maps (T. Cadell and W. Davies and others).

1815, 12 vols., 8vo, with portrait, memoir, and maps (printed for Lackington, Allen & Co., W. Otridge, B. Scholey, and G. Cowie & Co., London; and for P. Hill, Doig & Stirling, and Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh).

- 1816, 12 vols., 8vo, portrait and map (W. Allason and others).
 1818, 12 vols., 8vo, portrait and maps (W. Allason and others).
 1819, 12 vols., 8vo, portrait (W. Allason and others).
 1820, 12 vols., 8vo, maps of Eastern and Western parts of Empire (W. Allason and others).
 1820, 12 vols., 8vo, with Life, portrait, and map (printed at Edinburgh for Lackington, Harding, etc.).
 1820, 12 vols., 8vo, portrait and maps (Cadell & Davies and others).
 1821, 8 vols., 8vo, with maps and portrait (printed for R. Priestley and others by J. F. Dove, St. John's Square).
 Leipzig, 1821-22, 12 vols., 8vo (E. Fleischer).
 1822, 8 vols., 8vo, portrait and maps (Priestley & Weale and others).
 1823, 8 vols., 8vo, portrait and maps, with "Advertisement" by J. Sleath, D.D. (St. Paul's School), stating that "great care has been taken with the present complete edition" and that "the Greek and Latin quotations have been attentively examined" (printed by J. F. Dove, St. John's Square, for W. Baynes & Son and others).
 1825, 8 vols., 8vo, portrait, memoir, and maps (G. Cowie & Co. and others, Poultry; printed by J. F. Dove, St. John's Square).
 1825, 12 vols., 12mo.
 1827, 12 vols., 8vo, Life, portrait, and maps (Thomas McLean and others).
 1827, 11 vols., 12mo; the title page of each volume is engraved and contains a vignette (printed by Thomas Davison for Thomas Tegg, No. 73, Cheapside).
 Oxford, 1827, 8 vols., 8vo, with steel portrait, £3 8s.; 50 copies in large paper, royal 8vo, £8 8s. ("Oxford Classics Edition," Pickering, printed by Talboys & Wheeler). An issue of 1828 is frequently recorded in bibliographies,—questionable. "Professes to have been carefully revised" (Lowndes). No maps.
 Edinburgh, 1828 *et seq.*, 12 vols., 8vo, illustrated with maps designed for the work (printed by Ballantyne & Co. for John Thomson, etc.).
 1828, 4 vols., 8vo, engraved frontispiece dated 1825 (Jones & Co.).
 1828, 8 vols., 8vo, with Life, portrait, and maps (Cadell and others).
 Leipzig, 1828-9, 12 vols., 8vo.
 1830, 8vo, printed from the edition in twelve volumes, with an introductory memoir of the author by William Youngman (Joseph Ogle Robinson, 42 Poultry; Liverpool, A. C. Baynes, Waterloo Place. Stereotyped and printed by J. R. & C. Childs). Portrait.
 Edinburgh, 1831, 12 vols., 8vo, with portrait by Lizars and maps.
 Edinburgh, 1832, 12 vols., royal 8vo, illustrated with three large maps designed for the work (Crusades, Provinces from Adriatic to Propontis, Empire of Charlemagne), and with memoir (Thomas Nelson and Peter Brown).
 1837, 8vo, with memoir by Chalmers and portrait.
 1838, 8 vols., 8vo, with Life, portrait, and maps (Cadell and others).
 1838-9, 12 vols., 8vo, with notes by Guizot, edited by Milman, and original historical maps (John Murray, 9s. each).
 Paris, 1840, 8 vols., 8vo, with portrait and three maps and notes by Guizot and Milman (Baudry's European Library, 3 Quai Malaquais, near the Pont des Arts).
 1840, thick royal 8vo, with portrait after Reynolds, engraved by W. C. Edwards, and introductory memoir by William Youngman (Ball, Arnold & Co., 34 Paternoster Row. Bungay: printed by John Childs & Son).
 Derby, 1842, 4 vols., 8vo, with Life, portrait and maps (printed for Thomas Richardson).
 1844, royal 8vo, with memoir by W. Youngman, stereotyped in one vol. (Bohn).
 Halifax, 1844-5, 4 vols., 8vo, Life, portrait and four maps (printed and published by William Milner, Cheapside).
 Subsequent issues in 1847 and 1848.
 1846, 6 vols., 8vo, with notes by Guizot, edited by Milman, Second edition (John Murray, £3 3s.).
 1847, 8vo, with memoir by W. Youngman, new edition (Bohn, 18s.); also in 1865 and 1866.

1847, 8vo, with Life by A. Chalmers (Longman) ; also in 1862.

1848, 8 vols., 8vo, Life, portrait, and maps (Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans and others, £3).

London and New York, 1850, 2 vols., imp. 8vo, with 57 engravings and maps ; notes and memoir by F. A. Guizot (Virtue, £1 16s.).

Reissued 1863 ; 4th issue in 1870.

1853-5, 7 vols., cr. 8vo, with copious index, two maps, portrait of Gibbon, and variorum notes : including those of Guizot, Wenck, Schreiter, and Hugo, edited with further illustrations from the most recent sources by an English Churchman [*i.e.* H. G. Bohn], (Bohn, £1 4s. 6d.).

[The first volume having been criticised for careless printing, a corrected impression was issued in 1854. The book passed to Messrs. Bell & Sons in 1864, and has since that date been reprinted about thirteen times ; in later issues the words "an English Churchman" have been omitted. Reissued also in New York, Boston, Philadelphia.]

1854 (vols. 1-5), 1855 (vols. 6-8), 8 vols., 8vo, with portrait by E. Scriven after Reynolds and fourteen maps, notes by Milman and Guizot, edited with additional notes by William Smith, LL.D. (John Murray, 7s. 6d. each vol.).

[This, the third of the Milman editions, includes also the Autobiography, and has been repeatedly reprinted since. The Milman editions have been also reprinted about a dozen times in New York, Boston or Philadelphia.]

1860, imp. 8vo (Tegg).

1869, 3 vols., cr. 8vo (Alexander Murray).

London and New York, 1873, 4 vols., cr. 8vo (Chandos Classics, Frederick Warne & Co.).

Reissued 1887.

1875, thick royal 8vo, with portrait.

New York, 1880, 5 vols., 16mo (American Book Exchange).

1890, 4 vols., large 8vo.

1892, 2 vols., 8vo (Lubbock's Hundred Books).

1895, 4 vols., 8vo (Gibbings, Standard British Classics).

1896-1900, 7 vols., cr. 8vo, with maps, edited with introduction, notes, appendices, and index by J. B. Bury ; also 7 vols., demy 8vo (Methuen & Co.) ; also New York (Macmillan Co.).

1903-6, 7 vols., 6 ins. by 4 (The World's Classics).

1905-6, 7 vols., cr. 8vo, edited by J. B. Bury (Methuen's Standard Library).

1910, 6 vols., cr. 8vo, edited by Oliphant Smeaton (Everyman's Library) ; also New York (Dutton).

1909 *et seq.*, 7 vols., demy 8vo, edited with introduction, notes, and appendices by J. B. Bury, with maps ; and with illustrations selected by O. M. Dalton (Methuen & Co.). The present edition.

UNDATED EDITIONS

3 vols., large cr. 8vo (Warne & Co.).

2 vols., large 8vo, with Milman's notes and full-page illustrations (Ward, Lock & Co.).

New York, 5 vols., cr. 8vo, with notes by Milman and index (International Book Company, 810-818 Sixth Avenue).

New York, Pittsburg, and Cincinnati, 6 vols. in twelve, 8vo, Milman's and Smith's notes, illustrated "Edition de luxe" (Euclid Press).

"The conquests of our language and literature (*sic*) are not confined to Europe alone ; and the writer who succeeds in London is speedily read on the banks of the Delaware and Ganges" (Murray, p. 339).

MUTILATIONS, ABRIDGMENTS, AND SELECTIONS OF THE HISTORY

1826, 5 vols., 8vo, reprinted for the use of families and young persons, with the careful omission of all passages of an irreligious or immoral tendency, by Thomas Bowdler, F.R.S.S.A. (Longman, £1 11s. 6d.), with motto :—

O Hamlet, thou has cleft my heart in twain.
O throw away the worser part of it
And live the purer with the other half.

- 1789, 2 vols., 8vo, Gibbon's History. . . . Abridged (printed for G. Kearsley, Johnson's Head, Fleet St.); by J. Adams (B.M. Catalogue), or Rev. Charles Hereford (Lowndes, D.N.B., Allibone and Graesse). Possibly, "J. Adams" was the *nom de guerre* by which the anonymous and Reverend abridger was known to his publisher in his unorthodox undertaking, or, to use his own words, "the delicacy of his situation". "Much religious disquisition has been carefully rejected."
- Dublin, 1790, 2 vols., 8vo (printed, vol. i., by William Porter; vol. ii., by Robert Rhames; for H. Chamberlaine, P. Wogan and seven others). Matter apparently as in English abridgment.
- 1807, 2 vols., 8vo, Second edition (of London Abridgment).
- 1856, 8vo, abridged by William Smith, LL.D. (The Student's Gibbon), illustrated by one hundred engravings on wood (John Murray); and subsequent impressions.
- 1899-1901, 2 vols., 8vo, abridged by Sir W. Smith, revised edition by A. H. J. Greenidge and J. G. C. Anderson (John Murray).
- 1840, 12mo, The Beauties of Gibbon, selected from his works by A. Howard, portrait.
- 1869, post 8vo, History of the Crusades (chaps. 58-61 of the History), (Alexander Murray).
- 1869, post 8vo, Rise and Fall of the Saracen Empire (chaps. 50, 51, 52), (Alexander Murray).
- 1870, post 8vo, The Saracen Empire (chaps. 50, 51, 52), with Oakley's History (Alexander Murray).
- 1870, post 8vo, The Crusades (chaps. 58-61), with Siege of Rhodes and Scott's Essay on Chivalry (Alexander Murray).
- 1880, cr. 8vo, History of the Crusades (1095-1261), with Gibbon's Life and Letters (Chandos Library, Warne).
- Münster, 1881-2, 16mo, History of the first and fourth Crusades;
History of the heroes of Old Germany, Alaric, Odoacer, Theodoric the Great, Clovis and Alboin (Werke der Englischen Literatur. Ausgewählt und ausgestattet von Ant. Goebel).
- New York, 1883, 12mo, History of Christianity: all that relates to the progress of the Christian religion in the History . . .; with Life, preface and notes, illustrated (Peter Eckler).
- New York, 1896, Birth, character and doctrine of Mahomet (Peter Eckler).
- 1899, 8vo, History of the Crusades, with Life and Letters, verbatim reprint, with copious index by W. J. Day (C. Arthur Pearson).
- 1905, 8vo, Selections from Gibbon (The Arnold Press Books).
- 1906, 8vo, The Age of the Antonines (chaps. i., ii., iii. of the History), edited by W. H. D. Rouse (Blackie's English Texts).
- 1907, 8vo, The Age of the Antonines, edited by J. H. Fowler (English Literature for Secondary Schools, Macmillan & Co.).
- 1910, Narratives from the History of the Decline and . . ., selected and edited by J. H. Fowler (English Literature for Secondary Schools, Macmillan & Co.).

TRANSLATIONS OF THE HISTORY

FRENCH

Paris, 1777-95, 18 vols., 8vo, Histoire de la décadence et de la chute de l'Empire Romain, traduite de l'Anglois (sic) par M. Le Clero de Sept-Chênes; continuée par MM. Demeunier et Boulard, finie par MM. Cantwel et Marinié, et revue quant aux derniers volumes par M. Boulard (Moutard et Maradan).

"The first volume had been feebly though faithfully translated by M.

- Le Clero de Septchènes" (Murray, p. 339 note); or, according to Brunet, Quérard (*Les Supercheries Littéraires*), and Sainte-Beuve (*Causeries*, viii. p. 454), by Louis XVI., at least in part. But see the letters to and from Septchènes (Prothero, i. p. 296, and Misc. Works, ii. p. 190).
- Paris, 1790-2, 12 vols., 12mo, Histoire . . . par M. de Sept-Chènes, nouvelle édition.
- Graesse says that "la première version p. Mokarky" (sic), i.e. the two editions just mentioned, "est moins complète" than the Guizot edn. of 1812.
- Paris, 1812, 13 vols., 8vo, Histoire . . . trad. par Le Clero de Sept-Chènes, nouvelle édition, revue et corrigée [par Mme Guizot], précédée d'une lettre sur la vie et le caractère de Gibbon par Suard, et accompagnée de notes par M. Guizot (Maradan).
- Paris, 1819, 13 vols., 8vo (Lefèvre).
- Paris, 1828-9, 13 vols., 8vo, accompagnée de notes par F. Guizot, relatives pour la plupart à l'histoire de la propagation du Christianisme (Ledentu).
- Paris, 1835-6, 2 vols., royal 8vo, avec une notice par J. A. C. Buchon (A. Desrez, rue Saint-Georges).
- Paris, 1848, 2 vols., 8vo, avec une introduction par J. A. C. Buchon (Société du Panthéon Littéraire, Hennuyer et Turpin, 20 fr.).

Abridgments and Extracts in French

- Paris, 1804, 3 vols., 8vo, Histoire de la décadence . . . abrégée et réduite à ce qu'elle contient d'essentiel et d'utile par Adam[s], et traduite de l'Anglais par P. C. Briand.
- Paris, 1810, 10 vols., 18mo, Histoire de l'empire Romain jusqu'à la prise de Constantinople par les Turcs, précédée d'une Introduction par Meiners; trad. de l'angl. par J. B. J. Breton (Bibliothèque historique, à l'usage des jeunes gens, 12 fr.).
- Paris, 1821, 8vo, Aperçus historiques sur le droit romain par Gibbon, avec les Aperçus sur l'origine du droit français par Fleury; recueil à l'usage des élèves du cours de l'histoire du droit romain et du droit français (Gillet et Mlle. Leloir, 4 fr.).
- Liège, 1821, 8vo, Précis de l'histoire du droit romain, traduction adoptée par M. Guizot, rev. et rectifiée par Warkonning [sic Quérard; Warnkoenig?] (P. J. Collardin, 3 fr.).

GERMAN

- Leipzig, 1779 et seq., 19 parts, 8vo, Geschichte des Verfalls und Untergangs des Römischen Reichs, aus d. Engl. übersetzt mit Anmerkungen von Fr. Aug. W. Wenck [first vol. only], Schreiter, Beck, und Müller.
- "I wish it were in my power to read the German, which is praised by the best Judges" (Murray, p. 339).
- Magdeburg and Vienna, 1788-92, 16 vols., large 8vo, Geschichte der Abnahme und des Falls des Römischen Reichs aus d. Engl. übersetzt (von Chr. Wlh. v. Riemberg), sammt d. einleit. u. Register. Mit 3 Karten.
- Frankfort and Leipzig, 1800-3, 13 vols., large 8vo, Geschichte des Verfalls . . . von Fr. A. Wenck.
- Frankfort, 1800, 12 vols., small 8vo, Geschichte des Verfalls . . ., aus d. Engl., mit Anmerkungen und Abhandlungen von Fr. A. Wenck.
- Leipzig, 1805-7, 19 vols., 8vo, Geschichte des Verfalls (Wenck, etc.), new issue of 1779 edition (Hinrichs).
- Leipzig, 1835-7, 1 vol. (12 parts), 4to, with portrait, Geschichte des ehemaligen Sinkens und endlichen Untergangs des römischen Weltreichs, nebst biograph. Skizze über den Verfasser von Joh. Sporschil.
- Leipzig, 1837-41, 12 vols., 16mo, the same, neue Taschenausgabe.
- Leipzig, 1842-4, 12 vols., 8vo, the same, second octavo edition. With portrait.
- Leipzig, 1854, 12 vols., same, third edition.
- Leipzig, 1861-3, 12 vols., same, fourth edition.

Abridgments and Selections in German

- Lüneburg, 1787, 8vo, *Leben Attilas, Königs der Hunnen*, aus dem Englischen übersetzt.
- Hamburg, 1788, 8vo, *Ausbreitung d. Christenthums aus natürl. Ursachen*, aus d. Engl. (Matthiessen).
- Göttingen, 1790, 8vo, *Histor. Uebersicht d. Röm. Rechts*, aus d. Engl. mit Anmerkungen von G. Hugo.
Reissued 1839.
- Berlin, 1790, 3 vols., 8vo, *Geschichte d. Verfalls u. Unterg. d. Röm. Reichs*, im Auszüge, von G. K. F. Seidel (Voss).
- Dessau, 1797, 8vo, *Bekehrung d. Kaiser Constantin d. Grossen*, aus d. Engl.

ITALIAN

Lausanne [= Florence?], 1779, 3 vols., 8vo, *Istoria . . . tradotta dal Francese del Signore Le Clerc de Sept-chênes*.

Apparently discontinued after the sixteenth chapter; Oettinger says "15 Bände," but Graesse says "non terminée". Spedalieri (*Confutazione*, 1798) mentions two Italian translations, but does not say if complete.

Pisa, 1779-86, vols. 1-9, 8vo, *Istoria della decadenza e rovina dell' Impero Romano tradotta dall' Inglese di Edoardo Gibbon*. (Vols. 1-8, Per Carlo Ginesi, Con Licenza de' Superiori; Vols. 4-8, Presso Jacopo Grazioli, Con Licenza de' Superiori; vol. 9, Presso Luigi Raffaelli, Con Approvazione.)

This translation was planned by Monsignor Angelo Fabroni, at his own expense; ten vols. (chaps. 1-43) were translated, the first by Gonnella, the others by Professor Foggi. Fabroni's co-operation was disapproved at Rome; the tenth volume (chaps. 89-48), though printed, was not published and was afterwards destroyed; and after Fabroni's death the other nine were, except 200 copies, sold for waste paper. See Bertocci, *Repertorio Bibliografico* (1880) and the preface to Bertolotti's translation, *infra*; also the leaflet inserted in the British Museum copy. "The superior merit of the Interpreter, or his language, inclines me to prefer the Italian version" (Murray, p. 389). "The critical Essay at the end of the iiii^d Volume was furnished by the Abbate Nicola Spedalieri. The vith and viith Volumes are armed with five letters from an anonymous Divine" (*ibid.* p. 322). Gibbon's own copy is in the British Museum, with his book-plate in the first volume. This translation appears, as professed, to be made from the English original (first edition, except in one sentence at beginning of chap. i.).

Milan, 1820-4, 13 vols., 8vo, with copious index, brief Life of Gibbon, and a compendium of Spedalieri's confutation, *Storia della decadenza e rovina dell' Impero Romano di Edoardo Gibbon. Traduzione dall' Inglese* [by Davide Bertolotti].

It is translated from the 8vo London edition of 1791, and dedicated by the publisher, Nicolò Bettoni, to Lady Fanny Harvey. The first half is founded on the Pisa translation, which is severely criticised, revised "parola per parola" (*Biblioteca Storica di tutte le nazioni*, 20 lire).

Lugano, 1841, 3 vols., 4to, *Storia della decadenza*. . . .

Abridgments in Italian

Bastia, 1835, with map, *Storia . . . compendiate da Fran. Inghirami*.

Florence, 1875, 16mo, with map, *Storia . . .* [to the middle of the Twelfth Century] *compendiate ad uso delle scuole da Gugl. Smith (Barbèra, 4 lire)*. Fifth edition in 1884.

SPANISH

Barcelona, 1847-8, 8 vols., 8vo, *Historia [sic, Graesse] de la decadencia del Imperio Rom. trad. del ingles con notas p. J. Mor. de Fuentes* (180 rs. de la cortina).

RUSSIAN

Moscow, 1883-6, *Исторія упадка и разрушенія Римской Имперіи* . . . Перевелъ . . . В. Н. Невѣломскій, 7 parts, 8vo.

HUNGARIAN (chapters 1-38)

Pest, 1868-9, *A Római Birodalon hanyatlásának és bukásának története* . . . Az angol eredetiből átdolgozta Hegyessy K., 2 vols., 8vo.

POLISH (chapter 44)

Cracow, 1880, *E. Gibbona rys historyczny Prawa Rzymskiego. Przetożył z Angielskiego i uwagami G. Hugona powiększył J. H. S. Rzesiński*. 8vo. Reissued 1844.

GREEK (chapter 44)

Athens, 1840, 'Ε. Γιββωνος 'Ιστορίας της Παρακμης και πτώσεως του ρωμαϊκου κρατους κεφαλαιον μδ., περιεχον την 'Ιστορίαν του ρωμαϊκου δικαιου. 'Οι προστεθεισαν ας σημειώσεις του Ούγωνος, Βαρκοκινγυ και τινες των μεταφραστων 'Α. 'Ερτσυ και Π. Παπαρηγοπουλου, 8vo.

CZECH (chapter 44)

Prague, 1880, *E. Gibbon: o Právu Římském. Z anglického jazyka přeložil J. Váňa*, 8vo (Anglo-Slavonic Library, Part 3: Anglicko-slovanská Knihovna zábavy i poučení).

GIBBON'S MINOR WORKS

ESSAI SUR L'ÉTUDE DE LA LITTÉRATURE

London, 1761, ["I received the first copy (June the 23rd) at Alresford" (Murray, p. 170)], *Essai | sur | l'Étude | de la | Littérature |*, chez T. Becket et P. A. de Hondt, "in a small Volume in duodecimo," "the primitive value of half a crown".

Errata, p. ii; "To Edward Gibbon, Esq.," by "E. Gibbon, Junior" (in English, dated May 28th, 1761), pp. iii-vii; "Avis au Lecteur, Le 26 Avril [16 Avril in Misc. Works], 1761," pp. ix-xiii; "A. L'Auteur" signed "M. Maty," xv-xxxii; *Essai*, pp. 1-159.

Begun, March 8, 1758; resumed July 11; continued February 11, 1759; revised April 23, 1761. [A copy with inscription: "To Mrs. Jolliffe from the Author," was sold in March, 1912, for £3 12s. 6d.] The *Essai* is reprinted in Misc. Works, iv. pp. 1-93, "with corrections and additions from an interleaved copy" (Misc. Works, i. p. xix)—apparently all in the notes: e.g. pp. 30, 84, 84. London and Paris, 1762, *Essai* . . . 12mo (Duchesne). [Recorded by Quérard, *La France Littéraire*.]

[Genève?] 1762, small 8vo, paper cover, *Essai* . . . suivant la Copie, à Londres: chez T. Becket and P. A. de Hondt, s.l. [Priced in a recent catalogue at £5 5s., May, 1911.] Errata corrected and two indexes added.

"The next year (1762) a new Edition (I believe at Geneva) extended the fame, or at least the circulation, of the work" (Murray, p. 171).

It is possible that these two 1762 editions are the same, and that Gibbon was mistaken.

London, 1764, 8vo, An essay on the study of literature, written originally in French . . . now first translated into English (T. Becket and P. A. de Hondt, 2s.); also a large paper edition, 4s.

"The author might have wept over the blunders and the baldness of the English translation" (Murray, p. 171).

[Apparently translated by Becket : "his translation," Misc. Works, i. p. 157 note; Murray, p. 256.]

There is another translation, "an entirely new one," in "The Miscellaneous Works" of 1837.

Dublin, 1777, 12mo, An essay . . . "The publication of my History revived the memory. I refused the permission of reprinting it: the public curiosity was imperfectly satisfied by a pyrated copy of the booksellers of Dublin" (Murray, p. 171).

Translations (German) of the Essai

Hamburg, 1792, 8vo, Versuch über d. Studium d. Literatur; aus d. Französ. von Eschenburg.

Leipsig, 1794, mit neuem Titel.

MÉMOIRES LITTÉRAIRES

London, 1768, 12mo, Mémoires Littéraires de la Grande Bretagne pour l'an 1767 (Londres : Chez T. Becket et P. A. de Hondt, dans le Strand).

Deyverdun was apparently the responsible editor (Read, ii. pp. 380-3). For plan and contents, see Misc. Works, ii. pp. 68-71.

London, 1769, 12mo, Mémoires Littéraires pour l'an 1768 (Chez C. Heydinger dans Grafton St., Soho; Et se vend chez P. Elmsley, vis-à-vis Southampton Street dans le Strand).

[Both of these are now in the British Museum. The two vols., in one, have been recently catalogued at nine guineas and again at twelve.]

One article, "Doutes Historiques par M. Horace Walpole," by Gibbon, with supplementary "réflexions" by Hume, is reprinted in Misc. Works, iii. pp. 331-49.

CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS

1770, 8vo, Critical Observations on the Sixth Book of the Aeneid: "were sent, without my name, to the press"; "my first English publication" (Murray, p. 282).

1794, 8vo, Critical Observations. . . .

Reprinted in Misc. Works, iv. pp. 467-514.

A VINDICATION, ETC.

1779, January 14th [Walpole's Letters, edn. Toynbee, x. p. 363]. A | Vindication | Of | Some Passages | In The | Fifteenth And Sixteenth Chapters | Of The | History of the Decline and Fall of | the Roman Empire. | By the Author.

"in octavo—for I would not print it in quarto, lest it should be bound and preserved with the History itself" (Murray, p. 316).

Pp. 1-158; Errata (Printed for W. Strahan; and T. Cadell In The Strand).

1779 ("we have a second edition in the press," February 6th, Prothero, i. p. 357), 8vo. A Vindication . . . "Bentinck St., February 3, 1779".

The same number of pages as first edition, but on larger and better paper; fully revised: some passages (e.g. at the end about *A Gentleman*) which formed a "Postscript" in 1st edn., are now incorporated and a few passages added. In Misc. Works, iv. pp. 515-648, Sheffield follows 2nd edn. as a rule, but reinserts a compliment to Bishop Lowth, omitted in 2nd edn. of Vindication.

Dublin, 1779, 8vo. A Vindication. . . .

MÉMOIRE JUSTIFICATIF

1779, May, small 4to of 82 pages [without name of author or place], | Mémoire Justificatif | pour servir de | Réponse | à | L'Exposé &c. | de la | Cour de France | MDCCLXXIX.

The "Exposé" referred to was a pamphlet entitled: "Exposé des motifs de la conduite du Roi de France relativement à l'Angleterre". G.'s Mémoire

was "delivered as a state paper to the Courts of Europe" (Murray, 820), and was "translated even into the Turkish language" (Misc. Works, i. p. xx). Reprinted in Misc. Works (1796), ii. pp. 531-550, and in Misc. Works (1814), v. pp. 1-34; with, however, initial title in both editions thus: *Mémoire Justificatif pour servir de Réponse à l'Exposé des Motifs de la Conduite du Roi de France relativement à l'Angleterre*. A copy of the original is in the B.M.

1779, *The Annual Register*, pp. 397-412, English translation of the *Mémoire*. (Preceded by translations of the Spanish and French manifestoes.)

AN HISTORICAL VIEW OF CHRISTIANITY

1806, 4to, *An Historical View of Christianity*, containing select passages from Scripture, with a commentary by the late Edward Gibbon, Esq., and notes by the late Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, Monsieur de Voltaire, and others (Cadell & Davies).

Not included in Misc. Works.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

1796, 2 vols., 4to, *Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon, Esquire*. With *Memoirs of his Life and Writings*, composed by Himself: illustrated from his letters, with occasional notes and narrative, by John Lord Sheffield [printed for A. Strahan, and T. Cadell, Jun., and W. Davies (successors to Mr. Cadell) in the Strand. £2 10s.].

Vol. i., p. 17, has the silhouette of Gibbon "cut with scissors (*sic*) by Mrs. Brown" (i. p. 485).

"The most important part consists of *Memoirs* . . . of which he left Six different sketches. From all these the following *Memoirs* have been carefully selected and put together," vol. i. p. iv.

Dublin, 1796, 3 vols., 8vo, *Miscellaneous Works* . . . (printed for P. Wogan and twelve others). Silhouette of G. Errata of London edition corrected.

Contains (vol. i., pp. 277-8) matter not found in any other edition, although an English translation appears in the 1837 edition. Sévery (vol. ii., pp. 822-3) says: "Lord Sheffield faisait paraître à Dublin l'édition dite irlandaise des *Miscellanees* de Gibbon, et il pria M. le ministre Levade de lui remettre une notice sur Mme de Sévery [died Jan. 17, 1796] qu'il désirait placer après la lettre [Misc. Works, i., pp. 392-7] dans laquelle Gibbon raconte à son ami Sheffield la mort de M. de Sévery". "Faisait paraître" can hardly be fact; even thus to countenance a cheap rival reprint is strange. Presumably the copyright was still in Sheffield's hands, for which in 1812 John Murray paid him, as executor, £1000 (Hill, p. 815 and also p. 195).

Basil, 1796 (1-4), 1797 (5-7), 7 vols., 8vo, *Miscellaneous Works* . . . (J. J. Tourneisen, 28 fr.).

A curiously arranged book. Vols. i. and ii. contain the text of vol. i., 4to; vols. iii.-v. of vol. ii., 4to; vols. vi. and vii. contain translations into English of the *Essai* and other pieces in French, but not of the *Mémoire Justificatif*; while all the notes, even the most minute, are massed at the end of vol. vii. The Errata of the 4to edn. are corrected. Quérard places this edition as "Basil (Strasbourg)".

1814, 8vo, "A new edition with considerable additions in Five Volumes," *The Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon, Esq.* With *Memoirs of* . . . by the Right Honourable John, Lord Sheffield (printed for John Murray, 50 Albemarle Street, By C. Roworth, Bell-yard, Temple-Bar, £3 5s.; also in royal 8vo, £4 10s.).

I., *Memoirs and Letters*; II., *Letters*; III., *Historical and Critical*; IV., *Classical and Critical*; V., *Miscellaneous*.

Contains plates of Gibbon (Warton, 1774, "by far the best likeness," p. xi), The Pavilion and Terrace at Lausanne, Sheffield Place, Fletching Church, The Mausoleum.

The additional matter in this edition is detailed in Sheffield's "Advertisement," pp. iv. *seq.* There are various minor alterations in the Memoirs, especially in the first few pages; *e.g.* the compliment to "Our immortal Fielding" now first appears. Many additional letters; though omits an important letter of Feb. 11, 1789, to Cadell, probably withheld from rival publisher. 1814, 4to, Antiquities of the House of Brunswick [extracted and printed privately for presents].

(Mr. Toovey, of Piccadilly, catalogued a copy in morocco at £1 16s.)
 1815, 4to, Miscellaneous Works . . . vol. iii. [uniform with vols. i. and ii. of 1796, to complete the set] with portrait by Warton (John Murray, £2 8s.).
 1837, 8vo, Silhouette, The Miscellaneous Works. . . . "Complete in one volume" (B. Blake, 13 Bell Yard, Temple Bar, 10s. 6d.). Also New York, same year.

This is really only the two first volumes of the 1796 edition; and all in English, including "Essai," "Mémoire Justificatif" and the Sévery notice, *ut supra*.

TRANSLATIONS OF MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

French

Paris, 1797, 2 vols., 8vo, Mémoires de Gibbon, suivis de quelques ouvrages posthumes et de quelques lettres du même auteur, recueillis et publiés par Lord Sheffield; trad. de l'angl. (par J. E. F. Marignié), Paris, An V., 10 fr.
 Apparently reissued in An VI. (1798), see Quérard.

German

Leipzig, 1801-2, 2 vols., 8vo, Vermischte Werke, mit Anmerkungen, herausgegeben von J. Lord Sheffield; aus d. Engl. mit Zusätzen.

Graesse says: "n'est pas complète"; "on y ajoute; J. Wilkes, *Supplement to Misc. Works of Gibbon*"; which, according to Brunet, was an anonymous, privately printed piece, which had already appeared in the Observer in 1780. This piece is not in B.M. Library under Wilkes.

THE MEMOIRS SEPARATELY

1827, 2 vols., small 8vo, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Edward Gibbon, composed by himself and illustrated. . . .

("A collection of the most instructive and amusing lives.")

1831, 8vo, Autobiography and correspondence (Ward & Locke).

Reissued in 1869.

1839, 8vo, The Life of Edward Gibbon, with selections from his correspondence and illustrations by H. H. Milman (John Murray, 9s.).

Uniform with the first issue of Milman's *Decline and Fall*.

Paris, 1840, 8vo, with Essay on the Study of Literature. Portrait.

1854, Memoirs of my Life and Writings (prefixed to Smith's edition of *Decline and Fall*, 8vo).

1869, post 8vo, The Autobiography and Correspondence, reprint of the original 4to edition, cr. 8vo (Alexander Murray, 3s. 6d.).

Boston, 1877-8, 12mo, with a critical and biographical essay by W. D. Howells ("Famous Autobiographies"). Reissued 1905 by Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

1880, cr. 8vo, The Life and Letters, with index, by W. J. Day (with History of the Crusades, Chandos Classics).

1891, 8vo, Memoirs and a selection from his letters, edited by Henry Morley, with introduction. Printed from the 1796 edn. (Routledge, Carisbrooke Library).

1896, 8vo, with portrait from an enamel by H. Bone, R.A., after Reynolds. The Autobiographies of Edward Gibbon, printed verbatim from hitherto unpublished MSS., with an introduction by the Earl of Sheffield, edited by John Murray (John Murray); also New York, 1897 (Scribner).

Memoirs F (and Appendix), B, C, E, A, D ; Memoranda and Fragments ; Will of 1788 (not of 1791) ; Index.

Passages hitherto unpublished are so marked, not always correctly, *e.g.* on p. 417, the passage "We seem—society" appeared in the second edition, and the first clause in both editions.

1897, The same, Second edition.

Boston, 1898, 12mo, Memoirs, with introduction and notes by Oliver Farrar Emerson (Athenæum Press Series, Ginn).

1899, 8vo, Life and Letters (with History of the Crusades), verbatim reprint, with copious index by W. J. Day (C. Arthur Pearson).

1900, cr. and demy 8vo, The Memoirs of The Life of Edward Gibbon, with various observations and excursions by Himself, edited by George Birkbeck Hill (Methuen & Co.). Preface ; elaborate notes and 68 Appendixes.

"My text, with the exception of a few words, is Lord Sheffield's. It does not, however, exactly correspond with either his first or his second edition" (p. xvii). An indispensable edition. Also New York (Putnam).

1907, pott 8vo, Autobiography of Edward Gibbon, as originally edited by Lord Sheffield, with an introduction by J. B. Bury (The World's Classics, Henry Frowde). Follows the readings of the 1814 edition.

1911, foolscap 8vo, The Autobiography of Edward Gibbon, edited by Oliphant Smeaton (Everyman's Library, Dent) ; also New York (Dutton).

TRANSLATIONS OF THE MEMOIRS

German

Brunswick, 1796-7, 2 parts, 8vo, Leben, von ihm selbst beschrieben ; übersetzt von Ziegenbein.

Leipzig, 1797, 8vo, Leben . . . mit Anmerkungen herausgegeben von J. Lord Sheffield, aus dem Englischen übersetzt und mit erläuternden Anmerkungen begleitet [by F. G. S.]. Portrait.

Leipzig, 1801, 8vo, portrait.

Italian

Milan, 1825, 8vo, Memorie scritte da lui medesimo.

GIBBON'S LETTERS, ETC.

1896, 2 vols., 8vo, Private Letters of Edward Gibbon (1753-1794), edited by Rowland E. Prothero (John Murray).

The frontispieces are the Silhouette of Gibbon and The Pavilion and Terrace, Lausanne.

Letters garbled or truncated in Misc. Works are here printed entire. This, however, is not a complete collection of Gibbon's Letters, and must be supplemented by the other works below and also by the Misc. Works, both editions.

1897, Same, Second edition.

1896, 8vo, The Girlhood of Maria Josepha Holroyd. Recorded in letters . . . edited by J. H. Adeane (Longmans, Green & Co.).

Contains two letters, one portion hitherto unpublished (p. 201).

1897, 2 vols., 8vo, Historic Studies in Vaud, Berne, and Savoy, by General Meredith Read (Chatto & Windus). Thirty-one illustrations, including portraits of Gibbon and Deyverdun from the originals at La Grotte.

Contains unpublished letters, etc., of Gibbon, but (except one letter) translated into English.

Paris, 1882, 2 vols., small 8vo, Le Salon de Madame Necker d'après des documents tirés des archives de Coppet par Le Comte D'Haussonville (Calmann Lévy).

Contains unpublished letters and verse from Gibbon to Susanne Courchod.

1882, 2 vols., small 8vo, The Salon of Madame Necker, translated by H. M. Trollope.

Lausanne and Paris, 1911-12, 2 vols., 8vo, *La Vie de Société dans le Pays de Vaud à la fin du dix-huitième siècle*. Par M. et Mme. William de Sévery (Lausanne, Georges Bridel & Cie; Paris, Librairie Fischbacher).

Many illustrations, connected with Gibbon.

In vol. ii. are two chapters (i. and ii.) devoted to Gibbon, containing letters, etc., in the French original, many of which Meredith Read had translated in his book.

Not in the B.M. I have not seen vol. i., which is out of print.

1895, cr. 4to, Proceedings of the Gibbon Commemoration (1794-1894), by R. H. T. Ball (Longmans, Green & Co.).

Contains catalogue of the Gibbon exhibition, with quotations, etc.

There appears to be no complete uniform edition of Gibbon's Works. The "Edition Lausanne" (Fred. de Fau & Co., New York, 1907) includes History, 7 vols., 12mo, Autobiographies and Private Letters.

CONTROVERSIAL REPLIES TO THE HISTORY

1776, October (Misc. Works, iv. p. 602), Anonymous [James Chelsum, D.D.]. Remarks on the two last chapters of Mr. Gibbon's History of . . . In a Letter to a Friend, 8vo.

Second edition, enlarged, with additional remarks by Dr. Randolph, Lady Margaret Professor, was published under Chelsum's name in 1778, Oxford, 12mo. Translated into Italian, though probably unpublished (Spedalieri, *Confutazione*, 1827, Preface, p. 10).

Cambridge, 1776, Richard Watson, D.D., F.R.S., and Regius Professor of Divinity. An Apology for Christianity in a series of letters to Edward Gibbon, Esq., 12mo. Six Letters, with an "Appendix" by R. Wynne, Rector of St. Alphage, London.

Also Cambridge, 1777, 12mo; Dublin, 1777, 8vo; 1791, 12mo; 1797, 12mo. Also included in "Two Apologies," 1806, 8vo; 1816, 8vo; 1820, 8vo; Edinburgh, 1821, 12mo; 1889, Bohn. Translated into Italian, though probably unpublished (Spedalieri, *ut supra*).

1776, William Salisbury, B.D. Strictures on Mr. Gibbon's Account of Christianity and its First Teachers.

Inserted in his translation of J. B. Bullet's *Histoire de l'établissement du Christianisme*, 8vo.

York, 1778, William Burgh, LL.D. An inquiry into the belief of the Christians of the first three centuries respecting the one Godhead of the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost, 8vo.

Dublin, 1778, Smyth Loftus, M.A., Vicar of Coolock. A Reply to the Reasonings of Mr. Gibbon in History of . . . ; which seem to affect the Truth of Christianity; but have not been noticed in the Answer which Dr. Watson hath given to that Book, 8vo.

1778, East Aphorp, M.A., Vicar of Croydon. Letters on the Prevalence of Christianity before its Civil Establishment. With Observations on a late History of . . . , 8vo.

1778, Henry Edwards Davis, B.A., of Balliol College, Oxford. An Examination of the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of Mr. Gibbon's History of the . . . In which his view of the Progress of the Christian Religion is shewn to be founded on the Misrepresentation of the Authors he cites: and Numerous Instances of his Inaccuracy and Plagiarism are produced, 8vo (J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall). In my copy, which bears the book-plate of I. Baker Holroyd, there is on title page, in old writing resembling Sheffield's: "supposed by some to be written by Douglas Bishop of Salisbury". He was at this time only Canon of Windsor (D.N.B.).

1778, A Gentleman [Francis Eyre]. A few remarks on the History of . . . , relative chiefly to the two last chapters, 8vo.

An anonymous Roman Catholic.

[Gibbon's *Vindication* appeared on January 14th, 1779.]

1779, [Francis Eyre]. A short Appeal to the Public. By the Gentleman who is particularly addressed in the Postscript of the *Vindication* . . . , 8vo.

1779, Henry Edwards Davis, B.A. A Reply to Mr. Gibbon's *Vindication*, wherein the charges brought against him in the "Examination" are confirmed, and further instances given of his Misrepresentation, Inaccuracy, and Plagiarism, 8vo (J. Dodsley).

1780, George Laughton, D.D. The Progress and Establishment of Christianity, in reply to the 15th Chapter of the *Decline* . . . 4to. Also 1786, 4to.

[1780 ?], not published. Lord Hailes. "That which is placed in the foremost rank, etc," 8vo. (Being observations on the account of the early Christians given by Gibbon.)

[1780 ?], not published. Lord Hailes. "To the virtues of the Primitive Christians, etc.," 8vo. (Further observations on the same.)

York, 1781, Joseph Milner, A.M. Gibbon's Account of Christianity considered; together with some strictures on Hume's Dialogues concerning Natural Religion, 8vo.

1781, Henry Taylor, Rector of Crawley and Vicar of Portsmouth. Thoughts on the Nature of the Grand Apostacy, with Reflections and Observations on the Fifteenth Chapter of Mr. Gibbon's History, 8vo.

Birmingham, 1782. Joseph Priestley, LL.D. An History of the Corruptions of Christianity, 2 vols., 8vo.

Also Birmingham, 1793, 2 vols., 8vo. See also Correspondence between Gibbon and Priestley in Misc. Works, ii. pp. 265-72.

1783, J. Ogilvie, D.D. An inquiry into the Causes of the Infidelity . . . of the Times: with observations on the writings of . . . Gibbon, 8vo.

Norwich, [1784], Thomas Howes. A Discourse on the Abuse of the Talent of Disputation in Religion, particularly as practiced (*sic*) by Dr. Priestly (*sic*), Mr. Gibbon and others of the modern sect of philosophic Christians. Preached at the Cathedral Church, Norwich, June 23, 1784.

Reprinted in Critical Observations on Books antient and modern [by Thomas Howes], 4 vols., 8vo, London, 1776-1800.

Chester, 1784, George Travis, A.M. Letters to Edward Gibbon, Esq., in defence of the Authenticity of the 7th Verse of the 5th Chapter of the First Epistle of St. John, 4to.

Three of these Letters had been published in 1782 in the Gentleman's Magazine. There were enlarged editions of the book in 1786, 8vo, London; and 1794, 8vo, London. See Preface to Porson's *Letters*, p. ix, where the second edition is given as 1786, apparently wrongly.

Oxford, 1784, Joseph White, D.D. Sermons preached before the University of Oxford in 1784 [Bampton Lectures: A Comparison of Mahometism (*sic*) and Christianity, in their History, their Evidence, and their Effects], 8vo.

Second edition, London, 8vo, 1785; fourth edition, 1792; new edition, 1811, 8vo (with title: A Comparison . . .). As to the authorship of these lectures, see Hill, p. 320.

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- tion of an approaching end of the World. . . . Including an . . . examination . . . of the fifteenth chapter of Gibbon (Fifth Baillie Prize Essay), 8vo.
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- Paris, 1842, Marie Nicolas Silvestre Guillon, Bishop of Morocco. Examen critique des doctrines de Gibbon . . . sur Jésus-Christ . . . 2 tom., 8vo.

ITALIAN

- Rome, 1779, Abate Nicola Spedalieri. Confutazione dell' esame del cristianesimo fatto dal sig. Eduardo Gibbon nella sua Storia della . . . (Salvioni).
 Pisa, 1782, Nicola Spedalieri. Saggio di Confutazione de' due capi xv. e xvi. di Gibbon spettanti all' esame del Cristianesimo (inserted in vol. iii., dated 1780, of the Pisa translation of the History; also epitomised in Bertolotti's Milan translation, 1820-4, after chap. 16).
 Pisa, 1783 [Anonymous]. Riflessioni sopra il tomo v. e vi. della Storia della . . . divise in III. lettere dirette al Sigg. Foothead e Kirk, Inglesi Cattolici (inserted in vol. v. pp. 368-435 of the Pisa translation).
 Pisa, 1783 [Anonymous]. Riflessioni sopra il tomo vii. della . . . divise in II. lettere . . . (inserted in vol. vii. of the Pisa translation).
 "The piety or prudence of my Italian translator has provided an antidote against the poison of his original" (Murray, p. 322). "Risoluti però di non mai presentare agl' incauti il veleno senza l'antidoto" (vol. iii. p. 4). Letters to Foothead and Kirk are also inserted in Bertolotti's Milan translation after chap. 25.
 Rome, 1784, Nicola Spedalieri. Confutazione dell' esame del Cristianesimo fatto . . . 2 vols., 4to.
 The author trusts that he is "gratifying the faithful in depositing at the foot of the altar the spolia opima of three foes [Watson, Chelsum, and Gibbon], although they had hoped to see him return victorious over one only" (Preface).
 Piacenza, 1798, Nicola Spedalieri. Confutazione dell' esame . . . , 2 vols., 4to.
 Rome, 1827, Nicola Spedalieri. Confutazione dell' esame . . . , 2 vols. (4 parts), 12mo. Stampata a spese della società dell' Amicizia Cattolica. This edition was published to combat the popularity of the "Italian Republics" of Sismondi, into whom the Anti-Catholic spirit of the "Scotch" Gibbon had now entered (Publisher's note).

The history of Spedalieri's book is enigmatical. The 1779 edn., *supra*, is recorded on the specific authority of Rivista d'Italia, November, 1903, p. 793, but is inconsistent with statement in Cimballi, Vita di Spedalieri, and also in Pisa translation (iii. pp. 4-5 of Saggio); where it is explained that Spedalieri had now completed, but not published, his work, of which, however, he allowed an epitome to be inserted in the Pisa translation, "for the errors in which epitome the author was not responsible". On the other hand, in the Pisa translation, ix. p. 400, and in the Preface to the Confutazione, the epitome is described as by Spedalieri himself. Probably the Saggio was a *ballon d'essai*; and the statement therein "a voluntary error".

"At the distance of twelve years, I calmly affirm my judgement of Davies, Chelsum, etc. A victory over such antagonists was a sufficient humiliation" (Murray, pp. 316-7).

INDEX

PART I. TO TEXT AND NOTES

- AASI (Āsī)**, father of Amrou, v., 478.
- Aazaz**, castle of, v., 467.
- Abactores**, iv., 584 *note*.
- Aban**, Arabian soldier, death of, v., 451.
- Abantus**, Admiral of Licinius, i., 474 *note*.
- Abares**, Scythian colony of, in Hungary, iii., 441 *note*; destroy the Illyrian frontier fortresses, 449 *note*.
- Abbas Shah**, iv., 404 and *note*.
- Abbas**, son of Motassem, at Amorium, vi., 47.
- Abbas**, uncle of Mahomet, at the battle of Honain, v., 393; posterity of, 418; rewarded by Omar, 426.
- Abbasides**, elevation of the, vi., 19; dynasty of, established, 22; expiration of family of, 49; fall of the, 57 *sq*.
- Abd-al-Aziz**, son of Musa, treaty of, with Theodemir, v., 511 *sq*.; death, 513.
- Abd-al-Balcides**, Abyssinian history of, v., 473 *note*.
- Abdallah** defeats the Caliph Mervan, vi., 21 *sq*.
- Abdallah ibn Maimun al-Kaddah**, founder of the Carmathian movement, vi., 51 *note*.
- Abdallah**, son of Abbas, v., 348.
- Abdallah**, son of Abd-al-Motalleb, v., 356; death of, at Muta, 396.
- Abdallah**, son of Jaafar, v., 456.
- Abdallah**, son of Musa, v., 513.
- Abdallah**, son of Said, invades Africa, v., 489; valour of, 489.
- Abdallah**, son of Zobeir, v., 497.
- Abd-al-Malek**, caliph, conquests of, in Africa, v., 497.
- Abd-al-Motalleb**, grandfather of Mahomet, v., 355.
- Abd-al-Rahman**, general of caliph Moawiyah, vi., 3 *note*.
- Abd-al-Rahman**, governor of Africa [A.D. 749], v., 520 *note*.
- Abd-al-Rahman III.**, Caliph of Spain, vi., 23 *sq*.; magnificence of, 26.
- Abd-al-Rahman**, or **Abderame**, victories of, vi., 14; defeated by Charles Martel, 16 *sqq*.; death, 18.
- Abdas**, bishop, destroys the fire temple at Susa, iii., 412 and *note*.
- Abderame**, *see* Abd-al-Rahman.
- Abdication**, Diocletian's, i., 415 *sq*.
- Abdullah**, *see* Abdallah.
- Abélard**, vii., 229 and *note*.
- Abgarus V.**, King of Edessa, ii., 69 *note*; correspondence of with Christ, v., 264 and *note*.
- Abgarus IX.** of Edessa, i., 224 *note*.
- Abgarus XI.** of Edessa, i., 224 and *note*.
- Ahibas**, son of Gamaliel, body of exhumed, iii., 222.
- Ablavius (Ablabius)**, ii., 224 *note*, 284; death of, 236; Prætorian Præfect, 388 *note*, 516.
- Aboras or Araxes**, i., 207, 404 and *note*.
- Abraham**, King of the Homerites, iv., 414; v., 43 and *note*; besieges Mecca, 355, 356 *note*.
- Abraham**, nephew of John Maron, v., 167.
- Abraham**, opposes idolatry, v., 361 *note*; place of, in the Koran, 363.
- Abu-Ayub** or **Job**, companion of Mahomet, death of, vi., 4; his grave (*turbe*), vii., 210 and *note*.
- Abu-Bekr**, publishes Koran, v., 365 and *note*; at battle of Bedr, 386; spreads religion of Mahomet, 375; flight of, from Mecca, 379; chosen by Mahomet, 398; elected Caliph, 407 *sq*.; death, 407; conquers the Arabs, 424; virtues of, 426; invades Syria, 442 *sq*.
- Abu-Caab**, emir of the Andalusian Arabs, vi., 39.
- Abu-Hafs**, leader of Sicilian rebels, vi., 184 *note*.
- Abu-Hafs**, *see* Abu-Caab.
- Abu-Horaira**, on Mahomet, v., 357 *note*.
- Abulfeda**, v., 338; sara of, 356 *note*; Arabic text of, edited by Gagnier,

- 375 *note* ; on burial of Ali, 418 *note* ; on the Fatimites, 418 *note* ; his *Annales Moslemici*, 429 *note* ; his account of Caliph Mervan, vi., 21 ; of Caliph Muktadir, 25 ; on the Bedoween, 52 ; family of, 354 *note*, 355 *note* ; spectator of the war in Syria, 388 ; on the crusaders, 462 *note* ; fights against the Moguls, vii., 6 *note*.
- Abulghazi Bahadur, History of the Tartars, by, iii., 75 *note*, 82 *note* ; on Zingis Khan, vii., 3 *note*, and 5 *notes*.
- Abulpharagius, or Gregory Bar Hebræus, primate of the East, v., 74 *note*, 165 and *note*, 166 *note* ; on the Arabs, 385 *note* ; compendious History of, 429 *note* ; Dynasties of, 482 ; on Caliph Almamun, vi., 29 ; on the Mongols, vii., 23 *note*.
- Abu-l-Waled, King of Grenada, v., 521 *note*.
- Abu-Moslem, rebellion of, vi., 20 *sq.*
- Abuna, head of the Abyssinian priesthood, v., 176 and *note*.
- Abundantius exiled to Pityus by Eutropius, iii., 383 and *note*.
- Abu-Obeidah, commands Arabian army in Syria, v., 443 ; at taking of Damascus, 452 ; at battle of Yermuk, 461 ; besieges Jerusalem, 463, Antioch and Aleppo, 465 ; death, 470.
- Abu-Rafe, servant of Mahomet, v., 389 *note*.
- Abū-Sa'id, sultan, death of, vii., 48, date of, *ib.* *note*.
- Abū-S'id, the Carmathian, vi., 52.
- Abu Sophian [Abu-Sofyān ibn Harb], prince of Mecca, v., 378 ; defeated by Mahomet, 386 ; commands expedition of the nations, 387 ; besieges Medina, *ib.* ; adopts religion of Mahomet, 391 ; rewarded by Mahomet, 394.
- Abu-Taher, the Carmathian, vi., 52 *sq.*
- Abu-Taleb, uncle of Mahomet, v., 357 ; his testimony to Mahomet, 357 *note*.
- Abu-Taleb, *read* Abu Lahab, uncle of Mahomet, v., 377 and *note* ; death of, 378.
- Abydus, ii., 154.
- Abyla, fair of, v., 456 *sq.*
- Abyssinia, Church of, ii., 12 *note* ; v., 176 *sqq.* ; christianized, ii., 382 ; trade of, iv., 248 *note* ; described by Cosmas, 412 *note* ; Greek speech in, v., 154 ; Portuguese in, 176 *sqq.*
- Abyssinians, conquered, iv., 411 *sq.* ; their alliance with Justinian, 413 ; an Arab race, v., 175.
- Acacius, Bishop of Amida, redeems the Persian captives, iii., 418.
- Acacius, leader of the Homœans, ii., 375 *note*.
- Acacius, master of the bears, iv., 226.
- Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople, iv., 185 *note* ; draws up the Henoticon, v., 137 *note*.
- Academics, i., 88.
- Academy of the Platonists at Athens, iv., 280.
- Acatsires, iii., 454 ; ruled over by Ellac, son of Attila, iii., 502.
- Accaioli, Italian family of, in Greece, vi., 506.
- Accents, Greek, vii., 181.
- Acclamations, addressed to Greek Emperors, vi., 88.
- Acephali, Egyptian sect of, v., 138 and *note*.
- Acesius, Novatian bishop, ii., 352 and *note*.
- Achaia, province of, i., 25.
- Acheloum, taken by the Turks, vii., 179.
- Achelus, battle of, vi., 141 and *note*.
- Achilles, the, of the Vandals, iv., 289 and *note*.
- Achilleus, tyrant, i., 392 and *note*.
- Achin, promontory of, iv., 247.
- Acholiis, Bishop of Thessalonica, baptises Theodosius, iii., 148 and *note*.
- Achrida, *see* Lychnidus.
- Acolyth, office of, vi., 86.
- Acra, Mount, ii., 479.
- Acrore or Ptolemais, i., 353 ; Emir of treats with crusaders, vi., 321 ; Conrad III. at, 343 *note* ; siege of (1169 A.D.), 363 *sqq.* ; Richard I. at, 366 ; Louis IX. at, 377 ; metropolis of Latin Christians, 379 ; taken by Sultan Khalil, 380 and *note*.
- Acropolita, George, vi., 452 *note*, 457 *note* ; minister of Vatases, 478 *note* ; punished by Theodore Lascaris II., 478 ; collects letters of Theodore Lascaris, 479 *note*.
- Acta Diurna, iv., 479 *note*.
- Acta Sanctorum, iii., 438 *note*.
- Actiac games, restored by Julian, ii., 453 *note*.
- Actions, right of judicial, iv., 523 *sq.*
- Ad, tribe of, v., 877.
- Adam and Clérisséau, work on Spalatro, i., 422 *note*.
- Adam, place of, in the Koran, v., 363 ; apocryphal books of, *ib.* *note*.

- Adarman, general of Nushirvan, reduces Syria, v., 44.
- Adarne, passes of, ii., 253.
- Adanotus, martyr, ii., 188.
- Adclamationes graves*, i., 107 *note*.
- Addæus* (*Addai*), *Doctrines of*, v., 264 *note*.
- Addison, Mr., bigotry of, v., 264 *note*, vii., 119 *note*, 320 *note*.
- Addua, river of Lombardy, crossed by Alaric, iii., 265; battle of the, iv., 191.
- Adel or Saphadin, brother of Sultan Saladin, vi., 368.
- Adela, wife of Raymond of Toulouse, vi., 290 *note*.
- Adenulf [*De Excidio urbis Aconis*], vi., 380 *note*.
- Aderbijan or Media, conquered by the Moslems, v., 436 *note*; conquered by Togrul, vi., 242.
- Adhad el Dowlat, tyrant of Persia, v., 413 *note*.
- Adharbiĵān, *see* Aderbijan.
- Adhed [Ādid], last Fatimite caliph of Egypt, vi., 853 and *note*.
- Adhēmar, Bishop of Puy, vi., 276, 291, 317; death, 325.
- Adiabene, march of Julian through, ii., 516; name of Assyria, 522 *note*.
- Adiabenicus*, title of Diocletian, i., 406; *Maximus*, of Constantius, ii., 239 *note*.
- Adjudicatio*, iv., 517 *note*.
- Admiral, etymology of that name, vi., 86 and *note*.
- Adolius, iii., 487.
- Adolphus, reinforces Alaric, iii., 330 and *note*; count of domestics, 336; succeeds Alaric, 351 *sqq.*; allies himself with Jovinus, 362; assassinated at Barcelona, 366; his death celebrated at Constantinople, 367 *note*.
- Adoption, ceremony of, vi., 300 *note*.
- Adoration of the emperor, i., 411; ceremony of, vi., 87.
- Adorno, Genoese governor, accompanies Amurath II. to Europe, vii., 78.
- Adrian, *see* Hadrian.
- Adrumetum, city of, surrenders to Belisarius, iv., 300; destroyed by Antalas, 420.
- Adulis, seaport, iv., 248 and *note*, 413.
- Adultery, German punishment of, i., 245 and *note*; Roman laws concerning, iv., 532 *sqq.*; declared to be a capital offence, 535.
- Adventus, prætorian præfect, i., 150.
- Advocatus, ii., 185 *note*.
- Ædesius, the Platonist, ii., 461; at Pergamus, 464.
- Ædui, Gallic tribe, ii., 209 and *note*.
- Ægæ, city in Cilicia, iii., 436.
- Ægidius, master-general of Gaul, revolt of, iv., 28; death, *ib.*; character, *ib. note*; defeats Ricimer at Orleans, 41; elected King by the Franks, 109 *note*.
- Ægilus, station of, v., 213 *note*.
- Ælia Capitolina, ii., 10, 480; v., 463 and *note*.
- Ælianus, leader of the Bagaudæ, i., 384 and *note*.
- Ælianus or Lælianus, *see* Lollianus.
- Ælius Gallus, invades Arabia, v., 341 *note*.
- Ælius Pæstus, *tripartite of*, iv., 485.
- Æmilianus, emperor, i., 296.
- Æmilianus, governor of Pannonia, revolt of, i., 271, 272.
- Æmona, i., 464 and *note*; resists Maximus, iii., 171; siege of, by Theodosius, 173; Alaric at, 291 and *note*.
- Æneas, galley of, preserved at Rome, iv., 437 *note*.
- Æneas of Gaza, his description of the African confessors, iv., 98 and *note*.
- Æneas Sylvius (Pius II.), founds University of Basil, vii., 105 *note*; efforts against the Turks, 216; at coronation of Frederic III., 301 *note*, 302 *note*; epigram of, 325 and *note*.
- Æolus, tragedy of Euripides, iii., 360 *note*.
- Æon or Emanation of the Deity, Gnostic conception of, ii., 359 and *note*.
- Æras, Greek and Latin, iv., 286; Christian æra, 287 *note*; of the elephant, v., 356 and *note*.
- Aerial tribute, iv., 254.
- Æschines, iv., 279; on Alexander, v., 436 *note*.
- Æsculapius, i., 36; island of, iv., 45; temple of, at Lambesa, 318.
- Æstii, inhabitants of the Baltic coast, iii., 61 and *note*; bring amber to Theodoric, iv., 197 and *note*.
- Æteriarch, office of, vi., 86 and *note*.
- Æthiopia, i., 2; ii., 12 *note*; tribes of, join Gildo the Moor, iii., 249; saved by the Portuguese, v., 177.
- Æthiopians, iv., 457 *note*; three thousand at battle of Ascalon, vi., 325.
- Actius, hostage in camp of Alaric, iii., 303; general of Placidia, 421 and *note*; supports John, the usurper, 422; battle with Boniface, 432; his flight, *ib.*; his restoration, 472; his government, *ib. sqq.*; allies himself with the Huns and Alani, 474; por-

- trait of, by Renatus, 473 *note*; subdues the Franks and Suevi, 474; defeats Clodion, 480; his son's betrothal, 503; his death, 504.
- Aetius, surnamed the Atheist, ii., 372 and *note*; favoured by Gallus, 381.
- Ætolia, recovered by John Cantacuzene, vi., 518.
- Afghanistan, Ghōrid dynasty of, vii., 8 *note*.
- Afrasiab, Emperor of Touran, vi., 241 *note*; "towers of," vii., 208.
- Afrasiabs, iii., 84.
- Africa, province of, i., 28 and 29; tribute, 173; revolts from Maximin, 188; from Diocletian, 391; Christianity in, ii., 66 and *note*; persecution of the Christians in, by Maximin, 138; religious discord in, 410 *sqq.*; Count Romanus in, iii., 48 *sqq.*; rebellion of Firmus in, 50 *sqq.*; Theodosius in, 51 *sq.*; Africa described, 53 *sq.* and *notes*; Gildo's revolt in, 244 *sqq.*; revolt of Boniface in, 423 *sqq.*; Vandal invasion of, 425; Donatist persecution in, 426 and *notes*; desolated by Vandals, 429 and 430; Vandal persecution in, iv., 90 *sqq.*; reduced by Belisarius, 299 *sqq.*; date of conquest of, 291 *note*; Catholic Church re-established in, 309; taxed by Justinian, 415; revolt of Stoza in, 417 *sq.*; rebellion of the Moors in, 419 *sqq.*; desolation of, 421; Saracen invasion of, v., 488 *sqq.*; final reduction of, 498 *sq.*; Christianity extinct in, 520 *sq.*; revolts from the Caliph, vi., 55; Norman conquests in, 219 *sq.*
- Agapas*, ii., 53.
- Agatharchides, geographer, v., 332 *note*, 335 *note*; date of his *Historica*, 350 *note*.
- Agathias on testament of Arcadius, iii., 404 and *note*; describes the Franks, iv., 129 and *note*; continues history of Procopius, 224 *note*; edition of Leyden, 225; on Anthemius, 260; on Persia, 387 and *note*; on Lazic war, 397 *note*, 409 *note*, 452 and *note*.
- Agathocles, ii., 537 *note*.
- Agathyrsi, tribes of, iii., 94.
- Agaunum or St. Maurice, monastery of, founded by Sigismund, iv., 121 and *note*.
- Agentes in rebus*, ii., 199 and *note*.
- Agiamoglians*, Turkish class of, vii., 83.
- Agilo, general, ii., 447.
- Aglab, lieutenant of Harun, vi., 55.
- Aglabites, usurp the provinces of Africa, vi., 42.
- Aglæ, a Roman lady, ii., 140.
- Agnats, in Roman law, iv., 514, 519.
- Agnellus, v., 279 *note*.
- Agnes or Irene, daughter of Henry of Brunswick, wife of Andronicus III., vi., 516 and *note*.
- Agnes, wife of Henry, Emperor of Constantinople, vi., 445.
- Agobard, Bishop of Lyons, iv., 138 *note*.
- Agria, iii., 462 and *note*.
- Agricola, i., 3 *note*, 4 and *note*; origin of, ii., 175 *note*.
- Agriculture, i., 56 *sq.*; encouraged by the Magi, 217; ruined by land tax, ii., 205; of the eastern empire, iv., 242 *sq.*; in Asia Minor under Romanus, v., 223 *note*.
- Agrippa, builds the Pantheon at Rome, i., 48 and *note*, and vii., 322 *note*; aqueducts of, iii., 321.
- Agrippina, i., 163 and *note*.
- Agro Calventiano, Boethius executed at, iv., 216 *note*.
- Ahmad, Ben Joseph, v., 381 *note*.
- Ahmad ibn Arabshah, vii., 45 *note*, 50 *note*; on Bajazet, 66.
- Ahmad, son of Abd Allah, vi., 51 *note*.
- Ahmad, son of Tūlūn, vi., 56 *note*.
- Ahnaf ibn Kais, subdues Khurāsān, v., 436 *note*.
- Ahriman, i., 215 and *note*; nature of, vi., 120.
- Aibak, husband of a Mameluke queen, vi., 376 *note*.
- Aidin, Turkish chief, vii., 28; prince of, submits to Murad, 27 *note*; subdued by Bajazet I., 35.
- Aikaterina, Bulgarian princess, v., 236 *note*.
- Aimoin, a French monk, his account of Belisarius, iv., 356 *note*.
- Aix la Chapelle, memorable duel at, iv., 187 *note*; palace and church of Charlemagne at, v., 292 *note*; vii., 323.
- Ajax, sepulchre of, ii., 155.
- Ajnadin, battle of, v., 447 *sq.*
- Akbah, lieutenant of Moawiyah, v., 493; African expedition of, 495 *sq.*; death, 495.
- Akhal Emir, vi., 184 *note*.
- Akindynos, Gregory, vi., 530 *note*.
- Akshehr, death of Bajazet at, vii., 64.
- Ala, lieutenant of the Abbasides, vi., 23.
- Alā-ad-Dīn Mohammad, Shah of Carisme, vii., 8 *note*.
- Alā-ad-Dīn, vizir of Orchan, reforms of, vii., 26 and *note*.

- Aladin** (*Iftikhar*) defends Jerusalem, vi., 820.
- Aladin**, Sultan of Iconium, vii., 24.
- Alamanni**, *see* *Alemanni*.
- Al-Amin**, Caliph of Bagdad, vi., 24 *note*.
- Alani**, i., 268; invade Asia, 348; conquered by the Huns, iii., 98, 94; in the service of Gratian, 142; invade Spain, 365; join the Vandals, 368; colony of, at Orleans, 474 and *note*; allies of *Ætius*, *ib.*; invade Italy, iv., 29 *note*; allies of the Avars, 378 and *note*.
- Alankavah**, virgin mother, Seljukides, derived from, vi., 241 *note*.
- Alaon**, monastery of, v., 306 *note*.
- Alaric**, King of the Visigoths, iii., 494; slain by Clovis at Vouillé, iv., 126.
- Alaric**, the Goth, family of, iii., 254 and *note*; revolt of, *ib. sqq.*; in Greece, 255 *sqq.*; enters Athens, 256; destroys Eleusis, 258; retreats to Elis, 258; escapes to Epirus, 259; allies himself with the Emperor of the East, 259; master-general of Eastern Illyricum, *ib.*; King of the Visigoths, 261; in Italy, 262 *sqq.*; defeated by Stilicho at Pollentia, 267; demands a province, 291; demands hostages, 308; before Rome, 326; raises the siege, 328; negotiations for peace, 330; takes Ostia, 334; declares Attalus emperor, 336; degrades him, 338; sack of Rome, 339 *sqq.*; his moderation, 340; evacuates Rome, 348; his projects, 349, 350; death and funeral, 351.
- Alatheus** and Saphrax, chiefs of the Ostrogoths, iii., 96; send ambassadors to Antioch, 101; at the battle of Hadrianople, 117; cross the Danube, 134; death of Alatheus, *ib.*
- Alauda**, Roman legion, i., 10 *note*.
- Alavivus** and Fritigern, judges of the Visigoths, iii., 97 and *note*; lead the revolt of the Goths, 108; at the battle of Salices, 109.
- Alba**, iv., 327 *note*; interview at, between ambassadors of Theodatus and Justinian, 327; taken by Belisarius, 345.
- Alba Pompeia** in Piedmont, i., 106 *note*.
- Alba**, river, i., 355 *note*.
- Al-Bakri**, v. 488, *note*.
- Albania** (Caucasian), i., 7; Heraclius in, v., 88 and *note*, 89.
- Albania** (Illyrian), prince of, opposes Ottomans, vii., 34 *note*.
- Albanians** (Caucasian), in the army of Sapor, ii., 285 and *note*.
- Albanians** (Illyrian), their invasion of Greece, vi., 527 *note*; revolt of, vii., 158 *sq.*; colony of, in Calabria, 161 and *note*; in the Peloponnesus, 212.
- Albano**, Roman villas at, vii., 247.
- Albara**, captured by crusaders, vi., 320 *note*.
- Al-Beithar**, Arabian Botanist, vi., 38 *note*.
- Albengue**, i., 361 *note*.
- Alberic**, revolt of, v., 320; his title *senator*, vii., 238 *note*.
- Albigensis**, persecution of, vi., 130 *sq.*; etymology of name, 130 *note*.
- Albinus Clodius**, governor of Britain, i., 118, 119; war with Severus, 127 *sqq.*; death, 131.
- Albinus**, Prefect of Rome, iii., 356.
- Albinus**, senator, accused of treason, iv., 214.
- Albinus**, the Pontiff, conversion of, iii., 205 *note*.
- Al-Bocchhari**, edits the Koran, v., 366 and *note*.
- Albofleda**, sister of Clovis, marries Theodoric, iv., 118.
- Alboin**, King of the Lombards, assists Justinian, iv., 441; early prowess, v., 5; allies himself with the Avars, *ib.*; destroys the kingdom of the Gepids, 6 *sq.*; invades Italy, 8 *sqq.*; Arianism of, 9; subdues great part of Italy, 11 *sqq.*; besieges Pavia, 12; murdered by his wife Rosamund, 18 *sq.*
- Albornoz**, Cardinal, vii., 289 and *note*.
- Alcantara**, bridge of, i., 48.
- Alchymy**, i., 394; vi., 38 and *note*.
- Alciat**, on the Pandects, iv., 496 *note*.
- Aldus Manutius**, prints Greek authors at Venice, vii., 135 *note*.
- Alemanni**, Nicholas, quotes the *Justiniani Vita*, iv., 219 *note*; publishes the *Secret History* of Procopius, 225 *note*.
- Alemanni**, origin, i., 278; etymology of name, 278 *note*; in Gaul and Italy, *ib.*; alliance of the, with Gallienus, 279; oppose Claudius, 309 *note*; relation to Juthungi, i., 317 *note*; invade Italy, 319; defeated by Aurelian, 320; destroy the wall of Probus, 357; defeated by Constantius, 390; in Alsace, ii., 289; defeated by Julian, 296; in Gaul, iii., 38 *sq.*, 111 *sq.*; defeated by Majorian, iv., 17 and *note*; derivation of their name, 112; defeated by Clovis,

- 113; their institutions, 132; protected by Theodoris, 199 and *note*; invade Italy, 448; defeat of, by Narses, 449; invade Italy and are defeated by the Lombards, v., 28; their country under Charlemagne, 308; name of, given by the Greeks to the Germans, vi., 340 *note*.
- Alembic, vi., 33 and *note*.
- Aleppo, church of, ii., 11; Julian at, 514; besieged by Nushirvan, iv., 392; resists Baian; v., 60; siege of by the Saracens, 465 *sq.*; castle of, *ib.* and *note*; taken by Nicephorus, vi., 62; princes of, expelled by the Syrian dynasty of Seljuks, 257; under the Atabags, 349; attacked by Saladin, 355; pillaged by the Moguls, vii., 15; sack of, by Timour, 58.
- Alexander the Great, Indian conquests of, i., 31 and *note*; in Julian's *Cæsars*, ii., 506, 507 *note*; his fort near the Caspian Gates, iv., 278; compared to Belisarius, 335.
- Alexander, Archbishop of Alexandria, ii., 365 and *note*.
- Alexander, emperor, colleague of Constantine VII., v., 222.
- Alexander, general of Justinian, iv., 422 *note*.
- Alexander of Diospolis, disgrace of, iv., 537.
- Alexander III., pope, assists the Lombards, v., 324; receives embassy from Constantinople, vi., 225; pronounces separation of Latin and Greek Churches, *ib.*; defines the right of Papal election, vii., 249 and *note*; disqualifies the Colonna, 262 and *note*.
- Alexander Severus, *see* Severus.
- Alexander, son of Basil I., emperor, v., 219.
- Alexander the Scribe (Logothete), iv., 424 and *note*; called *Psallition*, *ib.*
- Alexander V., pope, vii., 299 and *note*.
- Alexander VI. [Borgia], vii., 308.
- Alexandria, i., 54; massacre at, 148; described, 300; tumults at, under Gallienus, *ib.* and 301; seized by Firmus, 333; taken by Diocletian, 392; corn at, 393 *note*; church of, ii., 64; school of, 356; Jews at, *ib.*; Trinitarian controversy at, 360 *sq.*; siege of by Syrianus, 398; tumults at, under Julian, 499; earthquake at, iii., 72; temple of Serapis at, 209 *sqq.*; library of the Ptolemies, 210 *note*; library of Serapeum, 211; museum of, iv., 280; taken by Chosroes, v., 76; patriarch of, lends money to Heraclius, 83 *note*; siege of, by Amrou, 478 *sq.*; date of Saracen conquest of, 480 *note*; destruction of library at, 481 *sqq.*; church of St. John at, 479; poverty of, relieved by Charlemagne, vi., 263; taken by Shiracouh, 352.
- Alexandrians, character of the, i., 301.
- Alexiad* of Anna Comnena, vi., 127 *note*.
- Alexis de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, v., 162.
- Alexius I., son of John Comnenus, v., 241; character, *ib.*; takes Constantinople, *ib.*; persecutes the Paulicians, vi., 128; requests help from the Latins, 205; defeated by Guiscard at Durazzo, 208; epistle of, to the Count of Flanders, 261 and *note*; ambassadors of, at Placentia, 272; diverts the crusaders into Asia, 286; policy of, towards crusaders, 298, 303; fails to assist them at Antioch, 315 and *note*; compared to the jackal, 335; successes against the Turks, *ib.* *sqq.*
- Alexius II., Comnenus, Emperor of Constantinople, reign, v., 247 *sqq.*; new titles introduced by, vi., 84.
- Alexius III., Angelus, vi., 392.
- Alexius IV., son of Isaac Angelus, his alliance with the crusaders, vi., 403 *sq.*; flight of, 413; restored and crowned, 414; visits Europe with Montferrat, 416; accused of apostasy, 416; conduct toward the Latins, 418; death of, 419.
- Alexius Mourzouflé, *see* Mourzouflé.
- Alexius, son-in-law of Theophilus, purchases the palace of Anthemius, iv., 35 *note*.
- Alexius, son of Manuel Comnenus, vi., 388; governor of Trebizond, 439; founds state of Trapezus in 1204, *ib.* *note*; succeeded by his stepson, 439 *note*.
- Alexius Strategopoulos, general of Michael Palæologus, vi., 459; made Cæsar, 484.
- Alfred the Great, translates the writings of Boethius, iv., 216 and *note*; sends ambassadors to Madras, v., 161.
- Algardi, relief by, representing the appearance of SS. Peter and Paul to Attila, iii., 500 and *note*.
- Algebra, discovery of, vi., 32 and *note*.
- Algeire in Spain, town of Julian, v., 506 and *note*.

- Algiers, aristocracy of, i., 207 and *note* ; Christianity revives at, v., 521.
- Al-Hurr invades Gaul, A.D. 718, vi., 14 and *note*.
- Ali, son of Abu Taleb, sixty-nine sentences of, v., 347 *note*, 375, 376 ; aids Mahomet to escape, 379 ; valour of, 389 ; marries Fatima, 406 ; character, *ib. sq.* ; renounces caliphate, 407 ; reign, 410 *sq.* ; defeat and death, 413 ; tomb of, at Cufa, *ib. note* ; one of the twelve Imams, 417 ; posterity of, 418.
- Ali Pasha, vizir of Bajazet, vii., 36 *note*.
- Allicant surrendered by Theodemir to the Saracens, v., 511.
- Alice or Agnes, wife of Andronicus I., v., 256.
- Aligern, brother of Teias, iv., 446 ; defends Cumæ, 448.
- Aliquaca, Gothic chief, i., 475 *note*.
- Aliturus, a Jewish actor, ii., 94.
- Al-Jannabi, Arabian physician, v., 375 *note*.
- Al-Kaim, *see* Cayem.
- Al-Lâta [Al-Lât], worship of, v., 377 and *note*.
- Allectus, i., 387.
- Allier, river, iv., 144.
- Allis, battle of, v., 429.
- Allobich, barbarian commander of the guards of Honorius, iii., 333.
- Allodial lands in Gaul, iv., 141.
- Alma, Mount, i., 362.
- Al-Makkari, v., 504 *note*.
- Almamon, caliph, besieges Bagdad, vi., 24 *note* ; wealth of, 25 ; encourages learning, 28, 35 and *note* ; subdues Crete, 38 *sq.* ; revolt of the provinces under, 54 *sq.*
- Al-Mamûn, *see* Almamon.
- Al-Mansor, caliph, encourages learning, vi., 21, 28 ; founds Bagdad, 24 and *note*.
- Almeria, learning at, under the caliphs, vi., 30 ; manufacture of silk at, 75.
- Al-Modain (the cities), winter residence of the Persian kings, ii., 530.
- Al-Mohades or Princes of Morocco, v., 418 ; fanaticism of, 521 ; vi., 220.
- Almondar, Saracen Prince, iv., 390 and *note*, 391.
- Almus, King of the Hungarians, vi., 143 *note*, 145.
- Al-Nagjar, meaning of, v., 381 *note*.
- Al-Nâsir Nâsir-al-Din Faraj, Circassian Mameluke, vii., 57 *note*.
- Alodes, tribe of, conversion of the, v., 175 *note*.
- Alogians, ii., 61 *note*.
- Alor, town of, taken by the Moslems, v., 440 *note*.
- Alp Arslan, sultan of the Turkmans, vi., 244 ; conquests of, 245 ; defeated by Diogenes, 247 ; wins the battle of Manzikert, 248 ; treaty of, with the emperor, 252 ; death, *ib.* ; tomb of, 253.
- Alphabet, Phœnician, i., 27 *note* ; Mycenaean syllabary, *ib.*
- Alphonso III., King of Leon, v., 502 *note*.
- Alphonso Mendez, Catholic Patriarch of Ethiopia, v., 178 and *note*.
- Alphonso of Castile, v., 327 *note*.
- Alphonso the Chaste, Kingdom of, v., 309.
- Alps, passages of the, i., 449 and *note* ; Maritime Alps, one of the seven provinces, iii., 376 *note* ; passage of, by Majorian, iv., 23 and *note*.
- Al-Sama, invades Gaul, vi., 14 *note*.
- Altai Mountains, *see* Caf.
- Altieri, Italian family of, vii., 382.
- Altinum, city of, pillaged by Alaric, iii., 308 ; destroyed by Attila, 495.
- Alum, mines of, in Melos, vii., 78 *note*.
- Al-Uzzah (Uzzâ), worship of, v., 377 and *note*.
- Alva, Duke of, vii., 308 *note*.
- Alvarez, Portuguese traveller, iv., 413 *note*.
- Alypius, minister of Julian, ii., 483, 485.
- Al-Zâhir Sayf-al-Din Barkûk, founds Burjî dynasty (Circassian Mamelukes), vii., 57 *note*.
- Amala, King of the Goths, i., 262.
- Amalafrida, sister of Theodoric, marries Thrasimond, iv., 320 and *note*.
- Amalaric, grandson of Theodoric, restored to the throne of Spain, iv., 217.
- Amalasontha, daughter of Theodoric, iv., 195 *note* ; erects monument of Theodoric, 218 ; character, 321 and *note* ; regent of Italy, 322 ; reigns with Theodahad, 324 ; exile and death, *ib.*
- Amalasontha, granddaughter of Theodoric, marries Germanus, iv., 439.
- Amali, royal line of, iii., 366 *note*.
- Amalphi, discovery of the Pandects at, iv., 498 and *note* ; Roman colony at, v., 25 ; independence of, 25 ; joins League of the southern cities, vi., 44 ; dukes of, 176-7 *note* ; subdued by Robert Guiscard, 196 ; trade of, 198, 263 ; siege of, 292 ; founds the hospital of St. John at Jerusalem, 328 *note* ; decline of, 387.
- Amalric or Amaury, King of Jerusalem, vi., 330 *note* ; invades Egypt, 351-2 ; wars of, 357.

- Amandus, Gallician bishop, v., 150 *note*.
 Amandus, leader of revolt in Gaul, i., 384 and *note*, 474.
 Amantius, eunuch, iv., 220; death, 221.
 Amara, fortified by the Paulicians, vi., 124 *note*.
 Amastris, Genoese colony, vii., 210 *note*.
 Amaury, *see* Amalric.
 Amazons, i., 334 and *note*.
 Amber, i., 59 and *note*; brought to Theodoric, iv., 197 and *note*.
 Amblada, Aetius at, ii., 396 *note*.
 Amboise, conference of Clovis and Alaric near, iv., 128.
 Ambrose, St., ii., 342 *note*; epistle of, to Theodosius, 484 and *note*; his treatise on the Trinity, iii., 142 *note*; toleration of, 163; early history, 163 *sq.*; disputes with Justina, 165 *sqq.*; friendship with Theodosius, 183; dealings with Theodosius, 184 *sqq.* and *notes*; with Eugenius, 194; opposes Symmachus, 208; on the state of Italy, iv., 60 and *note*, 483 *note*; cathedral of, at Milan, v., 328.
 Ambrosius Aurelianus the Roman, iv., 162 and *notes*.
 Amedee the Great, of Savoy, vi., 517 *note*.
 Amelius, neo-Platonist, i., 423.
 Amelot de la Houssaie, iii., 497 *note*.
 Amer, apostate Arabian, v., 470.
 Ameria, rebuilt by Leo, vi., 45.
 America, iv., 178 *note*.
 Amida, city of, ii., 285 and *note*; modern name of, 285 and *note*; taken by Sapor, 286 and *note*; capital of Mesopotamia, 555; strengthened by the sieges of, iv., 275 *note*, 276; destroyed by Chosroes, v., 74; taken by the Saracens, 471; recovered by Nicephorus, vi., 68; *see* Diarbekir.
 Amiens, i., 390; taken by the Germans, iii., 285; in the domain of Syagolins, iv., 110.
 Amina, the Zahrite, v., 356.
 Amir, Turkish prince of Ionia, rescues the Empress Irene from the Bulgarians, vii., 29; death of, 30.
 Ammates, brother of Gelimer, slain by the Romans, iv., 302.
 Ammianus Marcellinus, i., 212 *note*; ii., 217 *note*; on Eusebius, 262; as a writer, 261 *note*, 265 *note*; attended Ursicinus, 275 *note*; at Amida, 287 *note*; on the Christians, 413; on Constantius II., 439 *note*; on Julian's clemency, 470; on the temple at Jerusalem, 485; in Persia, 533 *note*; on the Church of Rome, iii., 81; at Salices, 110; impartiality of, 128 and *note*; on Roman manners, 311 *sqq.* and *notes*.
 Ammon, the mathematician, his measurement of the walls of Rome, iii., 324.
 Ammonius, neo-Platonist, i., 423; John Philoponus, his last disciple, v., 481.
 Ammonius, the monk, v., 116.
 Amnesty, general, published by Honorius, iii., 356.
 Amogavares, name for Spaniards and Catalans, vi., 501 *note*.
 Amor or Hamaland, code of, iv., 132 *note*.
 Amorian war, vi., 46 *sqq.*
 Amorium, birthplace of Leo the Armenian, v., 206 *note*; destruction of, 197; taken by the Saracens, vi., 7; siege of, by the Saracens, 48; site of, 47 *note*.
 Amphilochius, Bishop of Iconium, iii., 149.
 Amphipolis, under the Servians, vi., 524 *note*.
 Amphissa, taken by Boniface, vi., 436 *note*.
 Amphitheatre of Titus at Rome, i., 371 and *notes*.
 Ampouille (Sainte), iv., 115 *note*.
 Ampsaga, river, iii., 483.
 Amrou (Amr), v., 391; attempt on his life, v., 418; acknowledges Moawiyah, 414; at Damascus, 450; birth, 473; in Egypt, 474 *sqq.*; interview with the prefect, 480; administration of, in Egypt, 484 *sq.*; canal of, between Nile and Red Sea, 485 and *note*; correspondence with Omar, 486 *note*.
 Amrou, brother of Jacob the Sofforite, vi., 56.
 Amselfeld, battle of the, vii., 84 *note*.
 Amurath I., Sultan [Murad], reign and conquests of, vii., 33 *sqq.*; institutes the Janizaries, 84; death, 85; punishes Sauzes, 41.
 Amurath II., Sultan, marries Servian princess, vii., 66 *note*; reign of, 77; takes Hadrianople, 78; besieges Constantinople, 80; embassy of, to John Palaeologus, 108 and *note*; character and reign, 144 *sqq.*; pardons Scanderbeg, 145; abdication, 146 *sq.*; in battle of Warna, 151 *sq.*; enters Albania, 159; retires from Croya, 159; receives Phranza, 162; death, 163.
 Amycus, ii., 151 and *note*.
 Anachorets, iv., 68, 78 *sq.*
 Anacletus, pope, consecrates Roger, first King of Sicily, vi., 218; vii., 226 *note*; "antipope," 259.

- Anagni**, vii., 252; **Boniface VIII.** at, 258; the curse of, *ib. note*; college of cardinals at, 295; **Porcaro** at, 805.
- Anaitis**, golden statue of, iii., 218 *note*.
- Anas**, river, iii., 425.
- Anastasia**, daughter of **Heraclius**, v., 185 *note*.
- Anastasia**, daughter of the Emperor **Maurice**, v., 69 *note*.
- Anastasia**, Empress, wife of **Tiberius**, v., 18 and *note*.
- Anastasia**, sister of **Constantine**, i., 482 *note*, 468; ii., 218.
- Anastasia**, sister of the Empress **Theodora**, iv., 226.
- Anastasia**, Gregory's conventicle, iii., 152, 158 and *note*.
- Anastasius**, author of the **Liber Pontificalis**, iv., 481 *note*.
- Anastasius**, grandson of the Empress **Theodora**, iv., 486 and *note*.
- Anastasius I.**, Emperor, heresy of, iv., 117; makes **Theodoric** consul, 128; marries **Ariadne**, 185; war with **Theodoric**, 198 *sq.*; religious troubles in the circus, 285; economy of, 250 and *note*; remits taxation, *ib.* and *note*; exempted various cities from taxation, 258; long wall of, 270; suppressed the pensions of the **Isaurians**, 271; Persian war, 275 *sq.*; in the circus as a suppliant, v., 140; signs treaty of orthodoxy, 140.
- Anastasius II.**, Emperor, v., 196; preparations against **Saracens**, vi., 6 and *note*.
- Anastasius I.**, Pope, epistle of, to **Olovis**, iv., 117 *note*.
- Anastasius IV.**, Pope, vii., 282.
- Anastasius**, librarian of the Roman Church, vi., 18 *note*, 46 *note*.
- Anastasius**, Patriarch; supports **Artavasdus**, v., 198 *note*.
- Anastasius**, St., acts of, v., 77 *note*.
- Anatho**, ii., 520 and *note*.
- Anatolia**, invaded by **Monguls**, vii., 15; divided among the **Emirs**, 27; invaded by **Timour**, 61; given to **Moussa**, 65.
- Anatolius**, heretic, iv., 256 *note*.
- Anatolius**, master-general of the armies of the East, ambassador to **Attila**, iii., 468.
- Anatolius**, master of the offices, ii., 542, 544.
- Anatomy**, study of, among the **Saracens**, vi., 88 and *note*.
- Anasarbus**, valley of, v., 244.
- Anbar**, city of, reduced by **Caled**, v., 429.
- Anbasa**, invades Gaul, vi., 14 *note*.
- Anchialus**, i., 287; warm baths at, iv., 268; Emperor **Maurice** at, v., 61; **Andronicus** at, 250; battle of, vi., 141 *note*.
- Ancoila**, or sacred shields, i., 158; ii., 461 *note*; iii., 828 *note*.
- Ancona**, taken by **Belisarius**, iv., 847; resists **Totila**, 489; siege of, by **Frederic Barbarossa**, vi., 224; traders of, at Constantinople, vii., 206; **Pius II.** at, 216.
- Ancyra**, Monument of, i., 2 *note*, 328; council of, ii., 56; **Jovian** at, iii., 5; taken by **Chosroes**, v., 77; pillaged by the **Paulicians**, vi., 125; taken by **Murad V.**, vii., 27 *note*.
- Andages** the **Ostrogoth**, kills **Theodoric** at **Châlons**, iii., 490.
- Andalusia**, v., 501 *note*.
- Andalusian** Arabs in **Egypt** and **Orete**, vi., 39.
- Anderida** (**Andredeas Ceaster**), iv., 164 and *note*.
- Andernach**, fortified by **Julian**, ii., 301 *note*.
- Anderson** on the **Hanseatic league**, vi., 158 *note*.
- Andragathius**, general to **Maximus**, iii., 175 *note*.
- Andreas de Redusiis de Quero**, his description of the sack of **Azoph**, vii., 52 *note*; Chancellor of **Trevigi**, 66 *note*.
- Andrew**, eunuch, protects the Christians, ii., 125.
- Andrew**, King of **Hungary**, refuses the empire, vi., 448.
- Andrew** of **Naples**, strangled, vii., 278 and *note*.
- Andrew**, St., body of, removed to Constantinople, iii., 220; spiritual founder of Constantinople, *ib. note*; head of, removed to **Vatican**, vii., 214; monastery of, at **Rome**, v., 86 and *note*; shrine of, at **Patras**, vi., 78.
- Andronicus Angelus**, v., 258.
- Andronicus Ducas**, brother of **Constantine X.**, vi., 249.
- Andronicus I.**, surnamed **Gidos**, second Emperor of **Trebizond**, vi., 489 *note*.
- Andronicus I.**, v., 257; character and adventures of, 247 *sqq.*; reign, 255 *sqq.*; death, vi., 226; massacre of **Latins**, 388.
- Andronicus II.**, or **Elder**, **Palæologus**, restores **Justinian's** statue, iv., 461; crowned, vi., 490; pays the **Catalans**, 502; defeated by them, 504;

- reign, 509 *sqq.*; associates Michael, 511; abdicates, 515; death, 516; preserves colossus of Justinian and St. Sophia, vii., 140.
- Andronicus III., or Younger, vi., 511; coronation, 514; character, 514; reign, 516 *sqq.*; death, 516; defeated by Orchan, vii., 27; embassy to Benedict XII., 88 and *note*.
- Andronicus, President of Libya, excommunicated, ii., 845 and *note*.
- Andros, island of, taken by Venice, vi., 485 *note*.
- Anecdotoi Holderi*, iv., 212 *note*.
- Anemas, tower of, vii., 41, 182 *note*.
- Angamala or Cranganor, Jesuits invade the see of, v., 162; Bishop of, 161-2.
- Angelo, St., fortress of, v., 321.
- Angels*, bishops so called, ii., 44 *note*.
- Angles, in Britain, iv., 157.
- Anglo-Saxons, conversion of, by Gregory, v., 38.
- Angora, battle of, vii., 61 *sq.*
- Angora, *see* Ancyra.
- Angoulême, siege of, iv., 126 and *note*.
- Anguillara, the Count of, at Petrarch's coronation, vii., 268.
- Ani, captured by Alp Arslan, 1064 A.D., vi., 246 *note*.
- Anianus, Bishop of Orleans, iii., 485; Life of, 484 *note*, 485 *note*.
- Anician family, conversion of, iii., 205, 307 and *note*; consulships of, 307 *note*.
- Anicius Gallus, *see* Gallus.
- Anicius, Julian, senator, iii., 307 and *note*.
- Anicius Q. (Prænestinus), tribune, iii., 307 *note*.
- Aniush, Castle of, in Susiana, iii., 56 *note*.
- Anna Comnena, Life of her father, v., 241, 242; conspires against her brother, 248; her property confiscated, *ib.*; on Greek fire, vi., 11 *note*; learning of, 111; on Malek Shah, 257, 298 and *note*; on crusaders, 304; on the Latin Church, 386 *note*.
- Annah, city of, *see* Anatho.
- Annales Barennes*, vi., 188 *note*.
- Anne, daughter of the Emperor Romanus II., v., 225; vi., 92; marries Wladimir, 93, 205; her account of battle of Durazzo, 209.
- Anne of Savoy, Empress, vi., 517 and *note*; opposes John Cantacuzene, 519 *sqq.*; makes a treaty with Cantacuzene, 525; her mediation at Thessalonica, 527; treaty with Orchan, vii., 81.
- Anne, or Constance, daughter of Frederic II., vi., 477.
- Annibaldi, Italian family of, vii., 260 and *note*, 331.
- Annibalianus, brother of Constantine, i., 432 *note*.
- Annibalianus, general of Probus, i., 354.
- Annil, family of the, consulships of, iii., 308 *note*.
- Annona*, tax under Justinian, iv., 253 *sq.*
- Anomœans, sect of, ii., 372.
- Ansars, or auxiliaries of Medina, v., 381; [al-Ansâr], vi., 4.
- Anseau de Cayeux, correspondence with Michael Palæologus, vi., 459 and *note*.
- Ansea, Gothic demigods, i., 262.
- Antala, Gothic prince, iii., 494.
- Antalus the Moor, iv., 289 *note*; assists Artaban against Gontharis, 418 *note*; defeats Solomon at Tebeste, 419 *sq.*
- Ante portam Cyperon, name for Sopron or Poson, vi., 286 *note*.
- Antes, Slavonian tribe, i., 263; iv., 371 and *note*.
- Anthemius, Emperor of the West, 12,000 men levied for his service in Britain, iii., 373 *note*; family of, iv., 33; marries the daughter of Marcian, *ib.*; religious toleration of, 35; quarrels with Ricimer, 45 *sq.*; born in Galatia, 46 *note*; death, 48.
- Anthemius, grandfather of the emperor, consul and prætorian præfect, governs the eastern empire, iii., 404 and *note*.
- Anthemius, the architect, iv., 258, 259, 260.
- Anthimus, Bishop of Nicomedia, ii., 133 *note*.
- Anthimus, son of Constantine Copronymus, v., 201.
- Anthropomorphism, v., 109 and *note*.
- Anticus*, title adopted by Justinian and his successors, iv., 371 *note*.
- Antigonus, ii., 321 *note*.
- Antinomies, iv., 497 *note*.
- Antinopolis, in Upper Egypt, iv., 253.
- Antinōus, i., 83.
- Antioch, i., 54; captured by Sapor, 391; battle of, 328; arsenals at, 389; Diocletian at, 398; Church of, ii., 62; Christian Church erected by Constantine at, 840; Council of, 389 and *note*; Olympic games at, 492; cathedral of, shut by Julian, 495; Julian at, 507 *sqq.*; Church of, 509; Jovian at, iii., 5; persecution

- at, for magic, 17 *sq.*; sedition at, 177 *sqq.*; date of, 180 *note*; restored by Justinian, iv., 265 and *note*; burnt by Nushirvan, 393; earthquake at, 465; taken by Chosroes, v., 74; by the Saracens, 465 *sq.*; date of, 467 *note*; recovered by Nicephoras Phocas, vi., 62; loyalty of, to the empire, 261; taken by Sultan Soliman, *ib.*; by the crusaders, 310 *sqq.*; history of, 327 *note*; principality of, 331 *note*; prince of, 337; taken by Sultan Bondocdar, 378.
- Antioch-Chosrou, iv., 394 *note*.
- Antioch (Pisidia), crusaders at, vi., 309.
- Antiochus, King, *era of*, i., 212 *note*.
- Antiochus, monk, homilies of, v., 75 *note*.
- Antiochus, officer of the household, ii., 239.
- Antiochus, proconsul of Greece, iii., 255.
- Antiochus Sidetes, iii., 415 *note*.
- Anti-Tribonians, iv., 471 *note*.
- Antivari, anonymous writer of, vii., 156 *note*.
- Antonina, wife of Belisarius, iv., 257; character, 294 *sq.*; accompanies Belisarius to Africa, 298; death of Constantine attributed to, 349 and *note*; secret history and adventures of, 358 *sqq.*; accused of exile of Sylvester, 424 *note*; solicits return of Belisarius, 434; founds a convent, 458 *note*.
- Antonines, the, found a school at Athens, i., 62 *note*; reign, 83; endow the schools of philosophy, iv., 281.
- Antoninus Arrius, i., 99.
- Antoninus, fugitive at the court of Sapor, ii., 233 and *note*.
- Antoninus, M. Aur., wars, i., 9, 10; levies troops from the Quadi and Marcomanni, i., 16 *note*, 38 *note*, 78 *note*; character and reign, 83 and *note*, 84; campaigns on the Danube, 85; indulgence of, 91, 92, 115 *note*; Marcomannic wars of, 253 *sq.*, 352 *note*; in Julian's *Cæsars*, ii., 506.
- Antoninus, name of Geta and Caracalla, i., 139 *note sq.*
- Antoninus, name of Heliogabalus, i., 155.
- Antoninus Pius, wall of, i., 5; compared with Hadrian, 8 *sq.*; wars with the Moors, and Brigantes of Britain, 9 *note*; character and reign, 84; edict of, in favour of the Jews, ii., 79.
- Antoninus, Proconsul of Asia, ii., 112 and *note*.
- Antonio de Ferrariis, vii., 217 *note*.
- Antonius, L., i., 80 *note*.
- Antonius Petrus, vii., 311 *note*; Diary of, 331 *note*.
- Antony, Mark, iii., 210 *note*.
- Antony, St., monastery of, at Kauleas, ii., 158 *note*; on Mount Colzim, iv., 64; founds colonies of monks in Egypt, 65 *sq.*
- Antrusion, rank of, among the Franks, iv., 134 and *note*.
- Anulinus, master of Diocletian, i., 377.
- Anulinus, prætorian præfect, i., 435.
- Anushtigin, Governor of Carizme, vii., 8 *note*.
- Apamea or Corna, i., 284; ii., 522 *note*; besieged by Nushirvan, iv., 392; destroyed by Adarman, v., 44; massacre of monks at, 163 and *note*; taken by the Saracens, 469; recovered by Nicephorus, vi., 68.
- Aper, Arrius, prætorian præfect, i., 374 and *note*; death, 375 and *note*.
- Apharban, i., 401.
- Aphdal, Sultan, restores Fatimite rule in Palestine, vi., 319.
- Apocalypse, the, rejected by Council of Laodicea, ii., 26 *note*, 61 *note*.
- Apocaurus, Duke, attacks regency of John Cantacuzene, vi., 519, 520 *note*; defeats Cantacuzene, 521; death, 523.
- Apodemius, ii., 447.
- Apollinaris, Bishop of Laodicea, his theory of the incarnation, v., 111 *sq.*
- Apollinaris, Patriarch of Alexandria, v., 171 *sq.*
- Apollinaris, son of Sidonius, iv., 126.
- Apollinaris, works of, ii., 488 *note*.
- Apollo, statue of, at Constantinople, ii., 162.
- Apollodorus, Trajan's architect, iv., 267 *note*.
- Apollonia, city of Assyria, ii., 522 *note*.
- Apolloniates, Lake, i., 285.
- Apollonius, ambassador of Marcian, iii., 471.
- Apollonius of Perga, vi., 31 and *note*.
- Apollonius of Tyana, i., 328 and *note*; ii., 126 *note*.
- Apologists, early Christian, ii., 72-73.
- Apostates, Christian, ii., 114.
- Apostles, ii., 43, 89 and *note*.
- Apotheosis, *see* Deification of Emperors.
- Apparitors, ii., 180.
- Apsarus, fortifications of, iv., 402.
- Apsimar (Tiberius III.), assumes the purple, v., 192; executed by Justinian II., 193.

- Apuleius, i., 41 *note*; his *Metamorphoses*, ii., 58 *note*.
- Apulia, state of, in tenth century, vi., 178; conquered by the Normans, 185; count of, 186; reduced by Manuel, 228.
- Apulians, i., 28.
- Apulus, William, on the Normans, vi., 181 *note*, 183 *note*.
- Aqueducts, Roman, iv., 341 and *note*.
- Aquileia, siege of, i., 198; besieged by Jovinus, ii., 489; taken by Theodosius, iii., 174; siege of, by the Goths, 262; pillaged by Alaric, 308; usurper John, beheaded at, 419; besieged by Attila, 493; destroyed by him, 494 and *note*.
- Aquitain, province of, i., 21, 324; Goths settle in, iii., 369; first and second, two of the *seven provinces*, 376 *note*; united by Clovis to France, iv., 127; under Charlemagne, v., 306; recovered by Eudes, vi., 18.
- Aquyrion, palace of Constantine, ii., 233.
- Arabah, blind Arab, v., 348.
- Arabia, attempted reduction of, i., 2 and *note*; description of, v., 332 *sqq.*; geographers of, *ib. note*; European travellers in, 333 *note*; three divisions of, 334; horses of, 336; camel, 337; cities, 337 *sq.*; trade, 339; Roman province of, 340 and *note*; language of, 346; Sabians in, 352; Magians, Jews, and Christians in, 353 *sqq.*; Turks in, 340 *note*; religious sects of, 351; subdued by Mahomet, 392 *sqq.*; province of Syria called Arabia, 444; languages in, 524 *note*.
- Arabia, daughter of Justin II., v., 16.
- Arabian Nights, v., 518 *note*.
- Arabic language, diffusion of, v., 524 and *note*.
- Arabissus, in Lesser Armenia, iii., 401; in Cappadocia, v., 20.
- Arabs, under the Roman Empire, i., 27; assist the Romans, ii., 240; description of, v., 335 *sqq.*, 339; civil wars of, 344; social life of, 346; annual truce, *ib. note*; poetry of, 347 and *note*; generosity of, 348; ancient idolatry of, 349; their rites and sacrifices, 351 *sq.*; union of, 423 *sq.*; military tactics, 431; in Persia, 436 *sqq.*; in Transoxiana, 439 *sqq.*; in Syria, 442 *sqq.*; further conquests, 471 *sq.*; naval exploits, 472; in Egypt, 472; in Africa, 488 *sqq.*; in Spain, 501 *sqq.*; at Constantinople, vi., 2 *sqq.*; in France, 18 *sqq.*; learning among, 28 *sqq.*; in Sicily, 40; in Italy, 42; *see* Saracens.
- Aradus, v., 471.
- Aramean, Syriac dialect, v., 154 *note*.
- Arario, King of the Goths, crosses the Danube, ii., 280.
- Aratus, commands Heruli against Totila, iv., 441.
- Araxes, river, Heraclius at, v., 88 and *note*.
- Araxes, river, *see* Aboras.
- Arba, river, Heraclius reaches the, v., 97, 98.
- Arbalist, cross bow, vi., 308.
- Arbela, i., 226 *note*.
- Arbetio, general of Constantine, iii., 16.
- Arbetio, general of Julian, ii., 447.
- Arbogastes the Frank, opposes Maximus, iii., 173; puts Flavius Victor to death, 174; dismissed by Theodosius, 188 and *note*; makes Eugenius emperor, 189; defeats Theodosius, 193; death, 194.
- Arboruchi or Armorici, iv., 112 *note*, 117 *note*.
- Arcadia, daughter of Arcadius, iii., 406.
- Arcadius Charisius, ii., 202 *note*.
- Arcadius, son of Theodosius, made Augustus, iii., 149; Emperor of the East, 195, 228; marries Eudoxia, 235; reign, 378 *sqq.*; his cruel law of treason, 385; signs condemnation of Eutropius, 391; death and testament, 293, 403, 404; column of, vi., 437 *note*.
- Arcoph, ii., 386 *note*.
- Arch of Constantine, i., 457.
- Archæopolis, siege of, iv., 407.
- Archelais, Asia Minor, crusaders at, vi., 809.
- Archers, in Homer, iv., 295 and *note*; Roman, defended by Procopius, *ib.*
- Archimagus, i., 218.
- Archimedes, iv., 258.
- Archipelago, etymology of name, vi., 71 *note*.
- Architecture, Roman, i., 47 *sq.*; oldest model of Gothic, iv., 205 and *note*; Saracen, vi., 26.
- Ardaburinus, opposes the usurper John, iii., 419.
- Ardalio, battle of, between Gildo and Macezel, iii., 249.
- Ardario, King of the Gepids, councillor of Attila, iii., 446; at the battle of Châlons, 489; victory on the Netad, 502; establishes a new kingdom, 502.

- Ardeshir I. and II.**, *see* Artaxerxes I. and II.
- Arduin**, Greek interpreter, vi., 184, 185 *note*.
- Arelate**, i., 278 *note*; marriage of Constantine at, 487; Maximinian at, 441; council of, ii., 348, 353, 393; assembly of the seven provinces at, iii., 376; besieged by the Visigoths, 475; taken by Euric, iv., 108; belonged to Burgundy in year 499 A.D., 119 *note*; Clovis raises siege of, 127; resigned to the Franks, 128; conquered by Theodoric, 199; siege of by Abderame, vi., 15.
- Arenula**, battle of, vi., 182 *note*.
- Areobindus**, the Goth, iii., 413; marries niece of Justinian, iv., 49 *note*; Mag. Mil. in Africa, 418 and *notes*.
- Arethas**, Arabian chief, iv., 390, 395.
- Arethas**, St., Prince of Negra, martyrdom of, iv., 412.
- Arethusa** or **Restan**, ii., 490 *note*.
- Arctinus**, Leonardus Brunus, steals the Gothic history of Procopius, iv., 224 *note*; vii., 127 *note*; life of, 128 and *note*, 299 *note*.
- Argæus** (Mount), v., 218 *note*.
- Argæus**, church of the Paulicians, vi., 118 *note*, 124 *note*.
- Argentaria** (Colmar), battle of, iii., 112 and *note*.
- Argos**, ii., 452; destroyed by Alaric, iii., 257.
- Argyropulus**, John, vii., 189.
- Argyrus**, officer of Constantine Monomachus, vi., 188; cruelty of, 188; his flight to Bari, 189.
- Ariadne**, daughter of Leo and Verina, iv., 184; character of, 185; marries Anastasius, *ib.*
- Arianism**, ii., 365; creeds of, 370 *sqq.*; under Valens, iii., 25 *sq.*; in Constantinople, 150 *sq.*; ruin of, at Constantinople, 153 *sq.*; ruin of, among the Barbarians, iv., 99; complete ruin of, 104.
- Arians**, cruelty of the, ii., 408 *sq.*; persecution of, by Theodosius, iii., 155 *sqq.*; edicts against, 159 *sqq.*; toleration of, iv., 88; cruelty of the Arian clergy, 93; law against, under Justin, 211; Arian clergy expelled from Rome, 480 and *note*; of Italy and Spain, reconciled under Gregory I. to the Catholic Church, v., 38; wealth of the Arian Church at Constantinople, 143.
- Aricia**, i., 77.
- Arii**, tribe of, i., 355.
- Ariminum**, *see* Rimini.
- Arintheus**, Julian's general of horse, ii., 519, 545; his embassy to Sapor, 549; general of Valens, iii., 16 and *note*; defends the Euphrates, 57.
- Ariolica**, iii., 499 *note*.
- Ariovistus**, crosses the Rhine, iv., 138.
- Aristides**, philosopher and Christian, apology of, ii., 70 and *note*.
- Aristo** of Pella, ii., 10 *note*.
- Aristobulus**, prætorian præfect, i., 379 *note*.
- Aristotle**, iv., 279; philosophy of, vi., 31 *sq.*; study of, revived by the Caliphs, 32; in western universities, 464; study of, by Theodore Gaza, vii., 132.
- Arius**, character of, ii., 364 and *note*; heresy of, 366; his Thalia, 366 *note*; banishment, 377; recall of, 378; death, 378 and *note*.
- Arka**, besieged by crusaders, vi., 321 *note*.
- Arles**, *see* Arelate.
- Armatus**, widow of, marries Attila's secretary, iii., 458.
- Armenia**, Roman province, i., 7, 8; under Persia, 289; state of, 395 and *note*; revolt of, from Persia, 396; again Roman, 405; Christianised, ii., 68 and *note*, 239; recovered by Persia, *ib.*; Christians of, 332; relinquished by the Romans, 550; invaded by Sapor, iii., 55 *sqq.*; divided between Aspacurus and Pap, 57; independent, 58 *sq.*; divided between Persia and Rome, 414 *sq.*; further revolutions, 414 *sq.* and *notes*; language of, 414 *note*; Count of Armenian frontier, *ib.*; towns of, fortified by Justinian, iv., 274; Greek speech in, v., 154; Fourth Armenia lost to the Saracens, 194 *note*; incorporated in the empire, 234 *note*; Paulicians of, vi., 123; conquered by Alp Arslan, 246; Moguls in, vii., 15.
- Armenians**, schism of the, v., 168 *sq.*; commerce of, 169; patriarch of the, 170; settlement of Armenians in Thrace, 215 *note*; attitude of, to images, 268 and *note*.
- Armentarius**, surname of Galerius, i., 381.
- Arminians**, iii., 481 *note*.
- Armorica**, independence of, iii., 372 and *note*; revolt of, 372 and *note*; disturbed by the Bagaudæ, 507; federation of, iv., 110 *note*; description of the Armorican republic, 117;

- subdued by Clovis, 118; British settlement in, 160 and *note*; Britons of, 161 and *note*; cavalry of, 168; struggle against Clovis, 117 and *note*.
- Armoricans (Gallic tribe), iii., 487 and *note*; iv., 112 *note*, 117 *note*.
- Armour, use of, iii., 196.
- Arms, Roman, i., 13 *sq.*; under Hadrian, i., 18; stations of, *ib.*; under Augustus, 79 *sqq.*, 188; pay of, 149 and *note*; attempted reformation of, by Macrinus, 158; recruited from the barbarians by Probus, 358; under Constantine, ii., 190 *sqq.*; state of, under Maurice, v., 68 *sq.*; discontent of, 64.
- Arnold of Brescia, his theories, vii., 229; at Zürich, 280; at Rome, 281 *sqq.*; his death, 282 and *note*, 285; plan of, 285 *note*.
- Arnulph, Duke of Moravia, vi., 148.
- Arnulph, Patriarch of Jerusalem, vi., 826 *note*.
- Aromatics, use of, i., 60 and *note*.
- Arpad, King of the Hungarians, vi., 148 *note*, 145; reign of, 149 *note*.
- Arragon, etymology of the name, i., 21 *note*; house of, acknowledged in Greece, vi., 506; kings of, buy title of Emperor of Constantinople, vii., 214.
- Arras taken by the Germans, iii., 285.
- Arrechis, Duke of Beneventum, subdued by Charlemagne, v., 307.
- Arrian, i., 26 *note*; Periplus of, iv., 397 *note*; visit of, to Colchos, 402.
- Arrins Antoninus, i., 99.
- Arsaces, reigns in Western Armenia, under Arcadius, iii., 414; royal house of, 415 *note*.
- Arsaces, satrap, ii., 517 *note*.
- Arsaces Tiranus, King of Armenia, character, ii., 516; treachery of, 534; death, iii., 55.
- Arsacides, of Armenia, i., 218, 220; ii., 517.
- Arsacius, made Archbishop of Constantinople, iii., 400.
- Arsenites, schism of, vi., 488 *sq.*
- Arsenius, bishop, ii., 386 and *note*; accompanied Athanasius, 886.
- Arsenius, Patriarch of Constantinople; crowns Michael Palæologus, 484; excommunicates Michael, 487; banishment of, 488.
- Arsenius, Patriarch of Nice, vi., 479, 484.
- Arsenius, tutor of Arcadius, iii., 285 and *note*.
- Arshak, King of Armenia, iii., 56 and *note*.
- Arsuf, battle of, vi., 366.
- Art, attitude of the Christians towards, ii., 18.
- Artaban, Armenian prince, in Africa, iv., 418 and *note*; conspires against Justinian, 485 and *note*; replaces Liberius in command, 488; reduces Sicily, 489.
- Artaban, King of Parthia, i., 212.
- Artabanus, Armenian prince, at court of Leo I., v., 215.
- Artabazus, Persian in service of Justinian, iv., 422 and *note*.
- Artasires, one of the assassins of Gomtharis, iv., 419 *note*.
- Artasires, successor of Chosroes, iii., 415; deposed, *ib.*
- Artavasdes, commander of Armenian army, i., 896.
- Artavasdes, King of Armenia, i., 290 *note*, 294 *note*.
- Artavasdus, Count of the Opsikian theme, v., 198 *note*; supports images, 272.
- Artaxata, Archbishop of, ii., 239; palace at, iii., 414.
- Artaxerxes I. (Ardeshir) restores Persian monarchy, i., 212; reign, 213 *sqq.*; declares war with Rome, 225; character, 228; laws of, revived by Nushirvan, iv., 886.
- Artaxerxes II., succeeds Sapor in Persia, iii., 58 *note*.
- Artemidorus of Ephesus, i., 84 *n.*
- Artemita, residence of Chosroes II., v., 78 and *note*; palace of, 97 and *note*.
- Artemius, Duke of Egypt, death, ii., 448 and *note*.
- Artemius, martyr, Acts of, ii., 324 *note*.
- Artemius, *see* Anastasius II.
- Artemon, followers of, ii., 71.
- Arthur, King, iv., 161 *sqq.*
- Artillery, Roman, i., 16.
- Artogerassa, siege of, iii., 56 and *note*.
- Artois, Count of, storms Massoura, vi., 375.
- Aruspices, edict of Constantine concerning, ii., 808 and *note*.
- Arvandus, prætorian præfect, trial of, iv., 42 *sqq.*; exile, 45.
- Arzanene, province of, ceded to the empire, i., 404 and *note*.
- Arzan Su, tributary of the Tigris, ii., 551 *note*.
- Arzema (Azarmidocht), Queen of Persia, v., 430 and *note*.
- Arzingan, city of, taken by Timour, vii., 56.
- As, Roman, value of, iv. 476 *note*.

- Asan**, Bulgarian chief, revolt of, vi., 391 *sq.* and *note*.
- Asarhaddon**, i., 415 *note*.
- Asbad** the Gepid, iv., 444.
- Asburg**, *see* Asgard.
- Ascalon**, v., 469 *note*; taken by the Saracens, 469; battle of (A.D. 1099), vi., 325; conquest of, 327 and *note*; dismantled by Saladin, 366; destroyed, 368.
- Ascanias** (Lake), vii., 198 *note*.
- Ascensar** (Aksunkur), governor of Aleppo, vi., 349.
- Ascellinus**, traveller, his journey among the Mongols, vii., 7 *note*.
- Asetics**, Christian, ii., 40, 41; iv., 62 *sq.*
- Asclepiades**, philosopher, ii., 493 *note*.
- Asclepiodatus**, general of Probus, i., 354, 388.
- Ascoli**, conquered by the Normans, vi., 185 *note*.
- Asconius Pedianus**, iv., 539 *note*.
- Asena**, *see* Bertezena.
- Asfendar** (Persian hero), iii., 84.
- Asfoeld**, plain of, v., 5.
- As-gard**, residence of Odin, i., 260 and *note*.
- Ashik-pasha-zadi**, Ottoman historian, vii., 63 *note*.
- Asia Minor**, description of, i., 26; given to Theodosius, iii., 125; settlement of the Goths in, 185; desolated by Tribigild, 387; security of, iv., 270 *sq.*; campaign of Chosroes in, v., 77 *sq.*; conquered by the Turks, vii., 27 *sq.*
- Asia**, tribute, i., 173; ancient revolutions of 211; seven churches of, ii., 61; vii., 23.
- Asiarch**, ii., 58 *note*.
- Asinius Quadratus**, i., 278 *note*.
- As-of**, city of, *see* As-gard.
- Asomaton**, fortress at, vii., 171 and *note*; description and dimensions of fortrees, 172, 173 and *note*.
- Aspacuras**, King of the Iberians, lii., 56.
- Aspalathus**, i., 421.
- Aspar**, Prince of Lesser Scythia, iv., 222 *note*.
- Aspar**, son of Ardeburius, iii., 419; opposes the Vandals in Africa, 432; Marcian in the service of, 470; heresy of, iv., 31 and *note*; death of, 184.
- Asper**, Turkish coin, vii., 80 and *note*.
- Asprudus**, river, i., 408.
- Assassins** or Ismaelians, Sheik of, vi., 365 and *note*; extirpation of, vii., 13 *sq.* and *notes*.
- Assemannus**, Joseph Simon, account of, v., 155 *note*; vii., 119 *note*.
- Assemblies** of the people, i., 74 and *note*; legislative, of the Visigoths in Spain, iv., 152 *sq.*
- Assessors**, iv., 539.
- Assise** of Jerusalem, vi., 329 *sqq.*; introduced into the Peloponnesus, 433 *note*.
- Assyria**, Roman province of, i., 7, 8; described, ii., 523 and *notes*; revenue, 528 and *note*; invasion of Julian, 523 *sqq.*; Persian province, iv., 385; conquered by Omar, v., 484.
- Asta**, in Liguria, retreat of Honorius, iii., 266 and *note*.
- Astarte**, image of, brought to Rome, i., 159.
- Asterius**, St., of Amasea, on execution of Tatian, iii., 231 *note*; on exile of Abundantius, 383 *note*; Count Asterius marches against the Vandals, iii., 428.
- Asti**, citizens of, defeated by the Marquis of Montferrat, vi., 401 *note*; *see* Asta.
- Astingi**, ii., 229.
- Astolphus**, King of the Lombards, takes Ravenna, v., 284; besieges Rome, 285; defeat of, *ib.*
- Astorga**, sacked by Theodoric, iv., 18.
- Astracan**, Kingdom of, invaded by Mongols, vii., 16; city of, destroyed by Timour, 78.
- Astrology**, belief in, among the Romans, iii., 318.
- Astronomical Tables** of Samarcand [Gurganian], vii., 46 *note*.
- Astronomy**, science of, cultivated at Babylon, v., 349; by the Saracens, vi., 32 *sq.*
- Asturians**, i., 21.
- Asturias**, gold of, i., 174; survival of Gothic kingdom in, v., 509 and *note*.
- Astytsion**, castle of, on the banks of the Scamander, vi., 482 *note*.
- Atabeks** (atabegs), vi., 258 and *note*; of Syria, 348 and *note*.
- Atelkuzu**, Patzinaks driven out of, vi., 248 *note*.
- Athalaric**, grandson of Theodoric, inherits Italy, iv., 217; education of, 322; death, 323.
- Athanagild**, King of the Visigoths, iv., 99 *note*.
- Athanaric**, judge of the Visigoths, iii., 61 and *note*; war with Valens, 64 *sqq.*; peace with Valens, 64; defeated by Huns, 97; at Constantinople, 132 and *note*; death, 133;

- his persecution of the Christian Goths, iv., 88.
- Athanasius of Mount Athos, v., 226 *note*.
- Athanasius, Patriarch of Constantinople, vi., 509 *sq*.
- Athanasius, Prætorian Præfect of Africa, iv., 418 *note*.
- Athanasius, St., ii., 844; supports Nicene doctrine, 369; opposes Arianism, 370; banished by Constantine, 378; character and adventures, 383 *sqq.*; Archbishop of Alexandria, 384; banishment, 388; restored by Constantine II., *ib.*; second exile, *ib.*; restoration by Constans, 391; third expulsion, 397; retreat, 400; returns to Alexandria, 499; persecuted by Julian, 501; restored by Jovian, iii., 3 and *note*; death, 27; introduced monasticism at Rome, iv., 65, 66 and *note*; Festal Letters of, 66 *note*; Life of St. Antony, 67 *note*; creed of, 96 and *note*.
- Athaulf, *see* Adolfus.
- Atheism, Christians accused of, ii., 82.
- Athelstan, conquers Cornwall, iv., 161 *note*.
- Athenais, *see* Eudocia.
- Athens, resort of students, i., 33; population of, 36 and *note*; school of the Antonines at, 62 *note*; sack of, by the Goths, 286; walls restored, *ib.* *note*, 289; fleet of, 472 *note*; Church of, ii., 61 *note*; Julian at, 270; favoured by Julian, 452; taken by Alaric, iii., 256; walls of, restored by Justinian, iv., 269; schools of, 279; library of Hadrian at, 281; supposed visit of Roman deputies to, 474 and *note*; marriage laws of, 513; law of inheritance at, 518 *note*; law of testaments at, 520; revolution of, under the Franks, vi., 504 *sq.*; dukes of, 505; state of, 506 *sq.*; taken by Turks, 506; circumnavigation of, vii., 139 and *note*.
- Athos (Mount), Gothic fleet at, i., 310; Great Laura founded by Athanasius on, v., 226 *note*; opinion and practice of the monks of, vi., 529 *sq.*; manuscripts in monasteries of, vii., 184 *note*.
- Athribis, bishopric of, v., 188 *note*.
- Atlas, Mount, i., 28 and *note*.
- Atmeidan, *see* Hippodrome.
- Atropatene, province, i., 405; ii., 240; vi., 242, and *see* Aderbijan.
- Atsiz, Shah of Carisme, vii., 8 *note*.
- Atsiz, the Carizmian, lieutenant of Malek Shah, vi., 267 *sqq.*; takes Jerusalem, A.D. 1070, 268 *note*.
- Attacotti, Caledonian tribe of, iii., 46 and *note*.
- Attalus, Count of Autun, iv., 146 *note*, 147.
- Attalus, Præfect of Rome, made emperor, iii., 336; reign, 336, 337; Arian baptism of, 336 *note*; deposed, 338; at wedding of Adolphus, 354; ambassador, 362; banishment, 364.
- Attica, territory of, wasted by Alaric, iii., 256.
- Atticus, successor of Chrysostom, iii., 402 *note*; v., 118 *note*.
- Attila (Etzel), King of the Huns, description of, iii., 442 *sqq.*; puts his brother Bleda to death, 444; acquires Scythia and Germany, 445 *sq.*; invades Persia, 446; invades the Eastern Empire, 448 *sqq.*; defeats the Romans, on the Utus, at Marcianopolis and in the Thracian Chersonese, 449; ravages Europe, *ib.* *sq.*; peace with Theodosius, 455 *sq.*; his embassies to Constantinople, 458 *sq.*; his village and negotiations with the Romans described, 462 *sqq.*; receives Maximin, 464; royal feast of, 465 *sq.*; conspiracy of the Romans against, 467; sends ambassadors to Theodosius, 468; threatens both empires, 471; alliance with the son of Clodion, 481; invades Gaul, 483; crosses the Rhine, 483; besieges Orleans, 484; defeated on the Catalaunian fields, 488 *sqq.*; invades Italy, 493; destroys Aquileia, 494; makes peace with Valentinian, 498 *sq.*; marriage and death, 500; funeral, 501; empire of, dismembered, *ib.* *sq.*
- Attitianus, i., 323 *note*.
- Attok, on the Indus, vii., 53.
- Attuarii (tribe of Franks), ii., 429.
- Atyras, river, iv., 455; fortress of, *ib.* *note*.
- Atys and Cybele, story of, ii., 461.
- Auchenii, family of, iii., 307 *note*.
- Auctions, tax on, i., 176.
- Audax, friend of Sidonius, iv., 50 *note*.
- Audefreda, sister of Clovis, iv., 321 *note*.
- Audians, sect of the, iii., 160; v., 119.
- Audoin, King of the Lombards, iv., 441 and *note*; v., 5.
- Augsburg, battle of, vi., 148.
- Augurs, iii., 199 and *note*.
- Augustal Præfect of Egypt, ii., 180.
- Augustin, St., a Manichæan, ii., 16 *note*; teacher of rhetoric in Milan, iii.,

- 169; De Civitate Dei of, 222 *note*, 341 and *note*; on the defeat of Badagaisus, 280 *sq.*; approves the persecution of the Donatists, 427 and *notes*, 428 *note*; letter to Count Boniface, *ib. note*; death, 430; writings, 431 and *note*; his ignorance of Greek, *ib. note*; canonization, *ib. note*; relics of, carried to Sardinia, *iv.*, 308 *note*.
- Augustina, daughter of Heraclius, *v.*, 185 *note*.
- Augustulus (Romulus), emperor of the West, *iv.*, 52; banished to the Lucullan villa, 56.
- Augustus, moderation of, *i.*, 2; testament of, 3; policy, 9; buildings of, 48 and *note*; after the battle of Actium, 65; reforms the senate, 66; made emperor, 67; administration and policy, 68 *sqq.*, 79 and *note*; worship paid to, 76 *note*; breviarium or register, 173 and *note*; taxes, 175; at Jerusalem, *ii.*, 4; in Julian's *Cæsars*, 506; temperance, *iii.*, 321 and *note*; makes the harbour at Classis, 273; undermines the power of the popular assemblies, *iv.*, 477; modesty of, *v.*, 330.
- Augustus, title, *i.*, 77 and *note*; three Augusti, 457 and *note*.
- Auranitis, *iv.*, 390 *note*.
- Aurasius, Mount, citadel of, *iv.*, 318 *sq.* and *note*, 416.
- Aurelian, consul, sentences Eutropius, *iii.*, 391.
- Aurelian, Emperor, succeeds, *i.*, 312; origin and reign, 313 *sqq.*; oedes Dacia to the Goths, defeats the Alemanni, 319; superstition of, 321; fortifies Rome, 322; defeats Tetricus, 324; captures Palmyra and Zenobia, 330; defeats Firmus, 333; triumph of, 333; magnificence and superstition, 336; cruelty, 339; death, 340; wore the diadem, 341 *note*; conduct to the Christians, *ii.*, 123.
- Aurelius, Litua, *i.*, 391 *note*.
- Aurelius, *see* Antoninus, M. Aur.
- Aureolus, emperor, *i.*, 296; invades Italy, 304, 305; death, 307 and *note*.
- Aureus (coin), *ii.*, 207 *note*.
- Auri Oblatio, *ii.*, 212 *note*.
- Aurum oblativum, *i.*, 458 *note*.
- Aurangzebe, Great Mogul, camp of, *iii.*, 462 *note*; *vii.*, 75.
- Auruss (Urus) Khan, *vii.*, 50.
- Ausonius, *ii.*, 171 *note*, 172 *note*; *iii.*, 37 *note*; tutor of Gratian, 141 *note*; consul, *ib. note*; letters to Paulinus, 348 *note*.
- Auspices, *i.*, 69 *note*.
- Autenti, battle of, *iv.*, 417 *note*.
- Autharis, son of Clepho, *v.*, 15.
- Autonomus, St., church of, Emperor Maurice at, *v.*, 66 and *note*.
- Autun, vineyards of, *i.*, 57 *note*; siege of, 325 and *note*; rebuilt by Constantine, 391 *note*; college of rhetoric at, 428; visit of Constantine to, 444 and *note*; capital of the Ædui, *ii.*, 209 and *note*; school of, *iv.*, 107.
- Auvergne, province of, opposes Euric, *iv.*, 41; ceded to the Visigoths, 50; oppressed by Euric, 108; conquered by Theodoric, son of Clovis, 144; description of, *ib. sq.*; counts of, *vi.*, 274 and *note*.
- Auxentius, Mount, *v.*, 214 *note*.
- Auxiliaries, *i.*, 16; Barbarian auxiliaries under Constantine, *ii.*, 192; Nervian, *iii.*, 247; Barbarian auxiliaries employed by Majorian, *iv.*, 28; British, levied by Anthemius to defend Gaul, 42.
- Auximum, *see* Osimo.
- Avars, subdued by the Turks, *iv.*, 377 *sq.*; embassy to Justinian, 378; conquests of, 379; embassy to Justin II., *v.*, 3; alliance with the Lombards, 5, 6; defeat the Gepids, 6 *sq.*; dominions of, 57 *sqq.*; wars of, with Maurice, 61 *sqq.*; attack Heraclius, 80; Heraclius treats with, 84; attack Constantinople, 91 *sqq.*; defeat, 93; subdued by Charlemagne, 308.
- Avernus, lake, *iii.*, 314 *note*.
- Averroes, Arabian philosopher, *vi.*, 35 *note*.
- Aversa, town of, foundation of, *vi.*, 183; county of, 183 *note*.
- Avicenna, Arabian physician, *vi.*, 33.
- Avienus, Rufus, translator of Dionysius, *v.*, 458 *note*.
- Avienus, senator, his embassy to Attila, *iii.*, 498; portrait of, *ib. note*.
- Avignon, flight of Gundobald to, *iv.*, 120; translation of Holy See to, *vii.*, 254 *sqq.*; Petrarch at, 266; the "Mystic Babylon," Petrarch on, 291; Urban V. returns from, 292.
- Avitus, Bishop of Vienna, epistles of, *iv.*, 88 *note*; letter to Clovis, 115 *note*; at conference of Lyons, 119 and *note*.

- Avitus**, senator, minister of Aetius, iii., 477 *note*; preceptor of Theodoric II., *ib. note*; ambassador to Theodoric, 486; commands in Gaul, iv., 8; character and reign, *ib. sqq.*; estate of, in Gaul, 8; visits Theodoric, 9; made emperor, 10; consent of Marcian doubtful, *ib. note*; panegyric of, by Sidonius, 15; deposed by Ricimer, 15; Bishop of Placentia, *ib.*; flight and death, *ib. and note*; burial at Brivas, 16.
- Awrites**, Arabian tribe of, adopt religion of Mahomet, v., 880.
- Axuch**, a Turkish slave, v., 248, 249.
- Axum**, inscription of a king of, iv., 248 *note*; village of, 418 and *note*; deserted, v., 177.
- Axumites**, *see* Abyssinians.
- Ayasha**, wife of Mahomet, v., 899; daughter of Abubekr, 408; enemy of Ali, 407; flight of, with Talha and Zobeir, 411; present at the battle of Bassora, 412.
- Ayoubites** (Kurds), vi., 353 *note*.
- Ayub**, father of Saladin, vi., 354.
- Asan**, King of Bulgaria, vi., 452 and *note*; peace with Eastern empire, 453 *note*.
- Azimus**, or Azimuntium, city of, opposes the Huns, iii., 456 and 457; its position in Thrace, 456 *note*; privileges of, v., 62 *note*.
- Azoph**, *see* Tana.
- Azymites**, sect of, vii., 142.
- Azys**, debate concerning the, vi., 388.
- Azzadin** (Izz-ad-Din), Sultan of Iconium, flies to Constantinople, vii., 15; taken by the Tartars, 22.
- Azzo**, Marquis of Lombardy, vi., 201 *note*.
- BAALBEC**, *see* Heliopolis.
- Baan**, Paulician teacher, vi., 117 *note*.
- Bābag**, Prince of Persia, i., 218 *note*.
- Babain**, battle of, vi., 351.
- Bābar**, introduces guns in Upper India, vi., 235 *note*; descent of, vii., 74 *note*.
- Babec**, father of Artaxerxes, i., 218 *note*.
- Babegan**, surname of Artaxerxes, i., 218 *note*.
- Babolinus**, St., life of, i., 384 *note*.
- Babylas**, St., Bishop of Antioch, ii., 498 and *note*, 494.
- Babylon**, name applied to Rome, ii., 227; circumference of, 160 *note*; made into a royal park, 528; licentiousness at, 527 *note*.
- Bacchanals**, ii., 65 and *note*.
- Bacchus**, St., account of, v., 56 *note*.
- Bacon**, Friar, on Greek fire, vi., 18 *note*.
- Bacon**, public distribution of, at Rome, iii., 320.
- Bactriana**, Greek kings of, iii., 91 *note*; Greeks of, iv., 880 *note*; vizier of, appointed by Chosroes, 885.
- Bacurius**, Iberian prince, ii., 332 *note*; at the battle of Hadrianople, iii., 117; fights for Theodosius, 192.
- Badaverd**, chamber of Chosroes, v., 79.
- Bader**, village of, iv., 268 *note*.
- Badoeri**, Dukes of Venice, v., 16 *note*.
- Baduarius**, superintendent of the palace, v., 16; family of, *ib. note*.
- Badulla**, name of Totila, *q.v.*
- Bætica**, province, of Spain, i., 21; Silingi in, iii., 365; sea coast of, subdued by the Saracens, v., 507.
- Bagai**, battle of, ii., 412.
- Bagaude**, i., 383 and *note*; iii., 288 *note*; in Spain and Gaul, 507 *note*; allies of Majorian, iv., 24.
- Bagavan**, Mount, i., 396.
- Bagdad**, founded, vi., 24; etymology of the name, *ib. note*; college at, 29; disorders of Turkish guards at, 50; Greeks retreat from, 63; Togrul Beg at, 248; Malek Shah at, 257; taken by Mongols, vii., 14; Holagou at, 23; pyramid of Timour at, 60.
- Baghisian**, commander of Antioch, vi., 311.
- Bagrās**, tower of, near Antioch, vi., 311 *note*.
- Baharites**, Mamaluke dynasty, vi., 352 *note*, 377 *note*.
- Bahram**, *see* Vahranes.
- Bahreïn**, district of, v., 385; Carmathians in, vi., 52.
- Baiæ**, springs of, iv., 205.
- Baian**, chagan of the Avars, account of, v., 57; wars of, 57 *sqq.*; empire of, 60; war with Maurice, 61 *sqq.*; threatens Constantinople, 63.
- Baikal**, Lake, iii., 86.
- Bailly**, M., system of, iv., 197 *note*.
- Bajazet I.**, Sultan (Ilderim), vii., 35 *sqq.*; surname, *ib. note*; conquests, 36 *sqq.*; morals and manners at court of, *ib. note*; wins the battle of Nicopolis, 37; takes the French prince prisoner, 40; threatens Constantinople, 42; receives tribute, *ib.*; builds mosque at Constantinople, *ib.*; sends embassy to Timour, 55; letters of, to Timour, 55; their genuineness questioned, *ib. note*; defeated at Angora, 61 *sq.*; his captivity, 63 *sqq.*; death, 67.

- Bajazet II.**, Sultan, vii., 184 *note*.
Bajazet, vizir of Mahomet I., vii., 77.
Balash, iv., 275 *note*.
Balbatus, *see* Valebathus.
Balbinus [D. Caelius Calvius], i., 195 and *note*; reigns with Maximus, *ib. sqq.*; death, 208.
Balbus, Cornelius, i., 195 *note*.
Balch, in Khorasan, i., 213; missionaries of, v., 159; subdued by the Moslems, 437; taken by Zingis Khan, vii., 9.
Baldus on treason, iii., 386 *note*.
Baldwin [I.], Count of Flanders, vi., 387 *note*; in fourth crusade, 395; character of, 432; Emperor of the East, 433; capture, 443; death, 444 and *note*.
Baldwin II., Emperor of Constantinople, vi., 449 *sqq.*; marriage, 452; sells holy relics of Constantinople, 456, 461.
Baldwin, hermit, pretender to the empire of Constantinople, vi., 444.
Baldwin I. (of Jerusalem), brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, vi., 289; reproves Robert of Paris, 302; founds principality of Edessa, 310 and *note*; King of Jerusalem, 357.
Baldwin II. (of Jerusalem), vi., 357.
Baldwin III. (of Jerusalem), vi., 357.
Baldwin IV. (of Jerusalem), vi., 357.
Baldwin V. (of Jerusalem), vi., 357.
Baleario Islands, i., 29.
Baliols, origin of the, vi., 248 *note*.
Balista, Emperor, i., 296.
Balista or crossbow, iv., 337.
Ballot, secret, at Rome, iv., 477.
Baltha Ogli, admiral of Mahomet II., vii., 191 *sq.*
Balti or **Baltha**, family of Alaric, iii., 254 and *note*.
Baltic Sea, i., 231 *note*; how known to the Romans, iii., 40 *note*.
Baluse, Stephen, his edition of Lives of the Avignon Popes, vii., 254 *note*; defends Charles V. of France, 296 *note*.
Banchor, Monastery of, iv., 67.
Bandalaricos or standard-bearer, iv., 335 *note*.
Banderesi, heads of military companies, vii., 304 *note*.
Baptism, ancient practice and theory of, ii., 329 and *note*; opinion of Fathers concerning deathbed baptism, *ib.*
Baradeus, James, monk, founder of the Jacobites, v., 164; history of, *ib. note*.
Baratier, his translation of the Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, vi., 78 *note*.
Barbalissus, Persian host cross the Euphrates at, iv., 394.
Barbarians, conversion of, iv., 81 *sqq.*; motives for their faith, 83 *sq.*; effects of conversion, 85 *sqq.*; involved in Arian heresy, 87 *sq.*; laws of the, 131 *sqq.*; division of lands by, 138 *sq.* and *note*.
Barbaro, Niccolò, vii., 185 *note*.
Barbary, suppression of Christianity in v., 521.
Barbatio, general, ii., 268; marches against the Alamanni, 294.
Barbyzes, river, vi., 299 *note*.
Barca, Saracen conquest of, v., 489 *note*.
Barcelona taken by Adolphus, iii., 366; residence of the French Governor, v., 307; Saracens at, 510.
Barchochebas, ii., 78 and *note*.
Barclay, apologist of the Quakers, ii., 40 *note*.
Bardanes, rebel, prophecy of, v., 206.
Bardanes, surnamed Philippicus, made emperor, v., 195; restores Monothelism, 195 *note*.
Bardas Phocas, supports Constantine Porphyrogenitus, v., 224 *note*; campaign in Asia, 230 and *note*.
Bardas Sclerus, general, campaign of, in Asia, v., 230 and *note*; vi., 166 *note*.
Bardas, uncle of Michael III., v., 217; patron of Photius, vi., 384 and *note*.
Bardesanes, ii., 69 *note*; converts Edessa, v., 264 *note*.
Bards, Welsh, iv., 162 *note*, 167 *sq.*
Bargeus, dissertation on the edifices of Rome, iii., 844 *note*.
Bargus, favourite of Timasius, iii., 384.
Bar-Hebraeus, *see* Abulpharagius.
Bari, colony of Saracens at, vi., 175; taken by the Emperor Lewis II., *ib.*; won by the Greeks, 176; blockade of, by Robert Guiscard, 195; besieged by Palæologus, 223.
Barid, horse of Chosroes, v., 78.
Barkok, Circassian (Mamluke), vii., 57 *note*.
Barlaam and **Josaphat**, story of, v., 266 *note*.
Barlaam, Calabrian monk, vi., 530 and *note sq.*; embassy, vii., 88; learning, 123 *sq.*; Bishop of Calabria, 124 and *note*.
Barlass, family of Timūr, vii., 45, 46 *note*.
Barletius Marinus, Albanian history of, vii., 156 *note*.
Barmecides, extirpation of, vi., 36 and *note*.

- Barnabas, Epistle of, ii., 25 *note*; Gospel of, v., 364 *note*.
- Baroncelli, tribune, vii., 287, 289.
- Baronius, ii., 344 *note*; on the Donatists, iii., 428 *note*; on secret history of Procopius, iv., 225 *note*; Annals of, v., 85 *note*, 39 *note*; on the excommunication of Leo III., 274; his division of the Romans, vii., 229 *note*; on Arnold of Brescia, 281 *note*.
- Barsumas at the second council of Ephesus, v., 130 *sq.*
- Barthélemy, Abbé, vii., 332 *note*.
- Barthius, commentator of Claudian, iii., 380 *note*.
- Bartholdus de Roma, vii., 293 *note*.
- Bartholemy a Neocastro, Sicilian historian, vi., 499 *note*.
- Bartholemy, Peter, *see* Peter Bartholemy.
- Bartolus, the civilian, on treason, iii., 386 *note*; pensioner of Charles the Fourth, v., 330.
- Basic and Cursic, *see* Basich.
- Basich and Cursich, commanders of Huns in Persia, iii., 447 and *note*.
- Basil I. (the Macedonian), reign, v., 215 *sqq.*; family of, 215; avarice of, vi., 78; defeated Chrysocheir, 125; alliance with Lewis II., 175; restores the patriarch Ignatius, 384.
- Basil II., Emperor of Constantinople, v., 225; reign, 229; conquers Bulgarians, 231; death, 231; called the "Bulgar-slayer," *ib.*, vi., 142 and *note*.
- Basil, Archbishop of Cæsarea, ii., 503 *note*; canonical epistles of, 344 *note*; on Arintheus, iii., 16 *note*; transactions with Valens, 28 and *note*; account of, 151 *sq.*; founds monastery of Pontus, iv., 66 and *note*; opposes Apollinaris, v., 118; canons of, concerning soldiers, vi., 100.
- Basil Bojannes (Catepan), vi., 182 *note*.
- Basil (Chamberlain), assaulted by Theophano, v., 228 *note*; account of, 229 *note*; banished, 230 *note*.
- Basil Mesardonites (Catepan), vi., 182 *note*.
- Basil, St., Calabrian monks of, vii., 123 and *note*.
- Basil the monk, burnt at Constantinople, vi., 128 and *note*.
- Basil, city of, vii., 105 *note*.
- Basiliacus, Roman general, rebellion of, v., 240; vi., 250.
- Basileopator, title of, first introduced, v., 220 *note*; vi., 85 *note*.
- Basileus, title of Asiatic sovereigns, i., 411; imperial title used by Gelimer, iv., 290 *note*; title of Charlemagne, v., 315.
- Basileus, code, v., 219; vi., 66 and *note*, 110.
- Basilides, Abyssinian Emperor, expels the Jesuits, v., 179.
- Basilides, the Gnostic, v., 110.
- Basilidians, gnostic sect, ii., 15.
- Basilike Therma, battle of, v., 230 *note*.
- Basilina, mother of Julian, ii., 262 *note*; iii., 12 *note*.
- Basiliscus, brother of the Empress Verena, commands expedition against Vandals, iv., 39, 291; defeated by Genseric, 40; flight to Constantinople, *ib.*; Emperor, 185.
- Basilius, consul, iv., 59 *note*, 286 *note*.
- Basilius, accuser of Boethius, iv., 214 *note*.
- Basilius, a senator, ambassador to Alaric, iii., 328, 498; portrait of, *ib.* *note*; friend of Sidonius, iv., 59 and *note*; condemned by Pope Symmachus, 59 *note*.
- Basina, Queen of the Thuringians, marries Childeric, iv., 108 and *note*.
- Basnage, his Ecclesiastical History, v., 119 *note*, 121 *note*; on images, v., 264 *note*.
- Basra, ii., 522 and *note*; *see* Bassora and Bussorah.
- Bassi, family of the, iii., 205.
- Bassianus (Cæsar), i., 432 *note*, 464.
- Bassianus, name of Caracalla, i., 139 *note*.
- Bassianus, name of Elagabalus, i., 154.
- Bassora, Christians of St. John at, v., 353; Arabian insurgents at, 410; rebels defeated by Ali at, 412; battle called Day of the Camel, *ib.*; foundation of, 432 and *note*; pillaged by the Carmathians, vi., 52; *see* Basra and Bussorah.
- Bastarnæ, i., 263 and *note*; in Thrace, 353; colonies of, in Gaul, 391; massacred by Stilicho, iii., 239.
- Batavian horseguards, i., 112 *note*.
- Batavians, i., 251; defeated by Probus, 354; island of the, ii., 290; iv., 109.
- Batavian auxiliaries, ii., 421 and *note*; mutiny of, iii., 5; degradation of, 34; in Britain, 47.
- Bath (Aquæ Sulis), Roman colony, i., 40 *note*.
- Baths, public, at Rome, iii., 321 *sq.*
- Batnæ, near Hierapolis, Julian at, ii., 514 and *note*.
- Batnir, fortress of, taken by Timour, vii., 53.

- Battle, trial by, vi., 483 *note*.
 Bätü, Khan of Kipchak, vii., 11 *note* ; expedition and victories of, 15 *sq.* ; retreats from the Danube to Serai, 18 and *note* ; death of, 22 ; conquers tribes of the Western Kipchak, 50 *note*.
 Bau or Pabau, monastery of, iv., 65 *note*.
 Bauto, general of the Franks, father of the Empress Eudoxia, iii., 235 and *note*.
 Baux, James de, titular Emperor of Constantinople, vi., 462 *note*.
 Baux (near Arles), lords of, iii., 254 *note*.
 Bavares, i., 391 *note*.
 Bavaria, dukes of, v., 308.
 Bavarians, revolt of, from the Huns, iii., 441 ; institutions of, adopted by the Merovingians, iv., 132 ; under Charlemagne, v., 308.
 Bayer, Theophilus Siegfried, on the Russians, vi., 153 *note*.
 Bayle, ii., 313 *note* ; on comets, iv., 468 and *note* ; on Gregory I., v., 34 *note* ; his "wicked wit," vii., 229 *note* ; on Abelard, *ib.*
 Beacons, extinguished by Michael III., v., 213 and *note* ; vi., 97 and *note* ; stations of the, *ib.*
 Bears of Valentinian, iii., 21.
 Beatrice, daughter of Charles of Anjou, vi., 496.
 Beaufort, on Roman law, iv., 537 *note*.
 Beaune, wine of, vii., 292 *note*.
 Beauplan, de, French engineer, vi., 159 *note*.
 Beausobre, ii., 15 *note* ; on Christian idolatry, iii., 225 *note* ; v., 104 *note* ; on images, 266 *note*.
 Beauvais, i., 390.
 Becket, Thomas, ii., 110 *note*.
 Bede, the Venerable, iii., 44 ; iv., 155, 158 *note* ; date of his death, vii., 330 *note*.
 Beder [Bedr], battle of, v., 385 and *note*.
 Bederiana, district of, iv., 219.
 Bedoweens, description of, v., 386 *sqq.* ; incorrect form of name, *ib.* *note*.
 Beehives, construction of, vi., 29 and *note*.
 Beg, Turkish word meaning lord or prince, vii., 45 *note*.
 Beglerbegs, name of Ottoman generals, vii., 152.
 Bela (Alexius), Hungarian prince, v., 247.
 Bela IV., King of Hungary, notary of, writes Chronicle, vi., 143 *note* ; defeated by the Mongols, vii., 17.
 Belenus, tutelary deity, i., 199 and *note*.
 Beles (Balis) on the Euphrates, v., 333 and *note*.
 Belfry (Belfridus), war engine, vi., 306 and *note*.
 Belgæ, i., 22.
 Belgio Gaul, i., 22.
 Belgrade or Singidunum, iv., 200 and *note* ; destroyed by the Avars, v., 60 and *note* ; besieged by Charles of Anjou, vi., 497 ; withstands Amurath, vii., 144 ; besieged by Mahomet II., 155.
 Belisarius, quells Nika riot, iv., 241 ; birth, education, campaigns in Africa, 292 ; Persian campaigns, *ib.* and *note* ; in Africa, 299 *sqq.* ; takes Carthage, 303 ; fortifies it, 305 ; at Hippo Regius, 308 ; invades Italy, 329 *sq.* ; enters Rome, 333 ; valour of, 335 ; defends Rome, *ib.* *sq.* ; epistles to emperor, 343 ; receives embassy of Vitiges, 345 ; besieges Ravenna, 352 ; enters Ravenna, 355 ; return and glory of, 356 *sqq.* ; expedition against the Persians, 362 ; disgrace and submission of, *ib.* *sq.* ; recall of, 394 ; return to Syria, *ib.* ; repulses the Persians, 395 ; tranquillises Africa, 417 ; second command of, in Italy, 426 *sqq.* ; epistle to Totila, 426 ; last victory of, 455 ; disgrace and death, 457 ; fable concerning, 459 and *note*.
 Belius, Matthew, Prodrumus and Notitia of, iii., 441 *note*.
 Bell of Antermomy, Travels of, in Persia, vi., 26 *note*.
 Bellarmine, Cardinal, on the excommunication of Leo III., v., 274.
 Bellini, Gentile, visits court of Mahomet II., vii., 168 *note*.
 Bellona, temple of, vi., 121 and *note*.
 Bellonoti, tribe of, iii., 488 *note*.
 Bells, among the Moslems, v., 445 and *note*.
 Belus, tower of, at Babylon, v., 434 *note*.
 Benacus, lake, iii., 499 and *note* ; iv., 450.
 Bender, i., 6.
 Benedict Anianinus, Codex Regularum of, iv., 70 *note*.
 Benedict XI., Pope, resumes right of coining, vii., 287 *note* ; his bull *Flagitiosum*, 253.
 Benedict XII., Pope, receives ambassadors of Andronicus, vii., 88 ; character, 90 and *note* ; addressed by Petrarch, 291 and *note*, 292 ; said to have introduced triple crown, 294 *note*.

- Benedict XIII., Pope (Peter de Luna), vii., 298, 299; deposed, 800.
- Benedict XIV., Pope, consecrates the Coliseum, vii., 883.
- Benefice of the Merovingians, iv., 140.
- Beneficium*, meaning of, v., 819 *note*.
- Benefits, iv., 525.
- Beneventum, tusks of the Calydonian boar at, iv., 881 and *note*; princes of, v., 25; dukes of, 27; duchy of, v., 807; princes of, vi., 174; duchy of, *ib. note*; subject to the Greek emperor, 177 and *note*; little Chronicle of, 178 *note*; besieged by the Saracens, 179; under Roman Pontiff, 196; battle of, 496.
- Bengal, kingdom of, conquered by the Mongols, vii., 18.
- Benjamin of Tudela, vi., 77 and *note*; on the Jews, 285 *note*.
- Benjamin, Patriarch of the Copts, flight of, v., 173, 478; life of, *ib. note*.
- Ben Schounah, Arabic history of, vii., 86 *note*; *see* Ebn Schounah.
- Bentivoglio, nuncio, ii., 816 *note*.
- Bentley, Dr., on Roman money, iv., 478 *note*; vii., 185.
- Beran-birig (Marlborough), battle of, iv., 160 and *note*.
- Berbers, Barbarians or Barbarians, subdue North Africa, v., 497 *note*; history of the word *Barbars*, 499 *note*.
- Berengarius, Panegyricon, v., 821 *note*.
- Berenice, concubine of Titus, iv., 518 and *note*.
- Berenice, in Cyrene, march of Cato from, iv., 87 *note*; vi., 90 and *note*.
- Beretti, Father, professor at Pavia, v., 12 *note*; on state of Italy, 26 *note*.
- Bergamo ad Pedem Montis, Alani repulsed by Ricimer at, iv., 29 *note*.
- Bergamo, city of, destroyed by Attila, iii., 495.
- Berger de Xivrey, on Emperor Manuel, vii., 101 *note*.
- Bergier, Histoire des Grands Chemins, i., 29 *note*.
- Beric, chieftain at Attila's feast, iii., 465.
- Berimund, descendant of Hermanric, iv., 218 *note*.
- Bernard (monk), Itinerary of, vi., 264 *note*.
- Bernard, St., opposes Roger of Sicily, vi., 219; preaches crusade, 845 *sqq.*; on appeals to Rome, vii., 228 *note*; on the character of the Romans, 228 *sq.*; on the temporal dominion of the Popes, 281 and *note*; supports Pope Innocent II., 249 *note*, 259.
- Bernardus Thesaurarius, vi., 276 *note*.
- Bernice, *see* Berenice.
- Bernier, i., 228 *note*.
- Bernoulli, on comets, iv., 468 and *note*.
- Beroea, in Thrace, Liberius at, ii., 896; iv., 184 *note*; besieged by the Avars, v., 60.
- Beroea, *see* Aleppo.
- Berry, city of, opposes Euric, iv., 41; given to Childebart, 144 *note*.
- Bertezena (Berte-scheno), leader of the Turks, iv., 374 and *note*.
- Bertha, mother of Hugo, King of Italy, vi., 92.
- Bertha, daughter of Hugo, vi., 91 *sq.*
- Bertha, wife of Manuel Comnenus, v., 247.
- Bertram, son of Raymond of Toulouse, vi., 827 *note*.
- Bertrandon de la Brocquière, describes Amurath, vii., 144 *note*; on Constantinople, 165 *note*.
- Berytus, law-school at, ii., 183 and *note*; manufactures of, iv., 245, 280, 284 *note*; destroyed by an earthquake, 465 *sq.*; date of, *ib. note*; Andronicus becomes lord of, v., 251; taken by the Saracens, 469; lost by the Franks, vi., 879.
- Berzem, governor of, opposes Alp Arslan, vi., 252.
- Besançon, Julian at, ii., 429 and *note*; taken by the Saracens, vi., 15.
- Bessarion, Bishop of Nice, vii., 109; at the council of Florence, 114; made cardinal, 115 and *note*; literary merit of, 129.
- Bessas, general of Justinian, iv., 406, 422 *note*; defends Rome, 428 *sqq.*; avarice of, *ib. and note*, 481.
- Bessi, or minor Goths, iii., 107 *note*; iv., 222 *note*.
- Béth Armâye, province of, v., 89 *note*.
- Bethlem, residence of St. Jerome, iii., 346; monk of, 875 *note*; crusaders at, vi., 821.
- Besabde, taken by Sapor, ii., 287; besieged by Constantine, 289.
- Beza, Theodore, error in the Greek Testament, iv., 97 *note*.
- Bianca Lancia of Piedmont, vi., 471 *note*.
- Bibars, Sultan of Egypt, *see* Boudouard.
- Bible, text of the Latin, iv., 96 and *note*; translated into Arabic, v., 854.
- Bidpai, *see* Bilpay.
- Bielasica, battle of, vi., 142 *note*.
- Bielke, M., senator of Rome, vii., 304 *note*.
- Biammi, Giammaria, on Scanderbag, vi., 156 *note*.

- Biet, M., on the kingdom of Syagrius, iv., 110 *note*.
- Bigerri (Bejar), surrendered to the Saracens by Theodemir, v., 511.
- Bigleniza, name of mother of Justinian, iv., 219 *note*; *see* Vigilantia.
- Bilādhuri, v., 488 *note*.
- Bilbeys, *see* Pelusium.
- Bilimer, *see* Gilimer.
- Bindoes, a Sassanian Prince, dethrones Hormouz, v., 50; murders him, 52.
- Bineses, Persian ambassador, ii., 554.
- Bingen, fortified by Julian, ii., 801 *note*.
- Bir, passage of the Euphrates at, ii., 515 *note*.
- Biserta, Arabian squadron at, vi., 42.
- Bishops, origin and authority of, ii., 43, 45; at court of Alexander Severus, 119; under Christian emperors, 335 *sqq.*, *see* clergy; rural bishops, *see* Chorepiscopi; income of, 341 and *note*; thirteen, of Lydia and Phrygia deposed by Chrysostom, iii., 398; banishment of the African, iv., 91 and *note*.
- Bisinus, Thuringian king, iv., 109 *note*.
- Bisseni, Turkish tribe, in Hungary, vi., 153 *note*.
- Bissextile, iii., 9 and *note*.
- Bithynia, i., 328; subdued by Procopius, iii., 14; Theodora in, iv., 238; conquered by Ochan, vii., 27 *sq*.
- Bizon, taken by the Turks, vii., 179.
- Blandina, martyr of Lyons, ii., 104 *note*.
- Bleda, brother of Attila, interview with ambassadors of Theodosius, iii., 442; put to death by Attila, 444; his widow entertains the Roman ambassadors, 461.
- Blemmyes, i., 338, 358 and *note*, 392, 393; religious privileges of, v., 175 *note*.
- Bléterie, Abbé de la, i., 253 *note*.
- Blinding, modes of, vi., 487 and *note*.
- Blois, Count of, receives Duchy of Nice, vi., 436.
- Blue Horde, tribes subject to Bātū, vii., 50 *note*.
- Blues, or orthodox faction in Constantinople, iv., 234 *sq*.
- Blum, Richard, father of Roger de Flor, vi., 501 *note*.
- Boadicea, i., 4.
- Boccaccio, vii., 126; entertains Leo Pilatus, 126 *sq*.; his "Homer," 126 and *note*.
- Bochara (Bukhārā), iv., 376; reduced by Malek Shah, v., 254; subjugated by the Saracens, 441 and *note*; subdued by Zingis Khan, vii., 9.
- Bodonitza, near Thermopylæ, vi., 436 *note*.
- Boethius, minister of Theodoric, iv., 202, 209; account of, 211 and *notes*; works of, 212; accused of treason, 214; imprisonment, 215; his *De Consolatione*, *ib. sq.*; death, 216; tomb of, *ib.* and *note*; children of, restored to their inheritance, 322.
- Boethius, Prætorian præfect, death of, iii., 504.
- Bogislav, Stephen, revolt of, v., 238 *note*.
- Bogomiles, Gnostic sect, vi., 128 *note*.
- Bohadin (Behā-ad-Dīn), life of Saladin by, vi., 354 *note*.
- Bohemia, Marcomanni in, i., 254 *note*; subdued by Charlemagne, v., 308; king of, elector, 327 *note*.
- Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, vi., 201; commands at Durazzo, 203 *sq*.; against the Greeks, 211 *sqq.*; in the first crusade, 291; at Constantinople, 297; Anna Comnena on, 298 *note*; at Constantinople, 300; takes Antioch, 318; his reputation with the Saracens, 319; becomes Prince of Antioch, 324; captivity of, 336.
- Boilland, Ismael, vii., 175 *note*.
- Bolanus, iii., 48 *note*.
- Bolgary, village of, vi., 136 *note*.
- Bolsena, lake, iv., 324 and *note*.
- Bolingbroke, Lord, on the Popes, vii., 133 *note*.
- Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum* of the, iii., 438 *note*.
- Bologna, city of, resists Attalus, iii., 336; Stilicho at, 294; number of students in university of, vii., 122 *note*; under Papal interdict, 241; Porcario at, 305.
- Bona (Cape), Basiliscus at, iv., 39.
- Bona (town), *see* Hippo Regius.
- Bonamy, M., on the French language, iv., 150 *note*.
- Bonanni, Metallic history of, vii., 301 *note*.
- Bondari, history of the Seljukides by, vi., 243 *note*.
- Bondocdar, or Bibars, Sultan of Egypt, takes Antioch, vi., 379 and *note*; builds mosque in Crimea, 532 *note*.
- Bonfinius, history of Hungary by, vii., 37 *note*; on Ladislaus, 150 *note*, 153 *note*.
- Boniface, Count, repulses Adolphus from Marseilles, iii., 352; character, 421 *note*, 422; revolt of, 423 *sqq.*; invites the Vandals, *ib.*; repentance of, 428; besieged in Hippo Regius, 430;

- defeat, 431; death, 432; medals struck in honour of, *ib. note*.
- Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, leads fourth crusade, vi., 401; adopts cause of Alexius, *ib. note*, 404 and *note*; clemency, 422; sells Candia, 435 and *note*; acquires Macedonia, *ib.* and 435; defends Thessalonica, 445; death, 445.
- Boniface IV., Pope, consecrates the Pantheon, iii., 209 *note*; vii., 322 *note*.
- Boniface VIII., Pope, i., 208 *note*; his *Sexte* of the Decretals, vii., 242 *note*, 250 *note*; his quarrel with Philip, iv., 252 *sq.*; institutes jubilee, 256 *sq.*; metrical history of his coronation, 260 *note*; adds a diadem to the papal mitre, 294 *note*.
- Boniface IX., Pope, vii., 286; restores mausoleum of Hadrian, 327 *note*.
- Boniface, St., iv., 84 *note*.
- Bonifatius, Roman charioteer, medals in honour of, iii., 432 *note*.
- Bonn, fortified by Julian, ii., 301 *note*.
- Bononia, on the Danube, i., 470; Julian at, ii., 435.
- Bononia, *see* Bologna.
- Bononia, *see* Gessoriacum.
- Bonosus, general of Aurelian, i., 316 *note*; revolt of, in Gaul, 360.
- Bonzes, iv., 375.
- Borak, horse of Mahomet, v., 367.
- Borān, Persian queen, v., 430 *note*.
- Borani, i., 263.
- Bordeaux, description of, iii., 369; school at, iv., 107; Clovis at, 127; taken by the Saracens, vi., 15.
- Borderers, ii., 188.
- Borga (Khan), in Russia, vii., 22.
- Borgites (Būrji), Mameluke dynasty of, vi., 352 *note*, 377 *note*.
- Boris, Bulgarian prince, vi., 140 *note*; 165 *note*.
- Borjigen, family of Zingis Khan, vii., 2 *note*.
- Borysthenes, i., 263, 280.
- Bosnia, i., 24; King of, opposes the Ottomans, vii., 84 *note*.
- Boso of Vienne, founds kingdom of Lower Burgundy, v., 313 *note*.
- Bosphorus, city of, siege of, by the Turks, iv., 376 and *note*.
- Bosphorus, kingdom of, subdued by Trajan, i., 7; Goths in, 281 *sqq.*
- Bosphorus, Strait of, ii., 151.
- Bossuet, Universal History of, i., 32 *note*.
- Bostra or Bosra, Julian's epistle to people of, ii., 469 *note*; fairs of, v., 339 and *note*; siege of, by the Saracens, 444 *sq.*; fortifications of, *ib. note*.
- Botanistes, *see* Nicephorus Botanistes.
- Botany, ancient knowledge of, vi., 34.
- Botheric, commandant of Thessalonica, iii., 181 *sqq.*
- Botrys, iv., 464 and *note*.
- Boucher, silversmith, at Caracorum, vii., 20 *note*.
- Boucicault, Marshal, commands an army against Bajazet, vii., 37 *note*, 39; ransomed, 39; relieves Constantinople, 43; returns to France, *ib.*; Memoirs of, 37 *note*, 65 *note*.
- Bouillon in the Ardennes, vi., 289.
- Boulainvilliers, Count de, Life of Mahomet, v., 79 *note*, 375 *note*.
- Boulogne, *see* Gessoriacum, iii., 45.
- Boursa (Brusa), residence of Bajazet, vii., 39; pillaged by Mehemed Sultan, 68; royal schools at, 83; decline of, 209; *see* Prusa.
- Bova (territory), Greek dialect spoken in, vii., 123 *note*.
- Bowides, Persian Dynasty of, v., 519 *note*; vi., 57 and *note*; war with the Sultan of Gazna, 287.
- Boyardo, Count, forgery of, vi., 292 *note*; Orlando Innamorato of, vii., 136 *note*.
- Brabant, Franks in, ii., 290; duchy of, vi., 289 *note*.
- Bracara in fourth century, iii., 364.
- Braccæ, i., 834 and *note*.
- Brachophagos, battle of, between Greeks and Genoese, vi., 586.
- Braga, metropolis of the Suevi in Spain, pillaged by Theodorico, iv., 13.
- Brahmanābād, town of, taken by the Arabs, v., 440 *note*.
- Brahmapootra, river, vii., 54 *note*.
- Bramante, architect, vii., 337.
- Brancaleone, podesta of Rome, vii., 240 and *note*; death, 241; destroys palace of Severus, 317 *note*; demolishes towers of Rome, 327.
- Brandenburg, Vandals of, iv., 316 *note*.
- Branisba, duchy of, v., 248.
- Bread, distribution of, iii., 320.
- Breakspear, Nicholas (Hadrian IV.), vi., 232.
- Bregetio, on the Danube, Valentinian at iii., 69.
- Bremen, bishopric of, v., 308; town of destroyed by Hungarians, vi., 149.
- Brenckmann, Historia Pandectarum of, iv., 498 *note*.
- Brenta, Hungarian camp on the, vi., 149.
- Breones, Gallic tribe, iii., 487 and *note*.

- Brequigny, M. de, his life of Posthumus, i., 276 *note*.
 Brescia, i., 451; dukes of, v., 27; revolts against her bishop, vii., 230.
 Bretagne, *see* Armorica.
 Bride-show, at the marriage of the Czar, v., 211 *note*; held for Leo VI., *ib.* *note*.
 Bridges, Roman, i., 55 and *note*.
 Bridget, St., of Sweden, vii., 298 and *note*.
 Brienne, Walter de, Duke of Athens, *see* Walter de Brienne.
 Brigantes, i., 22.
 Britain, conquest of, i., 3; province of, described, 22; colonies of, 40 and *note*; Vandals in, 358; importance of, 385 *sq.*; revolt of Carausius, 386 *sqq.*; Christianity in, ii., 68 *note*; invaded by Picts and Scots, 422; how peopled, iii., 42, 45 *sq.*; Theodosius in, 47 *sq.*; Maximus in, 148 *sq.*; Stilicho recalls legions from, 265; invaded by Scots from Ireland, 286 and *note*; various emperors, 286 *sq.* and *note*; revolt of, 371 *sq.* and *note*; independence of, confirmed, 372; state of, 373 *sq.*; cities of, 378 and *note*; Church and bishops, 375 and *note*; revolution of, iv., 155 *sqq.*; Saxon invasion, 156 *sqq.*; Lesser Britain, 161; desolation of, 163; fabulous accounts of, 168 *sq.*; Christianity introduced by Gregory, v., 38; mentioned by Anna Comnena [Thule], vi., 336 *note*; revenue of, in thirteenth century, 424 and *note*; herring fishery of, vii., 17 *note*; description of, by Chalcondyles, 99 *sq.*; feelings of English clergy towards the Popes, 240 *note*; eight kingdoms in British Islands, 300 *note*.
 Britons of France, subdued by Charlemagne, v., 306.
 Britons, state of, iv., 159 *sqq.*; flight of, into Wales, 160; in Gaul, 161 *note*; servitude of, 165; manners of, 167; in Cinnamus, vi., 340 *note*.
 Brittia, Island of, mentioned by Procopius, iv., 168 and *note*.
 Brittii, mentioned by Cinnamus, vi., 340 *note*.
 Brivas or Brioude, burial of Avitus at, iv., 16; taken by Theodorio, 146.
 Brosses, Président de, iv., 397 *note*; vii., 176 *note*.
 Brotomagus (Brumath), battle of, ii., 293.
 Bruchion in Alexandria, i., 301.
 Bruoteri, i., 252.
 Brun, on Palace of Serai, vii., 18 *note*.
 Brundisium, port of, fleet of Guiscard at, vi., 214 and *note*.
 Brunechild, mother of Ingundis, iv., 99 and *note*.
 Bruno, St., brother of Otto the Great, v., 313 *note*.
 Brunswick, house of, origin of, vi., 202 *note*.
 Brusa, *see* Bursa and Prusa.
 Bruttium, gold mines of, iv., 206; name changed to Calabria, v., 26 *note*.
 Brutus, i., 78 *note*; founds consulship, iv., 285; judgment of, 532.
 Brutus the Trojan, legend of, iii., 42 *note*.
 Bryennius, *see* Nicephoras.
 Buat, Comte de, on German invasion of Gaul, iii., 283 *note*; on destruction of Metz, 484 and *note*; on defeat of Attila, 491 *note*; on the Slavonians, iv., 370 *note*.
 Bubalia in Pannonia, birthplace of Decius, i., 257.
 Bucelin, Duke of the Alamanni, invades Italy, iv., 448 and *note*; defeated by Narses, 450; death of, 451.
 Bucentaur, ship of John Palæologus II., vii., 110.
 Buchanan, ii., 314 *note*; iii., 45 *note*.
 Bucharra, province of, iii., 75 *note*; Magian worship in, v., 439.
 Buda, city of, ii., 281; Ladislaus at, vii., 149.
 Budæus, vii., 135.
 Buffaloes introduced into Italy by the Lombards, v., 28 and *note*.
 Buffon, iv., 259 *note*; description of Guyana by, vii., 320 *note*.
 Bugia, city of, taken by the Saracens, v., 494.
 Bukulithos, battle of, v., 230 *note*.
 Bulgaria, kingdom of, position of, vi., 136 and *note*; first kingdom of, 139; Greek præfect of, in first crusade, 286; relations with Nicholas I., 384; joins the Greek Church, 385; foundation of second kingdom of, 390-1 and *note*; invaded by Theodore Lascaris, 478; wasted by the Mongols, vii., 18 and *note*.
 Bulgarians, first mention of, iv., 186 *note*; ethnology, 369 and *note sq.*; threaten Constantinople, 372; pillage Greece, *ib.*; threaten Constantinople, 454 *sq.*; retire, 456; besiege Constantinople with Justinian II., v., 198; approach Constantinople in reign of Philippicus, 195 *note*;

- besiege Constantinople in reign of Leo V., 206 *note*; kingdom of, overthrown by Basil II., 281 *sq.*; assist the Emperor Leo against the Saracens, vi., 9; name of, 129 and *note*; emigration of, 136; war of, with Nicephorus, 139; defeated by Basil II., 142; colonies of, in Hungary, 153 *note*; war with the empire of Romania, 445 *sqq.*
- Bull fight in the Colosseum, vii., 381 and *note*.
- Bulla, near Carthage, iv., 305, 417.
- Bullets, stone, use of at Rome, vii., 328 and *note*.
- Bundicia, death of R. Guiscard at, vi., 216 *note*.
- Buonaccorsi, Philip (Callimachus), on Varna campaign, vii., 153 *note*.
- Burcard, J., Diary of, vii., 312.
- Burekhardt, on the Renaissance, vii., 136 *note*.
- Burdigala, i., 324 *note*; *see* Bordeaux.
- Burgesses, court of the, at Jerusalem, vi., 383.
- Burgundians, i., 262, 263 *note*; conquered by Probus, 354; on the Elbe, iii., 88 and *note*; feud with the Alamanni, 39; invade Italy, 277; invade Gaul and settle there, 369 and *note*; subdued by Attila on the Rhine, 445; invade Belgium, 476; invade Belgic provinces and settle in Savoy, 476; join Theodoric against the Huns, 487; betray Rome to Genseric, iv., 5 *note*; conversion of, 83; on Lake Lemán, 112; boundaries, 118; conquered by the Franks, 120 *sqq.*; laws of, 182 and *note*; judicial combats among, 187; assist Odoacer, 190.
- Burgundy, Duke of, opposes Bajazet Sultan, vii., 37; pays ransom to Bajazet, 39.
- Burgundy, Duke of, uncle of Charles VI., vii., 96; at Council of Ferrara, 112.
- Burgundy, i., 57; two provinces of, iii., 369; kingdom of, iv., 110 *note*; wars of Clovis in, 118 *sqq.*; final conquest of, by the Franks, 121 *sqq.*; three Romans command in, 149; Kingdom of Lower Burgundy, v., 313 *note*; of Upper Burgundy, *ib.*; vassals of, called "provincials," vi., 291; wines of, vii., 292 and *note*.
- Buri, i., 253 *note*.
- Būrji (Mamlūks), vi., 352 *note*, 377 *note*.
- Burnet's Sacred Theory of the Earth, ii., 28 *note*.
- Burning glasses, iv., 258, 259 and *note*.
- Busbequius, ambassador at court of Soliman, vii., 66; on slavery and rights of war among Turks, 205 *note*.
- Busiris in Egypt, i., 392; camp of Caliph Merwan at, vi., 22; four places of same name in Egypt, 22 *note*.
- Bussorah, Nazarenes at, ii., 10 *note*; *see* Bassora.
- Büst, conquered by Subuktigin in 978 A.D., vi., 234 *note*.
- Busta Gallorum, iv., 442 and *note*.
- Butler, Lives of the Saints of, v., 36 *note*.
- Buwayh, vi., 57 *note*.
- Buwayhids, *see* Bowides.
- Buzentinus (Bazentinus), river, course of, diverted for burial of Alaric, iii., 351.
- Buzes, colleague of Belisarius, iv., 362.
- Buzurg Mihur, Persian Philosopher, v., 46; account of, *ib.* *note*.
- Bynkershoek, on Roman law, iv., 530 *note*.
- Byrrhus, senator, i., 99.
- Byssus, cloth made from *pinna squamosa*, iv., 245 and *note*.
- Byzacena, *see* Byzacium.
- Byzacium, i., 189 *note*; Moors in, iv., 316.
- Byzantine empire, *see* Roman empire.
- Byzantine writers, collections of, vii., 217 *note*.
- Byzantium, besieged by Severus, i., 130; fortifications demolished, 131 *note*; taken by Maximin, 459; by Constantine, 478; situation, ii., 150; fisheries, 157 and *note* (*see* Constantinople).
- Byzas, ii., 150 *note*.
- CAAB, Arab, v., 348 *note*.
- Caaba, temple of Mecca, v., 350; plan of, *ib.* *note*; idols of, broken, 392.
- Cabades or Kobad, King of Persia, wars with the Romans, iv., 275; restoration and death, 388.
- Cabul, subdued by Nushirvan, iv., 411.
- Cadarigan, Persian officer, second in command, v., 95.
- Cadesia, battle of, v., 431 and *note*; situation of, *ib.* *note*; periods of the battle of, 431 and *note*.
- Cadhi, office of, vii., 36 and *note*.
- Cadijah, wife of Mahomet, v., 357; accepts the religion of Mahomet, 375; affection of Mahomet for, 405.
- Cadiz, *see* Gades.
- Cadmus, Mount, battle of (1147 A.D.), vi., 343 *note*.
- Cæcilian, Bishop of Africa, ii., 352 and *note*.

- Cæcilius** (*see* Lactantius) on the dream of Constantine, ii., 321 and *note*.
Cælestian, senator of Carthage, iii., 486.
Cælius, Mons, i., 322 *note*.
Cærmarrhsen, iv., 167.
Cærwys, iv., 167 *note*.
Cæsar and Augustus, titles of, i., 77; under Greek emperors, vi., 83, 84.
Cæsar, Julius, i., 65 *note*; ii., 506; Commentaries of, iii., 121 *note*; era of, v., 504 *note*.
Cæsarea, capital of Cappadocia, siege of, i., 292; residence of Hannibalianus, ii., 226; temple of Fortune at, 503; Hospital at, iii., 28 and *note*; sacked by Chosroes, v., 75; Toghrul at, vi., 245; occupied by Timour, vii., 61.
Cæsarea in Mauretania, iii., 51; iv., 308; duke of, 310.
Cæsarea, in Syria, surrenders to the Saracens, v., 469; date of, *ib. note*; crusaders at, vi., 321 and *note*; fief of Sidon, 331 *note*; recovered by crusaders, 365.
Cæsarius, Bishop of Arles, iv., 207 and *note*.
Cæsarius, consul, iii., 407 *note*.
Cæsarius, imperial physician, ii., 476 and *note*.
Cæsarius, master of the offices, iii., 179, 180.
Cæsarius, Roman magistrate, i., 56 *note*.
Cæsarius, son of Duke of Naples, his conquests over the Saracens, vi., 44.
Cæsars of Julian, ii., 444, 505 *sq.* and *notes*.
Cæf, mountain, iv., 374 and *note*, 380 and *note*.
Cafarello, Italian family, vii., 331.
Caffa, Genoese colony of, vi., 533 and *note*; inhabitants of, transported to Constantinople, vii., 210 *note*.
Cagan, *see* Khan.
Cagliari, Vandal fleet at, iv., 306.
Cahina, Queen of the Moors, v., 500 *sq.*
Caïetan, Cardinal (of St. George) Jacopo, vii., 255 *note*, 263 *note*, 328 *note*.
Cairo, v., 476; New and Old, *ib. note*; inhabitants of, repulse the Turks, vi., 267; attacked by Amalrig, 352; fortified by Saladin, 356.
Cairoan, foundation of, by the Saracens, v., 496 and *note*; attempt to revive Christian religion at, 520.
Caius, Roman presbyter, iii., 220 *note*.
Caius, the civilian, authority of, in jurisprudence, iv., 491; Institutes of, 500 and *note*.
Calabria, loss of, v., 26 *note*; name applied to Bruttium, *ib.*; province of, made by Constans II., 189 *note*; taken by the Iconoclasts from Rome, 299 and *note*; towns of, pillaged by the Saracens, vi., 42; state of, in tenth century, 178; reduced by Manuel, 223.
Calapin (Callistus Athomannus), vii., 169 *note*.
Calchas, the soothsayer, vi., 182 *note*.
Caléd [Khālid], iv., 412 *note*; at Ohud, v., 387; conversion of, 391; massacres, *ib.*; at battle of Muta, 395; victories of, 425; in Persia, 429; Syrian war of, 430 *sq.*, 448 *sqq.*; takes Damascus, 452; defeats the Gassanites, 461; death, 471.
Caledonia, description of, iii., 43 *sq.* and *notes*.
Caledonian war of Severus, i., 141, 142.
Caledonians, i., 141.
Calendar, reformed by Malek Shah, vi., 256; Julian, at Constantinople, vii., 207 *note*.
Caligula, i., 78; statue of, at Jerusalem ii., 4.
Calil Basha, vizier of Mahomet II. (Khalil Pasha), vii., 170; treasonable correspondence of, 175, 191.
Caliph, title of, v., 406; first four caliphs, 407 *sqq.*; characters, 425 *sq.*
Caliphate, division of the, vi., 23 *note*; extinction of Abbaside, vii., 14 *sq.*
Calisia, i., 355 *note*.
Calixtus II., Pope, on romance of Turpin, vi., 273 *note*; his pontificate, vii., 228 and *note*.
Calligraphes, epithet of Theodosius the younger, iii., 408.
Callimachus, *see* Philip Buonaccorsi.
Callinicium, religious riots at, iii., 183 and *note*.
Callinicus of Heliopolis, inventor of Greek fire, vi., 10 and *note*.
Callixene, priestess of Ceres, ii., 474.
Calnucks, black, iii., 93 and *note*; iv., 177.
Calocerus, ii., 227 *note*.
Calocyres, ambassador of Nicosphorus, vi., 164; assumes the purple, 166.
Calo-John, King of Bulgaria, correspondence of, with Pope Innocent III., vi., 391 *note*, 391; assists the Greeks against the Latins, 441 *sqq.*; Scythian army of, 442; defeats Baldwin and imprisons him, 448.
Caloman, Hungarian king, vi., 286 *note*; treaty with Godfrey of Bouillon, 296.

- Calpurnius, date of, i., 335 *note*; first eclogue of, 365 *note*, 369-72 *notes*.
- Caltabellotta, taken by the Saracens, vi., 41 *note*.
- Calvary, Mount, fair at, vi., 263.
- Calvin compared to Augustine, iii., 481 *note*; doctrine of, vi., 181.
- Calycadnus, river, vi., 345 *note*.
- Calydonian boar, iv., 331 and *note*.
- Camalodunum, i., 40 *note*.
- Camara, i., 282 and *note*.
- Camarina, taken by the Saracens, vi., 41 *note*.
- Cambrai, i., 391; taken by Clodion, King of the Franks, iii., 479; residence of Chararish, iv., 109 *note*.
- Camden, iii., 42 *note*; iv., 160 *note*.
- Camel, Arabian, i., 331 *note*, 370; v., 387; of Chosroes, 78 and *note*; use of, introduced into Sicily by the Arabs, vi., 200 *note*.
- Camelopardalis, i., 103 *note*; presented to Timour, vii., 69.
- Camenday, in the mountains of Cilicia, vi., 246 *note*.
- Cameniates, John, v., 220 *note*.
- Camillus, Roman general, iv., 448 *note*.
- Camisards of Languedoc, ii., 412 *note*.
- Camp, Roman, i., 17.
- Campania, i., 23; desolation of, ii., 205; towns of, pillaged by the Saracens, vi., 42.
- Campania, or Champagne, iii., 488 and *note*.
- Camphire in Persia, v., 484; in China and Japan, *ib.* *note*.
- Campi Canini, or Valley of Bellingzone, Alamanni defeated by Majorian in, iv., 17 and *note*.
- Campons, i., 470.
- Camps, fortress of, defended by the Goths, iv., 452.
- Camus, a liquor distilled from barley, iii., 461.
- Canabus, Nicholas, phantom emperor, vi., 418 *note*.
- Canada, i., 232.
- Canals, in Europe, begun by Champagne, v., 309 and *note*; between Nile and Red Sea, 485 and *note*.
- Cananus, John, his account of siege of Constantinople, vii., 80 *note*.
- Canary Islands, i., 28 *note*.
- Cancellarius, i., 368 *note*.
- Candahar, taken by Mongols, vii., 9.
- Candaules, story of, v., 14 *note*.
- Candax, camp of the Saracens in Crete, vi., 40.
- Candia, in Crete, besieged by Nicephorus Phocas, vi., 60.
- Candia, or Orete, vi., 40, *see* Crete.
- Candidian, minister of Theodosius, insulted by the Council of Ephesus, v., 123; received by John of Antioch, 124.
- Candidianus, i., 460.
- Candish, Avar ambassador, iv., 378.
- Canidia of Horace, iii., 18 *note*.
- Canighul, gardens of, vii., 70.
- Caninian law, i., 346 *note*.
- Cannæ, battle of, vi., 175; date of, 185 *note*; Normans defeat the Saracens, 186.
- Cannibalism of the Crusaders, vi., 305 and *note*.
- Cannon of Mahomet II., vii., 176 *sq.*
- Canobin, Monastery of, residence of the patriarch of the Maronites, v., 167.
- Canoes of the Goths, iii., 184 *note*; v., 80 *note*.
- Canon Nameh of Soliman II., vii., 180 *note*.
- Canons of the church, ii., 46; fifteenth, of Nicea, iii., 158.
- Cantabrians, i., 21.
- Cantacusino, T. Spandugino, vii., 201 *note*.
- Cantacuzene, Demetrius, defends Constantinople, vii., 199 *note*.
- Cantacuzene, John, History of, vi., 511 and *note*; supports the younger Andronicus, 513; Great Domestic, 519; regency of, *ib.*; despatches letters to the provinces, 519; assumes the purple, 521; flies to Thessalonica, 521; alliance with the Servians, *ib.*; victory of, 522; reign of, 526 *sq.*; continues his history, *ib.* *note*; Servian expedition of, 527; defeats John Palæologus, 527; abdication of, 528; death, *ib.* *note*; four discourses of, *ib.* *note*; his war with the Genoese, 533 *sqq.*; his treaty with the Venetians, 535; solicits help from the Turks, vii., 29; his friendship with Amir, 29 *note*; negotiations of, with Clement VI., 90.
- Cantacuzene, Manuel, governor of Mithra, vi., 525 *note*.
- Cantacuzene, Matthew, abdication of, vi., 526 *note*; associated in the empire, 528.
- Cantelorius, Felix, ii., 180 *note*.
- Cantemir, Demetrius, on Mahomet, v., 419 *note*; History of the Ottoman Empire, vii., 25 *note*; account of Moldavia, 36 *note*; of Bajazet, 67; on conversion of Church of St. Sophia, 208 *note*; on the treatment

- of the Greek Church by the Ottomans, 211 and *note*.
- Canterbury, Emperor Manuel at, vii., 97.
- Capelianus, i., 194.
- Capernaum, Latin pilgrims besieged in, vi., 266.
- Caphargamala, village near Jerusalem, iii., 222.
- Capiculi*, Turkish troops, vii., 180 and *note*.
- Capistran (John Capistrano), vii., 156 *note*.
- Capitation tax in Gaul, i., 444; levied on the Jews, ii., 96; under Constantine, 207 and *note*; levied by Leo III, v., 278 and *note*.
- Capito, Ateius, iv., 486, 489 and *note*.
- Capitol of Rome, ii., 95 and *notes*; *see* Rome.
- Capitoline games, *see* Games.
- Capitoline Mount, i., 822 *note*.
- Capitolinus, i., 106 *note*, 110 *note*.
- Capizucchi family, vii., 260.
- Capoccia family, vii., 331.
- Caporioni*, chiefs of militia, vii., 304.
- Cappadocia, invaded by Alaric, i., 348; domains of, ii., 198 *sq.* and *note*; proconsul of, iv., 272; Paulicians of, vi., 120.
- Capranica, vii., 276.
- Caprara, iv., 444.
- Capraria (Island), monks in, iii., 248.
- Capreolus, Bishop of Carthage, on desolation of Africa, iii., 480 *note*.
- Capsia, taken by Roger of Sicily, vi., 220.
- Captain*, title of, in Rome, v., 323 *note*.
- Capua, i., 23; amphitheatre at, 48, 58; vii., 329 *note*; destroyed by Alaric, iii., 348 and *note*; Belisarius at, iv., 383; Lombard princes of, vi., 177; besieged by the Saracens, 179; taken by Roger, 218.
- Caput Vada, Belisarius at, iv., 299 and *note*.
- Capuzzi, Roman family of, vii., 238 *note*.
- Caracalla, i., 133 *note*; names of, 139 *note*; reign, 148 *sqq.*; titles of, 148 *note*; edict concerning freemen, 171 and *note*; taxation of Roman citizens by, 179; baths of, iii., 321 *sq.*; laws of, iv., 482 *note*; edict of, concerning the name of Romans, vi., 105.
- Caracorum or Holin, residence of Zingis Khan, vii., 19 and *note sq.*
- Caractacus, i., 4.
- Caracullus for Caracalla, i., 140 *note*; in the poems of Ossian, 141 *note*.
- Caramania, Emir of, military force of the, vii., 27; state of, rivals the Ottomans in Asia, *ib. note*; Sultan of, defeated by Murad, *ib.*; conquered by Bajazet, 85; war with the Ottoman Turks, 148, 150.
- Carausius, i., 385 *sqq.*
- Carashar Nevian, ancestor of Timour, vii., 45.
- Caravans, Sogdian, iv., 246.
- Carbeas, the Paulician, vi., 123 *sq.*
- Carbonarian forest, iii., 479 and *note*.
- Carcassonne, iv., 126 *note*; Church of St. Mary at, v., 510; taken by Anbasa, vi., 14 *note*.
- Carohe, ii., 547 and *note*.
- Cardinals, titles of, v., 316 and *note*; their right to elect a Pope, vii., 249; sacred college of, *ib. note*; conclave of, 250 and *note*; predominance of French, 255 and *note*.
- Cardonne, De, his History of Africa, v., 488 *note*; on Aglabites and Edrisites, vi., 55.
- Carduchians, subdued by Trajan, i., 7, 404.
- Carduene (Corduene), i., 404 and *note*.
- Caribert, King of Paris, iv., 170 *note*.
- Carinus (M. Aurelius), i., 364; Cæsar, 365, 366 *note*; emperor, 368; character, 368 and *note*; celebrates the Roman games, 369; death, 375 and *note*.
- Carizme [Khwarizm], city of, taken by the Saracens, v., 441 and *note*; reduced by Malek Shah, vi., 254; province of, invaded by Mongols, vii., 8; city of, taken by Mongols, 9; by Timour, 73.
- Carizmians, invade Syria, vi., 378.
- Carloman, brother of Charlemagne, v., 303.
- Carlovingian dynasty, v., 286 *sqq.*
- Carmath, an Arabian preacher, vi., 51 and *note*.
- Carmathians, Arabian sect, rise and progress of, vi., 52 *sqq.*, 53 *note*.
- Carmel, Mount, battles near, vi., 363.
- Carmelites, iv., 63 *note*.
- Carnuntum, on the Danube, Severus declared emperor at, i., 122 *note*; Congress of, 439 *note*.
- Carocium*, standard of the Lombards, v., 323 *note*; placed in Capitol by Frederic II., vii., 246.
- Carpi, i., 268, 391 and *note*, 470 *note*.
- Carpilio, son of Aetius, educated in the camp of Attila, iii., 474 and *note*, 503 *note*.
- Carpini, John de Plano, friar, visits court of the great Khan, vii., 6 *note*.

- Carpocrates, v., 110.
 Carpoerations, ii., 86.
 Carrago, circle of waggons, iii., 108 *note*.
 Carrhæ, temple of the Moon at, i., 150, 206 *note*; ii., 515 and *note*; Roman colony at, i., 224 *note*; taken by Sapor, 290; Paganism at, ii., 69 *note*.
 Carrier pigeons, introduced into Sicily by the Arabs, vi., 200 *note*.
 Carsamatius, meaning of the word, vi., 82 *note*.
 Carthage, i., 28, 53; taken by Capelianus, 194; buildings of Maximian at, 408 *note*; wasted by Maxentius, 445; Council at, ii., 46 *note*; taken by Genseric, iii., 434 *sqq.*; temple of Venus at, 208; conference at, 426 and *note*; description of, 434 *sqq.* and *notes*; conference of bishops at, iv., 91; cathedral at, restored by Hunneric, 95; buildings of Justinian at, 265; Belisarius at, 308 *sqq.*; neighbourhood of, 304 *note*; fortifications of, 305; synod of, 309 *sq.*; saved by Belisarius, 326 and *note*; conspiracy against Solomon at, 416; patrician of, v., 493; taken by Hassan, 497; burnt, 498; bishop of, in eleventh century, 520; poverty of, relieved by Charlemagne, vi., 263.
 Carthagena, silver mines at, i., 174; taken by the Vandals, iii., 424; fleet of Majorian destroyed at, iv., 25.
 Carthaginensis, province of, Alani in, iii., 365.
 Carun, i., 141.
 Carus, general of Probus, i., 354; emperor, 363 and *note*; reign, *ib.* *sqq.*; eastern expedition, 365; death, 366.
 Carushomo, Benedict, vii., 240 *note*.
 Casaubon, i., 96 *note*, 100 *note*.
 Casbin, city of, Heraclius at, v., 89 and *note*.
 Cascellius, Roman lawyer, iv., 498 *note*.
 Cashgar, under Malek Shah, vi., 255; Khedar Khan at, 255 *note*.
 Casia, *see* Icasia.
 Casilinum, battle of, iv., 450 and *note*.
 Casiri, v., 515 *note*, 516 *note*.
 Caspian or Albanian gates of Mount Caucasus, iv., 277 and *note*.
 Caspian Sea, explored, v., 45; two navies on, *ib.* *note*.
 Cassano, battle of, i., 305 *note*.
 Cassian, Duke of Mesopotamia, ii., 281.
 Cassian, on monastic institutions, iv., 70 *note*; on anthropomorphism, v., 109 *note*.
 Cassians, legal sect, iv., 490.
 Cassianus Bassus, Geoponica of, vi., 66 *note*.
 Cassini on comets, iv., 463.
 Cassiodorus, Gothic history of, i., 258; account of embassy to Attila, iii., 474 and *note*; of battle of Châlons, 490; history of, abridged by Jordanes, 488 and *note*; epistles of, iv., 193; minister of Theodoric, 302 and *note*; at Squillace, *ib.*; his account of the toleration of Theodoric, 207 *note*; announces to the senate the accession of Theodatus and Amalasontha, 324.
 Cassius, Avidius, i., 80 *note*, 91 *note*, 223 *note*.
 Cassius, Dion, *see* Dion Cassius.
 Cassius, Roman General, ii., 492 *note*.
 Castalian fountain of Daphne, ii., 492.
 Castamona, estate of the Comneni, v., 235.
 Castellæ, explanation of name, v., 515 *note*.
 Castile, *see* Castellæ.
 Castinus, master-general, marches against the Vandals, iii., 424.
 Castles in Africa, iv., 267 *note*; in Balkan Peninsula, 268 and *note*.
 Castor and Pollux, apparitions of, ii., 323 *note*.
 Castoria, duchy of, v., 248.
 Castra Herculis (Heraclæa), fortified by Julian, ii., 801 *note*.
 Castricia, persecutes Chrysostom, iii., 397 *note*.
 Castriotes, George, *see* Scanderbeg.
 Castriotes, John, vii., 156.
 Castruccio Casticiano, Life of, vi., 77 *note*.
 Catacalon, veteran, v., 235.
 Catalafimi in Sicily, vi., 40 *note*.
 Catalans, service and war of, in the Greek empire, vi., 500 *sqq.*, 501 and *note*; annual pension of, 502; conquests of, in Greece, 505 *sqq.*; ally themselves with the Venetians against Genoa, 536.
 Catalaunian Plains, iii., 35, 488 and *note*.
 Catana in Sicily, Belisarius at, iv., 325; taken by the Saracens, vi., 41 *note*.
 Cataneo, on Capistrano, vii., 156 *note*.
 Catapan, governor of Theme of Lombardy, vi., 177 and *note*.
 Catechumen, ii., 307 *note*.
 Cathay, name of Northern China, vii., 11 and *note*.
 Catherine, grand-daughter of Baldwin II., marries Charles of Valois, vi., 462 and *note*.
 Catherine, St., of Sienna, vii., 293 and *note*.

- Catholic*, primate of the Persian Church, v., 155, 156; in the Nestorian Church, 160.
- Catibah (Kutaiba), lieutenant of Walid, v., 440 and *note*; conquests of, *ib.*; conquers Transoxiana, 441 *note*.
- Cato, the Censor, legal studies of, iv., 485; on the Oppian law, 508 *note*; maxims of, on family law, 520 and *note*.
- Cato the Younger, march of, to Carthage, iv., 87 and *note*.
- Catti, i., 275, 357 *note*.
- Cattle, horned, in the Vosges, iv., 352 *note*.
- Catullus, poem of, on Atys, ii., 462 *note*.
- Catulus, gilds the roof of the capitol, iv., 6 *note*.
- Catus, *see* Aelius Paetus.
- Caucaland (Hauha-land), iii., 132 and *note*.
- Caucana in Sicily, iv., 298 and *note*.
- Caucasus, Mount, iv., 277.
- Caucha (or Coca), Theodosius at, iii., 127 and *note*.
- Cava, daughter of Count Julian, v., 502 and *note*.
- Cavalry, Roman, i., 15; arms of, 16; of the crusaders, vi., 303.
- Caviar, exportation of, vi., 538 and *note*.
- Cayem (Kaim), Caliph, delivered by Togrul, vi., 243.
- Cazan, Khan of Persia, collects Mongol traditions, vii., 5 *note*; death and character, 23 and *note*.
- Cazan, kingdom of, invaded by Mongols, vii., 16.
- Cea, island of, taken by the Venetians, vi., 435 *note*.
- Ceaulin, grandson of Cerdic, iv., 160.
- Cecaumenos, Strategicon of, vi., 155 *note*, 390 *note*.
- Ceccarelli, Alphonso, vii., 311 *note*.
- Cecrops (Cecropius), i., 305.
- Cedars, of Mount Libanus, v., 167 and *note*.
- Cedrenus, the historian, ii., 161; vi., 245 *note*.
- Celer, consul (508 A.D.), v., 136.
- Celestine I., Pope, receives embassy from the Egyptian Church, v., 131.
- Celestine III., Pope, vi., 230; riches and nepotism of, vii., 263 *sq.*
- Celsius, i., 235 *note*.
- Celsus, Emperor, i., 295 *note*, 296.
- Celsus, friend of Lucian, ii., 71 *note*, 73 *note*, 83 *note*.
- Celtæ, legion, ii., 421.
- Celtiberians, i., 21.
- Celtic Gaul, i., 22.
- Celtic language, i., 41 and *note*.
- Cencius Camerarius, vii., 219 *note*, 225 *note*.
- Cenni, on imperial coronations, vii., 219 *note*.
- Censors, last, i., 267 *note*.
- Censorship of Augustus, i., 71; revived by Decius, 267, 268.
- Census of the Roman people, iii., 805 *note*.
- Centumcellæ, iv., 345, 437; resists Totila, 439; inhabitants of, transported to Leopolis, vi., 45.
- Centuries, assembly of at Rome, iv., 476.
- Ceos, isle of, manufacture of silk at, iv., 244 and *note*.
- Cephallonia, taken by the Venetians, vi., 435 *note*.
- Cephisus, river, battle of the, vi., 506.
- Ceramis, battle of, vi., 200; fortress of, *ib.* *note*.
- Ceroa or Creca, wife of Attila, iii., 463.
- Ceroeau, Père du, on Rienzi, vii., 269 *note*.
- Cerdic the Saxon, iv., 160.
- Ceremonies, pagan, attitude of the Christians towards, ii., 18; adopted by Christians, iii., 225 *sq.*
- Cerinthus of Asia, his theory of the double nature of Christ, v., 110 and *note*; adopted by the Catholics, 113.
- Cerroni, tribune, vii., 287.
- Cerularius, Michael, Patriarch of Constantinople, v., 235 and *note*; letters of, vi., 384 *note*; excommunicated by the Pope, vi., 385.
- Cesena, city of, iv., 449.
- Cethegus, the Patrician, appears to Justinian in a dream, iv., 438.
- Centa, *see* Septem.
- Ceylon, *see* Taprobana.
- Chaboras, river, ii., 518 *note*.
- Chagan (King), of the Avars, iv., 379; alliance with the Lombards, v., 7; Dacian empire of the, 8; policy and power of, 57 *sq.*
- Chaibar (Khaibar), town of, v., 389; submits to Mahomet, 390; tribe of, *ib.*; Jews of, transplanted to Syria, *ib.*
- Chais, M., vii., 258 *note*.
- Chalcedon, i., 284; Roman legions at, 374; founded, ii., 163; tribunal of, 448; church of St. Peter and St. Paul at, iii., 232; of the martyr Euphemia, 392; taken by Chosroes, v., 77.
- Chalcis, in Syria, granaries of, ii., 510; Julian's settlement near, 521; be-

- sieged by Nushirvan, iv., 392; tribute of, to Saracens, v., 459; taken by the Saracens, 465 *note*; death of Soliman at, vi., 8.
- Chalcondyles, Demetrius, vii., 135 *note*.
- Chalcondyles, Laonicus, vi., 108 *note*; vii., 67; Greek and Turkish history of, 98 *note*; description of European countries, *ib.*, 130; on schism of Constantinople, 141 *note*; on Varna campaign, 153 *note*; on sack of Constantinople, 202 *note*.
- Chaled, *see* Caled.
- Châlons, battle of, i., 324; ii., 209 and *note*; description of, iii., 489 and *note* and *sqq.*; 85.
- Chalybians, or Chaldeans, iv., 273 and *note*.
- Chamavians, Frankish tribe (*pagus Chamavorum*), i., 391 *note*; subdued by Julian, ii., 298, 299; code of (*lex Chamavorum*), iv., 132 *note*.
- Chameleon, surname of Leo V., *q.v.*
- Champagne St. Hilaire, village of, iv., 126 *note*.
- Chancellor, *see* Cancellarius.
- Chang-Tsong, Emperor of China, death of, vii., 7 *note*.
- Chanse, province of, iii., 91.
- Chanson d'Antioche, vi., 270 *note*.
- Chao-wu, the great Khan, invades Persia, v., 48.
- Chapters, the Three, controversy of, v., 146 *sq.*
- Chararich, dominions of, iv., 109 *note*.
- Chardin, Sir John, on Islam, v., 369 *note*; on Hosein, 417 *note*; on Persia, 519 *note*.
- Charegites, or Khārejites, revolt of, v., 410.
- Charigites or Khazrajites, Arabian tribe, adopt Islam, v., 380.
- Chariot races, ii., 443 and *note*; iv., 238 *sqq.*
- Charito, wife of Jovian, iii., 6.
- Charlemagne, studied laws of the Franks, iv., 131; rustic code of, 140 *note*; falconers of, v., 28 *note*; conquers the Lombards, 286; alliance with Hadrian I., 289; at Rome, *ib.*; donation of, 291 and *note*; holds synod at Frankfort, 298; assemblies of, *ib.* *note*; church of, at Aachen, *ib.* *note*; book of, 298 and *note*; pilgrimages to the Vatican, 299; coronation of, 300; reign, *sqq.*; character, 302; name of, *ib.* *note*; cruelty of, to the Saxons, 303; laws of, *ib.*; Spanish expedition of, 304; literary merits of, 305; extent of his empire in France, 306 *sq.*; instituted the *Spanish March*, 307; founded eight bishoprics, 308; protects the Latin pilgrims, vi., 263; on the *filiouque* question, 382 and *note*; palace of, at Aix la Chapelle, vii., 323, 324 *note*.
- Charles Martel, receives embassy of Pope Gregory I., v., 284; made patrician of Rome, 289 and *notes*; defeats the Saracens, vi., 16 *sqq.*
- Charles of Anjou in Sicily, vi., 495 *sqq.*; defeat and death, 500; senator of Rome, vii., 241 and *note*.
- Charles the Bald, grants charter to monastery of Alacon, v., 306 *note*.
- Charles the Bold, gives right of coinage to Zürich, vii., 230 *note*.
- Charles the Fat, v., 312 *sq.*
- Charles IV., of Germany, weakness of, v., 328 *sqq.*; founds University of Prague, 328 *note*; ostentation of, 329 *sq.*; compared with Augustus, 330; receives Rienzi, vii., 288 and *note*; imperial coronation of, 291.
- Charles V., emperor, i., 415; sack of Rome by, iii., 347; in Northern Africa, v., 521; struggle of, with the popes, vii., 308.
- Charles V. of France, defended by Baluze, vii., 296 *note*.
- Charles VI., gifts of, to Sultan Bajazet, 39; assists Emperor Manuel, 43; receives Emperor Manuel, 96, 298; *see* Histoire.
- Charles VIII., of France, receives titles to empires of Constantinople and Trebizond, and assumes title Augustus, vii., 214 and *note*.
- Charles XII. of Sweden, i., 161.
- Charmoy, M., account of Timour's campaigns, vii., 51 *note*.
- Charon, name of a patrician, v., 235.
- Charondas, laws of, iv., 474 and *note*.
- Châteaubriand, on the assembly of the seven provinces, iii., 377 and *note*.
- Chauci, i., 275.
- Chazars, tribe of, in Hungary, vi., 153 *note*; *see* Chozars.
- Chazrajites, *see* Charigites.
- Chelebi, Turkish title, v., 247.
- Chemistry, science of, revived by the Arabs, vi., 34 and *note*.
- Chemnis, in Upper Egypt, Nestorius buried at, v., 128; description of, 129 *note*.
- Cherefeddin Ali, panegyrist of Tamerlane, iii., 452 *note*.
- Cherson, city of, ii., 231; Wolodomir at, vi., 170; capture of, *ib.* *note*.

- Chersonesus (Tauric), i., 281; Justinian II., banished to, v., 192.
- Chersonesus (Thracian), defeat of the Romans by Attila in, iii., 450; fortifications of, iv., 269.
- Chersonites, allies of Constantine against the Goths, ii., 281; exemption of, from duties, *ib.*
- Cherusci, i., 275.
- Chess, iv., 389 and *note*; improved by Timour, vii., 72 and *note*.
- Chester, Roman colony, i., 40 *note*.
- Chiaus, office of, vi., 85 and *note*.
- Childebert, laws of, iv., 185 *note*; attempt to conquer Auvergne, 144; invades Italy, v., 23 *sq.*
- Childeric, exile of, iv., 28 and *note*; marries Basina, 108 and *note*.
- Childeric, last Merovingian king, deposed, v., 286 and *note*.
- Chiliarchs, of Vandal army, iii., 425.
- China, in the third century A.D., i., 396 and *note*; iii., 85 *sqq.* and *notes*; invaded by the Toba, 275; silk in, iv., 243; early Chinese chronicle, *ib.* *note*; trade in, 248; Turks in, 376 *sq.*; Christianity in, v., 159 *sq.*; friendship of with the Arabs, 441; paper manufacture in, 441; invaded by Zinghis Khan, vii., 7 *sqq.*; northern and southern empires of, 11 *sq.*
- Chingiz, *see* Zingis.
- Chionites, in the army of Sapor, ii., 285 and *note*.
- Chiorli, town of, vi., 454.
- Chios, Island of, Turks driven from, vi., 385; Giustiniani in, vii., 200.
- Chiozza, Isle of, iii., 497.
- Chishul, traveller, iii., 398 *note*.
- Chivalry, vi., 292.
- Chlienes, Armenian prince, v., 215.
- Chlodwig, *see* Clovis.
- Chlorus, *see* Constantius.
- Ohlum, prince of, vii., 34 *note*.
- Ohnodomar, King of the Alamanni, ii., 295 and *note*; taken prisoner by Julian, 296.
- Ohodai-nama or book of Lords, iv., 387 and *note*.
- Ohorasan, *see* Khurāsān.
- Chorasnia, province of, iii., 91 *note*.
- Chorepiscopi, or rural bishops, ii., 385 *note*.
- Chosroes I., Nushirvan, King of Persia, i., 228 *note*; seven philosophers at his court, iv., 285; accession of, *ib.* *note*; date of accession, 384 *note*; proposed adoption by Justin, 383; meaning of "Nushirvan," 384 *note*; character of, 384 *sqq.*; appoints four viziers, 385; endless peace with Rome, 390; makes war against the Romans, *ib.*; invades Syria, 392 *sqq.*; ruins Antioch, 398; negotiations with Justinian, 409 *sqq.*; empire of, 411; palace of, v., 484 *sq.*
- Chosroes II., son of Hormouz, accession of, v., 51; flies to the Romans, 53; restored by Narses, 55; letters of, 56 *note*; invades the Roman Empire, 72 *sqq.*; conquers Syria, 74; threatens Constantinople, 84; retreats before Heraclius, 88; flight, 97; murder of, 99 and *note*.
- Chosroes, King of Armenia, i., 227 and *note*, 289.
- Chosroes, son of Tiridates, ii., 240.
- Chosroes, vassal of Persia, rules over Eastern Armenia, iii., 414.
- Chosroiduchta, sister of Otas, i., 396 and *note*.
- Chozars or Khazars, relations of, with Heraclius, v., 93 and *note*; Justinian II. seeks refuge with the, 192.
- Chrabr, monk, vi., 140 *note*.
- Christ, date of birth and crucifixion of, ii., 91 *note*; miraculous image of, v., 47 and *note*, 71 *note*; sepulchre of, burnt, 75; opinions concerning the nature of, 104 *sqq.*; statue of, 264 and *note*; correspondence with Abgarus, 264; picture of, 265 *sq.*; how regarded by Mahomet, 363 *sq.*
- Christian, Archbishop of Mentz, vi., 224 *note*.
- Christianity, inquiry into its progress and establishment, ii., 1 *sqq.*; Jewish converts to, 8; causes of, and historical view of, its progress, 57 *sqq.*; in the East, 61; in Egypt, 63; in Rome, 64; in Africa, 66; beyond the empire, 67; attitude of Hadrian to, 100, 101; under Constantine, 310 *sqq.*, 330 *sqq.*; under Jovian, iii., 1 *sq.*; in Rome, 201 *sqq.*; Pagan ceremonies in, 225 *sq.*; a cause of the fall of the western empire, iv., 175 *sq.*; propagation of, in Asia, v., 158 *sqq.*; in the north of Europe, vi., 171 *sqq.*
- Christians, peculiar opinions of primitive, ii., 16 *sqq.*; their belief in miracles, 30 *sqq.*; virtues and customs of primitive, 35 *sqq.*; community of goods among, 50 *sqq.*; tithes, 51; under Nero, 65; proportion to Pagans, 65 *note*, 69; poverty of, 72; con-

- founded with the Jews, 88 and *note*; favourably regarded by Constantine, 810; description of, under Constantine, 811 *sqq.*; loyalty of, 815; yearly synods, 847; respect for Plato, 860 and *note*; doctrines of, 864 *sqq.*; Arian controversy, 868 *sqq.*; their sects, 870 *sqq.*; Julian's treatment of, 486 *sqq.*; influence of, on the Mahometans, v., 354; of the seventh century, relapse into semblance of paganism, 361; manners of, at time of first ornaade, vi., 279; their discipline of penance, *ib. sq.*
- Christians of St. John, in Bassora, v., 358.
- Christmas day, origin of, ii., 482 *note*.
- Christopher, son of Constantine Copronymus, v., 201.
- Christopher, son of Romanus I., made emperor, v., 222.
- Christopolis, pass of, vi., 528 *note*; on the Greek frontier, 524 *note*.
- Chrobatians, *see* Croats.
- Chronicon Farfense*, v., 298 *note*.
- Chronique du religieux de Saint Denys*, vii., 88 *note*.
- Chrysanthius the philosopher, ii., 464, 475; high priest of Lydia, 476 *note*.
- Chrysaphius, favourite of Theodosius the younger, iii., 467 and *note*; pardoned by Attila, 468; supports cause of Eutychius, v., 129; death, 182.
- Chrysocheir the Paulician, v., 218; victories of, vi., 124 *sq.*; death, 125.
- Chrysologus, St. Peter, commends piety of Placidia, iii., 508 *note*.
- Chrysoloras, Manuel, professor of Greek at Florence, vii., 128; death, 129; his pupils, *ib. note*; compares Rome and Constantinople, 188 *sq.*; epistle of, to John Palaeologus, 188 *note*; death, *ib.*
- Chrysopolis, battle of, i., 475; ii., 152; Harun al Rashid at, vi., 36; Sultan Soliman entertained at, 259.
- Chrysostom, John, on the church at Antioch, ii., 68 *sq.*; eloquence of, 347; on earthquake at Jerusalem, 484; on the luxury of Constantinople, iii., 878 and *note*; protects Eutropius, 390; homilies in defence of Eutropius, 390 *note*; election and merit of, 395 *sq.*; administration, 396 *sq.*; extends the jurisdiction of Constantinople, 399; persecution of, by Eudoxia, 398 *sqq.*; exile, 400; death, 402; epistles of, *ib. note*; his relics brought to Constantinople, 402 and *note*; on monastic life, iv., 68 *note*; opposes Apollinaris, v., 118.
- Chundo, chamberlain of Gontran, King of Burgundy, iv., 142 *note*.
- Church, Christian, government of primitive, ii., 41 *sqq.*; wealth of, 50; revenues of, 58; excommunication in, 54; property of, secured by edict of Milan, 339 and *note*; authority of, 363, 364; disendowed by Julian, 486; Eastern Church torn with discord, v., 184 *sqq.*; union of the Latin and Greek, 158; corruption of the Latin, vii., 104; union of the Latin and Greek, concluded at Ferrara and Florence, 114 *sqq.*; treaty between the Greek and Latin, 117 *sq.*
- Churches, Christian, under Constantine, ii., 340; privilege of sanctuary transferred to, 343 and *note*.
- Chu Yuen Chang, revolt of, vii., 21; founds Ming dynasty, *ib. note*.
- Cibalis, battle near, i., 464 and *note*.
- Cibossa, church of Paulicians at, vi., 117 *note*.
- Cicero, De natura Deorum, i., 38 and *note*; attitude to religion, 34 *note*, 90, 178; on the immortality of the soul, ii., 20 and *note*; on Plato's Timæus, 361 *note*; aspired to the Augurate, iii., 200 *note*; on the Twelve Tables, iv., 475, 484 *note*; account of De Legibus, 487 *sq.*
- Cilicia, province, war in, between Severus and Pescennius Niger, i., 129; Persian conquest of, 292; invaded by Alani, 348; Cilician gates, v., 84 and *note*; subdued by the Saracens, 471; conquests of, by Nicephorus, vi., 61.
- Cillium, or Colonia Cillitana, iv., 420 *note*; wars of Alexius in, vi., 836.
- Cimbri, iii., 89 *note*.
- Cineas, councillor of Pyrrhus, iii., 805 *note*.
- Cingolani, his map of the Campagna, vii., 247 *note*.
- Cinnamus, historian, prejudice of, vi., 341 *note*.
- Circassians, dynasty of, vii., 57 and *note*.
- Circesium, site of, i., 207 *note*; fortified by Diocletian, 404; Julian at, ii., 517, 519; iv., 272; Chosroes at, v., 58.
- Circumcellions, sect of, ii., 410 *sqq.*; tumult of, in Africa, iii., 427.
- Circumcision, ii., 6, 12 *note*; practised by Mahometans on the Euxine, iv.,

- 400; condemned in Abyssinia by the Jesuits, v., 179 and *note*.
- Circus, Roman, iii., 322 and *note*; factions of the, at Rome and Constantinople, iv., 238 *sq.*; factions of, abandon the Emperor Maurice, v., 66.
- Cirta, i., 445; ii., 135 *note*; opposes Gaiseric, iii., 434; duke of, iv., 810.
- Citadels of the Alps, i., 449 and *note*.
- Cîteaux, monastery of, vi., 346.
- Cities, in the Roman Empire, i., 52; in ancient Italy, *ib.*; in Britain, Gaul and Spain, 53; in Africa, 53; in Asia, 54; of Britain, iii., 373 and *note*, 374 and *note*; decay of the cities of the Western Empire, vi., 71; wealth of the Eastern cities, *ib. sq.*
- Citizenship under Caracalla, i., 179 and *note*.
- Citron wood, valued by the Romans, v., 494 and *note*.
- City of God, work of St. Augustine, iii., 341.
- Cius, i., 284.
- Civetot, crusaders at, vi., 286 *note*.
- Civilians, Roman, iv., 58 *sqq.*
- Civilis the Batavian, i., 251.
- Civitato, battle of, vi., 190.
- Civita Vecchia, *see* Centumvella.
- Clairvaux, monastery of, vi., 346 and *note*.
- Clarissimi, Roman senators, ii., 170.
- Classics, Greek and Latin, vi., 84; losses, and partial preservation, of, vii., 206.
- Classis, harbour of Ravenna, iii., 274 *note*; pillage by Duke of Spoleto, v., 22.
- Claudia, miracle of, ii., 460 *note*.
- Claudian, portrait of Serena, iii., 238 *note*; on death of Rufinus, 242 and *note*; epithalamium, 251; poem on Getic war, 261 *note*; epigram on old man at Verona, 262 *note*; on battle of Pollentia, 269 and *note*; account of, 297 *sqq.*; on Eutropius, 380 *notes*; on auction of the state, 382.
- Claudiopolis, baths at, i., 49 *note*.
- Claudius I., elected emperor, i., 79, 88 *note*, 115 *note*.
- Claudius II., at Thermopylae, i., 266 *note*; origin, 306 and *note*; reign, *ib. sqq.*; letter of, 310; victories over the Goths, 311; death, 312; relationship to Constantius, i., 381 *sq. notes*.
- Claudius, a freedman, ii., 507 *note*.
- Claudius Quadrigarius the annalist, iv., 504 *note*.
- Cleander, minister of Commodus, i., 100 *sqq.*
- Cleaveland, Ezra, History of the Courtneys, vi., 466 *note*.
- Clematius of Alexandria, ii., 264 and *note*.
- Clemens, Flavius, ii., 44 *note*; execution of, 97.
- Clemens of Alexandria, ii., 38 *note*, 70.
- Clement III., Pope, vi., 218; vii., 238 *note*.
- Clement V., Pope, at Avignon, vii., 254 and *note*; appoints cardinals, 255 *note*.
- Clement VI., Pope, his negotiations with Cantacuzene, vii., 90; Lives of, *ib. note*; celebrates second jubilee, 257 and *note*; addressed by Rienzi, 270; confirms his title, 275; summoned by Rienzi, 280 and *note*; his Bulls against Rienzi, 286 *note*; his death, 288; Petrarch's exhortation to, 291 and *note*, 292.
- Clement VII., Pope (Robert of Geneva), his election, vii., 295.
- Clement VIII., invades Ferrara, vii., 307 *note*.
- Clementines, the, ii., 358 *note*.
- Cleodamus, fortifies Piræus, i., 286.
- Cleopatra, daughter of Emperor Maurice, v., 69.
- Cleopatra, queen, library of, iii., 210 *note*; concubine of Mark Antony, iv., 513.
- Clepho, King of the Lombards, v., 15.
- Clergy, distinction of, from laity, ii., 49 *sq.*; order of, 334; under the emperors, *ib. sqq.*; celibacy of, 337 and *note*; ordained by the bishops, *ib.*; exemptions of, 338 and *note*; number of, 339; wealth of, 339 *sq.*; civil jurisdiction, 342 *sq.*; spiritual censorship of, 344 and *note*; public preaching of, 346 and *note*; legislative assemblies of, 347 *sqq.*; avarice of, restrained by Valentinian, iii., 29 and *note*; in Gaul, iv., 150 and *note*; clergy and bishops exiled and imprisoned by Justin, v., 163 and *note*; under the Carolingians, 326.
- Clermont, estate of Avitus at, iv., 8 and *note*; besieged by the Visigoths, 41 *sq.*; council of, vi., 273.
- Cleves, Julian at, ii., 429.
- Clodion, King of the Franks, occupies Tournay and Cambray, iii., 479; death, 480.
- Clotaire, son of Clovis, constitution of, iv., 133 *note*.

- Clotilda, wife of Clovis, converts her husband, iv., 114; promotes his expedition against the Goths, 123.
- Clovis, King of the Franks, iv., 108 *sqq.*; birth of, *ib. note*; character, 110; defeats Syagrius, *ib. sq.*; adds Tongres to his dominions, 112; defeats the Alemanni at Tolbiac, 118; conversion of, 114; baptism of, 115 and *note*; subdues Armorica, 117; war with the Burgundians, 118 *sqq.*; victory of, near Dijon, 120; war with the Goths, 122 *sqq.*; conference with Alaric, 28; consulship of, 128 and *note*.
- Cluverius on the Lombards, iv., 367 *note*.
- Cniva, King of the Goths, i., 265.
- Coaches, Roman (carrucæ), iii., 813 *note*.
- Cocaba, village of, ii., 97.
- Coehe on the Tigris, Julian at, ii., 530 *sqq.*
- Cochin China, conquered by the Mongols, vii., 18.
- Cochin, King of, grants privileges to the Christians of St. Thomas, v., 161.
- Codex Argenteus*, Gothic, iv., 82 *note*.
- Codex Carolinus*, v., 284 *note*.
- Codex*, the Gregorian and the Hermogenian, iv., 482.
- Codex* of Justinian, iv., 498 *sqq.*; second edition of, 499.
- Codex Nasiræus*, *see* Nasiræus.
- Codex* of Theodosius, iii., 159 *note*; laws against the Donatists in, 427.
- Codicils, Roman law on, iv., 522 *sq.*
- Codinus, ii., 167 *note*, 228 *note*; his account of honours and officers, vi., 87 *note*.
- Codrus, Roman poet, iii., 325.
- Coempton*, iv., 507 and *note*.
- Cœnobites, origin of, iv., 68 *note*; account of, 78 and *note*.
- Cœnum Gallicanum, ii., 267 *note*.
- Cogende (Khojend), city of, taken by the Mongols, vii., 9.
- Cognats*, iv., 519.
- Cogni, *see* Iconium.
- Cohorts, city, i., 19, 100 *note*.
- Coil, British king, i., 428 *note*.
- Coimbra, treaty with Saracens, v., 512 *note*.
- Coinage, depreciation of, under Gallienus, i., 308 *note*, 387; of Constantine the Great, ii., 207 and *note*; with head of Boniface, iii., 432 and *note*; under the Palæologi, vi., 502 and *note*; papal, vii., 221 and *note*; Roman republican, in twelfth and thirteenth centuries, 237 and *note*; of the Popes, 801 and *note*.
- Colchester, Roman colony, i., 40 *note*.
- Colchians, bravery of, iv., 401.
- Colchos, conquered by Trajan, i., 7; also called Lazica or Mingrelia, iv., 397; description of, 98 *sqq.*; manners of the natives, 399; Christians of, 400; revolutions of, 401; revolts of, 403 *sqq.*
- Colias, Gothic leader, iii., 106.
- Coliseum*, *see* Rome.
- Collaterals*, or assessors, vii., 308.
- Collatio episcoporum* proved a forgery by Havet, iv., 120 *note*.
- College, electoral, of Germany, v., 327 and *note*.
- Collyridian heresy, v., 361 and *note*.
- Cologne (Colonia), i., 286 *note*; Posthumus at, 299 *note*; destroyed by Germans, ii., 290; pillaged by Clodion, iii., 480; archbishops of, their relation to Rome, vii., 228.
- Colonatus*, i., 253 *note*.
- Colonia, Sultanate of, v., 252.
- Colonies, Roman, i., 39, 40; in Britain and Spain, *ib. note*; honorary colonies, *ib. note*.
- Colonna, John, Marquis of Ancona, vii., 261; learning of, 334 *note*.
- Colonna, John, son of Stephen the Younger, vii., 284.
- Colonna, Marco Antonio, vii., 261 *note*.
- Colonna, Otho, *see* Martin V.
- Colonna, Peter, senator of Rome, vii., 261; arrested, 276; death, 284.
- Colonna, Protonotary, vii., 307.
- Colonna, Roman family, vii., 260 *sqq.*; splendour of, 309; quarrels of, with the Ursini, 332.
- Colonna, Sciarra, vii., 253, 262.
- Colonna, Stephen, the Elder, vii., 261 and *note*, 262, 278 *sq.*, 288.
- Colonna, Stephen, the Younger, vii., 264; death of, 284.
- Colovion*, tunic worn by the Greek emperors, vi., 88 *note*.
- Columba, St., Monastery of, iv., 67 and *note*.
- Columban, St., iv., 449 *note*.
- Columbanus, rule of, iv., 71 *note*, 73 *note*.
- Columella, iii., 310 *note*.
- Columna Regina, at Rhagium, v., 24 *note*.
- Colzim (Mount), Monastery at, iv., 64; Anthony at, *ib. and note*.
- Comana, temple of, ii., 198 and *note*; Chrysostom at, iii., 402.
- Comans, Turkish tribe of, serve under Bulgarian king, vi., 442 and *note*; under Alexius Strategopulus, 459 and *note*, 461; 40,000 families of

- the, adopted² by King Bela IV., vii., 17.
- Comes*, see Count.
- Comets, iv., 461 *sq.* and *notes*.
- Comitia*, see Assembly.
- Comito, sister of the Empress Theodora, iv., 226 and *note*.
- Commachio, morass of, v., 24 *note*.
- Commentiolus, general of the Emperor Maurice, v., 62 and *note*.
- Commerce, despised by the plebeians of Rome, iii., 318.
- Commodus, shared the imperial power, i., 92; reign, 93 *sqq.*; Porphyrogenitus, 93 *note*; death, 105; accuses Severus, 122 *note*; protected the Christians, ii., 117.
- Comneni, family of, v., 285; genealogy of, *ib. sqq.*; extinction of, vii., 214.
- Comnenus, see Alexius, David, Hadrian, Isaac, John, Manuel.
- Compiègne, Palace of the Merovingians at, vi., 13 and *note*.
- Compostella, shrine of, ii., 67.
- Compurgators*, iv., 186.
- Comum, town of Attila at, iii., 495; lake of, iv., 206.
- Conception, doctrine of immaculate, v., 864 and *note*.
- Conclave, institution of the, vii., 250.
- Concord, altar of, in Elephantine, iv., 272 *note*.
- Concordia, pillaged by Alaric, iii., 303; destroyed by Attila, 495.
- Concubines, Roman laws respecting, iv., 502 *sq.*
- Confarreatio*, marriage rite, iv., 507 and *note*.
- Confederates, barbarian army of, subverted the Western Empire, iv., 51 and *note*; new legion of Tiberius so called, v., 21 and *note*.
- Confessors, ii., 111 *note*.
- CONOB, inscription of Byzantine coins, v., 282 *note*.
- Conon, name of Leo the Isaurian, v., 197.
- Conon, St., church and monastery of, iv., 288 and *note*.
- Conrad, Duke of the Franconians, vi., 152.
- Conrad I., v., 813 *note*.
- Conrad II., Emperor, annexed kingdom of Arles to empire, v., 818 *note*; in Southern Italy, vi., 188 *note*.
- Conrad III., Emperor, vi., 272; joins second crusade, 388; dealings with the Greek emperor, 842; his march in Asia Minor, 842; illness of, 848 *note*; invited to Rome by the senate, vii., 234 *note*, 242.
- Conrad of Montferrat, takes part in third crusade, vi., 862; death, 865; husband of Theodora Angela, 400 *note*; defends Tyre, *ib.*
- Conradin of Swabia, invades France, vi., 496, 498; in Rome, vii., 241.
- Consentia (Consenza), Isthmus of, landmark of Autharis, v., 25; subdued by Robert Guiscard, vi., 195.
- Conservators* instituted, vii., 808.
- Consilium Speciale* and *Generale*, vii., 804.
- Consistorium*, ii., 196 *note*; at Treves, condemns Priscillian, iii., 161; secrets of, disclosed to Attila, 460.
- Constable*, office of, vi., 86 and *note*; of French mercenaries at Constantinople, 481.
- Constance, heiress of Antioch, vi., 359 *note*.
- Constance, treaty of, v., 824; council of, 880 *note*; synod of, 1095 A.D., vi., 272 *note*; vii., 105, 800.
- Constans I., son of Constantine, ii., 218; governs Italy and Africa, 226; Augustus, 237; reign, *ib.*; war with Constantine II., 245 *sq.*; slain at Helena, 247; protects Athanasius, 390; tolerates paganism, 416; visits Britain, iii., 45.
- Constans II., son of Constantine III., type of, v., 150; emperor, 188 *sq.*; name of, *ib. note*; puts his brother Theodosius to death, 188; in Greece and Italy, *ib.*; murder of, in Sicily, 189; checked advance of the Saracens, *ib. note*; death of, 276; dream of, 472 and *note*; sends army to Africa, 493 *note*; visit to Rome, vi., 106; takes roof from the Pantheon, vii., 828.
- Constans, son of the usurper Constantine, put to death at Vienna, iii., 359.
- Constantia, sister of Constantine the Great, i., 482 *note*, 469, 475; ii., 218.
- Constantia, daughter of Roger of Sicily, vi., 228, 282.
- Constantia, wife of Gratian, iii., 15 and *note*; escapes to Sirnium, 67.
- Constantian, general of Justinian, iv., 422 *note*.
- Constantina, daughter of Constantine the Great, crowns Vetrano, ii., 248 and *notes*; marries Gallus, 268; character, 264; death, 267.
- Constantina, sister of Eusebia, ii., 480 *note*.

- Constantina, widow of the Emperor Maurice, v., 69; death, 70.
- Constantina (town), besieged by Cobad, iv., 275 *note*.
- Constantine I. (the Great), i., 312; birth and family of, 428 and *note*; education, *ib.*; escape of, and journey to Britain, 430; elevation, 430 *sqq.*; marries Fausta, 436; named Augustus, *ib.*; besieges Arles, 442; in Gaul, 444; war with Maxentius, 447 *sqq.*; passes the Alps, 449; battles of Turin and Verona, 450 *sqq.*; victory near Rome, 454; reception of, at Rome, 456; establishes senatorial tax, 456; alliance with Licinius, 459; civil war with Licinius, 464 *sqq.*; treaty of Peace, 466; laws of, 467 *sqq.*; in Julian's *Cæsars*, i., 470 *note*; clemency to the Christians, ii., 138; chooses Byzantium as site for Constantinople, 150; plans Constantinople, *ib.*; prodigality of, 166; character, 214 *sqq.*; family of, 217; edict of, encouraging informers, 220; visits Rome, 221; puts Crispus to death, *ib.*; punishes Fausta, 223; elevates his sons and nephews, 224; Gothic war, 230; alliance with the Chersonites, 231; death, 233; conversion of, 306 *sqq.*; conduct towards the Church and Christians, 307; pagan superstition of, 308 and *notes*; protects Christians of Gaul, 309; publishes Edict of Milan, 310; divine right of, 314; religious war against Licinius, 317 and *note*; dream of, 320; his conversion, 324 *sqq.*; his devotion, 327; his baptism, 328; at Council of Nice, 348; opposes the Arians, 377; and the Orthodox, *ib.*, 378; his religious vacillation, 381; tolerates paganism, 414 *sq.*; donation of, v., 298 and *note*; imaginary law of, vi., 90 and 91 *note*; cured of leprosy, vii., 280 and *note*.
- Constantine II., i., 466 and *note*; ii., 218; elevation of, 225, 226; Augustus, 237; war with Constans, 245; death, *ib.*
- Constantine [III.], son of Heraclius, made Augustus, v., 185 and *note*; at Caesarea, 468.
- Constantine IV. (Pogonatus), defeats the usurper Mizizios, v., 189; revolt of his brothers, *ib. sq.*; reign, vi., 8 *sq.*
- Constantine V. (Copronymus), reign, v., 196 *sqq.*; military prowess of, 199 *note*; abolishes the monks, *ib.*; pestilence in the empire, *ib.*; bones of buried, 214; marries daughter of King of the Chozars, v., 201; vi., 91; introduces the Paulicians into Thrace, 126 *sq.*
- Constantine VI., crowned, v., 201; marries Theodote, 202 *note*; blinded by order of Irene, 203 and *note*.
- Constantine VII. (Porphyrogenitus), or the Chersonites, ii., 231 *note*; birth of, v., 221; title of, 221; deposes government to his wife Helena, 224; death, 224; on Greek fire, vi., 12 works of, 39 *note*, 65 *sqq.* and *notes*. Ceremonies, Themes, Administration of Empire, Geoponics, Encyclopædia, Tactics, Hippitrica, *ib.*; or the Franks, 104 *sq.*; on the Schavonians, 188 *note*; on Russia, 157 *note*; his account of baptism of Olga, 169.
- Constantine VIII., son of Romanus I., v., 222.
- Constantine IX. [VIII.], v., 231.
- Constantine X. [IX.] (Monomachus), v., 233 and *note*.
- Constantine XI. [X.] (Ducas), v., 237; policy of, *ib. note*; sons of, banish the mother of the Comneni, 239.
- Constantine XII., v., 238.
- Constantine XIII. [XI.] (Palæologus), last Greek emperor, vii., 161; crowned at Sparta, 162; message to Mahomet II., 172; signs act of union of Greek and Latin Churches, 182; defends Constantinople, 185 *sqq.*; last speech of, 197; death, 201.
- Constantine, African Christian, learns of, vi., 197; translates Hippocrates, 198 *note*.
- Constantine Angelus, v., 258.
- Constantine, brother of Michael, vi., 21 *note*; letters of, to R. Guiscard, &c. commands in Greece, 490.
- Constantine Dragases, Prince of Servia, vii., 160 *note*.
- Constantine, governor of Spoleto, v., 348; death, 349 and *note*.
- Constantine Paleokappa, author of the Ionia, vi., 111 *note*.
- Constantine, private soldier, tyrant elected in Britain, iii., 237 and *note*; besieged in Vienna, 238; claims ratified, 358; besieged at Arles, 359; death, 361.
- Constantine, son of Bardas Phocas, v., 224 *note*.
- Constantine, son of Basil I., death of, v., 219.

Constantine, son of Michael VII., vi., 202.

Constantine Sylvanus, vi., 117 and *note*; labours of, 120; death, 121.

Constantinople:—

Augusteum, ii., 161 *note*.

Baths of: Zeuxippus, ii., 407; burnt during the Nika riots, iv., 239.

Anastasia, iii., 13.

Blachernæ, ii., 159 *note*; bridge of the, vi., 299 *note*; palace of, occupied by Franks, 422; fortified by Heraclius, vii., 182 *note*.

Caligaria (quarter), vii., 182 *note*; mining operations of the Turks at, 194 *note*.

Chain of Harbour, ii., 153 and *note*; vii., 181 and *note*.

Churches of: Acacius, St., ii., 406.

Anastasia, St., iii., 152 and *note*.

Conon, St., iv., 288 *note*. Diomede,

St., v., 216; Holy Apostles, 154 *note*;

iv., 265; rifled by the Franks, vi.,

426. Irene, St., harbour chain pre-

served in, vii., 181 *note*. John, St.,

iv., 861. Laurence, St., iv., 238 *note*.

Sophia, St., burnt during the Nika

riots, 239; foundation, 261; de-

scription of, 262 *sqq.*; authorities

concerning, *ib. note*; marbles of,

263; riches of, 264 *sq.*; eastern

hemisphere of, falls, vii., 140 and

note; inhabitants of Constantinople

seek refuge in, A.D. 1453, 202;

Mahomet II. in, 207 *sq.*; converted

into a mosque, 208 and *note*. Virgin,

iv., 861.

College, Royal, at, vi., 108.

Column: of Arcadius, vi., 437 *note*;

(and Colossus) of Constantine, ii.,

161 *sq.*; of Justinian, vii., 140 and

note.

Description of, ii., 151 *sqq.*; advanta-

geous situation of, 156; foundation

of, 157; extent, 158; edifices, 161;

population, 163; dedication, 167;

new form of government at, 168;

church of, 406 *sqq.*; imperial court

of, and its reformation by Julian,

445 *sqq.*; senate, 452; revolt of

Procopius in, iii., 13; school founded

by Valentinian I. at, 23; Athanasio's

impressions of, 132; its Arianism,

150 *sqq.*; interest of its inhabitants

in theological questions, 150; first

council of, 156 *sqq.*; massacre of

Goths at, 393 *sq.*; religious riots,

399 *sq.*; walls of, rebuilt by An-

themius, 405; earthquake, 450;

circus factions at, iv., 233 *sqq.*;

Constantinople, description of—*contd.*—

Nika riots, 239 *sqq.*; riots (A.D.

561), 457; revolt against Maurice,

v., 65 *sqq.*; famine at, 80; religious

war, 139 *sqq.*; second council of,

147; third council of, 151; icono-

clast council of, 270; manners of,

reformed by John Comnenus, 244;

first crusaders at, vi., 300 *sqq.*; fire

at, 417; pillage of, 422 *sqq.*; statues

of, destroyed, 427 *sqq.*; libraries of,

destroyed, 480; bronze horses of,

taken to Venice, 429 *note*; walls of,

restored by Michael, 495; state of

the language at, vii., 120 *sqq.*; seclu-

sion of the women of, 121 *sq.*; com-

pared with Rome, 188 *sqq.*; circuit

of, 185 *note*; repopled and adorned

by Mahomet, 209 *sqq.*

Forum of Constantine, ii., 162 and *note*.

Gates of: Caligaria, vii., 182 *note*.

Charisii (or Charsæ) or Hadrianople,

186 *note*, 200 *note*. Contoscali, *ib.*

Phenar, 201. Romanus, 186 *note*;

tower of, 188, 201 *note*, 207. Rusii

(or Rhegii), *ib.* Selymbrios (or Peg-

ana), 186 *note*. Xylokerkos (Kerko-

porta), 182 *note*, 200 *note*, 201 *note*.

Hebdomon or field of Mars, iii., 10

note; *see* below under Palaces.

Hippodrome (Atmeidan), ii., 162 and

note; condemned to silence after

Nika riot, iv., 241; Mahomet II. in,

vii., 207.

Monastery on the Bosphorus, founded

by Theodora, iv., 282; of St. Conon,

238.

Mosque of Mahomet II., vii., 210.

Palaces of: Blachernæ, *see* above.

Boucoleon, 422. Daphne, vi., 79

note. Hebdomon, Arabian troops

disembark near, iii., 241; v., 67;

vi., 3. Hærsæum, and gardens, iv.,

266 and *note*. Imperial, ii., 158,

162 and *note*; iii., 378; restored by

Justinian, iv., 265; vi., 79 *sqq.* and

notes. Lausus, 459 *note*. Magnaura,

ib.; school at, 109.

Phiale, vi., 79 *note*.

Sieges and attacks: Threatened

by Goths, iiii., 120; by Goths

under Alaric, 254; by Bulgarians

under Zabergan, iv., 454; besieged

by Avars, v., 81; threatened by

Persians, 84; besieged by Thomas

the Slavonian, 209; by Arabs, vi.,

2; date of siege, *ib. note*; second

siege, 6 *sqq.*; threatened by Harun

al-Rashid, 86; besieged by Krum,

141; threatened by Hungarians,

- Constantinople, sieges, etc.—*continued*—
 150; four times by Russians, 160 *sqq.*; by George of Sicily, 222; siege and conquest of, by the Latins, 411 *sq.*; siege of, by Asan and Vataces, 452 *sq.*; recovered by Michael Palæologus, 459 *sqq.*; escape of, from the Mongols, vii., 22; threatened by Holagou, 23; by Bajazet, 42; relieved by Boucicault, 43; besieged by Amurath II., 80 *sq.*; by Mahomet II., 181 *sqq.*; capture of, 199 *sqq.*
- Sigma, semi-circular portico, vi., 79 *note*, 80 and *note*.
- Skyla, a vestibule, vi., 79 *note*.
- Triclinos: of Justinian II., vi., 79 *note*; Chrysotriklinos, *ib.* 81 and *note*; Lausiæ, 79 *note*.
- Trikonchos, building of Theophilus, vi., 79 *note*, 80 *note*.
- Turbé (grave) of Abu Ayub, vii., 210 and *note*.
- Constantius I. (Chlorus), general of Probus, i., 354; adopted by Carus, 369; made Cæsar, 381 and *note*; relationship to Claudius, i., 381 *sq. notes*; in Britain, 387, 388; in Gaul, 390; character and reign, 425 *sqq.*; death, 430; epitaph on, *ib.* *note*; averse to persecution, ii., 137.
- Constantius II., son of Constantine, ii., 218; Cæsar and ruler of Gaul, 220; in the East, 226; receives the testament of Constantine, 235; seizes Constantinople, *ib.*; Augustus, 237; Persian wars of, 240 *sqq.*; refuses to treat with Magnentius, 248; deposes Vetrano, 249; makes war against Magnentius, 252; defeats him at Mursa, 253; elevates Julian, 273; visits Rome, 276 *sqq.*; war with the Quadi, 278 *sqq.*; Persian negotiations of, 281 *sqq.*; Eastern expedition of, 289; besieges Bezabde, *ib.*; apotheosis of, 309; adopts Arian heresy, 379, 380; reconciled with Athanasius, 391; edicts against the Catholics, 409; tolerates paganism, 416; visits temples of Rome, *ib.*; his fear of Julian and war against him, 419 *sqq.*; receives Julian's embassy, 430; death, 439.
- Constantius III., general of Honorius, receives the fortune of Heraclian, iii., 358; character, 360 *sq.*; defeats Edobic, 361; raised to the empire of the West, 417; marries Placidia, *ib.*; death, 418.
- Constantius, Julius, the Patrician, brother of Constantine, i., 482 *note*; ii., 218.
- Constantius, secretary of Attila, iii., 458 and *note*.
- Constitutions, of the emperors, iv., 480.
- Consularis*, ii., 181.
- Consuls*, i., 71, 73 *note*; under Constantine, ii., 171 *sqq.*; in the middle ages, vii., 233 and *note*.
- Consulship* under the empire, i., 73 and *note*; assumed by emperors in fourth and fifth centuries, 414 *note*; Julian's reverence for the, ii., 451; restored by Odoacer, iv., 58 and *note*; suppressed by Justinian, 285 *sq.*; resumed by Justin II., v., 2.
- Conti, Roman family of, vii., 260, 331.
- Contracts, iv., 524 *sqq.*
- Convertisseur, ii., 476 *note*.
- Copists*, or grave-diggers, ii., 339.
- Coptic dialect, v., 154.
- Coptos, i., 353, 392.
- Copts or Egyptians, heresy of, v., 156, 170; decline of, 174; submit to the Saracens, 476.
- Corbulo, i., 3 *note*.
- Coreyra, Totila at, iv., 438; Procopius at, *ib.* *note*; siege of, by Manuel I., v., 246; crusaders at, vi., 407; taken by Venice, 435 *note*.
- Cordova in fourth century, iii., 364; siege of, iv., 100; governor of, in the hands of the Saracens, v., 508; legion of Damascus at, 514; seat of the Caliphs, 516; Christians of, under Arabs, 521 and *note*; martyrs of, 208 and *note*; seat of learning, vi., 29.
- Corduene, ii., 538 *note*.
- Corea, kingdom of, conquered by the Mongols, vii., 13.
- Corfu, *see* Coreyra.
- Corinth, i., 53; church at, ii., 43; destroyed by Alaric, iii., 257; walls of, restored by Justinian, iv., 269; besieged by George of Sicily, vi., 221; taken by Turks, vii., 212.
- Corippus, *Johannis* of, iv., 415 *note*; on Justinian, v., 1.
- Corn, at Alexandria, i., 393 *note*; at Constantinople, ii., 165 *sq.* and *note*; export of, from Egypt, iv., 242.
- Corneille, "Attila" of, iii., 446 *note*; "Heraclius" of, v., 67 *note*.
- Cornwall conquered by Athelstan, iv., 161 and *note*.
- Coronary gold* (Aurum Coronarium), ii., 211, 212 *note*.

- Coronations, imperial, at Rome, account of, vii., 220 and *note*.
- Corporations, municipal, laws of Majorian concerning, iv., 20 *sq*.
- Correctors*, ii., 181.
- Corruptibles and Incorruptibles, heresy of, v., 170.
- Corsi, Roman family of, vii., 259, 332.
- Corsica, i., 26; bishops banished to, iv., 91; state of, 92 and *note*.
- Cortes, ii., 587 *note*.
- Corvinus, Matthew, King of Hungary, vii., 156 and *note*.
- Corvinus, *see* John Huniades.
- Cos (Island), silk made in, iv., 244 and *note*.
- Cosa (Kussai), ancestor of Mahomet, usurps the Caaba, v., 351 *note*.
- Cosdar, town of, taken by the Moslems, v., 440 *note*; *see* Kusdār.
- Cosmas Indicoopleustes, iv., 248 *note*, 250 *note*; account of the Axumites, 413 *note*; Christian topography of, v., 158 *note*.
- Cosmo of Medicis, *see* Medicis.
- Cossova, battle of, vii., 84 *sq*.; John Huniades defeated at, 155.
- Cotini, i., 284 *note*.
- Cotrigurs, *see* Bulgarians.
- Cotysum, battle of, iv., 271; Turkish camp at, vi., 259.
- Coucy, Sire de, joins in crusade against the Turks, vii., 38 and *note*; death, 40.
- Council (general), authority of, vii., 105.
- Councils of:—
- Ancyra, ii., 56.
 - Antioch, ii., 389 and *note*.
 - Ariminum, ii., 374.
 - Arles, ii., 398.
 - Basil, A.D. 1431-43, vii., 105 and *notes*, and *sq*.
 - Chalcedon, acts of the Council of, v., 128 and *note*; summoned Nestorius to appear, 128; council held, 131; faith of the, 133 *sq*.; ratified by Justinian, 145.
 - Clermont, vi., 273 *sq*.
 - Constance, v., 330 *note*; vii., 105, 300 *sq*.
 - Constantinople, first of, iii., 156 *sq*. and *note*; ratified by Justinian, v., 145.
 - Constantinople, second of (fifth general council), v. 147.
 - Constantinople, third of (sixth general council), v., 161.
 - Constantinople (eighth general council), vi., 335 and *note*.
 - Constantinople, iconoclast of, v., 269.
- Councils of—*continued*—
- Ephesus, first of, v., 121; condemned Nestorius, 123; ratified by Justinian, 145.
 - Ephesus, second of, v., 180; persecutes Flavian, 181 *sq*.; character of, 181.
 - Ferrara, A.D. 1438, vii., 112 *sqq*.
 - Florence, A.D. 1438-39, vii., 112 *sqq*.; acts of union of the Council of, 117 *note*.
 - Frankfort, v., 298 and *note*, 305 *note*.
 - Illiberis, ii., 56.
 - Lateran (A.D. 649), v., 151; (A.D. 1179), vii., 249.
 - Lyons, general Council of, vi., 454; Greek clergy at, 492.
 - Mantua (A.D. 1459), vii., 216.
 - Milan, ii., 398, 394 *note*.
 - Nice, first of, ii., 348, 367 and *note*; ratified by Justinian, v., 145.
 - Nice, second of, v., 295.
 - Pisa (A.D. 1409), vii., 105 and *note*, 299.
 - Placentia, vi., 275.
 - Rimini, *see* Ariminum.
 - Rome (anti-Iconoclastic), convened by Gregory II., v., 280.
 - Sardica, ii., 389 *note*, 390 and *note*.
 - Seleucia, ii., 373.
 - Sophia, St. (fictitious), vii., 142 *note*.
 - Toledo, iv., 154 and *note*.
 - Tyre, ii., 387.
- Councils, provincial, instituted, ii., 45.
- Count*, Latin title, iv., 135 and *note*.
- Count*: of the East, ii., 180, 182 *note*; military title of, 187; of the household (castrensis), 194 and *note*; of the Sacred Largesses, 197 *sq*. and *note*; of the private estate, 198 *sq*. and *note*; of the domestics, 199 *sq*.
- Coupele, rock of, vii., 54 and *note*.
- Couroultai*, or Diet of the Tartars, iii., 82 and *note*, 493 *note*.
- Courtenay, lordship of, vi., 454 and *note*; digression on the family of, 466-474.
- Courtesy*, term of Chivalry, vi., 298.
- Cousin, President, his translation of Procopius, iv., 289 *note*; mistranslation in, 469 *note*; his translation of Cantacuzene, vi., 518 *note*; mistranslation of a passage in Ducas, vii., 175 *note*.
- Cracow, city of, destroyed by the Mongols, vii., 16.
- Craiova, Turkish forces defeated by the Prince of Wallachia at, vii., 87 *note*.
- Crai* [*Krai*], or despot of Servia, derivation of name, vi., 521 *note*.
- Cranmer, vi., 133 and *note*.

- Crassus, i., 399.
 Cremera, i., 454 *note*.
 Cremona, pillaged by Alaric, iii., 808.
 Crescentius, Consul of Rome, v., 321.
 Crestona, city of, iv., 478 *note*.
 Crete, i., 29; archers of, at Thermopylæ, 266; conquered by Nicephorus, v., 226; by the Arabs, vi., 88 *sq.*; Saracens of, put to death, 49 and *note*; recovered by Nicephorus Phocas, 60; taken by the Venetians, 485 *note*; bought by Venice, 485.
 Creighton, Robert, his history of the union of the Greek and Latin Churches, vii., 109 *note*.
 Crim Tartary, i., 280.
 Crimea, fortifications of Justinian in, iv., 272; trade of, vi., 538.
 Crinitus Ulpian, i., 314.
 Crispinus, i., 199.
 Crispian Vibian, i., 89.
 Crispian, son of Constantine, Cæsar, i., 466 and *note*; defeats the Franks and Alemanni, 469 and *note*; naval victory of, 478; character, ii., 219; Cæsar, 219; disgrace and death, 221.
 Crispian the Patrician, son-in-law of Phocas, v., 70 and *note*; betrays Phocas, 71; condemned to monastic life, 72.
 Oritobulus, historian, vii., 167 *note*; 208 *note*.
 Croatia, i., 24; kingdom of, vi., 138; prince of, opposes the Ottoman Turks, vii., 35 *note*.
 Croats, of Dalmatia, vi., 188.
 Crocodiles, i., 370 *note*.
 Crocus, or Erocus, i., 431 and *note*.
 Cromwell, Oliver, vii., 277 *note*.
 Cross, symbol of, adopted by Constantine, ii., 318; invention of the, 481 and *note*; true cross removed to Persia, v., 76; recovered by Heraclius, 101; exaltation of the, *ib.*; sign adopted by the Crusaders, vi., 284; cross-bearers of St. Sophia, vii., 116.
 Cross-bow, used by Crusaders, vi., 308 and *note*.
 Orotana, Belisarius at, iv., 484; resists Totila, 439; battle of, vi., 177.
 Crown of thorns, sold by Baldwin II. to the King of France, vi., 456.
 Crowns, obsidional, given by Julian, ii., 528; of Greek Emperors, vi., 88 and *note*.
 Croya, taken by Scanderbeg, vii., 158; siege of, 159.
 Crucifixion, date of, ii., 62.
 Cruitnich, or wheat eaters, iii., 43.
 Crum, Bulgarian King, v., 7 *note*; death, 206 *note*.
 Crusades, first crusade, vi., 269 *sqq.*; justice of, 276 *sq.*; motives for, 278 *sqq.*; second and third, 337 *sqq.*; fourth and fifth, 370 and *note*; sixth, 374 *sqq.*; seventh, 377 *sq.*; account of fourth, 393 *sqq.*; consequences of the, 462 *sqq.*
 Crusius, his Turco-Græcia, vii., 211 *note*.
 Ctesiphon or Madayn, i., 223; growth of, *ib.*; siege of, by Severus, 223; attacked by Zenobia, 326; taken by Carus, 366; Julian at, ii., 529 *sqq.*; Nushirvan at, iv., 411; Heraclius near, v., 97; Chosroes enters, 98; sack of, by the Saracens, 433 and *note sq.*; palace of Chosroes at, 435; decay, 434; ruins of the hall of Chosroes at, *ib.* *note*.
 Cubit of the Arabians, vi., 82 *note*.
 Cublac, grandson of Zingis Khan, vii., 11 and *note*; conquests of, 12 *sq.*; prosperity under, 20; resides at Peking, 21.
 Cucusus, in Lesser Armenia, ii., 407 *note*; retreat of Chrysostom, iii., 401.
 Cudworth, ii., 356 *note*, 357 *note*.
 Cufa, insurgent Arabs of, v., 410; tomb of Ali at, 413; foundation of, 425; pillaged by the Carmathians, vi., 52.
 Cufic letters, v., 346.
 Cumæ, reduced by Totila, iv., 424; defended by Aligern, 448; Sibyll's cave at, *ib.* and *note*.
 Cumans, Turkish tribe in Hungary, vi., 158 *note*; same as the Uses, *ib.*, 248 *note*; glossary of the Cumman language, *ib.*
 Cunimund, v., 5; slain by the Lombards, 7; skull of, used as drinking cup by Alboin, 13.
 Curator, office of, in Rome, iv., 515.
 Curds, i., 405; dynasty of Curds or Ayoubites, v., 340 *note*; vi., 353 *sq.* and *note*.
 Curial system, effects of, ii., 452 *note*.
 Curland, holy groves of, vi., 158 and *note*.
 Curopalata, office of, vi., 84 and *note*.
 Cursus publicus, *see* Post; *cursus claustralis*, ii., 423 *note*.
 Curubis, town of, Cyprian banished to, ii., 107.
 Cusina, Moorish chief, iv., 420 *note*.
 Cuspinian, vii., 169 *note*.

- Customs (imposts), i., 175 and *note*.
 Cutturgurians, tribes of, iv., 369 *note*.
 Outulmish, grandson of Seljuk, vi., 258.
 Cybele, i., 86, 98 and *note*; oration of Julian in honour of, ii., 461 and *note*.
 Cyclades (islands), Saracens in, v., 472.
 Cydnus, river, ii., 558 and *note*.
 Cydonia, in Crete, vi., 40.
 Cynegius, Prætorian præfect, closes the pagan temples, iii., 206.
 Cynochoritis, church of the Paulicians, vi., 118 *note*.
 Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage [Thasius Oscilius Cyprianus], ii., 47 and *note*; opposes Bishop of Rome, 49; *de Lapsis*, 53 and *note*; on Episcopal government, 56; teacher of rhetoric, 71; account of, 105 *sqq.*; letters, 106; flight, *ib.*; at Curubis, 107; martyrdom, 109; festival of, iv., 308.
 Cyprus, i., 29; insurrection against Constantine, ii., 227; Hyrcanian captives sent to, v., 45; ravaged by the Saracens, 472; vi., 38; recovered by Nicephorus, 64; Assise in the Latin kingdom of, 380, 384 *note*; conquest of, by Richard Plantagenet, 390 and *note*.
 Cyrene, i., 28; ruined state of, ii., 344 and *note*; Greek colonies of, extirpated by Chosroes, v., 77; confounded with Cairoan of the Arabs, 496 *note*.
 Cyriacus, of Ancona, ii., 95 *note*.
 Cyriades (Emperor), i., 291, 296.
 Cyril of Alexandria, answers Julian, ii., 468 and *note*; account of, v., 114; made patriarch, *ib.*; tyranny of, 115; allows Hypatia to be murdered, 117 and *note*; at the first Council of Ephesus, 122 *sqq.*; degraded by the Oriental bishops, 124; is reconciled to John of Antioch, 125.
 Cyril of Jerusalem, ii., 380 and *note*; character of, 482 and *note*.
 Cyrila, Arian bishop, at conference of Carthage, iv., 91; his ignorance of Latin, 94 *note*.
 Cyrisus, station of, v., 218 *note*.
 Cyrrhus, Bishop of, iii., 409 *note*; iv., 184 *note*; diocese of, vi., 116 *note*.
 Cyrus the Great, eunuchs of, ii., 261 *note*; capture of Babylon by, vii., 202 *note*.
 Cyrus, nephew of Solomon, iv., 419.
 Cyrus, Prætorian præfect, disgrace of, iii., 411.
 Cyrus, Patriarch of Alexandria, v., 478 *note*.
 Cyrus, river, iv., 397.
 Cyta or Cotatis, town of, iv., 399.
 Cyzicus, i., 284; buildings of, ii., 160 *note*; massacre of heretics at, 410; subdued by Procopius, iii., 14; John of Cappadocia at, iv., 258 *sq.*; Arabian fleet at, vi., 8.
 DACIA, conquered by Trajan, i., 5; description of, 25; inroads of the Goths into, 262, 264; lost to the Goths, 280 *note*; given by Aurelian to the Goths, 316; invaded by Crispus, 470; given to the Eastern Empire, iii., 125; subdued by Ardaric, King of the Gepidæ, 502; desolation of, iv., 190; two provinces of, 267 *note*.
 Dacians, driven from Upper Hungary by the Sarmatians, ii., 229.
 Dadastana, iii., 5 and *note*.
 Dæmons, ii., 16, 17.
 Dagalaiphus, officer of Julian, ii., 485; in Persia, 519; at Maogamalcha, 525; faction of, at death of Julian, 545; address to Valentinian I., iii., 9; consulate of, 35 *note*.
 Daghestan, iv., 278.
 Dagisteus, general of Justinian, commands on the Euxine against the Persians, iv., 405; commands the Huns against the Totila, 441.
 Dagobert, founded the Church of St. Denys, iii., 355 *note*; v., 306.
 Dahar, Indian chief, conquered by the Moslems, v., 440 *note*.
 Dahes and Gabrah, war of, v., 345 *note*.
 Daibal, capture of, by Mohammad ibn Kâsim, v., 440 *note*.
 Daimbert, Archbishop of Pisa, made Patriarch of Jerusalem, vi., 326 and *note*.
 Dakiki, Persian writer, iv., 387 *note*.
 Dalmatia, description of, i., 24; subdued by the Romans, 121; won by Constantius, ii., 256; ceded to the Eastern Empire, iii., 421; occupied by Marcellinus, iv., 28; iron mines of, 192; crusaders in, vi., 296.
 Dalmatian legionaries, destroyed by the Goths, iii., 331.
 Dalmatinus, Juvenens Cælius Calanus, life of Attila, iii., 440 *note*.
 Dalmatius, nephew of Constantine, ii., 218; made Cæsar, 225; character of, 235 *note*; murder of, 236.
 Dalmatius the abbot, v., 126 and *note*.

- Dalmatius the censor, i., 432 *note*; ii., 218.
- Damasceus Studites, vii., 211 *note*.
- Damascius, Life of Isidore by, iv., 288 *note*.
- Damascus, taken by Persians, v., 74 *note*; Andronicus flies to, 252; fairs of, 339; caliphs at, 421; besieged by the Saracens, 446 *sqq.*; fall of, 452 and *note*; exiles of, pursued and slain, 458 *sq.*; Gate called Keisan at, 454; second capture of, by Saracens, 463 *note*; capital of the Saracens, 465; taken by Zimisces, vi., 63; princes of, expelled by the Seljuks, 257; reduced by Atsila, 267; siege of, by Conrad III., 344; joined to Aleppo, 349; attacked by Saladin, 355 and *note*; Saladin retreats to, 362; Timour at, vii., 58.
- Damasus, Bishop of Rome, iii., 29; account of, 81 *sqq.*, 148.
- Dames, a Saracen, v., 466.
- Damghan, battle of, vi., 240.
- Damianus, Peter, v., 816 *note*; vi., 191 *note*; friend and biographer of St. Dominic Loricatus, 280 *note*.
- Damietta, taken by the Crusaders, vi., 370.
- Damocles, story of, iv., 4 and *note*.
- Damophilus, Archbishop of Constantinople, exile of, iii., 154 and *note*.
- Dandolo, Andrew, chronicle of, vi., 189 *note*, 406 *note*.
- Dandolo, Henry, Doge of Venice, account of, 398 and *note*; at siege of Constantinople, 418 *sqq.*; refuses the Latin Empire, 482; despot of Romania, 484; death, 445.
- Danes, iii., 39 *note*; iv., 158.
- Daniel, first bishop of Winchester, epistle of, to St. Boniface, iv., 84 *note*.
- Daniel, Père, on Childeric, iv., 28 *note*.
- Daniel, prophecy of, iv., 173 *note*.
- Danielis, Matron of Patras, v., 216; gifts to the Emperor Basil, vi., 75; wealth of, 82 *sq.*
- Dante, *De Monarchia* of, vii., 277 *note*.
- Danube, victories of M. Antoninus on, i., 10; provinces on, 28; frozen, 232; bridge of boats on, iii., 64; conference of Valens and Athanaric on, 65; Goths transported over the, 100 *sq.*; frozen under Justinian, iv., 454; canal of Charlemagne, v., 309.
- D'Anville, M., plan of Rome by, iv., 886 *note*; eastern geography of, v., 429 *note*; description of Alexandria, 479 *note*; on the Ottoman dynasty, vii., 28 *note*.
- Daphne, grove and temple of, ii., 491 and *note*; temple of, burnt, 494 *sq.*
- Daphnusia, town of, vi., 460 and *note*.
- Dara, siege of, iv., 396; siege by Nushirvan, v., 44; Bahram at, 48; restored, 55; destroyed by Chosroes, 74 and *note*.
- Dardania, province of, iv., 267 *note*; acquired by the Bulgarians, vi., 137 and *note*.
- Dardaniens, i., 266 *note*, 381 and *note*.
- Dardanus of Troy, i., 306 *note*.
- Dardanus, Prætorian præfect in Gaul, opposes Jovinus, iii., 363 and *note*; inscription erected by, 374 *note*.
- Dargham, Egyptian vizir, vi., 350 and *note*.
- Darius, constructs canal in Egypt, v., 485 *note*; compared to Vataces, vi., 478 *note*.
- Darius, officer of Valentinian III., interview with Count Boniface at Carthage, iii., 428 *sq.*
- Dasagerd, *see* Artemita.
- Datianus, governor of Spain, ii., 137 and *note*.
- Datianus the Patrician, iii., 7 and *note*.
- Datus, Bishop of Milan, iv., 345; retires to Constantinople, 351 and *note*.
- D'Aubigné, on early Christian faith, iii., 225 *note*.
- Daur, town of, taken by the Moslems, v., 440 *note*.
- Dausara, taken by Avidius Cassius, i., 228 *note*.
- David Comnenus, last Emperor of Trebizond, vii., 218 *sq.*
- David, grandson of Andronicus, seizes Paphlagonia, vi., 499 *note*; death, *ib.*
- David, Iberian prince, aids Phocas against Sclerus, v., 230 *note*.
- David, son of Heraclius, v., 185 *note*.
- David, son of Shishman, vi., 165 *note*.
- Davila, Fra, historian, vii., 308 *note*.
- Davy, Major, Institutions of Timour of, vii., 44 *note*.
- Dawkins and Wood, description of Palmyra and Baalbec, v., 458 *note*.
- Dazimon, battle near, vi., 47 *note*.
- Debt, law of, iv., 530 *sq.*
- Decapolis, plain of, v., 461.
- Decabalus, Dacian King, i., 6.
- Decempagi (Dieuze), in Lothringen, ii., 298 *note*.
- Decemvirs, twelve Tables of, iv., 473 *sqq.*, 476.
- Decennovium, iv., 331 and *note*.
- Decentius, brother of Magnentius, made Caesar, ii., 257 and *note*, 258.

- Decimum (Ad), battle of, iv., 302.
 Decius, consul, iv., 443 *note*.
 Decius, emperor, defeats Philip, i., 257 ; reign, *ib.* ; birth, *ib. note* ; marches against the Goths, 258 ; Gothic war of, 265 *sqq.* ; death, 268 ; persecutes the Christians, ii., 120 and *note* ; iii., 437 and *note*.
 Decius the Younger, death, i., 269.
 Decius, Roman patrician, iv., 481.
 Decoratus, accuser of Boethius, iv., 215 *note*.
 Decretals, the Forged, v., 292.
 Decumates, i., 357 and *note*.
 Decurions, or *Curiales*, ii., 204.
 Defensores, iii., 28 ; office revived by Majorian, iv., 20.
 Deification of emperors, i., 75, 76.
 Dejal, or the Antichrist, v., 418.
 Deioces, King of the Medes, iv., 111 *note*.
 Delators, i., 95, 109. *Cp.* ii., 220.
 Delbene, Sannuccio, vii., 267 *note*.
 Delbrück, on payment of Roman soldiers, i., 133 *note* ; on *framea*, i., 250 *note*.
 Delhi, conquered by the Sultan of Gazna, vi., 235 ; Timour at, vii., 58.
 Delian, Peter, revolt of, in Macedonia, v., 233 *note*.
 Delphi, ii., 452.
 Delphicum, royal banqueting hall at Rome, Constantinople and Carthage, iv., 304 *note*.
 Delphidius, in Gaul, ii., 302 ; widow of, iii., 162.
 Delphinus, Gentilis, vii., 811.
 Demaratus, iv., 364 *note*.
 Demetrias, granddaughter of Proba, iii., 346 and *note*.
 Demetrius, brother of John II., vi., 457 and *note* ; voyage of, to Venice, vii., 110, 116.
 Demetrius, despot of Epirus, siege of Rhodes by, v., 472 and *note*.
 Demetrius, Egyptian prelate, ii., 64 and *note*.
 Demetrius Poliorcetes, vi., 96 *note*.
 Demetrius, son of Marquis of Montferrat, vi., 450.
 Democedes of Crotona, iv., 387 *note*.
 Democritus, philosopher, vi., 487 *note*.
 Demosthenes, iv., 279.
 Demotica given to Count of St. Pol, vi., 436 and *note* ; massacre of the Latins at, 441 ; Cantacuzene assumes the purple at, 521 ; Empress Anne besieged in, by the Bulgarians, vii., 29.
 Denarius (coin), ii., 207 *note*.
 Dengisich, son of Attila, on the banks of the Danube, iii., 502 ; invades the Eastern Empire, *ib.* ; death, *ib.*
 Denmark, crusaders from, vi., 862 ; kingdom of, restored to the empire, vii., 245.
 Deogratias, Bishop of Carthage, assists the prisoners of Gaiseric, iv., 7 and *note*.
 Depopulation, in third century, i., 308.
 Derar [Dhirār], Arab warrior, iii., 121 *note* ; at siege of Damascus, v., 446 *sq.* ; valour of, 448 and *note*.
 Derbend, iv., 277 and *note* ; gates of, penetrated by the Mongols, vii., 10.
 Dervishes, vii., 146 and *note* ; in Turkish camp at Constantinople, 196.
 Desiderius, brother of Magnentius, made Cæsar, ii., 257 *note* ; death, 258 *note*.
 Desiderius, daughter of, repudiated by Charlemagne, v., 286 *note* ; conquered by Charlemagne, 286.
 Deslisle, William, geographer, vi., 66 *note*.
 "Despina," queen, restored by Timour to Bajazet, vii., 64.
 Despot, title bestowed by the Greek emperors, vi., 84.
 Deuterius, chamberlain, iii., 296 *note*.
 Develtus (town), captured by Krum, vi., 140 *note*.
 Devonshire, earls of, *see* Courtenay.
 Dexippus, i., 286 *note*.
 D'Herbelot, his *Bibliothèque Orientale*, v., 429 and *note*.
 Dhoulacnaf, Arab title of Sapor, ii., 238.
 Diadem, imperial, introduced by Aurelian and Diocletian, i., 412 and *note* ; vi., 83 and *note*.
 Diadumenianus, i., 152 ; death, 156.
 Diamonds, i., 60 and *note*.
 Diamper, synod of, v., 162.
 Diarbekir (or Amida), despoiled by Saladin, vi., 355.
Diarium Parmense, vii., 217 *note*.
Diarium Urbis Romæ, vii., 811.
 Dibra, two provinces of, vii., 159 *note*.
 Diocærohus, iii., 78 *note*.
Dicanice, Greek name for the imperial sceptre, vi., 485 *note*.
 Didot, A. F., on Aldus Manutius, vii., 135 *note*.
 Didymus, prince of the Theodosian house, opposes Constantine the Tyrant, iii., 288 and *note*.
 Diedo, Venetian sea captain, vii., 185 *note*.
 Diehl, C., on African forts, iv., 267 *note*.
 Diet of the Tartars, *see* Courountai ; of the Huns, iii., 82 *note* ; German, v., 327, 329.

- Dietrich of Bern, iv., 205 *note*.
Diffarreatio, iv., 509.
Digest, *see Pandects*.
 Dijon, fortress of, iv., 120 and *note*.
 Dilemites, i., 398 *note*; allies of the Persians in the Lazic war, iv., 407.
 Dimitrii, article of, on Russia, vi., 160 *note*.
Dinar, vi., 5.
 Dinarchus, iv., 296 *note*.
Dioceses (civil), ii., 180 *sq.*
 Diocletian (C. Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus), i., 354; election, 375 and *notes*; reign, 377 *sqq.*; associates Maximian, 379; associates Galerius and Constantine, 381; defence of the frontiers, 388; policy, *ib.*; settlement of the Germans, Sarmatians, etc., 390 and *note*; wars in Egypt and Africa, 391 *sqq.* and *note*; suppresses alchemy, 393; Persian wars of, 394 *sqq.*; at Antioch, 398; receives Galerius, 399; negotiates with Persia, 401; his moderation, 402; triumph, 406; titles of, 406 *note*; edict of maximum prices, *ib.*; at Nicomedia, 408; system of Imperial Government, 409 *sqq.*; assumes the diadem, 412; administration, 418 *sqq.*; increase of taxation under, 414; abdication, 415, 416; at Salona, 418 *sqq.*; baths at Rome, 438 and *note*; treatment of the Christians, ii., 124 *sqq.*; first edict, 180; second edict, 186; third and fourth edicts, *ib.*
 Diocletianopolis, besieged by the Avars, v., 60.
 Diodorus, Count, ii., 497.
 Diodorus, heretic, v., 113.
 Diodorus Siculus, on the priesthood, ii., 338 *note*; iv., 179 *note*; on the Caaba, v., 350 and *note*.
 Diogenes, leader of the Chersonites, ii., 231.
 Diogenes, officer of Justinian in Rome, iv., 487.
 Dion Cassius, i., 37 *note*, 75 *note*; his father, 82 *note*; enemy of Didius Julianus, 117 *note*, 131, 187; consul under Alexander Severus, 168.
 Dionysius I. of Syracuse, v., 28 *note*; vii., 198 *note*.
 Dionysius of Alexandria, ii., 105.
 Dionysius of Byzantium, ii., 151 *note*.
 Dionysius of Corinth, ii., 58 *note*.
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, on Roman constitutional history, iv., 471 *note*.
 Dionysius, Bishop of Milan, banishment of, ii., 395.
 Dionysius of Talmahré, Patriarch of Antioch, v., 471 *note*.
 Dionysius, poetical geographer, v., 458 *note*.
 Diophantus of Alexandria, vi., 32 *note*.
 Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, supports Eutyches, v., 180; disgrace of, 131; deposed and banished, 138.
 Dioscurias (town), i., 282 *note*; iv., 399; fortifications of, 402.
 Diopolis, image at, v., 266 and *note*.
 Diploklionion, or Beshik Tash, vii., 189 *note*.
 Dir, Slav king, vi., 155 *note*.
Dirhem (drachma), vi., 5 *note*.
 Disabul, Khan of the Turks, iv., 380 and *note*; receives the Roman ambassadors, 381 *sq.*
 Dispargum, residence of Clodion, King of the Franks, iii., 479; site of, *ib.* *note*.
 Ditch, battle of the, v., 387.
 Dithmar, chronicle of, vi., 156 *note*.
 Dius, iv., 184 *note*.
 Diva, or Male, ii., 382 *note*.
Divetasion, long tunic worn by the Byzantine emperors, vi., 88 *note*.
 Divination, ii., 415.
 Divinity, titles of, assumed by Diocletian and Maximian, i., 411.
 Divorce, iv., 509 *sqq.*; limitations of the liberty of, 510 *sq.*
 Dlugossius, Johannes, his history of Poland, vii., 6 *note*.
 Dniester, Gothic fleet on, i., 309; Visigothic camp on, iii., 96.
 Doctes, gnostic sect, ii., 358, 359 and *note*; their opinion on the nature of Christ, v., 107 *sq.*
 Doctes, name of Diocletian, i., 37 *note*.
 Doelia (town), i., 377 *note*.
 Dodona, Goths at, iv., 438 and *note*.
 Doge of Venice, institution of, vi., 398.
 Dogs, sent from Europe to Bajazet, vii., 40 *note*.
 Dolfino, Giovanni, Doge of Venice, vi., 484 *note*.
Domestic, Great, office of, vi., 86 and *note*.
Domestics, revolt of, against Commodus i., 105; schools of, ii., 199.
 Dominic, St., hermit, vi., 280; Life of *ib.* *note*.
Dominus, title of the emperor, i., 411 and *note*; refused by Julian, ii., 451 and *note*; adopted by the Pope, v., 282 and *note*; on papal coins, vii., 222.

- Domitian, emperor, i., 4, 80; life censorship of, 267 *note*; gilds the capitol, iv., 6 *note*; bust of, 459 and *note*; law of, concerning suicides, 540; founds Capitoline games, vii., 267 *note*.
- Domitian, Oriental præfect, ii., 265 and *note*.
- Domitilla, niece of Domitian, ii., 97 and *note*.
- Domitius Domitianus, i., 392 *note*.
- Domninus of Syria, ambassador of Valentinian, iii., 170 *sq.*
- Domus*, class of Roman house, iii., 325.
- Donation, of Constantine, ii., 307 *note*; forgery of, v., 292; of Charlemagne, 291; of Constantine, 292 and *note*.
- Donatists, schism of, ii., 358 *sqq.*; revolt of, 410 *sqq.*; religious suicides of, 412 *sq.*; persecution of, iii., 426, 427 and *notes*.
- Donatus, African bishop, ii., 352.
- Donatus, on topography of Rome, vii., 387 *note*.
- Dongola, ruins of, v., 175.
- Doroon, horse of Heraclius, v., 96 *note*.
- Doria, Genoese admiral, vi., 586.
- Dorotheus, eunuch, protects the Christians, ii., 125.
- Dorotheus, religious enthusiast, vi., 387.
- Dorotheus, selects the Institutes of Justinian, iv., 501.
- Dorylaeum, Theophilus at, vi., 48; battle of, 307; now Eskishehr, 309; Conrad III. at, 343 *note*.
- Dositheus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, vii., 142 *note*.
- Doutremens, Jesuit, his *History of Fourth Crusade*, vi., 395 *note*.
- Dovin, occupied by Persians, v., 74 *note*; destroyed by Heraclius, v., 87 *note*.
- Doxology, ii., 404.
- Draco*, name of visitor-general of Leo III., v., 273 and *note*.
- Draco, river, *see* Sarnus.
- Draco, statutes of, iv., 529; age of, *ib. note*.
- Dracon, river, vi., 288 *note*.
- Dracontius, master of the mint, ii., 497.
- Dragoman*, office of, vi., 85.
- Dragon city, iii., 82 *note*.
- Drenco, river, Attila receives the embassy of Theodosius at, iii., 469.
- Drepanum, i., 429 *note*; crusaders at, vi., 286 *note*.
- Dristra or Durostolus, vi., 167 *note*; Swatoslaus at, 168.
- Drogo, brother of William of Apulia, vi., 187 *note*; death of, 189.
- Dromedary, v., 78 and *note*; in Arabia, 387.
- Dromones*, or Byzantine galleys, vi., 96 and *note*.
- Druids of Gaul, i., 35.
- Drungarius* (Great), office of, vi., 86.
- Druses of Mount Libanus, vi., 265 and *note*.
- Drusus, German conquest of, lost by Varus, i., 22 *note*; iii., 40 *note*.
- Dryden, fable of Theodore and Honoria, iii., 274 *note*; quotation from, vii., 201 *note*, 289 *note*.
- Dubis, Persian camp at, iv., 396.
- Dubos, Abbé, i., 38 *note*; on the state of Gaul, iii., 472 *note*; on influence of climate in relation to the Romans, vii., 219 *note*.
- Ducange, C. du Fresne, vi., 10 *note*; on the Catalans, 504 *note*; his editions of Byzantine writers, vii., 217.
- Ducas, Greek historian of the Turks, vii., 75 *note*, 78 *note*; on schism of Constantinople, 203; account of the destruction of Venetian ship by the Turks, 174 and *note*; history of, printed, 182 *note*; ambassador to sultan, 203 *note*.
- Ducas, *see* Constantine XI.
- Ducat, derivation of the name, vii., 107 *note*.
- Ducenarius*, imperial procurator, ii., 122 *note*.
- Duels (judicial), *see* Judicial combat.
- Duke, Latin title, iv., 185 and *note*.
- Dukes of the frontier, i., 314 and *note*; vi., 86.
- Dukes, military, ii., 187; established by Narses in Italy, iv., 458 and *note*.
- Dumatiens, tribe of, v., 352.
- Dunaan, Prince of the Homerites, iv., 412 and *note*, 413.
- Dura on the Tigris, ii., 548 and *note*; treaty of, 550 and *note*; taken by Nushirvan, iv., 392.
- Durazzo, siege of, vi., 204 *sq.*; battle of, 207; taken by Robert Guiscard, 209; name of, *ib. note*; Bohemond at, 386; Latins land at, 407; Michael Angelus at, 440.
- Durham, bishopric of, iv., 165.
- Durostolus, *see* Dristra.
- Dyeing industries, iv., 248 *sq.* and *note*.
- Dyrrachium, fortifications of, iii., 281; treasure of Amalasontha at, iv., 323; taken by the Lombards, 368; Belisarius at, 427; *see* Durazzo.
- EAGLE, Roman, i., 11 and *note*.
- Earthquakes, at Jerusalem, ii., 485; A.D.

- 865, iii., 72 *sq.*; in Justinian's reign, iv., 464 *sq.*
- Easter, v., 144 and *note*.
- Eastern Empire, *see* Greek Empire.
- Eba, the elder, v., 514.
- Ebermor, deserts to the Roman camp, iv., 329.
- Ebionites, ii., 11 and *note*; opinions of, 858 and *note*; opinion on the incarnation, v., 104; their gospel, 105 *note*.
- Ebn Schounah, vii., 58; *see* Ibn Shihna.
- Ebredunum, or Iverdun, Roman fleet at, iii., 476 *note*.
- Eburacum (Roman colonia), i., 40 *note*.
- Eobatana, i., 223, 405; ii., 538 *note*; Tower of Oblivion at, iii., 56 and *note*; identified with Ganzaca, v., 88 *note*; use of the name, vi., 63 and *note*; *see* Ganzaca.
- Ecclesiastes*, *Book of*, authenticity of, iv., 814 *note*.
- Ecclesiastical order, ii., 335; government, discussion of its nature, vii., 309.
- Eodicius, præfect of Egypt, ii., 501.
- Eodicius, son of Avitus, defended Augvergne, iv., 16 *note*, 42; family of, *ib.* *note*.
- Eobolus, iv., 228.
- Eolectus, conspiracy of, i., 105.
- Eolipses, ii., 74.
- Eothesis*, of Heraclius, v., 150.
- Edda, i., 260.
- Edeco, lieutenant of Roderic the Goth, v., 505.
- Edecon, father of Odoacer, ambassador of Attila, iii., 459; his interviews with Chrysaphius, 467; his confession and repentance, *ib.*; defeats the Scyrr, iv., 53.
- Edessa, described, i., 224 and *note*; battle of, 290; Christianized, ii., 69 and *note*; Sabinian at, 288; church of, oppressed by Julian, 498; shrine of St. Thomas at, iii., 267 *note*; tribute paid by, iv., 251; strengthened by Justinian, 273; siege of, 275 *note*, 276, 396; destroyed by Chosroes, v., 74 and *note*; Heraclius at, 94 and *note*; school at, 156 and *note*; conversion of, 264 *note*; image of Christ at, 265 *sq.*; captured by Arabs, 471 and *note*; taken by Zimisces, vi., 68; principality of, 810 and *note*; retaken by Sultan Zenghi, 810 *note*, 849; county of, 881 *note*; Timour at, vii., 50.
- Edicts, of the prætors, iv., 478 and *note*; perpetual edict, 479 and *note*.
- Edifices of Justinian, iv., 258 *sqq.*
- Edobio, general of Constantine, defeat and death of, iii., 361.
- Edom, kingdom of, ii., 79.
- Edris (Idris), founder of the Edrisite caliphate, vi., 55 *note*.
- Edrisi, on the Christianity of the Ne-
bians, v., 175 *note*; on geography of Arabia, 382 *note*.
- Edrisites of Mauritania, caliphs of the, vi., 23; founding of the, 23 and *note*.
- Edward, Count of Savoy, vi., 517 *note*.
- Edward I., of England, in the East, vi., 378.
- Edward III. of England, letter of, against Clement VII., vii., 296 *note*.
- Egbert, his intercourse with Charlemagne, v., 310 *note*.
- Egica, King of the Goths in Spain, iv., 154.
- Egilona, widow of Roderic, v., 513.
- Eginhard, marries daughter of Charlemagne, v., 303 *note*.
- Egregius*, rank of, ii., 171 *note*.
- Egripons (Negroponte), vi., 406 *note*.
- Egypt, province of, described, i., 37; language of, 42 and *note*; population, 54; revenue, 173; rebellion of Firmus in, 338; works of Probus, 361; revolts from Diocletian, 391 *sqq.*; Christianity in, ii., 63; Augustal præfect of, 180; kings of, 334 *note*; monks in, 401; given to Theodosius, iii., 125; wheat exported from, iv., 242 and *note*; marriage laws in, 512; conquered by Chosroes, v., 76; date of, *ib.* *note*, 173; invaded by Saracens, 474 *sqq.*; description of, 486 *sqq.*; population, 487 *sq.* and *notes*; revenues of, *ib.* *note*; church of, under the Saracens, 522 *sq.*; vineyards of, destroyed by Hakem, vi., 265; invaded by Seljuks, 267; conquered by Turks, 350 *sqq.*; invaded by the Mongols, vii., 15; Sultan of, submits to Timour, 69.
- Egyptian language, i., 42 and *note*.
- Egyptian worship, prohibited, i., 85.
- Egyptians, disabilities of the, i., 42; dispute the election of Gregory, iii., 158.
- Einsiedeln, Anonymous of, vii., 316 *note*, 317 *note*.
- Eisenach, in Thuringia, iii., 493 *note*.
- Ekmiasin (Etchmiazin), Monastery of, v., 169.
- Ektag, Mount, probably Mount Altai, iv., 380 *note*.

- Elagabalus, i., 154; bravery, 156; reign, *ib. sqq.*; death, 161; wears silk, iv., 245.
- Elburz (Mount), Magians at, v., 519.
- Eleanora, wife of Edward I., vi., 378 *note*.
- Eleans, exempt from war, iii., 258 and *note*.
- Election of bishops, ii., 385 and *note*.
- Electors of Germany, v., 327 and *note*.
- Electus, chamberlain of Commodus, i., 105.
- Elephant*, era of the, *see* *Æras*.
- Elephantine, island, i., 398; altar of concord destroyed by Justinian at, iv., 272 *note*.
- Elephants at Rome, i., 371.
- Eleusinian mysteries, Julian initiated into the, ii., 464 and *note*; put an end to, iii., 258.
- Eleusis, destroyed by Alaric, iii., 258.
- Eleuthero- (or Free) Laconians, vi., 74 *sq.*
- Eleutherus, river, ii., 240.
- Elias, Nestorian Bishop of Damascus, v., 114 *note*.
- Elijahs, patriarchs of Mosul, v., 160.
- Elis, cities of, ii., 452.
- Ellac, son of Attila, death of, iii., 502; King of the Acatzires, *ib.*
- Elmacin [Ibn al Amid al-Makin], History of the Saracens, v., 74 *note*, 428 *note*; on victories of Calid, 430; on Egypt, 488 *note*; on Arabian coinage, vi., 5 *note*.
- Elpidius, physician of Theodoric, iv., 217.
- Elpidius, Prætorian præfect of the East, ii., 430 *note*.
- Elusa, birthplace of Rufinus, iii., 229 *note*.
- Emaus, crusaders at, vi., 321.
- Emblemata*, iv., 496 *note*.
- Emeralds, iv., 274 and *note*; large emerald at Cairo, vi., 350 *note*.
- Emerita or Merida, iii., 364, *see* Merida.
- Emesa, Elagabalus declared emperor at, i., 155; worship of the sun at, 158; defies Sapor, 292; residence of Odenathus of Palmyra, 326; battle of, 328; arsenal at, 389; Heraclius at, v., 395; army of Heraclius at, 448; captured by the Saracens, 458 *sq.*; recovered, vi., 68; acknowledges the Sultan, 267.
- Emir al-Omra*, vi., 58 and *note*.
- Emir* (Amir) or admiral, title of, vi., 86.
- Emirs, Arabian, in Spain, vi., 28 *note*.
- Emma, mother of Tancred, vi., 292 *note*, 308 *note*.
- Emperor of the Romans*, title of, vi., 106.
- Emperors, Roman, election and designation of the, i., 80; their jurisdiction over the Church, ii., 383; office of pontifex maximus, *ib.* and *note*; public speeches of, 475 *sq.*; legislative power of, iv., 481 *sq.*; rescripts of, 482 *sq.*; of the West, v., 310 *sqq.*; jurisdiction of emperors of the West in Rome, 319; weakness of the German, 328; of Constantinople, vi., 79 *sqq.*; adoration of, 87 and *note*; revival of learning under, 108.
- Empire, *see* Roman Empire, Greek Empire, Western Empire.
- Engaddi, town near the Dead Sea, mentioned by Pliny, iv., 64 *note*.
- Engelbert sends Libri Carolini to Hadrian I., v., 298 *note*.
- Engines of war, vi., 306 and *note*.
- England, *see* Britain.
- Enguerrand VII., *see* Sire de Coucy.
- Ennodius, account of embassy of Epiphanius, iv., 47 *note*; panegyric of, 191 *note*; oration of, 198 *note*; Bishop of Pavia, *ib.*; libell of, 208 *note*.
- Enoch*, book of, v., 363 *note*.
- Epagathus, Præfect of Egypt, i., 168.
- Ephemeris* of Ausonius, iii., 141 *note*.
- Ephesus, temple of, i., 54, 288; Church of St. John at, iv., 265; pillaged by the Paulicians, vi., 125; recovered by Alexius I., 385; Louis VII. at, 343 *note*; taken by the Turks, vii., 28.
- Ephrem, St., on monks, iv., 79 *note*.
- Epictetus, Arian bishop, ii., 481.
- Epicureans, i., 83.
- Epicurus, religious devotion of, 84 *note*; bequeaths his garden, iv., 281; birth of, 282 *note*.
- Epidauros, iii., 73 *note*.
- Epigenes, quæstor, iii., 442.
- Epiphania, *see* Eudocia, daughter of Heraclius.
- Epiphanius, Bishop of Pavia, ambassador of Ricimer, to Anthemius, iv., 46 and *note*; intercedes for the people of Pavia, 59 *note*, 206, 207 and *note*.
- Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, iii., 398 *note*.
- Epiphany, Christian Festival of, ii., 432 and *note*.
- Epirus, subdued by Alaric, iii., 295; province of, ceded to Bulgaria, vi., 187 and *note*; islands and towns of, subdued by Robert Guiscard, 204; despots of, 489 *sqq.*

- Episcopal authority, *see* Bishops.
 Eponina, i., 87 *note*.
Epulones, iii., 199 and *note*.
 Equestrian order, i., 15 and *note*; proposed revival of, vii., 235 and *note*.
 Equitius, Master-General of Illyricum, iii., 65.
 Eraric, the Rugian, iv., 422 *note*.
 Erasmus, on Hilary, ii., 370 *note*; account of Chrysostom, iii., 895 *note*; life of St. Jerome, iv., 70 *note*; publishes the Greek testament, 97 *note*; religious opinions of, vi., 183 *sq.*; system of Greek pronunciation, vii., 181 *note*, 185; Life of, *ib.* *note*.
 Erbe or Lambesa, metropolis of Numidia, v., 494.
 Erchempert, chronicler, vi., 178 *note*.
 Erdaviraph, one of the seven Magi, i., 214.
 Erdély, Hungarian name of Transylvania, vi., 153 *note*.
 Eregli, *see* Heraclea.
 Erichtho, of Lucan, iii., 18 *note*.
 Erivan, caravan station, v., 170.
 Erizo, iv., 505 and *note*.
 Eros and Anteros of the Platonists, ii., 464 *note*.
 Erzeroum (Carin), taken by Persians, v., 74 *note*; Timour at, vii., 56.
 Escander Dulcarnein, Arabic legend of, vi., 245 *note*.
 Eschinard, P., description of the Campagna, vii., 247 *note*.
 Esimonton, *see* Azimus.
 Eskishehr, *see* Dorylæum.
 Eslam, daughter of, iii., 464 and *note*.
 Eslaw, ambassador of Attila, iii., 442; pronounces before Theodosius the reproof of Attila, 468.
 Esquiline (Mount), i., 822 *note*.
 Essenians, ii., 50.
 Esserif Essachalli, Arabian philosopher, vi., 201 *note*.
 Estachar [Istakhr] or Persepolis, v., 436 *note*; Arabs in the valley of, 436.
 Este, house of, origin of, vi., 202 *note*.
 Esthonia, province of, iii., 61.
 Estius, ii., 372 *note*.
 Etruscans, i., 28; vices of the, iv., 535 and *note*.
 Eubœa, derivation of name *Negroponte*, vi., 406 *note*; inhabitants transported to Constantinople, vii., 210 *note*.
 Eucharist, divers opinions concerning, vi., 181.
 Eucherius, son of Stilicho, iii., 293; religion of, 297.
 Euchrocia, matron of Bordeaux, execution of, iii., 162.
 Eudæmon, of Carthage, iii., 436.
 Eudæmonis, a virgin, ii., 402 *note*.
 Eudamidas, of Corinth, iv., 255 *note*.
 Eudes, Duke of Aquitaine, repels the Saracens, vi., 14; marries his daughter to Munuza, 15; seeks aid from Charles Martel, 17; letters of to the Pope, 18 *note*.
 Eudocia, Athenais, consort of Theodosius II., character and adventures of, iii., 409 *sqq.*; account of, by John Malalas and by Socrates, *ib.* *note*; her paraphrase of the Old Testament, 410; pilgrimage to Jerusalem, 410; disgrace and exile, 411 *sq.* and *notes*; death, 412.
 Eudocia, daughter of Valentinian III., marries Hunneric the Vandal, *ib.* 80.
 Eudocia, wife of Heraclius, v., 72, 94 *note*.
 Eudocia or Epiphania, daughter of Heraclius, v., 94 and *note*; 181 *note*.
 Eudocia Ingerina, mother of Leo VI, v., 216 *note*.
 Eudocia Baianè, wife of Leo VI, v., 221 *note*.
 Eudocia, daughter of Constantine II (VIII.), v., 231.
 Eudocia, widow of Constantine X, v., 287 and *note*; philosophical studies of, 288; learning of, vi., 111 and *note*; attacked by Alp Arslan, 247; marries Romanus Diogenes, *ib.*
 Eudocia, niece of Manuel Comnenus, v., 248.
 Eudocia of Damascus, v., 455.
 Eudoxia, wife of Arcadius, daughter of Bauto, iii., 235, 236; accuses Euprius, 390 and *note*.
 Eudoxia, daughter of Theodosius the Younger, marries Valentinian III., iii., 420, 505; obliged to marry Petronius Maximus, iv., 4; implores the aid of Genseric, *ib.*; carries captive to Carthage, 7; restored to Genseric, 80.
 Eudoxia, *see* Eudocia, wife of Heraclius.
 Eudoxus, Arian Bishop of Constantinople, iii., 26 and *note*.
 Eudoxus (Eudocimus), son of Constantine Copronymus, v., 201.
 Euclithon, King of Cyprian Salamis, v., 10 *note*.
 Eugenius, chamberlain, iii., 481.
 Eugenius III., Pope, vii., 228.
 Eugenius IV., Pope, vii., 105; opposed by the Council of Constance, 106

- deposed at Council of Basil, 117; receives Oriental embassies, 119; forms league against the Turks, 147 *sq.*; spurious epistle of, to King of Ethiopia, 161 *note*; expelled, 801; funeral of, 305; builds wall round the Coliseum, 383.
- Eugenius, the rhetorician, made emperor by Arbogastes, iii., 190; paganism of, *ib. note*; death, 194.
- Eugippius, Life of St. Severinus by, iv., 54 *note*, 60 *note*.
- Eugraphia, widow at Constantinople, persecutes Chrysostom, iii., 397 *note*.
- Eugubine Tables, iv., 478 and *note*.
- Eulalia, St., of Merida, iv., 13.
- Eulalius, count of the domestics, testament of, iv., 255.
- Eulalius, philosopher, iv., 284.
- Eulogia, sister of Michael Palaeologus, vi., 485; conspires against her brother, 494.
- Eulogies and benedictions at Constantinople, v., 126.
- Eulogius, Patriarch of Alexandria, account of, v., 171 and *note*.
- Eulogius, St., of Cordova, v., 523 *note*.
- Eumenius, the orator, i., 57 *note*, 386 *note*; Professor of Rhetoric at Autun, 428 *note*; panegyric of, ii., 309 *note*.
- Eunapius, history of the Sophists, ii., 481 *note*, 518 *note*; on the Gothic war, iii., 63 *note*; on the ravages of the Goths, 123 *note*; fanaticism of, 218.
- Eunomians, disabilities of the, under Theodosius, iii., 160.
- Eunomius, ii., 372 and *note*; shelters Procopius, iii., 13 *note*, 149.
- Eunuchs, i., 412; power of, ii., 260 *sq.*; character of, 261; power of, under Arcadius, iii., 380 and *note*.
- Euphemia, daughter of John of Cappadocia, iv., 257.
- Euphemia, daughter of Marcian, marries Anthemius, iv., 33.
- Euphemia, St., church of, council held in, v., 182.
- Euphemius, expedition of, to Sicily, vi., 40 and *note*; death, 41.
- Euphrates, victories of M. Antoninus on the, i., 10; navigation of, ii., 586, 587 *note*; source of, iv., 278 and *note*.
- Euphrosyne, daughter of Constantine VI., marries Michael the Second, v., 203, 209.
- Euphrosyne, wife of Alexius Angelus, vi., 392.
- Euric, King of the Visigoths, assassinates his brother Theodoric, iv., 41; persecutes the Orthodox party, 88; dominions of, 107 *sq.*; first Gothic prince who wrote laws, 182.
- Euripides, i., 281.
- Europe, population of, i., 46 and *note*; change in climate of, 281; present state of, iv., 176 *sq.*; political system of, in fifteenth century, vii., 300 *note*.
- Europus, i., 223 *note*; iv., 184 *note*; Belisarius at, 395.
- Eusebia, wife of Constantius II., friendship of, to Julian, ii., 270, 271; friendly reception of Julian, 272; her supposed jealousy of Julian, 274 and *note*; death, 430 and *note*.
- Eusebius, Bishop of Vercellæ, ii., 395.
- Eusebius, chamberlain of Honorius, his death, iii., 333.
- Eusebius, Count of Ticinum, orders execution of Boethius, iv., 216 *note*.
- Eusebius, neo-Platonist, ii., 464.
- Eusebius of Cæsarea, as a historian, i., 470 and *note*; ii., 125 and *note*; on Palestine martyrs, 146 *note*; remark on his style, *ib.*; silence on death of Crispus, 223 *note*; account of Constantine's conversion, 323 and *note*; friendship with Constantine, 326; description of the Church at Jerusalem, 340 *note*; supports Arius, 365; accepts the Homœousion, 377; character of, *ib. note*; at the Council of Tyre, 387.
- Eusebius of Nicomedia, supports Arius, ii., 365; exile, 377; recall, 378; educates Julian, 457 and *note*; Bishop of Constantinople, iii., 150 *note*.
- Eusebius Scholasticus, poem on the Gothic war, iii., 394 *note*.
- Eusebius, the eunuch, chamberlain of Constantius, ii., 261; questions Gallus, 268; fall of, 440; death, 447.
- Eustace, the elder brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, vi., 289.
- Eustathius, Archbishop of Thessalonica, vi., 110, 227 *note*.
- Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch, ii., 378; death, 404.
- Eustathius of Cappadocia, ii., 283 *note*.
- Eustathius of Epiphania, iv., 271 *note*.
- Eustochium, daughter of Paula, iv., 69.
- Euthalites or Nephthalites (White Huns), iii., 91 and *note*, 92; conquests of, iv., 274; defeat Perozes, King of Persia, 275; conquered by the Turks, 376; by Nushirvan, 411; in Transoxiana, v., 441 *note*.

- Euthalius at Terracina, iv., 844.
 Euthario, grandson of Berimund, iv., 218 *note*, 821.
 Eutharius, chamberlain of Julian, ii., 428.
 Euthymius, Patriarch of Constantinople, v., 221 *note*.
 Eutropia, sister of Constantine, i., 482 *note*; ii., 218; death, 256.
 Eutropius, father of Constantius, i., 381.
 Eutropius, the eunuch, iii., 190; opposes Rufinus, 235 *sq.*; magistrate and general, 380; power over Arcadius, *ib.*; consul, 382 and *note*; venality and injustice, 382 and *note*; degrades Abundantius, 383; exiles Timasius, 384; calls council of war, 388 and *note*; fall of, 389 *sq.*
 Eutropius, the historian, ii., 216 *note*; date of his History, 264 *note*, 548 *note*.
 Eutyches, heresiarch, iii., 467 *note*.
 Eutyches, abbot, v., 126 *note*; heresy of, 129 *sqq.*
 Eutychiean heresy, suppressed by Pulcheria, iii., 407; controversy in the East, iv., 105.
 Euty chius, exarch, forms a league with Liutprand, v., 283 *note*.
 Euty chius, historian, v., 75 *note*; Annals of, 428 *note*, 474 *note*; on taking of Alexandria by the Saracens, 479, 480 *note*.
 Euxine, Roman naval station on the, i., 20; circumnavigation of, iv., 397 and *note*.
 Evagrius, description of the Church of St. Euphemia at Chalcedon, iii., 392 *note*; on the Isaurian war, iv., 271 *note*; on Emperor Maurice, v., 21 *note*.
 Evander the Arcadian, iv., 86.
 Evodius, Bishop of Uzalis, iii., 223 *note*.
 Exarchate, given to the Popes, v., 290 and *note*.
Exarchs, title of, in Africa, iv., 310; of Ravenna, 452 and *note*; extinction of, v., 284; governor of Septem received title of, 502 *note*.
 Excise, i., 176 and *note*.
 Excommunication, ii., 54, 844, 345.
Exercitus, i., 12 and *note*.
 Exeter, colony planted at, by Athelstan, iv., 161 *note*.
 Exorcism of demons, ii., 80 *sq.*; its place in Christian propaganda, 81 *note*.
Expositio totius Mundi, iii., 434 *note*, 485 *note*.
 Ezra, adored as the son of God by the Jews of Mecca, v., 860 and *note*.
 Ezzerites, in Greece, v., 73.
- FABRICIUS, his *Bibliotheca Græca*, vi., 110 *note*.
 Facciolati, Duke of Constantinople, vi., 525.
 Factions, of the circus, iv., 234 *sq.*
 Fadella, daughter of the Emperor Marcus, i., 100; death of, 146.
 Fadl-allāh, vizir, his Persian history of the Mongols, vii., 5 *note*.
 Faenza, vanguard of Theodoric betrayed at, iv., 191; battle at, 423.
 Fæsulæ, iii., 280 and *note*; taken by Belisarius, iv., 350.
 Falcandus, Hugh, on Palermo, vi., 76 *note*; on Sicily, 228 *sq.*; his *Historia Sicula*, 227 *note*.
Falcidian portion, term in Roman law of inheritance, iv., 522.
 Falconry, introduced by the Lombards into Italy, v., 28 and *note*; price of falcons in Palestine, vi., 334; *see* Hawking.
 Falco Sosius, i., 111 and *note*.
 Famine, rare under the empire, i., 58.
 Fano, i., 820.
 Farage (Faraj), Circassian ruler, vii., 57.
 Faras, families or generations; term in Lombard law, v., 27 *note*.
 Farghāna, territory of, i., 397 *note*; v., 488 and *note*; subdued by the Saracens, 441 *note*.
 Farmah, *see* Pelusium.
 Fārs, subdued by the Arabs, v., 435 *note*; Bowides at, 519 *note*; dynasty of, vi., 57 *note*.
 Farsistan, mountains of, Yezdegerd flies to, v., 435.
 Fasti, *Consular*, iv., 128 and *note*.
 Fathers of the Church, visions in the Apostolic, ii., 30 *note*; morality of, 36 *sqq.*; on marriage, 38 *sqq.*; on war and politics, 40 *sq.*; belief of in pagan gods, 127 *note*; works illustrating their superstition, iii., 221 *note*; Greek translations of Latin, vi., 462.
 Fātima, daughter of Ali, v., 416.
 Fātima, daughter of Mahomet, iii., 413 *note*; married Ali, v., 406; death, 407.
 Fātimids, v., 405 *sqq.*; in Egypt and Syria, 418 and *note*; caliphs of the reign at Cairo, vi., 23; usurp the provinces of Africa, 42; succeed the Ikshidids, 56 *note*, 59; in the Holy Land, 264; lose Egypt, 850 *sq.*
 Faun, the Barberini, discovery of, iv., 337 *note*.
 Faunus, i., 864.

- Fausta**, daughter of Maximian, i., 436 ; receives Maximian, 441 ; children of, ii., 218 ; disgrace and death, 223, 224.
- Faustina**, daughter of Antoninus Pius, i., 84, 91.
- Faustina**, widow of Constantius II., supports Procopius, iii., 15.
- Faustinus**, Roman noble, iii., 310 *note*.
- Faustus**, account of Armenian war, iii., 55 *note*.
- Fava**, or Feletheus, King of the Rugians, conquered by Odoacer, iv., 59.
- Faventia**, *see* Faenza.
- Felicioissimus**, i., 387.
- Felix**, an African bishop, execution of, ii., 184, 352 *note*.
- Felix**, Archbishop of Ravenna, blinded by Justinian II., v., 195 *note*.
- Felix II.**, anti-Pope, election of (A.D. 356), ii., 403 *note* ; expulsion, 406.
- Felix IV.**, Pope, grandfather of Gregory the Great, v., 35.
- Felix V.**, vii., 118 ; retires to Ripaille, 119 and *note*.
- Felix**, St., tomb of, at Nola, iii., 349.
- Ferdusi**, the Persian poet, iv., 387 *note* ; lines of, quoted by Mahomet II., vii., 208.
- Fergana**, *see* Farghāna.
- Fergus**, cousin of Ossian, iii., 45 *note*.
- Ferishta**, Persian writer, vi., 235 *note*.
- Ferramenta Samiata**, i., 815 *note*.
- Ferrara**, John Palmologus at, vii., 112 ; council at, *ib.* ; duchy of, united to Urbino, 308.
- Ferreolus**, Bishop of Ufex, monastic rule of, iv., 72 *note*.
- Festivals**, attitude of the Christians to pagan, ii., 19 and *notes* ; prohibited, iii., 214 and *note* ; four great, of the Latin Church, v., 39 and *note*.
- Feu Grégeois**, *see* Greek fire.
- Fez**, Edrisite kingdom of, founded, vi., 55 and *note*.
- Fidei-commissa**, iv., 522 *note*, 523.
- Fihl** (Pella), battle of, v., 456 *note*.
- Filioque** controversy, vi., 382 *sq.*
- Finances**, of the Roman empire, i., 171 *sqq.* ; administration of, under Constantine, ii., 197 *sqq.*, 202 *sqq.* ; laws of Majorian concerning, iv., 19 *sq.* ; in ninth to twelfth centuries, vi., 77 *sq.*
- Fines**, in the army, ii., 191 ; for schism, iii., 427.
- Fingal**, i., 141.
- Finns**, language of, allied to Hungarian, vi., 145 and *note*.
- Firdusi**, *see* Ferdusi.
- Fire**, Greek, *see* Greek fire.
- Fire signals**, *see* Beacons.
- Fire worship**, i., 216 and *note*.
- Firmicus Julius**, i., 429 *note*.
- Firmum** (Fermo), Council of War between Belisarius and Narses at, iv., 348 *note*.
- Firmus**, rebellion of, i., 333.
- Firmus the Moor**, revolt of, iii., 50 *sqq.* ; death, 52.
- Firūz**, son of Yezdegerd, v., 489 and *note*.
- Fiscus**, or public money paid to the emperor, i., 108 *note*.
- Fisheries**, of the Propontis, ii., 156.
- Flacilla**, consort of Theodosius the Great, iii., 149.
- Flacilla**, daughter of Arcadius, iii., 406 *note*.
- Flaccus**, Granius, iv., 472 *note*.
- Flagellation**, practice of, by the monks, vi., 279 and *note*.
- Flamens**, Roman, iii., 199 and *note*.
- Flaminian Way**, stations of, iv., 443 *note*.
- Flaminius**, ii., 190 *note*.
- Flamsteed**, on comets, iv., 463.
- Flavian family**, i., 81 and *note*.
- Flavian**, Bishop of Antioch, iii., 179.
- Flavian**, ecclesiastic, iii., 157 *note*.
- Flavian**, Patriarch of Constantinople, opposes Eutyches, v., 129 ; persecuted by the second Council of Ephesus, 131 ; death, 131.
- Flavianus and Diodorus**, ii., 404.
- Flavianus**, pagan senator, iii., 202 *note*.
- Flavius Asellus**, count of the sacred largesses, iv., 48.
- Flax**, i., 58.
- Fléchier**, Bishop of Nismes, his life of Theodosius, iii., 125 *note*.
- Fleury**, Abbé de, Inst. of Canon Law, ii., 342 *note* ; Ecclesiastical History of, vii., 86 *note* ; continuator of, on schism of Constantinople, 119 *note*, 141 *note* ; on appeals to Rome, 223 *note*.
- Flor**, Roger de, *see* Roger de Flor.
- Florence**, siege of, by Radagaisus, iii., 279 ; origin of, *ib.* *note* ; Pandects at, iv., 499 ; council of, vii., 113 ; revival of Greek learning at, 129.
- Florentius**, Prætorian præfect of Gaul, ii., 302 ; character of, 422 ; flight, 428, 436 ; disgrace, 448.
- Florianus**, i., 346, 349 *note* ; usurpation and death, 350.
- Florin**, vii., 107 *note*.
- Florus**, Prince, vi., 471.
- Florus**, Roman historian, vii., 246,

- Fo, Indian god, worshipped by Kublai Khan, vii., 21 and *note*.
Foderati, or allies, iii., 136.
 Folard, on Roman military engines, i., 17 *note*, 131 *note*, 305 *note*; iv., 451 *note*.
Follis, or purse tax, i., 58 *note*; ii., 212 *note*.
 Foncemagne, M. de, on Merovingians, iii., 481 *note*; on the title of French kings to the Roman empire, vii., 214 *note*.
 Fontana, architect, vii., 337.
 Fontanini, v., 24 *note*.
 Fontenelle, comedy of, iv., 255 *note*, 493 *note*.
 Foot, Roman, i., 201 *note*; Greek, ii., 199 *note*.
 Fortificoca, T., vii., 269 *note*, 284 *note*, 311.
 Fortunatus, poet, iv., 147 *note*.
 Forum Augustum (Rome), i., 48 *note*.
 Forum Julii, capital of Venetia, iii., 495 *note*; Lombards at, v., 11; first duke of, 27.
 Forum Trebonii, i., 269 and *note*.
 Fostat, Saracen settlement of, v., 476; vi., 352.
Frameae, i., 250 and *note*.
 France, New, vi., 450.
 France, population compared with Gaul, ii., 208 *sqq.*; name of, iv., 144; under Charlemagne, v., 806; invaded by the Arabs, vi., 18 *sqq.*; Hungarians in, 149; position of kings of, in eleventh century, 278 *sq.*; description of, by Chalcondyles, vii., 99 *sq.*; title of kings, to Empire of Constantinople, 214 and *note*.
 Francis II., Emperor, resigns the empire, vii., 219 *note*.
 Francis, St., visited by a "*rex versuum*," vii., 266 *note*.
Francisca, or Frankish battle-axe, iv., 123 and *note*.
 Francisco of Toledo, at siege of Constantinople, vii., 186 *note*.
 Franconia, v., 308; duchy of, 327 *note*.
 Frangipani (Frangipane), Cencio, vii., 226, 227 *note*.
 Frangipani, name and family of, vii., 259.
 Frangipani, Odo, vi., 224.
 Frankfort, synod of, *see* Councils.
 Frankincense of Arabia, v., 384 and *note*.
 Franks, or Freemen, origin of, i., 274, 275 and *notes*; invade Gaul, Spain and Africa, 276, 277; driven from Gaul by Probus, 354; in the Mediterranean, 359; power of, under sons of Constantine, ii., 192; invade Gaul, 289; in Batavia and Torandria, *ib. sq.* and *note*; subdued by Julian, 297; ally themselves with Stilicho, iii., 283; subdue the Vandals, 284; in Second or Lower Germany, 369; in Gaul under the Merovingians, 478; defeated by Aetius, 480; elect Aegidius king, iv., 28; Christianity of, 84; in Germany, 113; in Burgundy, 121 *sqq.*; in Aquitain, 126; political controversy concerning the, 130 and *note*; laws, 131 *sqq.*; fines for homicide, 133 *sq.*; judgments of God, 135; judicial combats, 137 *sqq.*; their division of Gaul, 138; anarchy of, 151 *sq.*; in Italy, 350 *sqq.*; retire, 352; invade Italy, 44 *sqq.*; defeat of, by Narves, 450; invade Italy and are defeated by Autharis, v., 23; empire of, under Charlemagne, 309; military force of, vi., 95 *sqq.*; name of, applied to all Western nations, 102; their character and tactics, 103 *sq.*.
 Frascati, vii., 247; *see* Tusculum.
 Fravitta, Gothic leader, iii., 138; *concomitant note*; defeats Gainas, 398; *concomitant note*, 394.
 Freculphus, iii., 223 *note*.
 Fredegarius, v., 10 *note*.
 Fredegundis, Queen of France, iv., 15 and *note*, 150 *note*.
 Frederic I., Barbarossa, in Italy, v., 32 *sq.*; Italian cities oppose, vi., 224; undertakes third crusade, 338 *sqq.*; number of his host, 339; in Antolia, 345; death of, *ib.*; crowned emperor, vii., 232; embassy of the Romans to, 242 *sqq.*; wins battle of Tusculum, 248.
 Frederic II., reign of, v., 324; found universities of Salerno and Naples, 328 *note*; vi., 197 *note*; in Palestine, 371 *sq.*; obtains Jerusalem from the Sultan, 372 *sq.*; marries daughter of John of Brienne, 451; deposed at Council of Lyons, 454; Theodore Lascaris on, 479 *note*; urges Europe to oppose the Tartars, vii., 18; places standard in the capitol, 246; assists the Pope, 248 *note*.
 Frederic III., of Austria, vii., 147; leaves the Hungarians to, 149 *note*; coronation of, 301 *note*, 302.
 Freebooters, Turkish soldiers in the service of Orchan, vii., 26.

- Freedmen, i., 44; iv., 501.
 Free gifts, i., 446; ii., 211.
 Freinshemius, i., 241 *note*.
 Fréjus, naval station, i., 20.
 Fremona, in Abyssinia, Jesuit mission, v., 178.
 Frexenses, Moorish tribe, iv., 289 *note*.
 Frigeridus, dux of Valeria, iii., 66 *note*; defeats the Taifals, 114 and *note*.
 Frigeridus, Renatus Profuturus, fragment of, iii., 284 *note*.
 Frigidus (river), battle at, iii., 192 and *note*.
 Frisians, i., 354; in Britain, iv., 158 and *note*.
 Fritigern, judge of the Visigoths, iii., 61; at the battle at Salices, 108; negotiation with Valens, 115 *sq.*; at the battle of Hadrianople, 116; death, 181; converted by Ulphilas, iv., 82.
 Friuli, *see* Forum Julii.
 Froissard, chronicle of, vii., 37 *note*.
 Fronto, Count, Ambassador of Avitus to Recchiarus, iv., 18.
 Fruit, introduction of, into Europe, i., 57.
 Frumentius, ii., 382.
 Fulcaris, the Herulian, iv., 449.
 Fulcherius, historian, vi., 303 and *note*, 310 *note*.
 Fulgentius, St., Life of, iv., 90 *note*; controversial books of, 92 *note*; family and education of, 95 *note*.
 Fulgentius, the quaestor, friend of the Emperor Maximus, iv., 8.
 Fulk, Count of Anjou, Life of, iv., 271 *note*.
 Fulk of Neuilly, vi., 393.
 Fundi, pillaged by the Saracens, vi., 42; College of Cardinals at, vii., 295.
 Funerals, Roman, ii., 557.
Furtum lance licioque conceptum, iv., 483 and *note*.
 Fust or Faustus, first printed Bibles of, iv., 497 *note*.
- GABALA, town in Syria, Saracens at, v., 455 and *note*; taken by the Saracens, 469; lost by the Franks, vi., 379.
 Gabinius, King of the Quadi, murdered by order of Marcellinus, iii., 66.
 Gabour Ortachi, name given to Khalil vizier, vii., 175.
Gabours or *Giaours*, Turkish name, etymology of, vii., 172 *note*.
 Gabriel, Roman, son of Samuel, Bulgarian ruler, vi., 142 *note*.
 Gades, honorary colony, i., 40 *note*, 174 *note*.
- Gaeta, subject to the Greek emperor, vi., 177 *note*; Pope Gelasius II. at, vii., 227 *note*.
 Gætulia, tribes of, join Gildo, the Moor, iii., 249.
 Gagnier, M., Life of Mahomet, v., 375 *note*.
 Gaian, Patriarch of Alexandria, v., 170 *sq.*
 Gaillard, M., History of Charlemagne, v., 303 *note*.
 Gainas, the Goth, commands the troops against Rufinus, iii., 241; against Trebigild, 388; allies himself with Trebigild, 389 *note*; enters Constantinople, 392 and *note*; defeated by Fravitta, 393; by Uldin, 394; death, *ib.* *note*.
 Gaiseric, King of the Vandals, defeats Hermanric, iii., 424 *sq.*; his name, *ib.* *note*; befriends the Donatists, 427 and *note*; treaty with Valentinian III., 433 and *note*; surprises Carthage, 484; cruel treatment of Theodoric's daughter by, 478; King of Vandals and Alani, iv., 1; builds a fleet, 2; conquers Sicily, 2; casts anchor in the Tiber, *ib.*; destroys the navy of Majorian at Carthage, 25; ravages the coast of the Mediterranean, 29; destroys the fleet of Basiliscus, 40; allies himself with the Visigoths in Gaul, 41; persecutes the Catholics, 89 *sqq.*; peace of, with the Catholic Church, 89 *note*.
 Gaita [Sigelgaita], wife of Robert Guiscard, vi., 201, 208.
 Gaius, commentaries of, iv., 498 *note*, 508 *note*.
Gala, etymology of the word, vi., 88 *note*.
 Galanus, History of Galanus, v., 168 *note*.
 Galata, ii., 159 and *note*; tower of, stormed by the Latins, vi., 410 and *note*; suburb of, quarter of French and Venetians, 415; siege of, by Michael Palaeologus, 459 *note*; given to the Genoese, 487, 531; destroyed, 532; Genoese of, make a treaty with Mahomet II., vii., 178; abandoned by Genoese after capture of Constantinople, 205; fortifications of, demolished, 209.
 Galatia, Alani in, i., 348.
 Galatians, paternal power of the, iv., 503 *note*.
 Galba, i., 81; capital punishment under, iv., 584.
 Galeazzo, John, first Duke of Milan, vii., 95 *note*.

- Galerius, general of Probus, i., 354; associated in the empire by Diocletian, 381 and *note*; Persian wars, 398 *sqq.*; character and reign, 426 *sqq.*; makes Constantine Caesar, 432; invades Italy, 437, 438; elevates Licinius, 439, 440 *note*; death, 443; persecution of the Christians, ii., 108; in the East, 141; edict of toleration, *ib.*
- Galfridus, Malaterra, history of, vi., 181 *note*.
- Galileans, sect of, under Nero, ii., 94 and *note*; use of name enjoined by Julian, 486 and *note*.
- Galilee, principality of, vi., 380 and *note*.
- Gall, St., iv., 449.
- Galla, mother of Gallus, ii., 262 *note*.
- Galla, sister of Valentinian II., marries Theodosius, iii., 172; death, 180 *note*.
- Gallicanus, consular senator, i., 202.
- Gallicia, gold of, i., 174; divided between the Suevi and the Vandals, iii., 365; held by the Suevi, iv., 41.
- Galliena, i., 295 *note*.
- Gallienus, associated in the empire with Valerian, i., 274 *note*; reign of, 294 *sqq.*; conspiracy against, v., 305; death, 305 *sq.* and *note*; favoured the Christians, ii., 121.
- Gallipoli, fortifications of, iv., 269; taken by the Catalans, vi., 504; taken by the Ottomans, vii., 32 *note*; rebuilt by Soliman, 82.
- Gallo-Grecians of Galatia, iv., 46 *note*.
- Gallus, elected emperor, i., 270; peace with the Goths, *ib.*; death, 272.
- Gallus, M. Anicius, tribune, iii., 307 *note*.
- Gallus, nephew of Constantine, ii., 218; education of, 262, 458; governor of the East, 263; cruelty of, *ib. sqq.*; disgrace and death, 267 *sqq.*; removes body of St. Babylas, 494.
- Gamaliel appears to Lucian, the presbyter, iii., 222.
- Games, secular, i., 208 and *note*; Capitoline, vii., 267 *note*. *See* Ludi.
- Ganges, river, vii., 54.
- Gannys, eunuch, i., 156.
- Ganzaca, Temple of, destroyed by Heraclius, v., 87 *note*, 88 and *note*. *See* Ecbatana.
- Gapt, one of the Anses or Demi-gods, iv., 182 *note*.
- Garda (Lake), i., 309 *note*.
- Garganus, Mount, iv., 482 and *note*; vi., 182.
- Garibald, King of Bavaria, allies himself with Autharis, v., 29.
- Garizim, mountain of blessing, v., 145 and *note*.
- Gascony, subdued by the Arabs, vi., 14.
- Gassan, Arabian tribe, ii., 521 and *note*; iv., 390; in Syrian territory, v., 341; defeated by Caled, 461 *sq.*
- Gaubil, Père, his translation of *Annals of the Mongols*, vii., 12 *note*.
- Gaudentius, Count, closes the pagan temple, iii., 206.
- Gaudentius, father of Aëtius, iii., 491 *note*, 473; his betrothal to Eudoria, 503.
- Gaudentius, the notary, ii., 438; death, 448.
- Gaul, provinces of, i., 21 *sq.*; divided by Augustus, *ib.*; *Celtic, ib.*; limited toleration in, 35; tribute, 173; usurpers in, 323; invaded by Lygians, 355; peasant revolt in, 383, 384; Christianity in, ii., 66 and *note*; capitation tax, 207 *sqq.* and *notes*; invaded by Germans, 389 *sqq.*; by the Alamanni, 395; Julian in, 420 *sqq.*; outlaws in, 429 and *note*; invaded by the Saxons, iii., 41 and *note*; by Suevi, Vandals and Burgundians, 283 *sqq.*; Alani in, 474; Visigoths in, 475; iv., 41 *sq.*; Barbarians in Gaul converted from Arianism, 99; revolution of, 106; allodial lands of, 141; Britons in, 161 *note*.
- Gauls, in Lombardy, i., 22; in Germany, 284 *note*; religion of, ii., 23 *note*; relation of, to the Franks, iv., 180.
- Gayangos, M., v., 516 *note*.
- Gayeta, besieged by the Saracens, vi., 42; siege raised, 43; maritime state of, 44.
- Gayuk (Kuyuk), Khan, vii., 11.
- Gaza, temples at, ii., 482 *note*; taken by the Saracens, v., 469; battle of, vi., 373.
- Gaza, Theodore, *see* Theodore.
- Gazi, holy war of the Turks, vii., 25; carried on by Timour, 50.
- Gasi (Ghāzi), title of Sultan Soliman, vi., 260.
- Gazna, city and province of, vi., 284 and *note*.
- Gaznevides, dynasty of, vi., 284 *note*.
- Geber, Arabian physician, vi., 33.
- Geberic, King of the Goths, ii., 232.
- Gedda, Arabian seaport, v., 389.
- Gedrosia, district of, i., 231 *note*.
- Gegnesius, Paulician leader, vi., 117 *note*; date of, 122 *note*.
- Geisa, Hungarian king, vi., 153.

- Gelalean era of the Turks, vi., 256 and *note*.
- Gelaleddin, defeated by Zingis Khan, vii., 10; activity of, 24; death, 24.
- Galasius I., Pope, ii., 341 *note*; abolishes the festival of the Lupercalia, iv., 86 and *note*; deplores the state of Italy, 60 *sq.*
- Galasius II., Pope, vii., 226.
- Gelimer, King of the Vandals, in Africa, iv., 90; deposes Hilderic, 290 *sq.*; defeated by Belisarius, 302 *sqq.*; further adventures, 305 *sqq.*; flight of, 308; captivity of, 310 *sqq.*; interview with Belisarius, 312; at Constantinople, 314; retires to Galatia, 315.
- Gelli, i., 398 *note*.
- Geloni, iii., 94.
- Gemoniæ, i., 89 *note*.
- Generals, Roman (Imperatores), i., 68.
- Genesius, vi., 89 *note*.
- Genesius, works of, vi., 65 *note*.
- Geneviève, St., of Paris, iii., 484; life of, *ib.* *note*; iv., 112 *note*.
- Gennadius [George Scholarius], monk and Patriarch of Constantinople, vii., 183 *sq.* and *note*, 211.
- Gennadius, Patriarch of Constantinople, on the creed of Athanasius, iv., 96 *note*.
- Gennerid, master-general of Dalmatia, strengthens the Illyrian frontier, iii., 332 and *note*.
- Genoa, city of, destroyed by the Franks, iv., 352.
- Genoese, engineers, vi., 322; assist the Greeks against the Latins, 459 and *note*; settle in suburb of Galata, 487, 581; attacked by the Venetians, 581; privileges conferred upon, 582 *note*; trade of, *ib.*; war of, with Cantacuzene, 538 *sqq.*; they destroy the Greek fleet, 534; defeat the Venetians and Greeks, 535 *sq.*; their treaty with the empire, 537; of Galata, give free passage to the Turks, vii., 192; policy of, suspected, 200 *note*.
- Gens, Roman, iv., 519.
- Genserio, *see* Gaiseric.
- Genso, son of Genserio, iv., 40.
- Gentiles, term in Roman law, iv., 519.
- Gentoo, sovereign, acknowledged by the Christians of St. Thomas, v., 161.
- Gentoos of Hindostan, war with Mahmūd, vi., 234.
- Geoffrey of Anjou, vii., 225 *note*.
- Geographer of Ravenna, i., 274 *note*.
- Geography, early Christian, iv., 250 and *note*.
- Geometry, studied at Alexandria, v., 117.
- Geoponics of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, vi., 66 and *note*.
- George Brancovič, Despot of Serbia, vii., 148; sends troops to Mohammed, 182 *note*.
- George of Cappadocia, ii., 399, 496 and *note*, *sqq.*; worshipped as saint and martyr, 498 and *note*.
- George of Pisidia, v., 86 *note*; *de Bello Avarico*, 93 *note*; *Heracliad*, 99 *note*.
- George of Sienna, vii., 187 *note*.
- George of Trebizond, writings of, vii., 107 *note*, 130.
- George Phranza, ambassador to Amurath II., vii., 67; his account of Bajazet, *ib.* and *note*.
- George Scholarius, *see* Gennadius.
- George, Sicilian admiral, besieges Mahadia, vi., 220.
- Georgia, beauty of the inhabitants, iv., 400; Christians of, *ib.*; conquest of, by Alp Arslan, vi., 246; under Malek Shah, 255; visited by Phranza, vii., 162.
- Georgians, religion of the, vi., 246 *sq.*; name of the, *ib.* *note*; they submit to Timour, vii., 55.
- Georgillas, Rhodian poet, iv., 459 *note*.
- Geougen, Scythian tribe, iii., 275; subdued by Attila, 485 and *note*, 503; enslave the Turks, iv., 374; extirpated by the Turks, 375.
- Gepids, i., 262 and *note*; subdued by Attila, iii., 446; seize Belgrade, iv., 366 and *note*; conquered by the Avars and Lombards, 369; v., 6 *sq.*
- Gerard of Reicherspeg, vii., 287 *note*.
- Gerasa, fortress, v., 444 and *note*.
- Gergovia, siege of, by Cæsar, iv., 144 and *note*.
- Germane, near Sardica, iv., 292 *note*.
- Germania, in Thrace, iv., 292 *note*.
- Germanicia, v., 197; won back from the Saracens by Constantine V., 199 *note*; crusaders at, vi., 309.
- Germanicus, i., 3 *note*; at Thebes, ii., 277 *note*; belief of, in magic, iii., 17 *note*.
- Germans, ancient, in Belgium, i., 22; origin of, 238; manners of, 235 *sqq.*; political institutions of, 243 *sqq.*; religion, 247; invade Gaul, 354; ii., 290; defeated by Julian, 296 *sqq.*; driven from the Rhine, 301; religious indifference of, 316 and

- note*; emigration of, into Italy, iii., 276 *sq.*; invade Gaul, 282; character of, in sixteenth century, 348; cross the Rhine under Ariovistus, iv., 138; join fourth crusade, vi., 401.
- Germanus, elder and younger, iv., 356 *note*.
- Germanus, father-in-law of Theodosius, v., 65 *sqq.*
- Germanus, nephew of Justinian, in Africa, iv., 417 and *note*, 418 and *note*; commands the army, 438; family of, *ib. note*; marriage and death, 439.
- Germanus, son of a patrician, punished by Constantine IV., v., 190.
- Germany, Upper and Lower, Roman provinces, i., 22; description of, 280 *sqq.*; its population, 240 and *note*; iii., 33; Goths, Burgundians and Franks settle in First or Upper, iii., 369; Burgundians in Second or Lower, 370; Slavonian colonists in, v., 61; united by Charlemagne, 308; princes of, independent, 325 *sq.*; Germanic confederation, 326 *sqq.*; counts of, 327; description of, by Chalcocondyles, vii., 98 *sq.*; armies of, in fifteenth century, 147 *note*.
- Gerontius, commander in Greece, iii., 255.
- Gerontius, general of the usurper Constantine, makes Maximus emperor, iii., 359; death, 360 and *note*.
- Gerrha, or Katif, built by Chaldeans, v., 339.
- Gerson, John, doctor of the Sorbonne, vii., 298 *note*.
- Gervasius and Protasius, martyrs, iii., 168 and *note*.
- Gessoriacum (Boulogne), i., 385, 386.
- Gesta Francorum*, iv., 126 *note*, 127 *note*; vi., 276 *note*.
- Gesta Frederici imperatoris*, vii., 283 *note*.
- Gesta Ludovici VII.*, vi., 344 *note*.
- Geta, relations of, with Caracalla, i., 139; reign of, 143 *sqq.*; titles of, *ib. note*; death of Geta, 145; apotheosis of, 145 and *note*.
- Getes, Jits, or Calmuks, confounded with the Getæ (Dacians), vii., 46 *note*; invade Transoxiana, *ib.*; driven from Transoxiana, 47.
- Getulia, iii., 49.
- Gezi, magic stone, iii., 445 *note*.
- Ghebers, or Magians, v., 518 *sq.*
- Ghermian (Karmiyān), Emir of, military force of, vii., 27 and *note*; subdued by Bajazet, 35.
- Ghibelines, faction of, v., 324; *see* Guelfs.
- Giannone, his history of Naples, ii., 342 *note*; iii., 22 *note*; vii., 217 *note*.
- Giaour, *see* Gabour.
- Gibamund, nephew of Gelimer, defeated by the Massagetsæ, iv., 302.
- Gibraltar, v., 505.
- Gijon, town of, term of the conquest of Musa, v., 508.
- Gildas, iv., 155; account of Britain by, 159 *sq.*
- Gildo, the Moor, independence of, iii., 240; revolt of, 244 and *note*; condemned by the senate, 246; war with his brother, 247; defeat and death, 248, 249.
- Gilimer, Gothic leader, death of, iv., 48; name of, 49 *note*.
- Gilles, St., vi., 291 *note*.
- Giom Omortag, Bulgarian prince, v., 207 *note*; vi., 140 *note*.
- Giraffe, *see* Camelopardalis.
- Giulf, nephew of Alboin, Duke of Friuli, v., 27.
- Giubin, surname of Bahram, v., 48.
- Giustendil, *see* Küstendil.
- Giustiniani, Giambattista, i., 420 *note*.
- Giustiniani, John, brings company of Genoese to Constantinople, vii., 181; quarrels with the Duke of Venice, 194; flight of, and death, 199, 200 *note*.
- Gladiators, revolt of, under Probus, i., 361.
- Glanville, Bartholomy de, vii., 301 *note*.
- Glasgow, iii., 47.
- Glevum (Roman colonia), i., 40 *note*.
- Glycerius, Emperor of the West, iv., 50; Bishop of Salona, *ib.*; assassinates Nepos, 51; Archbishop of Milan, *ib.* and *note*.
- Gnapheus, Peter, Monophysite bishop, v., 139 and *note*.
- Gnelus (Knel), son of Para (Pap), iii., 60 *note*.
- Gnosticism, authorities on, ii., 12, 13 *note*.
- Gnostics, ii., 12 *sqq.*
- Goar, King of the Alani, iii., 362.
- Godas, governor of Sardinia, iv., 292.
- Godegisil, brother of Gundobald, reigns in Geneva, iv., 119; joins Clovis, 120; killed by Gundobald, *ib.*
- Godescal, monk, vi., 284.
- Godfrey of Bouillon, leads the first crusade, vi., 288; character of, 289 *note*; in Hungary, 296; menaces Constantinople, 299; adopted by Alexius, 300; torn by a bear, 309;

at Antioch, 312; piety of, 315; at siege of Jerusalem, 322 *sqq.*; defender and baron of Holy Sepulchre, 312; death of, 326; assize of Jerusalem ascribed to, 329.

Godfrey of Viterbo, Pantheon of, v., 321 *note.*

Godigisclus, King of the Vandals, iii., 284.

Gog and Magog, imaginary wall of, iv., 278 *note.*

Goguet, author of *Origines des Loix et des Arts*, iv., 243 *note.*

Goisvintha, wife of Leovegild, iv., 99 and *note.*

Gold and silver, proportion between, i., 60 and *note*; in Arabia, v., 335 and *note.*

Gold of affliction, tribute levied on the poor, iv., 251 and *note.*

Golden Bull, v., 329 and *note.*

Golden-footed Dame, leader of female crusaders, vi., 340.

Golden Horde, kingdom of, vii., 50 and *note.*

Golden Horn, ii., 152.

Golden Mountains, *see* *Caf.*

Golden spears, army of Chosroes II., v., 91.

Goletta, entrance to lake of Tunis, iv., 304; Spaniards in the fortress of, v., 498.

Gom, iv., 398.

Gonderic, prince of the Vandals, iii., 424.

Gondi Sapor, academy of physic at, iv., 387 and *note.*

Gonfalonier, vii., 297.

Gonfanon, Imperial, vi., 420 and *note.*

Gongylus, General, vi., 60 *note.*

Gontharis, iv., 418 and *note.*

Gontran, King of Burgundy, invades Septimania, iv., 151 *sq.*

Gordian, father of Gregory the Great, v., 85.

Gordian I., Proconsul of Africa, i., 189; elevation and character, *ib.*; reigns with his son, 190 *sqq.*; defeat and death of, 194 and *note.*

Gordian II., i., 190 *sqq.*

Gordian III., declared Caesar, i., 196; emperor, 204 and *note*; Persian war, 205; death, 206.

Gorgo, or Carizme, iii., 92.

Gorgona, isle of, iii., 248 *note.*

Gorgonius, eunuch, protects the Christians, ii., 125.

Gospels, ii., 60 *sq.* and *note.*

Goths, earliest mention of, i., 242 *note*; war of, with Decius, 258, 264;

origin, religion and institutions of, 258 *sqq.*; emigrations of, 261 *sqq.*; invade Roman provinces, 264; obtain tribute from Gallus, 270; conquests of, in third century, 280 *sqq.*; attempt Thessalonica, 286 *note*, 309; invade Illyricum, 469; invade Moesia, ii., 230 *sqq.*; assist revolt of Procopius, iii., 62 *sq.*; war with Valens, 68 *sqq.*; driven by the Huns into Western provinces, 73; implore protection of Valens, 98; settled in Thrace, 99 *sqq.*; converted to Christianity, iv., 81 *sqq.*; settlement of, in Crimea, 272 and *note*; said to have invoked daemons to find treasure, vii., 334 *note.*

Ostrogoths [Gruthungi], name of, i., 262 and *note*; war of, with Huns, iii., 96 *sq.*; defeat of, by Gratian, 133 *sqq.*; oppose Claudius, i., 309 *note*; desolate Asia Minor under Tribigild, 387 *sqq.*; conquered by Attila, 446; revolt against Huns, 502; settle in Pannonia, *ib.*; embrace Christianity, iv., 83 *sq.*; invade Illyricum and Thrace, 184 *sqq.*; state of, in first years of Theodoric, 184 *note*; march to Italy, 190 *sqq.*; condition of, in Italy, 194 *sq.*; threatened by Belisarius, 320; dissensions of, under Amalasontha, 332 *sqq.*; besiege Rome, 333 *sqq.*; raise the siege, 346; evacuate Pannonia, 366; revolt of, in Italy, 421 *sqq.*; besiege Rome, 427 *sqq.*; enter Rome, 430; lose Rome, 433; retake Rome, 436; kingdom of, destroyed by Narses, 452.

Visigoths [Thervingi], name of, i., 262 and *note*; conquered by Hermanric, iii., 60; war of, with Huns, 95; revolt of, in Moesia, 108; win battle of Hadrianople, 117; siege of Hadrianople by, 119 *sq.*; at Constantinople, 120; ravage the provinces, 121 *sqq.*; massacre of, in Asia, 122 *sq.*; division, defeat and submission of, 130 *sqq.*; revolt of, after death of Theodosius I., 253 *sqq.*; ravage Greece, 255 *sqq.*; invade Italy, 262 *sqq.*; join Radagaisus, 277; besiege Rome, 326 *sqq.*; second siege by, 334 *sq.*; third siege and sack by, 339 *sq.*; character of, 340; occupy Italy, 348; march into Gaul, 351 *sq.*; in Spain, 366 *sqq.*; win permanent dominion in Gaul, 369; moderation of, 371 *sq.*; besiege Narbonne, 476 *sq.*; con-

- quered by Majorian, iv., 23 *note*, 24 *note*; conversion of, from Arianism, 99; Theodoric protects, in Spain, 127; code of, 133 *note*, 154 *sq.*, 155 *note*; history of, in Spain, 152 *note*; of Gaul, assist Theodoric, 191; expedition to Africa under Theudes, 319; lose part of Spain to Justinian, 319; join John the Prefect against the Arabs, v., 498 and *note*.
- Gotones, *see* Goths.
- Governolo, iii., 499 *note*.
- Gozelo, Duke, vi., 289 *note*.
- Gozz, Oriental name for the Uzi, *q.v.*
- Graochi, family of the, conversion of, iii., 205.
- Grado, Isle of, iii., 497; v., 11 and *note*.
- Grammar, teaching of, in the empire, iii., 23.
- Grampian Hills, i., 4 and *note*.
- Gran, German colony at, attacked by Tartars, vii., 17.
- Granaries, public, i., 138 *note*.
- Grand Signor, name of Turkish Sultans, vii., 210.
- Grant, *see* Johannes Grant.
- Graphia aurea urbis Romæ*, vii., 236 *note*, 316 *note*.
- Grassé, palace of Vandal kings, iv., 300.
- Grasses, artificial, i., 58.
- Gratian, Count, father of Valentinian, iii., 7.
- Gratian, declared emperor by the British legions, iii., 287.
- Gratian, son of Valentinian I., Emperor, passes the Rhine, iii., 86; reign, 69 *sq.*; made Augustus, 70; marries Constantia, 70; accepts Valentinian II. as colleague, 71; victory over the Alemanni, 111 *sq.*; associates Theodosius, 124; character, 140 *sqq.*; flight and death, 144 *sq.*, 145 *note*; friendship with Ambrose, 164; abolished pagan ceremonies, 200.
- Gratianopolis, in region of Chalkidike, vi., 525 *note*.
- Gratianus, magister militum, vi., 48 *note*.
- Gratus, Bishop of Carthage, ii., 410 *note*.
- Gray, Thomas, on the Nile, v., 486 *note*.
- Greaves, on Roman coinage, iv., 20 *note*.
- Greaves, traveller, on the Seraglio, vii., 84 *note*.
- Greece, Christianity in, ii., 61; cities of, restored by Julian, 452 *sq.*; invaded by Goths, iii., 181 *note*; plundered by Alaric, 255 *sqq.*; coast of, attacked by Totila, iv., 488; Albanian invasion of, vi., 527 *note*; conquests of Bajazet in, vii., 36. *See* Greeks.
- Greek Church, union with the Latin Church, v., 158; discord with the Latin, vi., 381 *sqq.*; reunion, 491; dissolution of, 495; Council of Florence, vii., 112 *sq.*; acts of union, 117 *sq.* and *note*; new schism, 141 *sq.*; under Turkish rule, 210 and *notes*.
- Greek (or Eastern) Empire, divided from Western, iii., 11; Gothic Settlement in, 100 *sqq.*, 185; invaded by Huns, etc., 110; Dacia and Macedonia added to, 125; boundaries under Arcadius, 228 *sq.*; increasing divisions from the Western Empire, 243; invaded by Alaric, 256 *sq.*; general view of, 378 *sq.*; laws declared separate, 421; attacked by Huns, 448 *sq.*; treaty with Attila, 455; extent and products of, under Justinian, iv., 242 *sqq.*; revenue of, 250 *sq.*; fortifications of, 266 *sqq.*; military weakness of, 365; invaded by Bulgarians, 371; invaded by Persians, 392; decline of, 415 *sq.*; invaded by Chosroes, v., 72 *sqq.*; history, A.D. 641-1204, 185 *sqq.*; invaded by Saracens, 442 *sqq.*; state of, in tenth century, vi., 71 *sqq.*; manufactures of, 75; revenue, 77; revival of Greek learning in, 108 *sqq.*; decay of taste in, 112 *sq.*; want of emulation in, 113 *sq.*; Russian attacks on, 160 *sqq.*; Norman attack on, 221 *sq.*; taken by the Latins, 411 *sqq.*; recovered by the Greeks, 457 *sq.*; provinces of (14th cent.), 524 *sq. note*; fall of, vii., 166 *sqq.*
- Greek fire, vi., 10 and *note*, 98.
- Greek language, i., 41; scientific idiom, 48; modern pronunciation, vi., 304 *note*; vii., 181 and *note*; state of, in fourteenth century, 120 *sq.*; loanwords in, *ib. note*.
- Greek learning, revival of, vi., 108 *sqq.* in Italy, vii., 122 *sqq.*
- Greeks, return of, from Troy, iv., 297 and *note*; flight of, from Egypt, v., 478; navy of, vi., 95 *sq.*; their hatred of the Latins, 381 *sq.*, 386 *sqq.*; massacre the Latins, 388, 441; quarrel of, with Latins in Constantinople, 416; revolt of, 1204 A.D., 437 *sqq.*; knowledge of the, vii., 98. *See* Greece.
- Green faction of the Hippodrome, iv., 284 *sqq.*
- Gregorian chant, *see* Gregory the Great.
- Gregorian code, iv., 482 and *note*.

- Gregorius Catinensis, Chronicon Farfense of, v., 298 *note*.
- Gregory, of Agrigentum, Life of, v., 502 *note*.
- Gregory, Archbishop of Alexandria, ii., 389.
- Gregory Bar Hebræus, *see* Abulpharagius.
- Gregory, Bishop of Hadrianople, vi., 489.
- Gregory, Bishop of Langres, iv., 146 and *note*.
- Gregory I., the Great (Pope), on miracle of Tipasa, iv., 98 and *note*; consulted by Recared, 102; papal nuncio, v., 22; his aversion to classical monuments, 34 and *note*; birth and history, 35 *sqq.*; Lives of, *ib. note*; founds monasteries, 36 and *note*; pontificate of, 37 *sqq.*; Gregorian chant, *ib. note*; his missionaries in Britain, 38; temporal government of, 39 *sq.*; alms of, 39; saves Rome, 41.
- Gregory II., Pope, v., 271 *note*; champion of image worship, 274; letters of, 275 and *note*; convenes synod at Rome, 279.
- Gregory III., Pope, champions image worship, v., 280.
- Gregory IV., Pope, demolishes the episcopal city of Ostia, iii., 835.
- Gregory VII. [Hildebrand], reforms the papacy, v., 319; letters of, 520 and *note*; Lives of, vi., 212 *note*; besieged by the Emperor Henry III., 212; his design for a crusade, 271 *sq.*; virtues of, vii., 222; founds the papal monarchy, 225; death, *ib.*
- Gregory IX., Pope, excommunicates Frederic II., vi., 372.
- Gregory X., Pope, urges union of Greek and Latin Churches, vi., 491, 492; mediation of, between Charles of Anjou and Michael VIII., 497; institutes the conclave, vii., 250 and *note*.
- Gregory XI., Pope, supported by Viterbo, vii., 248 *note*; his return from Avignon, 298 and *note*; death of, 294.
- Gregory XII., Pope, documents concerning, vii., 294 *note*; accession of, 296, 298 *sqq.*; abdicates, 300.
- Gregory XIII., Pope, vii., 304.
- Gregory of Cyprus, vi., 498 *note*.
- Gregory, *Illuminator*, ii., 68 *note*; apostle of Armenia, iii., 416 *note*.
- Gregory, lieutenant of the exarch Heraclius, v., 71.
- Gregory Naziansen, i., 401 *note*; at Athens with Julian, ii., 271 *note*; eloquence of, 347; supports Nicene doctrine, 369; on religious sects, 418; on Julian's elevation, 426 *note*; calumniates Julian, 439 *note*; opposes Julian, 457 and *note*; account of earthquake at Jerusalem, 485; account of, iii., 151 *sqq.*; birth, *ib. note*; his mission to Constantinople, 152 *sq.*; poem on his life, *ib. note*; Archbishop of Constantinople, 154 *sq.*; retreat of, 158; orations of, *ib. note*; death, 159; opposes Apollinarius, v., 118.
- Gregory, nephew of Heraclius, v., 492 *note*.
- Gregory of Nyssa, ii., 61 *note*.
- Gregory, Patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 1452, vii., 183.
- Gregory, præfect of Africa, v., 490; revolts against Constans, *ib. note*; daughter of, 490; death, 491; fate of his daughter, 492 *note*.
- Gregory Thaumaturgus, i., 288 *note*; miracles of, vi., 121 and *note*.
- Gregory of Tours, translates the legend of the Seven Sleepers, iii., 488; his account of Julian the Martyr, iv., 15 *note*; on death of Apollinaris, 126; on siege of Angoulême, 127 *note*; family of, 148 *note*.
- Grenada, given to ten thousand Syrians, v., 515; suppression of Christians in, 521 and *note*.
- Grenoble (Gratianopolis), iii., 476 *note*.
- Grethungi, oppose Claudius, i., 309 *note. See* Goths.
- Gretser, on images, v., 266 *note*.
- Grigori Presbyter, vi., 140 *note*.
- Grimoald, Duke of Beneventum, v., 807.
- Grocyn, vii., 135 *note*.
- Gronovius, James, ii., 289 *note*.
- Grotius, ii., 148; on political system of the Christians, 313 *note*; on royal succession, iii., 420 *note*; on kingdom of the Visigoths, iv., 107 *note*; De Jure Belli, 353 *note*; on origin of the Lombards, 367 *note*.
- Grubenhagen, principality of, vi., 517 *note*; silver mines of, *ib. note*.
- Grumbates, King of the Chionites, ii., 288.
- Gruter's Inscriptions, i., 73 *note*.
- Gruthungi, or Ostrogoths, defeat of, by Gratian, iii., 138 *sqq.*; subject to Attila, 446. *See* Goths.
- Gualterius Cancellarius, his History of Principality of Antioch, vi., 327 *note*.

- Guardians, and wards, Roman law of, iv., 514 *sq.*
- Gubazes, King of Lazica, iv., 404; allied himself with Nushirvan, *ib.*; his war against Persia, 405 *sq.*; religion of, 408; his death, 409.
- Gudeman, Professor, i., 4 *note.*
- Gudmarson, Ulf, vii., 298 *note.*
- Guelfs and Ghibelines, factions of, v., 324; vii., 225, 268 and *note.*
- Guénée, Abbé, on Palestine, iii., 412 *note.*
- Guérard, on Capistrano, vii., 156 *note.*
- Guibert, historian of the crusades, vi., 276 *note*, 300 and *note.*
- Guicciardini, history of, iii., 347 *note*; vii., 308 *note.*
- Guido, Bernard, author of Lives of Popes, vii., 225 *note.*
- Guidobonus, Antonius, on Scanderbeg, vii., 160 *note.*
- Guignes, de, History of the Huns, iii., 78 *note*; on the Edrisites, vi., 54 *note*; on Zingis Khan, vii., 7 *note*; on the Ottoman dynasty, 23 *note.*
- Guiscard, Robert, defeats Leo IX., vi., 190; birth and character, 191 *sqq.*; Duke of Apulia, 194; invades the Eastern Empire, 201 *sq.*; at Otranto, 203; victory at Durazzo, 207; delivers Pope Gregory VII., 213; second expedition into Greece, 214; death, 216.
- Gundamund, King of the African Vandals persecutes the Orthodox party, iv., 89
- Gundelinda, wife of Theodatus, epistles of, iv., 325 *note.*
- Gundobald, Burgundian prince and nephew of Ricimer, iv., 49; acquired kingdom of Burgundy, 50 *note*; convenes an assembly of bishops at Lyons, 119; defeated by Clovis, 120; murders Godegisil, *ib.*; establishes judicial combat, 187 *note.*
- Gunpowder, used by the Chinese, iii., 494 *note*; vii., 12; invention of, 85 *sq.*
- Guns, introduction of, into India, vi., 235 *note.*
- Gunther, prior, his history of the German crusade, vi., 401 *note*; his Ligurinus, vii., 229 *note.*
- Guntiarus, King of the Burgundians, iii., 362.
- Gür Khans, vii., 9 *note.*
- Gustavsborg, or Lupudunum, fortress repaired by Julian, ii., 300 and *note.*
- Gustavus Adolphus, attempts to form regiment of Laplanders, vi., 146 *note.*
- Guy I., First Duke of Athens, vi., 505 *note.*
- Guy II., Duke of Athens, vi., 505 *note.*
- Guy of Lusignan, King of Jerusalem, vi., 357; imprisoned, 359; release, 363; receives Cyprus, 390.
- Guy of Spoleto, relieves Rome, vi., 42 *note.*
- Guy Pallavicini, granted land by Boniface of Montferrat, vi., 436 *note.*
- Guyana, description of, by Buffon, vii., 320 *note.*
- Guzarat, kingdom of, conquered by Mahmud, vi., 235.
- Gwent, spearmen of, iv., 168.
- Gyarus, Isle of, i., 174.
- Gyllius, ii., 151 *note*; on equestrian statue of Justinian, vii., 140 *note.*
- HADRIAN I. (Pope), condemns Iconoclasts, v., 299; pontificate of, 300; allows Charlemagne to despoil Ravenna, vii., 323 *note.*
- Hadrian IV. (Pope), vii., 282 and *note.*
- Hadrian, Prætorian præfect, iii., 292 and *note.*
- Hadrian (Emperor), resigns eastern conquests of Trajan, i., 8; character of, 8; pacific system of, 9; rebellion of Jews under, *ib.* *note*; encouraged military exercises, 13; monuments of, 48; adoption of, 82 and *note*; character, *ib.*; adopts Verus, 83, 115 *note*; makes Trebizond a port, 283; letter of, 301 *note*; at Daphne, ii., 492 *note*; his Athenian library, iv., 281; mausoleum of, 337 and *note*; establishes Perpetual Edict, 479 and *note*; builds Pantheon at Rome, vii., 322 *note.*
- Hadrian Comnenus, v., 239.
- Hadrianople, battle of, i., 472, 473. Gallus at, ii., 267, 268 *note*; siege of, by the Goths, iii., 106; Valens defeated at, 117 *sq.*; siege of, 119 *sq.*; siege of, by the Avars, v., 60; by the Latins, vi., 442; younger Andronicus erects his standard at 513; siege of, raised by the Bulgarians, 521; residence of Murad Sultan, vii., 88 and *note*; taken by Amurath II., 79; royal school at 88; saved by Amurath II., 146; palace of Mahomet II. at, 174 Phrantzes at, 204; Mahomet at A.D. 1453, 209; becomes a provincial town, *ib.*

- Hadrumetum, *see* Adrumetum.
 Hamimontus, province of, iii., 116 *note*.
 Hamus, Mount, retreat of the Goths to, i., 312.
 Hafsa, daughter of Omar and wife of Mahomet, v., 404.
 Hainault, province of, ii., 208 *note*.
 Haiton, the Armenian, Tartar History of, vi., 260 *note*; vii., 6 *note*.
 Hakem (Hakim), Fātimid Caliph of Egypt, vi., 264; sacrilege of, 265; date of, 265 *note*.
 Halberstadt, bishopric of, v., 308.
 Halicz, Andronicus at, v., 250.
 Halys, river, Heraclius on, v., 86.
 Hamadanites (Hamdānids), Saracen dynasty of, vi., 57 and *note*, 62.
 Hamadhān, subdued by the Moalems, v., 436 *note*; Bowides at, 519 *note*; vi., 243.
 Hamschen, Chinese royal residence, vii., 12.
 Hamyarites, Arabian tribe of, v., 461 *note*.
 Hamza, uncle of Mahomet, conversion of, v., 376; death, 386.
 Han, dynasty of, iii., 88.
 Hanbal, Ahmad Ibn, vi., 58 *note*.
 Hanbal, sect of, vi., 58.
 Hanifs, follow Mosailama, v., 424.
 Hannibal, i., 362 *note*; passage of, over the Alps, 449 and *note*; before Rome, iii., 304 *sq.*; camp of, at Mount Garganus, iv., 432 and *note*; introduces his ships into the harbour of Tarentum, vii., 193 *note*.
 Hannibalianus, brother of Constantine, ii., 218 and *note*.
 Hannibalianus, nephew of Constantine, ii., 218; Cæsar, 225; *Nobilissimus*, *ib.*; bore the title of *King*, *ib.*; lived at Cæsarea, 226; his kingdom, *ib.*; death, 236.
 Hanseatic League, iv., 177; v., 327.
 Hapsburg, counts of, succeed to the empire, v., 328.
 Harald Hardrada, in Sicily, vi., 184 *note*.
 Haran, Temple of the Moon at, v., 353.
 Harbil, proscribed sects of, v., 516 *note*.
 Hardouin, Père, on the *Æneid*, ii., 49 *note*.
 Hardt, historian, on the Council of Constance, vii., 105 *note*.
 Harmatus, iv., 185.
 Harmozan, satrap of Ahwaz and Susa, surrenders to Othman, v., 437.
 Harpies, ii., 151 *note*.
 Harris, James, Commentary on Aristotle, vi., 81 *note*.
 Harris, Mr., Philological Arrangements of, vi., 111 *note*.
 Harris, Mr., of Salisbury, vi., 427 *note*, 428 *note*.
 Harte, Mr., Essays on Agriculture, i., 58 *note*; History of Gustavus Adolphus, iii., 121 *note*.
 Hart, ford of the, crossed by Clovis, iv., 125.
 Harun al-Rashid, his presents to Charlemagne, v., 310 and *note*; wars with the Romans, vi., 35 *sq.*; ally of Charlemagne, 86, 268.
 Haruspices, Tuscan, iii., 25.
 Hasan, Governor of Egypt, v., 497; defeated by the Moors, 499.
 Hasan, Hamdānid, vi., 56 *note*.
 Hasan, son of Ali, v., 411; retires to ascetic life, 414; one of the twelve Imams, 417; marries daughter of Yazdegerd, 439 *note*.
 Hasan, the Janizary, at siege of Constantinople, vii., 200.
 Hashem (Hishām), Caliph, v., 514; vi., 14.
 Hashemites, family of Mahomet, v., 350; refuse to acknowledge Abubekr, 407.
 Hatem (Hātim), Arab, v., 348.
 Hatfield, synod of, held by Theodore, Bishop of Britain, v., 153 *note*.
 Hatra or Atra (Al Hadr), i., 206 *note*; site of, ii., 552 *note*.
 Hauteville, Castle of, seat of Tancred, vi., 192.
 Hauteville, John de, monk of St. Albans, ii., 425 *note*.
 Hawking among the Normans, vi., 187 and *note*.
 Hawks, in possession of Bajazet, Sultan, vii., 40 *note*.
 Hawkwood, John, English mercenary, vii., 92 *sq.*; his name, *ib.* *note*.
 Hayton, on the Mongols, vii., 23 *note*.
 Hebal, statue of, v., 351.
 Hebdomon, *see* Constantinople.
 Hebron, principality of, vi., 331 *note*.
 Hebrus, i., 472.
 Hegira [*Hijra*], era of, v., 379 and *note*.
 Hehn, v., i., 57 *note*.
 Heineccius, on civil law, iii., 386 *note*; iv., 471 *note*, 479 *note*.
 Hejaz, province of, v., 335.
 Helena, city of, ii., 247 and *note*.
 Helena, consort of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, v., 224; assumes administration, *ib.*
 Helena, daughter of Eudda, iii., 144 *note*.
 Helena, daughter of Licinius, ii., 222 *note*.

- Helena, daughter of Robert Guiscard, vi., 202.
- Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, i., 428; ii., 223; her Christianity, 308 *note*; at Jerusalem, 480.
- Helena, sister of Constantius II., marries Julian, ii., 272; death, 480.
- Helenopolis, *see* Drepanum.
- Helepolis, ii., 524; used by the Avars, v., 60 *note*.
- Heliodorus, Bishop of Altinum, iii., 254 *note*.
- Helion, Patrician, invests Valentinian III. with the purple, iii., 420.
- Heliopolis, captured by the Saracens, v., 457 *sq.*; ruins of, 458 and *note*; pillaged by the Carmathians, vi., 52.
- Hellebicus, general of Theodosius, iii., 179, 180.
- Hellespont, battle at, between Pescennius Niger and Severus, i., 129; description of, ii., 153; naval victory of Fravitta over Gainas, iii., 394; date of naval victory, *ib.* *note*.
- Helmichis, lover of Rosamund, v., 13, 15.
- Helvetii, i., 240 *note*.
- Helvidius Priscus, i., 87 *note*, 88, 147 and *note*.
- Helvius Pertinax, *see* Pertinax.
- Helyot, on Monasticism, iv., 62 *note*.
- Hems, *see* Emesa.
- Henda, wife of Abn Sofyan, v., 387.
- Hendinos, title of general or King of the Burgundians, iii., 38.
- Hengist and Horsa, iv., 156, 157.
- Henna, town of, taken by the Saracens, vi., 41 *note*.
- Henoticon, of Zeno, v., 137 and *note*.
- Henry, brother of Baldwin I., takes the cross, vi., 395; conquers Mourzoufle, 419; assumes the regency, 443; reign and character of, 444 *sqq.*; death, 448.
- Henry I. (King of France), marries granddaughter of Anne, daughter of Romanus II., v., 225 *note*; vi., 98.
- Henry I. (Emperor), coronation of, vii., 234 *note*.
- Henry III. (Emperor), visit of, to Southern Italy, 1047 A.D., vi., 187 *note*; invited by the Greeks, 211; besieges Rome, 212; flies before Guiscard, 213.
- Henry III. (King of Castile), sends embassy to Timour, vii., 70 *note*.
- Henry IV. (Emperor), siege of Rome by, vii., 317 *note*.
- Henry IV., of England, receives the Emperor Manuel, vii., 97.
- Henry IV., of France, compared with Clovis, iv., 118; with Belisarius, 33.
- Henry V. (Emperor), coronation of, vi., 220 *note*; called to Rome by the Frangipani, 227 *note*.
- Henry VI. (Emperor), united Naples and Sicily to the empire, v., 324; marries daughter of Roger, vi., 238; conquers Sicily, 230.
- Henry the Fowler, v., 313; title of, 312 *note*; defeats the Hungarians, vi., 151 *sqq.*
- Henry the Greek, of Brunswick, vi., 516 *note*.
- Henry the Wonderful, Duke of Brunswick, vi., 516 *notes*.
- Heptarchy, Saxon, iv., 158 and *note*.
- Hera, Cave of, Mahomet retreats to, v., 360; situation of, *ib.* *note*.
- Heracles, Egyptian bishop, ii., 64.
- Heraclea Pontica, siege of, by the Saracens, vi., 38 and *note*; position of, 309 *note*.
- Heraclea (Thracian), i., 285, 374; taken by Maximin, 459; Julian at, 440; Genoese colony in, vi., 487.
- Heracleonas, v., 187; reign, *ib.*; end of, 187, 469 *note*.
- Heraclian, Count, slays Stilicho, i., 295; oppresses the family of Probus, 346; revolt of, in Africa, 357; death, 358.
- Heraclianus, Prætorian præfect, i., 306 *note*.
- Heraclitus, spurious epistles of, iv., 46 *note*.
- Heraclius, Exarch of Africa, v., 71.
- Heraclius, favourite of Valentinian III., 503; death, 505.
- Heraclius I. (Emperor), rebels against Phocas, v., 71; made emperor, 71 *note*; strategy against the Persians, 74 *note*; distress of, 79; summoned by Chosroes to submit, 83 *note*; campaigns against Persia, 84 *sq.*; replaces the true cross, 101 *note*; ecthesis of, 150 *sq.*; a Maronite, 161; marries Martina, 185; date of death, 186; children of, 186 *note*; receives Mahomet's ambassador, 356; war with, 395 *sq.*; daughter captured by Saracens, 455; flight of, 468; death, 481; date of death, 481; fortifies Palace of Blachernæ, vii., 182 *note*.
- Heraclius II., or Heracleonas, son of Heraclius, v., 187, 469 *note*.
- Heraclius, son of Constant II., rebel against his brother, Constant IV., v., 190 *sq.*

- Heraclius, son of Constantine IV., v., 191.
Heraclius, the præfect, campaign of, against the Vandals in Africa, iv., 87 *sqq.*; his defeat, 40.
Heraum, Palace of, *see* Constantinople.
Herau, city of Khorasan, destroyed by Zingis, iii., 452; subdued by the Moslems, v., 487; Magians in, 518; taken by the Mongols, vii., 9.
Hercules, columns of, i., 22, 29; Roman, title of Commodus, 102.
Herculians, guards of Diocletian, i., 409 and *note*; of Julian, ii., 538.
Herculius, title of Maximian, i., 380.
Hercynian Forest, i., 318.
Hereditary succession, i., 181 *sq.*
Heredium, of the first Romans, iv., 516 *note*.
Hernennianus, son of Zenobia, i., 327 *note*.
Herey, beginning of, ii., 12; persecution of, 350 *sqq.*; disabilities attached to, iv., 81 *note*.
Herman promontory, Roman fleet at, iv., 303.
Hermanric, King of the Ostrogoths, conquests of, iii., 60 *sq.*; wars with the Huns, 95 *sqq.*
Hermanric, King of the Suevi in Spain, iii., 425.
Hermapion, ii., 278 *note*.
Hermegionites, iv., 379 *note*.
Hermenegild, son of Leovegild, King of Spain, revolt of, iv., 99 *sq.*; death, 100 and *note*.
Hermes, Christian forgery, ii., 74.
Hermias, the philosopher, iv., 284.
Herminianus, Claudius, severity towards the Christians, ii., 108.
Hermits, iv., 78 and *note*.
Hermodorus, the Ephesian, iv., 478 and *note*.
Hermogenes, general of the cavalry, ii., 407.
Hermogenian code, iv., 482 and *note*.
Hermunduri, i., 258 *note*.
Hero and Leander, tale of, ii., 154 and *note*.
Herod, son of Odenathus, i., 326.
Herodes Atticus, family of, i., 49; his education, *ib.*; public monuments, 50.
Herodian, officer of Justinian, at Spoleto, iv., 435.
Herodian, the historian, description of Imperial Palace, i., 148 *note*.
Herodians, sect of, ii., 4 *note*.
Herodotus on polytheism, i., 82 *note*; on the Persian religion, 216; on the Syrians, ii., 3 *note*; description of Assyria, 522 *note*; on the Scythians, iii., 75 *note*.
Hertzberg, Count de, on the Lombards, iv., 367 *note*.
Heruli, i., 242, 248 *note*; body of, in Roman service, 266 and *note*; legion of, in Gaul, ii., 421 and *note*; in Britain, iii., 47; subdued by the Goths, 61; slaves of the, 454 *note*; at the battle of Châlons, 489; allies of Theodoric, iv., 196 and *note*; at Constantinople, in the Nika riots, 289; join the expedition of Belisarius to Africa, 295; defeated by the Lombards, 368; serve under Narses, 441.
Herzegovina, Prince of, opposes the Ottomans, vii., 34 *note*.
Hesnus (Arab), v., 348 *note*.
Hesychasts, or Quietists, vi., 529.
Hexamilion (wall of Manuel), vii., 103 and *note*, 212.
Heyne, edition of Virgil by, iv., 448 *note*.
Hia, land of the, conquered by Zingis, vii., 7 *note*.
Hierapolis, in Syria, Constantius at, ii., 488; granaries of, 510; Julian at, 515 and *note*, 516; besieged by Nushirvan, iv., 892; Chosroes at, v., 53; attacked by Persians, v., 74 *note*; taken by the Saracens, 469; recovered, vi., 68.
Hierarchy, imperial, ii., 169 *sq.*
Hierocles, i., 160 *note*.
Hierocles, review of the Eastern provinces by, iv., 242 *note*.
Hieroglyphics, ii., 277 *sq.* and *note*.
Hieromax, *see* Yermuk.
Hikanatoi, domestic of, vi., 86 *note*.
Hilâl (Arab), slays Rustum, v., 432 *note*.
Hilarion, St., iii., 73 *note*.
Hilarion, the Syrian anachoret, iv., 66; life of, *ib.* *note*; voyage of, 67 *note*.
Hilarius, senator of Antioch, iii., 179; made governor of Palestine, 180.
Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, ii., 370 and *note*; on the *Homoiousion*, 378, 374 and *note*; account of Council of Antioch, 389 *note*; banishment, 395; tomb of, destroyed by the Saracens, vi., 15.
Hilary (Pope), censures the religious toleration of Anthemius, iv., 85 and *note*.
Hildegardis, daughter of Lewis the Pious, vii., 280 *note*.

- Hilderic, King of the African Vandals, religious toleration of, iv., 90 sq.; daughters of, educated by Justinian, 815.
- Hilderic, Vandal prince, religious toleration of, iv., 289; deposed by Gelimer, 290.
- Hildesheim, bishopric of, v., 308.
- Hildibald, commander of the Goths of Italy, iv., 422; death, *ib.*
- Hilleh, village of, ii., 241.
- Himerius (general), expedition against Crete, vi., 60.
- Hinemar of Rheims, iii., 376 note; Life of Remigius, iv., 115 note; on baptism of Clovis, *ib.* note; pastoral letter composed by, vi., 19 note.
- Hindoo, religion of, v., 518 note.
- Hindustan, conquest of, by the Mongols, vii., 13, 52 sq.
- Hiong-nou, iii., 78 note, 85 note, 91 note.
- Hipparchus (astronomer), v., 353 note.
- Hippocrates, aphorisms of, translated by Constantine, vi., 198 note.
- Hippodrome, *see* Constantinople.
- Hippolytus (Bishop), works of, v., 107 note.
- Hippo Regius, colony of, iii., 430; city of, *ib.* note; siege of, 431 sq.; Belisarius at, iv., 808; conquered by Roger of Sicily, vi., 220.
- Hira, iv., 390; v., 341; reduced by Caled, 429; foundation of, *ib.* note.
- Hirschfeld, on defeat of Albinus, i., 129 note.
- Hismahelitæ, vi., 153 note.
- Histoire de Charles VI.*, vii., 38 note.
- Hittin, battle of, vi., 358.
- Hobal, deity of the Caaba, v., 387.
- Hocsemius, John, vii., 269 note.
- Hodaibiya, treaty of, between Mahomet and the Koreish, v., 390.
- Hody, Humphry, Dr., on revival of Greek learning, vii., 123 note, 127 note.
- Hoensbroech, Count Paul von, on miracle of Tipasa, iv., 98 note.
- Hoeschlius of Augsburg, prints Greek text of Procopius, iv., 225 note.
- Holagou (Hülâgû) Khan, grandson of Zingis, vii., 13 and note.
- Holin, *see* Caracorum.
- Holstenius, Lucas, monastic rule, iv., 70 note.
- Holwân, hill fortress of Yesdegerd at, v., 435 note; taken by the Moslems, *ib.* note.
- Holy Island, at mouth of the Tiber, iii., 335 note.
- Holy Lance, legend of, vi., 316 sq.
- Holy Year, *see* Jubilee.
- Homer, mythology of, i., 32 note, 33; Læstrygons in Italy, iv., 181 and note, 233 note, 242 note, 295 note; Syriac version of, vi., 34 note; Florence edition of, A.D. 1488, vi., 135 note.
- Homerites, iv., 412 sqq.; monuments of the, v., 346.
- Homicide, pecuniary fines for, iv., 13 sq. and notes.
- Homo, L., on Aurelian, i., 314 note; on Juthungi, 317 note; on monetary system of Aurelian, 338 note; on succession of Tacitus, 342 note.
- Homœans, sect of, ii., 372.
- Homoiousians, Arian sect of, ii., 373.
- Homocousians, ii., 373; iii., 36; persecuted under Valens, 150.
- Homoousion* (term), ii., 368, 369 and note.
- Honain [Ibn Ishâk], Arabian physician, vi., 31 note.
- Honain, war of, v., 393; battle of 393.
- Hongvou, founder of dynasty of Min, vii., 69.
- Honoratus, Bishop of Milan, v., 12.
- Honorians, troops called, iii., 289 and note; betray Spain to the Goths, 364 and note.
- Honorina, sister of Valentinian III, education, iii., 481; exile, 481; medal struck with portrait of, 481 note; negotiations with Attila, 481; imprisonment, *ib.*
- Honorius I. (Pope), condemned by the third Council of Constantinople, 151 note.
- Honorius III. (Pope), crowns Peter of Courtenay, vi., 448; his nepotism, vii., 260 note.
- Honorius, succeeds to empire of the West, iii., 195, 228; marriage, 251; character, 251; flight from Milan, 264; triumph of, at Rome, 271 sq.; abolishes gladiatorial shows, 271 and notes; at Ravenna, 273 sq.; associates Constantius in the empire, 418; death, *ib.*; persecuted by Donatists, 427.
- Horace, description of Mount Garganus, iv., 433 note.
- Hormisdas (Pope), iii., 15 note.
- Hormisdas, Prince of Persia, ii., 37 note; general of Julian, 519 note; and note; advice of, refused, 524; receives messages from Sapor, 524; son of, iii., 14 and note.

- Hormuz contends with Narses for throne of Persia, i., 897.
- Hormus, son of Nushirvan, vices of, v., 46; authorities for account of, 47 *note*; accepts help of the Turks, 48; treatment of Bahram, 50; deposed and imprisoned, 50; death, 52.
- Horses, Roman cavalry, i., 15; Arabian v., 336 *sqq.*; price of war horses in kingdom of Jerusalem, vi., 384 and *note*.
- Horta, rebuilt by Leo IV., vi., 45.
- Hortaire, King of the Alamanni, ii., 300.
- Hosein, son of Ali, at siege of Constantinople, v., 415; insurrection of, *ib.*; flight and death, 416; one of the twelve Imams, or pontiffs, 417.
- Hosein, *see* Houssein.
- Hospitallers, knights, at Rhodes, vii., 28.
- Hostilianus, son of Decius, made emperor by the senate, i., 270.
- Hottoman, Francis (lawyer, xvi. cent.), iv., 471 *note*.
- Houses, Roman, rent of, iii., 325; number of, and two classes of, *ib.*
- Houssaie, Amelot de la, History of Venice, iii., 497 *note*.
- Houssein (Emir), vii., 48; death of, *ib.*
- Hoveden, Roger, vii., 238 *note*.
- Howell, History of the World, ii., 189 *note*.
- Hugh Capet, founder of Capetian race, vi., 273 and *note*.
- Hugh, Count of Vermandois, leader in the first crusade, vi., 289, 297; captured by Alexius Comnenus, 298, 300; returns to France, 315.
- Hugh de Reiteste, vi., 282 *note*.
- Hugh, Duke of Burgundy, at the third crusade, vi., 365, 366 *note*.
- Hugh, King of Burgundy, introduced into Rome by Marozia, v., 320.
- Hugh, son of Azzo of Lombardy, vi., 201 *note*.
- Hughes, Mr., author of Siege of Damascus, v., 454 *note*.
- Hugo, King of Italy, marriage of, vi., 91, 92.
- Huldin, chief of the Huns, joins Stilicho, iii., 279.
- Hume, History of Religion, i., 32 *note*, 122 *note*, 241; on theism and polytheism, iii., 225 *note*; on ancient population, 324 *note*; on crime, iv., 529 *note*; on ecclesiastical government, vii., 309.
- Humphrey, son of Tancred of Hauteville, vi., 192; death, 194.
- Hungarians, war of, with Manuel Comnenus, v., 245; establishment and inroads of, vi., 148 *sqq.* *See* Magyars.
- Hungary, Great, on the Volga, iii., 92 and *note*.
- Hungary, Huns in, iii., 440 *sq.*; Scythian colonies in, 441 *note*; conversion of, vi., 266; devastated by the crusaders, 285; opposes Godfrey of Bouillon, 296; invaded by the Mongols, vii., 16 *sq.*; by the Ottomans, 37 *sq.*; truce with Turkey, 1451 A.D., 191 *note*.
- Huniades, John, campaign against the Turks, vii., 149 *sqq.*; defeated at Warna, 152; birth and family of, 154 and *note*; second defeat and flight, 155; defends Belgrade against Mahomet II., *ib.*; death, 156; ambassador of, at siege of Constantinople, 191 and *note*.
- Hunneric, son of Genserich, King of the Vandals, iii., 433; marries Eudocia, iv., 30; persecutes the Catholics, 89; calls a conference of bishops at Carthage, 91; delivers Roman citizens to the Moors, 93; restores the cathedral at Carthage, 95.
- Huns, origin of, iii., 85 and *note*; conquests and wars, *ib.* *sqq.*; decline of, 88; emigrations of, 90; white, 91 and *note*; of the Volga, 92; subdue the Alani, 93 *sq.*; victories over the Goths, 95 *sq.*; conquered by Shelun, 276; join Alaric, 330; on the Illyrian frontier, 333; under Attila, 440 *sqq.*; in Hungary, 441 *note*; intercourse with the Goths, 453; religious opinions of, *ib.* and *note*; mechanic arts encouraged by, *ib.*; language of, *ib.* and *note*; invade Gaul, 483 *sqq.*; invade Italy, 493 *sqq.*; said to have invaded Britain, iv., 158 and *note*.
- Huntingdon, Henry of, iv., 160 *note*.
- Hyader, river, i., 420 *note*.
- Hycos, or shepherd, kings, v., 344 *note*.
- Hydatius, on death of Diocletian, i., 419 *note*.
- Hymettus, honey of, vi., 507 and *note*.
- Hypæpe, city of Asia, i., 54 *note*.
- Hypatia, daughter of Theon, teaches at Alexandria, v., 117; death, 117.
- Hypatius, nephew of the Emperor Anastasius, crowned at Constantinople, iv., 240; death, 241; besieges Amida, 275 *note*.
- Hyperides, vi., 111 and *note*.
- Hyphasis, Alexander the Great at, i., 81.

- Hyrcania, subdued by Nushirvan, iv., 411.
- Hyssus, fortifications of, iv., 402.
- IAMBlichus, neo-Platonist, ii., 461, 464 *note*.
- Iamblichus, one of the seven sleepers, iii., 437.
- Iazygia, settlement of the Gepids, iv., 366 *note*.
- Ibas of Edessa, v., 147.
- Ibelin, *see* John d'Ibelin.
- Iberia, i., 7; conversion of, ii., 68 and *note*; attacked by Sapor, iii., 56.
- Iberian and Caspian gates, iv., 277 and *note*.
- Ibn Abd al-Hakam, historian, v., 482 *note*, 483 *note*, 488 *note*.
- Ibn al Amīd al-Makīn, *see* Elmācin.
- Ibn Alwardi, author of chart, v., 524 *note*.
- Ibn Ishāk, on expedition of Abrahah, v., 356 *note*; declaration of Mahomet preserved by, v., 380 *note*.
- Ibn Khaldūn, v., 488 *note*.
- Ibn Khateb, v., 515 *note*.
- Ibn Kutaiba, v., 488 *note*.
- Ibn Shihna (Sohounah), Arabic history of, vii., 36 *note*, 58 *note*.
- Ibrahim, chief of the Abbassides, vi., 20; death, 20.
- Ibrahim, grandson of Eba the Elder, v., 514.
- Ibrahim, infant son of Mahomet, v., 405.
- Ibrahim, Prince of Shirwan or Albania, submits to Timour, vii., 49.
- Ibrahim, son of Aglab, vi., 55.
- Ibrahim, son of Sharokh, vii., 65 *note*.
- Ibrahim, vizir of Murād II., vii., 77 and *note*.
- Icaria, v., 212 and *note*.
- Iceni, British tribe, i., 22.
- Ichoglans, Turkish class of, vii., 84.
- Ichthyophagi of Gedrosia, i., 221 *note*; on the shores of the Persian Gulf, v., 335 and *note*.
- Iconium or Cogni, crusaders at, vi., 309; Seljuk capital, 337 and *note*; taken by Frederick Barbarossa, 344; battle of, vii., 27 *note*.
- Iconoclasts, extirpation of, v., 212; rise of, 266 *sqq.*
- Idatius, on passage of the Vandals, iii., 424 *note*; spurious Fragment of Chronicle of, 484 *note*; Bishop of Iria Flavia, iv., 14 *note*; account of the Suevic war, *ib.*; in Galicia, 25 *note*.
- Idolatry, ii., 17, 18 *note*, 418 and *note*.
- Idrisids, *see* Edrisites.
- Ieroslaus [Yaroslav], of Halicz (not of Kiev), v., 250.
- Iftikhar, *see* Aladin.
- Igilgili, or Gigeri, iii., 51.
- Igilium, Isle of, resists the Goths, iii., 345 and *note*.
- Ignmazēn, King of the Isafenses, iii., 52 *q.*
- Ignatius, Patriarch of Constantinople, restored, vi., 384 and *note*.
- Ignatius, St., ii., 44 *note*; Acts and Epistles of, 104 *note*; on martyrdom, 111; epistle of, to the Smyrnaeans, v., 107 *note*.
- Igor, son of Ruric, vi., 162.
- Igours, Vigours or Onigors, Tartar name of, iii., 86 and *note*; destroy the kingdom of the Huns, 503; art of writing among the, vii., 5 and *note*.
- Ikshidids, Saracen dynasty of, vi., 5 and *note*.
- Il Khans, dynasty of the, vii., 13 *note*.
- Ilderim, surname of Bajazet, vii., 85 and *note*.
- Idico, wife of Attila, iii., 500.
- Ilerda, or Lerida, i., 277 *note*.
- Ilium, i., 407 *note*.
- Illyberis, Council of, ii., 56, 86 *note*; decree concerning martyrs, 112 *note* concerning images, v., 262 and *note*.
- Illustres, rank of, ii., 170.
- Illyricum, i., 23 and *note*; Julian in, ii., 488; prefecture of, dismembered, iii., 125; divided between Arcadius and Honorius, 228; Western Illyricum ceded to Constantinople, 438 and *note*; seven provinces of, iv., 267; diocese of, separated from Rome, v., 299 and *note*.
- Imād-ad-dawla, his principality, vi., 5 *note*.
- Images, worship of, v., 261 *sqq.*; "made without hands," 266 and *note*; condemned by Council of Constantinople, 270; restored by second Council of Nice, 294.
- Imāms, twelve Persian, v., 417 and *note*.
- Imaus, Mount, iii., 84; iv., 374.
- Imbros, Demetrius Palaeologus, lord of, vii., 218.
- Imma, daughter of Charlemagne, married Eginhard, v., 303 *note*.
- Imms, battle of, i., 156 *note*, 328 *note*.
- Immortality of the soul, doctrine of the, ii., 20 *sqq.*
- Immortals, royal Persian cavalry, i., 547 and *note*, iii., 413; put to fight by Belisarius, iv., 298; of John Zimisces, vi., 167.
- Imperator, i., 67 and *note*; later meaning of, 410.

- Ina*, King of Wessex, v., 277 *note*.
Incarnation, history of the doctrine of, v., 108 *sqq*.
Incendiarism, law concerning, iv., 530 *sq*.
Incest, Roman law of, iv., 512.
India, Roman trade with, i., 59 *sq*. and *notes*; ambassadors to Constantine from, ii., 233 and *note*; Christians of St. Thomas in, v., 160 and *note*.
Indian commodities taxed by Alex. Severus, i., 176 and *note*.
Indians, iv., 457 *note*.
Indictions, ii., 202 *sqq*. and *notes*.
Indo-Scythæ, iv., 275 *note*.
Indulgences, to the emperors, iv., 480 and *note*; practice of, vi., 279.
Infanticide (by exposing), Constantine's law against, i., 467; Christians try to prevent, ii., 54; iv., 506 and *note*.
Infantry, Roman, lay aside their armour, iii., 197.
Infessura, Stephen, vii., 306 *note*, 312.
Ingenuus, citizen of Narbonne, iii., 354.
Ingenuus, Emperor, i., 296, 299.
Ingo, King of Sweden, i., 260 *note*.
Ingulphus, secretary of William the Conqueror, vi., 267.
Ingundis, consort of Hermenegild, persecuted by Goisvintha, iv., 99, 100.
Inheritance, Roman law of, iv., 518 *sq*.
Inigo or Ignatius, founder of the Jesuits, iv., 77 *note*.
In jure cessio, process of, iv., 517 *note*.
Injuries, Roman law concerning, iv., 527 *sq*.
Innocent I. (Bishop of Rome), supposed superstition of, iii., 328.
Innocent II. (Pope), election of, vi., 218; vii., 228; condemns Arnold, 231 and *note*, 232; his triumph over Anacleto, 259.
Innocent III. (Pope), persecutes the Albigensis, vi., 130; promotes fourth and fifth crusades, 369 *sqq*.; negotiations with Bulgarians, 391 and *note*; biography of, 393 *note*; proclaims fourth crusade, *ib.*; account of pillage of Constantinople, 428; letters of, 433 and *note*; reforms the office of prefect, vii., 237.
Innocent VI. (Pope), his treaty with John Palæologus, vii., 92; his pontificate, 289.
Innocent VII. (Pope), vii., 296.
Innocent XI. (Pope), vii., 311 *note*.
Inquisitors, religious, under Theodosius, iii., 161.
Institutes, of Justinian, iv., 494 *sqq*., 500 *sqq*.; of Caius, 500 and *note*.
Insula, or Roman lodging-house, iii., 325 and *note*.
Interamnina, Septimius Severus at, i., 124.
Interest, Roman law of, iv., 526 *sq*.
Interregnum, A.D. 275, i., 342.
Intiline, province of, ceded to the empire, i., 404 and *note*.
Inveges, Augustine monk of Palermo, vi., 192 *note*.
Iona, Isle of, monastery at, iv., 67; library and tombs of, *ib.* *note*.
Ionia, work ascribed to an Empress Eudocia, iii., 410 *note*.
Iphicles, deputy of Epirus, iii., 68 and *note*.
Irāk, conquered by the Saracens, v., 432; extent of, *ib.* *note*; Bowides at, 519 *note*.
Iran or Persia, iv., 382.
Ireland, Roman invasion of, i., 4 *note*; Scots in, iii., 44.
Irenæus, ii., 26 and *note*; preaches in Gaul, 30; works of, v., 107 *note*.
Irene, daughter of Theodore Lascaris, vi., 477.
Irene or Pansophia, v., 133 and *note*.
Irene, wife of Alexius I., portrait of, v., 255.
Irene, wife of John Cantacuzene, vi., 521; defends Constantinople, 534; besieged in Demotica, vii., 29; invites Amir to Constantinople, *ib.*
Irene, wife of Leo IV., Emperor of Constantinople, crowned with her son, v., 200; reign, 201 *sqq*.; restored images, 202; canonized, *ib.*; banished by her son, *ib.*; restored, 203; dethroned and banished to Lesbos by Nicephorus, 204; restoration of images by, 295 *sq*.; her connexion with Charlemagne, 314; pays tribute to the Saracens, vi., 36.
Irene, wife of Philip of Suabia, vi., 393.
Irene, St., life of, v., 211 *note*.
Irgana-kon, Mountain of, iv., 374 *note*.
Irnae, youngest son of Attila, iii., 466; retires to Lesser Scythia, 503; kingdom of, destroyed by the Igours, *ib.*
Iron, Siberian, iv., 374 and *note*.
Isa, son of Bajazet, vii., 76.
Isaac, an Armenian archbishop, iii., 415.
Isaac, grandson of Eba the elder, v., 514.
Isaac I. (Comnenus), v., 235; in the Abbey of Studion, 236.
Isaac II. (Angelus), accession, v., 256 *sq*.; reign, 257 *sq*.; defeats the Normans,

- vi., 227; policy of, towards crusaders, 340, 342; character and reign, 389 *sqq.*; deposed by Alexius, 392; restored, 418 *sq.*; death, 419.
- Isaac, lieutenant of Belisarius, iv., 430.
- Isaac, son of Alexius Comnenus, made *Sebastocrator*, v., 243; sons of, 247.
- Isaac, son of John Comnenus, imprisonment of, v., 244; restoration of, vi., 414 *sq.*
- Isaiah of Rhodes, disgrace of, iv., 537.
- Isarnus, station of, v., 213 *note*.
- Isar, Atiz, expedition of, vi., 267 *note*.
- Isaurians, rebellion of, i., 302 *sq.*; defeated by Probus, 353; besiege Seleucia, ii., 271; iii., 98; invade Palestine, 403; army of, levied by Leo, iv., 32; destruction of, *ib.* *note*; invaded Asia, 271; defeated in Phrygia by the Goths, *ib.*; betray Rome to the Goths, 430; betray Rome a second time, 437.
- Isander, *see* Escander.
- Isdigune, ambassador of Chosroes, iv., 409.
- Isidore, Archbishop of Russia, made cardinal, vii., 148 and *note*; imprisoned, *ib.*; epistle of, to Nicholas V., 170 *note*; Papal legate, 182; his escape, 205 and *note*.
- Isidore of Badajoz, v., 502 *note*.
- Isidore of Pelusium, iii., 212 *note*; friend of Cyril of Alexandria, v., 115 and *note*.
- Isidore of Seville, ii., 229 *note*; iii., 280 *note*; on passage of the Vandals, 425 *note*; monastic rule of, iv., 72 *note*, 73 *note*; on Sisebut, 103 *note*; History of the Visigoths, 152 *note*.
- Isidore, pupil of Proclus, iv., 283; Life of, *ib.* *note*; leaves Athens, 284.
- Isidore the Milesian (architect), iv., 260.
- Isis and Serapis, Temple of, i., 86 and *note*; iii., 210.
- Islam, faith of, v., 360 *sq.*; derivation of name, *ib.* *note*; description of, 369 *sqq.*; belief concerning the Resurrection, 371; Hell and Paradise of, 372; tolerant spirit of, 516; propagation of, *ib.*
- Ismael = Ismāil.
- Ismael, ancestor of the Arabs, v., 389.
- Ismael Beg, Prince of Sinope, vii., 213 and *note*.
- Ismael, son of Jafar al-Sadik, vi., 51 *note*.
- Ismael, the Seljuk, vi., 239.
- Ismaelians of Persia, *see* Assassins.
- Ismāil Hamza, brother-in-law of Mahomet II., vii., 195 *note*.
- Isocrates, ii., 428 *note*; iv., 279, 281. on musical contests, vii., 267 *note*.
- Isonzo, battle of the, iv., 190.
- Ispahān, Heraclius at, v., 89; taken by the Moslems, 436 and *note*; Magian religion at, 519; Bowide dynasty in 519 *note*; Malek Shah at, vi., 267; Timour at, vii., 54; destroyed by Timour, 73.
- Israelite (club), ii., 411.
- Issus, city of, camp of Heraclius at, v., 85 and *note*.
- Istakhr, *see* Estachar.
- Ister (Lower Danube), i., 25 and *note*.
- Isthmus of Corinth, wall of the, i., 28 *note*; games of, ii., 452; transportation of fleet over, vii., 193 *note*; Turks at, 212.
- Istria, i., 28; campania of, iv., 205.
- Italian language (modern), formation of, v., 26 and *note*.
- Italians, separation of, from the Goths under Theodoris, iv., 195.
- Italica, honorary colony, i., 40 *note* iii., 125 *note*.
- Italy, described, i., 22, 23; distinct from the provinces, 37 and *note*; Gothic invasion of, iii., 277 *sqq.*; ports closed by Stilicho, 297 *note*; as for the relief of, 356; Western Empire consists of the kingdom of, v., 28; under Odoacer, 59 *sqq.*; partition of, under Theodoris the Ostrogoth, 194 *sq.*; civil government of, 200 *sqq.*; state of, 205 *sqq.*; invasion of Belisarius, 329 *sqq.*; invasion of Franks, 351; subdued by Name 449 *sqq.*; settlement of, 452; the Lombards in, v., 11 *sqq.*; distress of, 22 *sq.*; revolts from Leo the Isaurian, 277 *sqq.*; Byzantine domination continues in, till time of Charlemagne, 280 and *note*; Charlemagne's empire in, 307; rise of cities in, 322 *sq.*; Hungarian invasion, vi., 149 *sqq.*; Saracens, Latins and Greeks in, 174 *sqq.*; Theme of 177 *note*; Normans in, 181; revival of Greek learning in, vii., 122 *sq.*; Rienzi's idea of a confederation of, 277 *sq.*; compared with France of Petrarch, 291 and *note*.
- Ithacius, Catholic Presbyter, iii., 16 and *note*.
- Ithobal, King of Tyre, iv., 464 *note*.
- Itineraries, i., 55 *note*; of the Bordeaux pilgrim, ii., 480 *note*; of Antoninus iii., 5 *note*, 108 *note*, 152 *note*, &c. *note*.
- Itinerarium regis Ricardi, vi., 367 *note*.

- JA'AFAR**, kinsman of Mahomet, death of, v., 395.
Jaafar, sixth Imām, v., 418 *note*.
Jabalaha III. (Nestorian Patriarch), life of, vii., 13 *note*.
Jabalan, chief of the Christian Arabians, v., 460; exile of, in Byzantium, 462 and *note*.
Jābiyah (city), Omar at, v., 464 *note*; a military centre, *ib*.
Jablonski, v., 121 *note*, 129 *note*.
Jabril, general of Harun al-Rashid, vi., 88 *note*.
Jacob, son of Leith, vi., 55 and *note*.
Jacobites or Monophysites, v., 148; submission of, in Egypt, to the Saracens, 476; friendly to the Saracens, 522 and *note*.
Jadera, *see* Zara.
Jaen, legion of Kinnisrin or Chalcis at, v., 514.
Jaffa, county of (with Ascalon), vi., 380 *note*; town of, taken by crusaders, 365; surprised by Saladin, 366; lost by the Franks, 379.
Jalal ad-Din Hasan, Ismaelian prince, vii., 18 *note*.
Jalāl ad-Din Mangbarti, *see* Gelaledin.
Jalūla, battle of, v., 435.
James de Delayto, vii., 66 *note*.
James of Sarug, Syrian bishop, iii., 438 and *note*; homily on the seven sleepers, by, v., 264 *note*, 265 *note*.
James, St., Bishop of Edessa, miracles of, ii., 243 *note*.
James, St., Legend of, in Spain, ii., 67 and *note*.
Jami (mosque), vii., 210.
Jane, daughter of Emperor Baldwin, vi., 444.
Jane, Queen of Naples, sells Avignon, vii., 255 and *note*; strangles her husband, 278.
Jane, sister of the Count of Savoy, *see* Anne of Savoy.
Janiculum, *see* Rome.
Janizaries, instituted by Alā-ad-Din, vii., 26 *note*, 84 and *note*; at the Byzantine Court, 112 and *note*; adoption among, 196.
Jansenists, ii., 28 *note*; iii., 480 *note*.
Januarius, St., blood of, vi., 264 *note*.
Janus, Temple of, iv., 338.
Jaroslau (Yaroslav), vi., 93 and *note*, 162; college of, 172; *see* Jaroslau.
Jason, hostage in Alario's camp, iii., 308.
Jaxartes (river), v., 438 and *note*.
Jasberin, iii., 462 and *note*.
Jasyges, Sarmatian tribe, i., 258 *note*, 268; ii., 229.
Jeffery of Monmouth, iv., 162.
Jehan Numa, palace of Mahomet II., vii., 175.
Jerom, St., on the Council of Rimini, ii., 375 *note*; dialogue of, 500 *note*; on the clergy, iii., 31 *note*; on the ravages of the Goths, 122.
Jerusalem, kingdom of, vi., 326 *sqq.*; decline of, 357; female succession in, 357 *note*; conquered by Saladin, 358 *sq.*
Jerusalem, temple of, destroyed by fire, ii., 95; Christian church at, 340 and *note*; Julian's design to rebuild it, 482 *sqq.*; Church of the Holy Virgin at, iv., 265; city of, described, ii., 479; spoils of temple at, taken from Rome to Carthage, iv., 6; taken by Chosroes, v., 75; monophysite tumults at, 135; taken by the Saracens, 463 *note* and *sqq.*; Omar's mosque at, 465 and *note*; conquered by the Turks, vi., 255, 262 *sq.*; sacrilege of the Holy Sepulchre at, 265; miraculous flame in the Holy Sepulchre, 264 and *note*; besieged by Aïdal, 319; by the crusaders, 321 *sqq.*; population of, *ib. note*; water supply of, 323 *note*; St. Stephen's Gate at, 322; tower of Psephina in citadel of, 324 *note*; Assize of, 329 *sqq.*; principality of, 380 *note*; Christians of, despoiled by Saladin, 355; taken by Saladin, 359 *sq.*; mosque of Omar at, 361; Richard I. near, 366 and *note*.
Jesuits, mission of, in Abyssinia, v., 177 *sqq.*; expulsion of, 179.
Jews, rebellion of, under Hadrian, i., 9 *note*; character of, ii., 3 *sq.*; zeal of, 4 *sqq.*; under the Asmonæan princes, 24; cruelties of, 78; under Nero, 94; of Alexandria, 356; Julian's letter to, 478 and *note*; synagogue of, destroyed at Callinicum, iii., 188 and *note*; conversion of, at Minorca, 224 *note*; exemption of, from municipal offices, 421 *note*; persecution of, in Spain, iv., 108 *sqq.*; persecuted by the Italians, 210; relations with Persians, v., 77 *note*; by Heraclius, 101; their belief in immortality, 106; persecution of, by Cyril of Alexandria, 116; persecuted by Justinian, 144 *sq.*; in Arabia, 354 *sq.*; declaration of Mahomet to (at Medina), 380 *note*; assist the Saracens in Spain, 508; massacre of, by first crusaders, vi., 285; pay tribute at Rome in fourteenth century, vii., 331 *note*.

- Jezdegerd, *see* Yezdegerd.
 Jihoon, vii., 15 *note*.
 Jirjir [Præfect Gregory], v., 490 *note*.
 Joan, Pope, v., 817 *note*, 818 *note*.
 Joan, sister of Richard I. of England, vi., 368.
 Joannina, daughter of Belisarius and Antonina, iv., 436.
 Joannina, fortified by Stephen Dushan, vi., 523 *note*.
 Joannites, or followers of Chrysostom, iii., 402 *note*.
 Joasaph, monk of Mount Athos, vi., 528.
 Job, book of, v., 866 and *note*.
 Jodelle, vii., 136 *note*.
 Johannes Grant, German engineer, at siege of Constantinople, vii., 194 *note*.
 John Angelus, Emperor of Salonica, vi., 458 *note*.
 John Asen II., *see* Calo-John of Bulgaria.
 John Asen IV., of Bulgaria, vi., 501 *note*.
 John Bermudez, v., 177 *note*.
 John Bishop of Antioch, important authority on deaths of Aetius and Valentinian, iii., 506 *note*; summoned to the first Council of Ephesus, v., 123; reconciled to Cyril, 125.
 John, Bishop of Asia, *see* John of Ephesus.
 John Boivin, vi., 457 *note*.
 John, brother of Pappus, magister militum of Africa, hero of Corippus, iv., 418 *note*.
 John, brother of Paul of Samosata, vi., 117 *note*.
 John Comnenus, refuses the Empire, v., 286; Caesar, 288; children of, 289.
 John Comnenus, or Calo-Johannes, Emperor of Constantinople, v., 243 *sqq.*
 John, Count, lover of Eudoxia, iii., 402.
 John, Count of Nevers, his crusade against the Turks, vii., 38; taken prisoner, 39; ransomed, 40, 96.
 John Damascenus, works of, on images, v., 270 *note*, 272; life of, *ib.* *note*.
 John d'Ibelin, compiles *Assize* of Jerusalem, vi., 380 and *notes*.
 John Ducas, Caesar, vi., 249 *note*.
 John, Duke of Trebizond, vi., 439 *note*.
 John Eladas, regent for Constantine VII., v., 222 *note*.
 John, Emperor of the East, Iberia and Peratea, vi., 439 *note*.
 John Geometres, vi., 142 *note*.
 John, grandson of John Vataces (Lascaris), vi., 458; minority of, 479; not crowned, 484; blinded and banished, 487 *sq.*
 John I. (Pope), sent by Theodoric to Constantinople, iv., 211.
 John VII. (Greek Pope), vii., 299 *note*.
 John XI. (Pope), v., 818 and *note*, 820.
 John XII. (Pope), v., 818; disgrace of, 820.
 John XXII. (Pope), wealth of, vii., 104 *note*; deposition of, 251; exhorted by Petrarch, 292; said to have introduced triple crown, 294 *note*.
 John XXVIII. (Pope), vii., 299; imprisoned, 300.
 John of Apri, Patriarch of Constantinople, vi., 519; deposed, 580.
 John of Biolar, historian of the Visigoths, iv., 152 *note*.
 John of Brienne, King of Jerusalem, v., 451; Emperor of Constantinople, 452; defends Constantinople from Vataces, *ib.*; becomes a monk, 451.
 John of Cappadocia, minister of Justinian, iv., 239; disgrace and exile of, 258; opposes the African expedition, 291; supplies bad food to the army, 298; poverty of, 459 *note*.
 John of Ephesus, on Theodora, iv., 231 *note*; on speech of Justin II., v., 11 *note*.
 John, officer of Basiliscus, iv., 40.
 John of Gorz, embassy of, to Cordón, v., 521 *note*.
 John of Lycopolis, iii., 191 and *note*.
 John of Nikiu, chronicle of, v., 428 and 488 *note*.
 John of Procida, account of, vi., 497 *sq.*
 John of Ravenna, pupil of Petrarch, v., 128.
 John of Salisbury, on slavery, iv., 14 *note*; on papal avarice, vii., 224 *note*.
 John Palæologus I. (Emperor), reign, vi., 517; marries daughter of Cantacuzene, 526; takes up arms against Cantacuzene, 527; enters Constantinople, *ib.*; weakness of, vii., 40 *sq.*; imprisonment and escape, 41; death of, 42; pays tribute to Amurath II., 81; treaty with Innocent VI., 81; his visit to Urban V., 93; in Venice, 94.
 John Palæologus II., associated in the empire, vii., 102; reign, 103 *sqq.*; embarks in the Pope's galleys, 106; enters Venice, 110; enters Ferrara, 111; resides at Ferrara, 112; marries Princess of Trebizond, 108; date of his association, 188 *note*; wall of, 182 *note*.
 John, Patriarch of Alexandria (the almsgiver), receives fugitives from Palestine, v., 76; Life of, 76 *note*; gives

- money to Heraclius, 88 *note*; account of, 171 and *note*.
- John Philoponus, his intercourse with Amrou, v., 481; works of, *ib. note*.
- John, St., Christians of, at Bassora, v., 358 and *note*.
- John, St., of Jerusalem, hospital of, vi., 263; knights of, *see* Hospitallers.
- John, St., the Evangelist, ii., 358 and *note*; gospel of, 359 *note*; appearance of, to Theodosius, iii., 198 *note*.
- John, son of Isaac the Sebastocrator, apostacy of, v., 247.
- John, son of Sisiniolus, iv., 418 *note*.
- John, son of Vitalian, general of Justinian, iv., 422 *note*; marries daughter of Germanus, 427 *note*.
- John the Armenian, general of Belisarius, iv., 301.
- John, the Deacon, on Gregory I., v., 85 *note*.
- John, the eunuch, brother of Michael IV., v., 282.
- John, the Exarch, vi., 140 *note*.
- John the Faster, Patriarch of Constantinople, v., 37.
- John, the prefect, expedition against the Arabs, v., 498.
- John, the primicerius, embassy to Alaric, iii., 328; usurped the throne of Honorius, 418; death, 419.
- John the Sanguinary, iv., 346; besieges Rimini, 347; takes Vitiges prisoner, 355 *note*.
- John Tzimisces, *see* Zimisces.
- John Vladislav, Bulgarian ruler, vi., 142 *note*.
- Johnson, Dr., his Irene, vii., 179 *note*, 196 *note*.
- Joinville, the historian, description of Greek fire, vi., 12; in the East, 374 and *note*.
- Jonas, Bishop of Orleans, iv., 142 *note*.
- Jonas of Damascus, v., 454.
- Jones, H. S., on arch of Constantine, i., 457 *note*.
- Jones, Sir William, iv., 527 *note*; his seven poems of the Caaba, v., 347 *note*; on Asiatic poetry, vi., 35 *note*.
- Jordan, John Christopher de, on the Slavonians, vi., 137 *note*.
- Jordan, on Rome, vii., 318 *note*.
- Jornandes, i., 258 and *note*, 271 *note*; account of Alaric, iii., 261 *note*; account of Placidia, 353 and *note*; description of Catalaunian fields, 488; suppresses the defeat of the Visigoths by Majorian, iv., 24 *note*.
- Jortin, Doctor, ii., 369 *note*.
- Joseph, ancestor of the Zeirides, vi., 219.
- Joseph of Arimathea, St., mission of, vii., 300 *note*.
- Joseph, Patriarch of Constantinople, pardons Emperor Michael, vi., 489; withdraws to a monastery, 492.
- Joseph, Paulician leader, vi., 117 *note*.
- Joseph the Carizmian, opposes Malek Shah, vi., 252.
- Joseph, the patriarch, accompanies John Palaeologus to Italy, vii., 109; death, 115.
- Josephs, of Amida, Nestorian sect, v., 160.
- Josephus, i., 79 *note*; ii., 4 *note*; on Christ, 92 *note*.
- Josephus, the false, ii., 79 *note*.
- Joshua Stylites, iv., 271 *note*, 275 *note*.
- Joubert, Père, vii., 236 *note*.
- Jovian, ii., 533 *note*; made emperor, 545 *sq.*; campaign in Persia, 547 *sq.*; reign, iii., 1-6; universal toleration proclaimed by, 8; death, 6 *sq.*
- Jovians, guards of Diocletian, i., 409; of Julian, ii., 538; in Britain, iii., 47.
- Jovinian, iii., 263 *note*.
- Jovinus, general of Julian, ii., 434; besieges Aquileia, 439, 447; defeats the Alamanni, iii., 35 *sq.*; consul, 86.
- Jovinus, tyrant, declared emperor at Mentz, iii., 362; death, 368.
- Jovius, quaestor of Julian, ii., 434.
- Jovius, Prætorian prefect under Honorius, made emperor by the eunuchs, iii., 332; his treaty with Alaric, 333; deserts Honorius, 337.
- Jovius, sent by Theodosius to close pagan temples, iii., 206.
- Jovius, title of Diocletian, i., 380.
- Jubilee, or Holy Year, institution of, vii., 255; description of first, 256 and *note*; second, 257.
- Judas the Gaulonite, ii., 94 and *note*.
- Jude, St., grandsons of, ii., 96 and *note*.
- Judex, Visigothic title, iii., 61 and *note*.
- Judgments of God, among the Franks, iv., 135 *sq.* and *notes*.
- Judicial combats, iv., 137 *sq.*; established by Gundobald, 137 *note*; in kingdom of Jerusalem, vi., 331 *sq.*; prohibited by Michael VIII., 483; in France and England, *ib.* and *notes*.
- Judicial procedure, iv., 587 *sq.*
- Jūji, *see* Tōushi.

- Julia Domna, i., 128, 139, 145; death, 154.
- Julia Mama, i., 154.
- Julian, antecessor of Constantinople, vi., 107 *note*.
- Julian, Cardinal, at Council of Florence, vii., 114; legate, 148; account of, 153; death of, at Varna, 154.
- Julian, Count, general of the Goths, in Africa, v., 502; invites the Moors and Arabs into Spain, 503; castle and town of, 505 and *note*; advises the Saracens, 507; entertains Musa, 509; death, 514.
- Julian, Emperor, his *Cæsars*, i., 78 *note*, 92 *note*, 106 *note*, 307 *note*, 362 *note*, 364 *note*, 381 *note*; spared by Constantius, ii., 262; education, *ib. sq. note*; sent to Milan, 269; to Athens, 270; recalled, 271; made Cæsar, 273; in Gaul, 291 *sqq.*; defeats the Allemanni, 295 *sq.*; subdues the Franks, 297; crosses the Rhine three times, 299 *sq.*; civil administration of, 302 *sq.*; winters at Paris, 305; Gallic legions ordered to the East, 421 *sq.*; proclaimed emperor, 425 *sqq.*; dreams of, 427 and *note*; embassy to Constantius, 427; crosses the Rhine, 428; preparations for war, 432; marches into Illyricum, 433 *sqq.*; enters Sirmium, 436; epistles of, 437 and *note*; besieges Aquileia, 439; enters Constantinople, 440; civil government of, 441 *sqq.*; date of his birth, *ib. note*; works of, 443; reforms the palace, 445; and the chamber of justice, 446; clemency of, 449; protects the Grecian cities, 452; as an orator and judge, 453 *sq.*; character of, 454; paganism of, 456 *sqq.*; education, 457 *sq.*; fanaticism of, 465; universal toleration of, 469; writes against the Christians, *ib. and note*; restores paganism, 470; edict against the Christians, 487 and *note*; condemns the Christians to restore the pagan temples, 489; *Misopogon*, 511 and *notes*; march of, to the Euphrates, 514 *sqq.*; Persian campaign, 524 *sqq.*; invasion of Assyria, 528; takes Perisabor, 524, and Magoamalcha, 525; crosses the Tigris, 531; refuses to treat with Sapor, 535; burns his fleet, 536; retreat of, 539; death, 542; funeral, 557; account of Damasus, v., 446 *note*.
- Julian, first of the notaries, in the Gothic camp, iii., 337.
- Julian of Halicarnassus, v., 149 *note*; converted the Armenians, 168 and *note*.
- Julian, Salvius, Roman lawyer, iv., 475, 490.
- Julian, tutelar saint of Auvergne, sacristary of, iv., 15; account of, by Gregory of Tours, *ib. note*; sepulchre of, at Brioude, 146.
- Julian, tyrant, i., 391 and *note*.
- Julianus, Claudius, consul, i., 201 *note*.
- Julianus, Didius, purchases the empire, i., 116; reign, 117 *sqq.*; distress of, 123 and *note*, 124; death, 125.
- Julianus, M. Aurelius, tyrant of Pannonia, i., 375 *note*.
- Julin, city of, vi., 158.
- Julius Africanus, ii., 71; iv., 286 *note*.
- Julius Cæsar, i., 407 *note*.
- Julius II. (Pope), vii., 308; munificence of, 337.
- Julius, master-general, massacre of the Goths in Asia by, iii., 123.
- Julius Solon, i., 98 *note*.
- Jumelpur, diamond mine at, i., 60 *note*.
- Junghans, History of Childeric and Chlodovech, iv., 109 *note*.
- Jupiter Urius, temple of, ii., 152.
- Jurisconsults, ii., 185 *note*; iv., 485.
- Jurisprudence, Roman, iv., 470 *sqq.* abuses of civil, 541 *sq.*
- Jurjān, territory of, subdued by the Saracens, v., 440 *note*.
- Jus Latinum*, i., 40 and *note*; *relations*, 352 *note*; *Italicum*, ii., 166 and *note*; *Papirianum*, iv., 472 *note*.
- Justin, general of Justinian, iv., 435 *note*.
- Justin I., elevation of, iv., 220; crowns his nephew Justinian, 223; death *ib.*
- Justin II., nephew of Justinian, receives Turkish embassy, iv., 379 *note*; elevation of, to the empire, v., 1; consulship of, *ib.*; receives embassy of the Avars, 3 *sq.*; abandons the Gepidas, 8; weakness of, 15 *sq.*; associates Tiberius, 17; speech of, *ib. and note*; reign, 2-18; death, 18; war with Persia, 43.
- Justin Martyr, ii., 11; dialogue of, 11 *note*, 26; on spread of Christianity, 68; studied Greek philosophy, 71 on the Ebionites, 359 and *note*.
- Justina, Aviana, wife of Valentinian I. iii., 70 and *note*; Arianism of, 165; summons Ambrose to the Council *ib.*; causes an edict in favor of the Arians, 167; flight to Aquileia, 170; death, 187.

- Justinian I. (Emperor), on the miracle of Tipasa, iv., 98; ratifies the establishment of the French monarchy, 128; birth and education, 219 and *note*; names of, *ib. note*; becomes emperor, 221; marries Theodora, 228 *sq.*; favours the blue faction, 235; celebrates the ides of January, 237; Nika riot and distress of Justinian, 239; state of the revenue under, 250; avarice of, 251; remittances and taxes under, 252 *sqq.*; coinage of, 254 and *note*; venality at the court of, *ib.*; ministers of, 256; edifices of and architects, 258 *sqq.*; restores St. Sophia, 261; builds churches and palaces throughout the empire, 264 *sqq.*; his fortifications in Europe and Asia, 266 *sqq.*; suppresses the schools of Athens, 279, and consulship of Rome, 285; resolves to invade Africa, 288; peace with Persia, 289; fleet of, 296 and *note*; invades Africa, 299 *sq.*; his generals in Italy, 329 *sqq.*; makes peace with Vitiges, 353; weakness of his empire, 364 *sqq.*; alliance with the Avars, 378 *sq.*; Lasic war, 407 *sqq.*; negotiations with Nushirvan, 409 *sqq.*; his jurisprudence in the West, 453; death and character of, 459 *sqq.*; statue of, 461; Code, Pandects, and Institutes of, 470 and *note*, 493 *sqq.*; legal inconsistency of, 499 *sq.*; law of, on inheritance, 521 and *note*; general criticism on legislation of, 541; death of, v., 1; Persian war of, 45; theological character and government of, 141 *sqq.*; persecutes heretics and pagans, 143, and Jews and Samaritans, 144; his orthodoxy, 145 *sqq.*; heresy of, 148; equestrian statue of, at Constantinople, vii., 140 and *note*.
- Justinian II., Emperor, v., 191; mutilation and exile of, 192; takes refuge with the Chozars, *ib.*; allies himself with the Bulgarians, 198; besieges Constantinople, *ib.*; restoration and death, *ib. sqq.*; his treatment of Ravenna, 195 *note*; persecutes the Paulicians, vi., 122; his treatment of Leontius and Aspimar, 250 *note*.
- Justinian, general of Honorius, iii., 288.
- Justinian, Roman advocate, iii., 294.
- Justinian, son of Germanus, commands the Eastern army, v., 18 *sq.*
- Justiniana Prima, *see* Tauresium.
- Justiniana Secunda, *see* Ulpiana.
- Justiniani Vita* of Theophilus, iv., 219 *note*.
- Justiniani, John, *see* Giustiniani.
- Justus, the apostate Paulician, vi., 122.
- Jutes, in Kent, iv., 157.
- Juthungi, i., 317 *sqq. notes*.
- Juvenal, i., 35 *note*, 134 *note*; his satires read by the Romans, iii., 817; on the hardships of the poor in Rome, 824 and *note*.
- Juventius, præfect, iii., 31.
- KABARS, a Khazar people, vi., 153 *note*.
- Kahina, *see* Cahina.
- Kaifong, residence of the Chinese emperor, vii., 12.
- Kainoka, Jewish tribe of the, v., 388 and *note*.
- Kairawān, *see* Cairoan.
- Kākwayhids, dynasty of the, vi., 57 *note*.
- Kalankataci, Moses, Armenian writer, v., 89 *note*.
- Kalilah and Dimnah, iv., 389 *note*.
- Kalligas, on Council of Florence, vii., 119 *note*.
- Kamhi, Emperor, iii., 80 *note*.
- Kāmil (Mohammad), Sultan, vi., 372 and *note*.
- Kamtchatka, iv., 376.
- Kandahār, taken by the Moslems, v., 440 *note*.
- Kaoti, Emperor of China, iii., 87 and *note*.
- Karacorum, residence of the successors of Zingis, iii., 462 *note*.
- Karā-Khitay, tribe of Turks, vii., 7 *note*; kingdom of, conquered by Zingis, 9 *note*.
- Karāsī, ancient Mysia, conquered by Orohan, vii., 27 *note*.
- Kars, ceded to the empire, vi., 246 *note*.
- Kāshgar, Chinese garrison at, i., 397 *note*; khans of, invade Transoxiana, vii., 46; people of, called Uzbeqs, *ib. note*; kingdom of, subdued by Timour, 50.
- Kāsimpasha, Bay of, vii., 192 *note*.
- Kastamuniyā, principality of, conquered by the Turks, vii., 28 *note*.
- Kastoria, fortified by Stephen Dushan, vi., 523 *note*.
- Katona, Stephen, vi., 143 *note*.
- Kasgan, Emir of Transoxiana, vii., 46 *note*.
- Keating, Dr., History of Ireland, i., 234 *note*.
- Kebla of prayer, v., 388.
- Kekaumenos, Strategikon of, vi., 142 *note*.
- Kenric, conquests of, iv., 160.

- Keraites, khans of the, vii., 2 and *note* ; account of, *ib.*
- Kerak, lordship of, vi., 331 *note* ; fortress of, 358.
- Kerbela, plain of, Hosain surrounded in, v., 415.
- Kerboga, Prince of Mosul, vi., 318 *sq.* ; twenty-eight emirs of, 319.
- Kerkoporta, vii., 201 *note*.
- Kerman, *see* Kirmān.
- Kermiyān (Western Phrygia), vii., 27 and *note* ; *see* Ghermian.
- Khalil pasha, *see* Calil.
- Khalil, Sultan, takes Acre, vi., 380.
- Khan or Cagan, iii., 82 and *note* ; title of Shelun, 276 and *note* ; great Khan of the Turks, invades Persia, v., 48.
- Khazars, *see* Chozars.
- Khedar (Khidr) Khan, vi., 255 and *note*.
- Khitans, revolt of, on Chinese frontier, vii., 8.
- Khondemir, abridges History of Mirchond, v., 518 *note*.
- Khoten, Chinese garrison, v., 438.
- Khubilāy, *see* Oublai.
- Khurāsān, conquest of, by Ahnaf ibn Kais, v., 436 *note* ; Magians in, 518 ; conquered by Mongols, vii., 10.
- Khūzistān, conquest of, by the Moslems of Kufa, v., 435 *note*.
- Kienlong, poet, iii., 80 *note*.
- Kiev, *see* Kiow.
- Kilidje (Kilij), Arslān II., his dealings with the crusaders, vi., 344 *note*.
- Kilidje (Kilij), Arslān, Sultan of Roum, *see* Soliman, son of Outulmish.
- Kin, dynasty in China, vii., 7 *note*.
- Kinnisrin, *see* Chalcis.
- Kinnoge, city of, Mahmūd at, vi., 235 and *note*.
- Kiotahia, Timour plants his standard at, vii., 62.
- Kiow (Kiev), Andronicus at, v., 250 ; Oleg at, vi., 155 *note* ; capital of Russia, 157 and *note* ; Church of St. Sophia at, 172 and *note* ; crypt monastery at, 178 *note* ; destroyed by the Tartars, vii., 16.
- Kipzak, Plain of, Bātū defeats the Cosacks in the, vii., 16 and *note* ; conquered by Timour, 50 ; Western Kipzak, conquered by Bātū, *ib.* *note*.
- Kirghis Kazaks, Siberian tribe, vii., 50 *note*.
- Kirmān, in Persia, conquered by the Arabs, v., 435 *note* ; survival of the religion of the Magi in, 519 and *note* ; Seljukian dynasty of, vi., 257 and *note*.
- Kislar Aga, protects the Athenians, vi., 507.
- Kiuperli, grand vizier, vii., 82 *note*.
- Klokotnitzza, battle of, vi., 452 *note*.
- Knes, title of Bulgarian rulers, vi., 141 *note*.
- Knight, Dr., his Life of Erasmus, vii., 135 *note*.
- Knighthood, vi., 298 *sqq.*
- Knolles, historian, his History of the Turks, vii., 25 *note*.
- Koba, town near Medina, Mahomet at, v., 381.
- Kobad, grandson of the Persian king, commands the Persians against Totila, iv., 441 ; origin, *ib.* *note*.
- Koraidha, Jewish tribe of, v., 388 *note*, 389.
- Koran, the, i., 80 ; chapter of, called the Elephant, v., 356 *note* ; chapters of, called Suras, 358 *note* ; origin of, 365 ; editions of, *ib.* *sq.* and *note* ; versions of the, 374 *note* ; tenets of predestination in, 384.
- Koreishites, Arabian tribe of, v., 339 ; sceptre transferred to, 343 ; acquire custody of the Caaba, 350 ; Mahomet sprung from the, 355 ; deliver Mecca from the Abyssinians, 356 ; persecute Mahomet, 377 *sqq.* ; interdict of, 378 ; defeated by Mahomet at Bedr, 385 ; defeat Mahomet at Ohud, 387.
- Kosho-Tsaidam, Lake, Turkish inscription found near, v., 441 *note*.
- Kosovo-polje, battle of, between the Slavs and Ottomans, vii., 34 *note*.
- Kudatker Bilik, or Art of Government vi., 256 *note*.
- Kul (Turk), inscription to, v., 441 *note*.
- Kunoviza, battle of, vii., 149.
- Kurikan, Turkish clan, vii., 46 *note*.
- Kusdār, conquered by Subuktigin, vi., 234 *note*. *See* Cosdar.
- Kuseila, Berber chief, v., 497 *note*.
- Kussai, *see* Cosa.
- Küstendil, iv., 267 *note*.
- Kutaleh, *see* Cotyæum.
- Kutritzakes, one of the *voluntarios* of Alexius Strategopoulos, vi., 460 *note*.
- Kuyuk, vii., 11.
- Labarum, or standard of the Cross, i., 318 *sqq.* and *notes* ; name of Christ erased from, by Julian, 477 ; displayed by Jovian, iii., 2.
- Labat, Père, his description of towns near Rome, vii., 247 *note* ; on the curse of Anagni, 253 *note*.

- Labeo**, Antistius, iv., 486, 489 and *note*, 490.
- Labeo**, Q., Commentaries of the Twelve Tables, iv., 528 *note*.
- Laconians**, Free, vi., 74 *sq.*
- La Croze**, v., 121 *note*.
- Lactantius**, i., 378 *note*, 416 *note*; ii., 26 and *note*; his Institutes, 806 and *notes*; iv., 500 *note*; his Christianity, ii., 326 *note*; on images, v., 282 *note*.
- Lactarius**, Mount, iv., 446 and *note*.
- Ladialaus**, King of Naples, vii., 297, 300.
- Ladislaus**, King of Poland and Hungary, vii., 149 and *note*; marches against the Turks, *ib.*; concludes peace of Szegedin, 149; death of, at Varna, 152.
- Læta**, daughter of Proba, iii., 346.
- Læta**, widow of the Emperor Gratian, generosity of, to the poor in Rome, iii., 826 and *note*.
- Læti**, Gallic tribe, iii., 487 and *note*.
- Lætus**, Maecius, i., 135 *note*.
- Lætus**, Prætorian præfect of Commodus, i., 105 *sq.*, 116.
- Lagodius**, opposes the usurper Constantine, iii., 238 and *note*.
- Lahore**, city of, taken by Sultan of Gazna, vi., 285.
- Laity**, order of, ii., 884.
- Lambesa**, ruins of, iv., 318.
- Lammens**, on Omar's journey to Syria, v., 464 *note*.
- Lampadius**, Roman senator, iii., 292 and *note*.
- Lamus** (river), vi., 48 *note*.
- Lancearis**, iii., 117.
- Lancisi**, Roman physician, on population of Rome, vii., 326 *note*.
- Land question** in tenth century, v., 223 *note*, 229 *note*.
- Land-tax**, under Constantine, ii., 206 and *note*.
- Lanfranc**, Archbishop of Canterbury, corrects text of the Bible, iv., 96 *note*.
- Langlés**, M., his Life of Timour, vii., 44 *note*.
- Langres**, battle of, i., 390; bishops of, iv., 120 *note*.
- Languantan**, Moorish tribe, iv., 419 *note*.
- Languedoc**, *see* Septimania.
- Laodicea**, in Asia Minor, i., 54; council of, ii., 26 *note*; Frederic Barbarossa at, vi., 341.
- Laodicea** in Syria, Antioch subject to, iii., 179 and *note*; Saracens at, v., 455 and *note*, 465 *note*; taken by the Saracens, 469; by Sultan Soliman, vi., 261; lost by the Franks, 379.
- Laplanders**, vi., 145 *sq.*
- Lardner**, Dr., Credibility, etc., iii., 161 *note*.
- Larissa**, captured by the Bulgarians, vi., 142 *note*; besieged by Bohemond, 211.
- Lascaris**, Constantine, Greek grammar of, vii., 135 *note*.
- Lascaris**, James, Greek grammarian, vii., 130 *sq.* and *note*; founds Greek colleges of Rome and Paris, *ib.* *note*; brings *Mss.* from the East for Lorenzo de Medici, 184.
- Lascaris**, John, grandson of Vataces, *see* John.
- Lascaris**, Theodore I., *see* Theodore.
- Lascaris**, Theodore II., *see* Theodore.
- Latifundia**, v., 223 *note*.
- Latimer**, vii., 135 *note*.
- Latin Christians**, indifference of, ii., 374; influenced by Valens and Ursacius, 375 and *note*; Church of, distracted by schism, vii., 97.
- Latin language** in the Roman provinces, i., 41 and *note*; official use of, 43; oblivion of the, vi., 105 *sq.*
- Latins**, name of the Franks, vi., 102.
- Latium**, right of, i., 40 and *note*.
- Latronian**, the poet, execution of, iii., 161.
- Laugier**, Abbé, History of Venice, vi., 398 *note*.
- Laura**, of Eastern monasteries, iv., 64 *note*, 78.
- Laure de Noves**, vii., 265 and *note*, 267 and *note*.
- Laurence**, competitor for bishopric of Rome, iv., 208.
- Laurence**, deacon, ii., 52 *note*.
- Lavardin**, Marquis de, vii., 310 *note*.
- Law**, study of, ii., 183 *sqq.*; Roman or civil law, iv., 470 *sqq.*; Twelve Tables of, 473 *sqq.*; of the people, 476 *sqq.*; of the Senate, 478; edicts of the emperors, 480 *sqq.*; royal law, 481 and *note*; forms of, 483 *sq.*; three periods of civil law, 484 *sqq.*; legal sects in Rome, 489 *sqq.*; reform of Roman law by Justinian, 491; loss of ancient Roman law, 497 *sq.*; statutes of Draco, 529; criminal laws, *ib.* *sqq.*; abolition of penal laws, 531.
- Laws** :—
- Aquilian**, iv., 528 and *note*.
- Caninian**, i., 346 *note*.
- Cornelian**, iv., 478, 506 *note*, 538.
- Julian**, iv., 478, 538, 584 *note*.

Laws—*continued*—

- Of Citations, iv., 491.
 Pompeian, iv., 478, 506 *note*, 588.
 Porcian, iv., 531.
 Scatinian, iv., 585 and *note*.
See Lex de imperio Vespasiani (= Lex regia).
 Valerian, iv., 531.
 Voconian, iv., 519 and *note*, 528.
 Lawyers, Roman, series of, iv., 484 *sqq.*; their philosophy, 486 *sq.*; authority of, 488.
 Laymen, ii., 45 *note*, 49 *sq.*
 Lazarus, Kral of Serbia, conquered the Ottomans, vii., 84 *note*.
 Lazarus, the painter, persecuted, v., 297 *note*.
 Lazi, tribe of, iv., 402 and *note*; solicit friendship of Chosroes, 404; renew alliance with Justinian, 405; their war with Persia, 406 *sqq.*; death of the Lasic king, 408; serve as Janizaries, vii., 213 *note*.
 Lasica, war for the possession of, iv., 397 and *note*, 407; description of, *see* Colchos.
 Leander and Hero, *see* Hero.
 Leander, Archbishop of Seville, converts Hermenegild, iv., 100; goes to Byzantium, *ib.*
 Lebanon, cedars of, built the church at Jerusalem, iv., 265.
 Le Beau, on images, v., 295 *note*.
 Lebedias, refuses Hungarian sceptre, vi., 145.
 Lechfeld, battle of the, vi., 152.
 Lechi (= Poles), mentioned by Cinna-mus, vi., 340 *note*.
 Leclerc, ecclesiastical historian, ii., 11 *note*, 15 *note*; v., 104 *note*, 481 *note*.
 Legacy duty, i., 176; reduced by Tiberius, *ib.* *note*; by Macrinus, 179 *note*.
 Legacy hunters, i., 178; iii., 818.
Legibus solutus, iv., 480 and *note*.
 Legion, Roman, description, i., 11 *sqq.*; stipend increased by Domitian, 11 *note*; revolt of, under Alex. Severus, 169; under Maximin, 197 and *note*; reduction of, by Constantine, ii., 189; degeneration of, iii., 196; Jovian, Herculian and Augustan, 247; twentieth, recalled from Britain, 265.
 Leibnitz, vi., 464 *note*.
 Leman, Lake, Alemanni at, iv., 112.
 Lemberg or Leopold, *See* of, vii., 143 *note*.
 Lemnos, Isle of, taken by the Venetians, vi., 485 *note*; Demetrius Palaeologus, lord of, vii., 218.

- Lenfant, M., historian of the councils vii., 105 *note*, 301 *note*.
 Lantienses, tribe of, iii., 111.
 Leo Africanus, geography of, v., 49 *note*; on tribes of Barbary, 501 *note*.
 Leo, Allatius, vi., 457 *note*.
 Leo, Archbishop of Ravenna, usurpation of, v., 292 *note*.
 Leo, Archbishop of Thessalonica, vi., 186.
 Leo, brother of John Zimisces, v., 227.
 Leo Diaconus, historian, vi., 64 *note*.
 Leo Gabalas, takes Island of Rhodes, vi., 450 *note*.
 Leo, general of Eutropius, opposes Trib gild, iii., 388.
 Leo I., of Thrace, Emperor, iv., 32; opposes Aspar, 32; elects Anthemius Emperor of the West, *ib.*; sends naval armament against the Vandals, 37 *sq.*; cost of armament, *ib.* and *note*; connives at the election of Olybrius, 48 and *note*; murder Aspar, 184.
 Leo III., the Isaurian (Emperor), v., 197. origin and birthplace of, 197 *note*. valour of, *ib.*; abolishes images, 200 *sqq.*; quarrels with Pope Gregory, 278; revolt of Italy from, *ib.* *sq.* defends Constantinople against the Saracens, vi., 7 *sqq.*
 Leo IV. (Emperor), v., 200; religious opinions of, 295.
 Leo V., the Armenian (Emperor), prophecy concerning, v., 206; reign, 206 death, 208; opposes image worship, 297; persecutes the Paulicians, v., 128; defeats the Bulgarians at Mesembria, 140 and *note*.
 Leo VI., the philosopher (Emperor), relationship to Michael III., v., 206 *note*, 219 *sqq.*; marriages, 211 and *note*; Tactics of, vi., 66 and *note*. 98; absolutism of, 94 *sq.*; date of his death, 105 *note*; encouraged learning, 110 *sq.*
 Leo I., the Great (Bishop of Rome), embassy to Attila, iii., 499; character, *ib.* *note*; mediates with Genseric, iv., 5 and *note*; calls Council of Chalcedon, v., 181; his epistle, *ib.* approved by the council, 184.
 Leo III. (Pope), election of, v., 301 assaulted and imprisoned, 301 crowns Charlemagne in St. Peter's, 302; on the *filioque* question, v., 382 and *note*.
 Leo IV. (Pope), election of, vi., 43 victory and reign of, *ib.* *sqq.*; founds Leonine city in Rome, 46.

- Leo IX. (Pope), his league with the two empires, vi., 188; Life of, *ib. note*; expedition of, against the Normans, 189; detained by them at Beneventum, 191 *note*; death, *ib.*; extant coin of, vii., 221 *note*.
- Leo X. (Pope), vii., 808; munificence of, 837.
- Leo of Tripolis, attacks Thessalonica, v., 220 *note*.
- Leo Pilatus, first professor of Greek at Florence, vii., 126 *sq.*; his translation of Homer, 126 *note*.
- Leo Sgueros, of Nauplia, vi., 436 *note*.
- Leo, slave of the Bishop of Langres, iv., 146 *sq.*
- Leo, son of Bardas Phocas, v., 224 *note*.
- Leo the Jew, founds family of the Pierleoni, vii., 259 *sq.*
- Leo Tornikios, revolt of, v., 234 *note*.
- Leonard Aretin, *see* Aretinus.
- Leonardus Chiensis, on siege of Constantinople, vii., 170 *note*; on cannon of Mahomet, 177 *note*, 180 *note*; on Giustiniani, vii., 200 *note*.
- Leonas, the quaestor, ii., 431.
- Leontia, wife of Phocas, v., 68.
- Leontini, taken by the Saracens, vi., 41 *note*.
- Leontius, Athenian sophist, father of Eudocia, iii., 409.
- Leontius, Bishop of Neapolis in Cyprus, Life of John the Almagiver, v., 171 *note*.
- Leontius, Roman general, made governor of Greece by Justinian II., v., 191; assumes the purple, 192; death, 193.
- Leopards, in possession of Bajazet Sultan, vii., 40 *note*.
- Leopolis, foundation of, vi., 45 and *note*.
- Leovigild, Gothic King of Spain, religious toleration of, iv., 99.
- Lepaulle, on the reign of Probus, i., 353 *note*.
- Leptis, city of, iii., 49 *sq.*; surrenders to Belisarius, iv., 300; duke of, 810; massacre of Moorish deputies at, 419.
- Leobos, island of, taken by John Vataces, vi., 450 and *note*; recovered by John Cantacuzene, 518; reduced by Turks, vii., 203 *note*.
- Lethe, castles on the Bosphorus, ii., 152 *note*.
- Leti, Gregorio, his Life of Sixtus V., vii., 810 *note*.
- Leucadia, Bishop of, vi., 74.
- Leucothoe, or St. Cyprian, fair at, iv., 206 *note*.
- Leuderis, Gothic commander in Rome, iv., 332.
- Leunclavius on the Turks, vii., 25 *note*, 67; his edition of Chalcondyles, 98 *note*.
- Leutetia, ancient name of Paris, *see* Lutetia.
- Lewis, derivation of the name, iv., 108 *note*.
- Lewis I., the Pious (Emperor), duel at Aix la Chapelle before, iv., 137 *note*; laws on falconry, v., 28 *note*; donation of, 292 *note*; associated in the empire, 311; receives embassy from Theophilus, vi., 48; his donation to Hildegarde, vii., 230 *note*.
- Lewis II., son of Lewis the Pious, association of, v., 311; reigned in Italy, 312; called "rex," 315; letter of, to Basil I., vi., 176 *note*; death, 176.
- Lewis VII., *see* Louis VII.
- Lewis IX., *see* Louis IX.
- Lewis of Bavaria (Emperor), excommunication of, v., 328; Senator of Rome, vii., 242; interferes in papal election, 251 and *note*; coronation of, 262.
- Lewis of Hungary, appeals to Rienzi, vii., 278.
- Lewis the Child, vi., 148.
- Lex, see* Laws.
- Lex de Imperio Vespasiani (Lex Regia)*, i., 73 *note*; iv., 481 *note*; discovery of, vii., 271 and *note*.
- Libanius the Sophist, account of Julian, ii., 271 *note*, 430 *note*; on Julian as an orator, 453; on his religion, 467; on the restoration of paganism, 472; account of, and literary character of, 513 *sq.* and *note*; remarks on Jovian's treaty, 550 and *note*, 553 *note*; funeral oration on Valens, iii., 118 *sq.*; praises the moderation of Theodosius, 217.
- Libanus, iv., 464 and *note*; topography of, v., 458 and *note*; colony of, vii., 14.
- Libel, law of, iv., 530.
- Libellatici*, ii., 114 *note*, 120 *note*.
- Libelli*, ii., 120 *note*.
- Liber Censusum*, Vatican Ms., vi., 194 *note*; vii., 224 *note*.
- Liber Pontificalis*, iv., 431 *note*; continuation of, vi., 271 *note*.
- Liberiana Basilica*, iii., 82 *note*.
- Liberius, Bishop of Rome, banishment of, ii., 895 *sq.*; retracts, 896; expulsion and recall, 405 *sq.*
- Liberius, officer of Justinian, iv., 488.
- Liberius, Prætorian præfect, iv., 402.

- Libertines, or freedmen, i., 44; iv., 502.
 Libraries of Constantinople destroyed, vii., 206.
Libri Carolini, v., 298 *note*.
 Liburnian galleys, i., 19; mentioned by Zosimus, iii., 898 *note*.
 Licinius, claimed relationship with Philip, i., 207 *note*; benefactor of Tiridates, 895; birth, *ib. note*; raised to the purple, 489; divides the empire, 444, 466; alliance with Constantine, 459; war with Maximin, *ib.*; cruelty of, 460; wars with Constantine, 464 *sqq.*, 471; defeated at Hadrianople, 472; death, 475; persecutes the Christians, ii., 315 and *note*.
 Licinius the Younger, Caesar, i., 467 and *note*; death of, ii., 222 and *note*.
 Liegnitz, battle of, between Tartars and Russians, vii., 16 and *note*.
 Lieutenants, imperial, i., 70.
 Lightning, i., 367 and *note*.
 Lignitz, battle of, *see* Liegnitz.
 Ligorius Pyrrhus, topographer, vii., 387 *note*.
 Ligurians, i., 28 and *note*.
Ligurinus, the poem, authorship of, vii., 229 *note*.
 Lilius, ambassador of Phocas, v., 72.
 Lilybæum, fortress of, ceded to the Vandals, iv., 321; claimed by Belisarius, *ib.*; destroyed by the Saracens, vi., 40 *note*.
 Limagne, plain of, iv., 144.
 Limborch, ii., 8 *note*.
Limigantes, Sarmatian slaves, ii., 282; treachery of, 281; exterminated by Constantius, *ib.*
 Linacer, vii., 135 *note*.
 Lincoln, Roman colony, i., 40 *note*.
 Lindum, i., 40 *note*.
Lintax, name for Leith, vi., 286 *note*.
 Lions, African, i., 102 *note*.
 Lipari, Isle of, Attalus banished to, iii., 364; volcano of, iv., 218 and *note*.
 Liris, or Garigliano (river), fleet of Vandals and Moors at, iv., 22.
 Lisbon, Saracens at, v., 514; silk manufacture at, vi., 76.
 Lissa, city in Silesia, v., 61.
 Lissus (Alessio), assembly at, vii., 158; death of Scanderbeg at, 160.
 Litarbe, ii., 514 *note*.
 Literature, in the Roman Empire, i., 62; decline of, 63; Byzantine, vi., 65 *sqq.*, 110 *sqq.*
 Lithuania, conversion of, vi., 172.
 Liticiani (Gallie tribe), iii., 487 *note*.
 Litorius, Count, relieves Narbonne, ii., 476; attacks Toulouse, *ib.*
 Liturgy, Roman, of Gregory I, v., 1 and *note*.
 Liturnum, country house of the elder Scipio at, iv., 57 and *note*.
 Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona, v., 281 on Nicephorus Phocas, vi., 59 *note*; embassy of, 69 and *note*, 87 and *note*, 92 *note*.
 Liutprand, King of the Lombards, conveys relics of St. Augustine to Pavia, iv., 308 *note*; v., 283 and *note*.
 Livy, on constitutional history of Rome, iv., 471 *note*; on library at Alexandria, v., 488 *note*.
Lisios (Λίσιος), Greek form for Licinian, vi., 531 and *note*.
 Locri, or Santa Cyriaca, vii., 124 *note*.
 Locrians, republic of, iv., 474 and *note*.
Logos, the Platonic, ii., 856; opinion of Athanasius on, 360 and *note*; of the Christians, 358 *sq.*; of Arius, 365 and *note*; of the Gregories, 367 *note*; represented by the sun, 368 and *note*; opinion of the Doctores on, v., 107; of Apollinaris, 112.
Logothete, office of, iv., 424 *note*; of 85 and *note*; of the military chest, 85 *note*; of the Dromos, *ib.*; of the flocks, *ib.*
 Lollianus (Laelianus), tyrant, i., 296 *note* and *note*.
 Lollius, Urbicus, wall of, i., 22 *note*.
 Lombards, i., 262; adopt Nicene faith, iv., 108; in Noricum and Pannonia, 368; origin of, *ib. note*; subdue the Gepidae, 369; destroy the kingdom under Alboin, v., 6 *sq.*; relinquish their lands to the Avars, 9; conquer Italy, 11 *sqq.*; kingdom of the, 25; description of, 26 *sqq.*; dress and marriage of, 29 *sq.*; introduce the chase into Italy, 30 and *note*; government and laws, 30 *sq.*; attack Rome, 282 *sq.*; defeat of, under Astolphus, 285.
 Lombardy, v., 11; ravaged by Attila, iii., 495; kingdom of, under Alboin, v., 5 *sqq.*; destroyed by Charlemagne, 307; Greek province of, v., 177.
 London, Roman colony, i., 40 *note*; Allectus at, 388.
 Longaenus Rufus, i., 99 *note*.
 Longinus, Exarch of Ravenna, v., 1 and *note*; lover of Rosamund, *ib.*
 Longinus, tutor of Zenobia, i., 63 and *note*, 326; death, 332.

- Lonicerus, *Chronica Turcica* of, vii., 170 *note*.
- Lopadium, Louis VII. at, vi., 348 *note*.
- Lorca, surrendered by Theodemir to the Saracens, v., 511.
- Loria, Roger de, *see* Roger.
- Lothaire, Duke of the Alamanni, invades Italy, iv., 448 *sq.*; death of, 450 and *note*.
- Lothaire I. (Emperor), constitution of, iv., 133 *note*; associated in the empire, v., 311; kingdom of, 312; vii., 258 *note*.
- Lothaire II., marriage of, vi., 92; opposes Roger of Sicily, 218.
- Lotharingia, or Lorraine, kingdom of, vi., 289 *note*.
- Loughborough, Lord, vi., 383 *note*.
- Louis, Count of Blois and Chartres, vi., 395.
- Louis le Gros, vi., 383 *note*.
- Louis VII., v., 256; rescued by George of Sicily, vi., 222; conducts second crusade, 337 *sqq.*; his march through Anatolia, 342 *sq.* and *note*.
- Louis IX., v., 480 *note*; refuses knight-hood to infidels, vi., 354 *note*; crusades of, 374 *sqq.*; takes Damietta, 375; captivity, *ib.*; ransom of, 376 *note*; death of, 377; generosity of, to Baldwin, 454 and *note*; buys holy relics from Baldwin, 456; last crusade of, 496.
- Louis XIV., ii., 476 *note*; sends ambassador to Rome, vii., 310 *note*.
- Lublin, city of, destroyed by the Mongols, vii., 16.
- Lucan, i., 126 *note*; Pompey of, v., 52 *note*.
- Lucania, i., 385; forests of, iii., 320 and *note*; Totila in, iv., 432 *sqq.*; Belisarius in, 434.
- Lucanians, i., 23.
- Lucanus, Joh. Albinus, vii., 217 *note*.
- Lucar, Cyril, Protestant patriarch of Constantinople, v., 174 *note*.
- Lucas Notaras, Duke of Constantinople, *see* Notaras.
- Lucas Tudensis, Gallician deacon, v., 503 *note*.
- Lucoa, siege of, iv., 448 *sq.*; monopoly of silk trade at, vi., 77; three hundred towers at, vii., 327.
- Lucerne, artificial grass, i., 58.
- Lucian, Count of the East, put to death by Rufinus, iii., 284.
- Lucian, eunuch, protects the Christians, ii., 125.
- Lucian, martyr, iii., 26 *note*.
- Lucian, Presbyter of Jerusalem, exhumes the bodies of the saints, iii., 222 and *note*.
- Lucian, satirist, i., 62; Philopatrias ascribed to, 366 *note*; on Christianity in Pontus, ii., 62.
- Lucifer of Cagliari, ii., 391 *note*; exile, 395; libels of, 403 *note*, 500 *note*.
- Lucilla, purchases the Bishopric of Carthage, ii., 122 *note*.
- Lucilla, sister of Commodus, i., 95.
- Lucillianus, Count, ii., 243; general of cavalry in Illyricum, 485; taken prisoner, *ib.*; death, iii., 5.
- Lucius, Bishop of Alexandria, iii., 27.
- Lucius II. (Pope), vii., 227; applies to Conrad III., 234 *note*.
- Lucius III. (Pope), vii., 227 and *note*.
- Lucrine Lake, iii., 314 and *note*.
- Lucullus, i., 226 *note*; villa of, iv., 56; Augustulus banished to castle of, 57; other villas of, *ib.* *note*.
- Ludewig, Life of Justinian, iv., 460 *note*, 470 *note*.
- Ludi, *Sarmatici*, i., 470 *note*; *Gothici*, *ib.* *See* Games.
- Ludolph, Duke of Saxony, v., 312 *note*.
- Ludolphus, *Æthiopian History* of, iv., 412 *note*.
- Ludovician Vives, iv., 479 *note*.
- Lugdunensis, Gallia, province, i., 22.
- Lugdunum or Lyons, i., 22.
- Lugo, camp of Musa at, v., 518.
- Luke, St., body of, removed to Constantinople, iii., 220.
- Lulon, fortress of, v., 213 *note*.
- Lupercal, situation of the, iv., 36 *note*.
- Lupercalia, festival of, celebrated under Anthemius, iv., 35 *sq.*; abolished by Pope Gelasius, 36 and *note*.
- Lupercals, confraternity of, iii., 200.
- Lupicina, Empress (Euphemia), iv., 329.
- Lupicinus, general, ii., 422 and *note*; imprisoned, 428; fights for Valens, iii., 16; governor of Thrace, 102; oppresses the Goths, 103; defeated by them, 105.
- Lupicinus, St., iv., 112 *note*.
- Lupus, Protospata, author of *Chronicles* of Bari, vi., 188 *note*.
- Lupus, St., of Troyes, iii., 484; Life of, *ib.* *note*.
- Lusatia, Wends of, iv., 316 and *note*.
- Lusignan de, *see* Guy of Lusignan.
- Lusignan of Cyprus, his gifts to Bajaset, vii., 39.
- Lusitania, province of Spain, i., 20; gold of, 174; Alani in, iii., 365.
- Lustral contribution [*lustralis collatio* or *chrysargyron*], ii., 211.

- Lutetia, ancient name of Paris, ii., 304 *note*.
 Luther, doctrine of, vi., 131.
 Luxury of the Greek emperors, vi., 79 *sqq.*
 Lycandus, battle of, v., 230 *note*.
 Lycaonia, prætor of, iv., 272; people of, *ib. note*.
 Lyceum, of the Peripatetics at Athens, iv., 280.
 Lychnidus, or Achrida, vi., 137 and *note*; flight of Alexius to, 209.
 Lycia, province of, degraded by Rufinus, iii., 231.
 Lycophron, iv., 474 *note*.
 Lycopolis, city of, iii., 190; John of, 191 and *note*.
 Lycus (river), ii., 153 *note*; Theodosius falls into, iii., 460.
 Lydda, crusaders at, vi., 321.
 Lydius, the Isaurian robber, i., 353 *note*.
 Lydus, John, iv., 242 *note*.
 Lygians, i., 355 and *note*.
 Lyons, battle of, Severus defeats Albinus, i., 129; taken by Aurelian, 325; Magnentius at, ii., 257; assembly of bishops at, iv., 119; residence of Gundobald, *ib. note*; taken by Clovis, 120; by the Saracens, vi., 15.
 Lysias, speech of, iv., 532 *note*.
 MAABRA, captured by Raymond and Bohemond, vi., 320 *note*.
 Mabilion on monasticism, iv., 71 *note*.
 Mabbog, *see* Hierapolis.
 Macarius, commissioner in Africa, ii., 410 and *note*.
 Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, condemned by the third Council of Constantinople, v., 151.
 Macedonia, i., 25; invaded by the Goths, 811; given to Eastern Empire, iii., 125; ravaged by the Huns, 450; Macedonia *secunda*, iv., 267 *note*.
 Macedonia, maid of Antonina, iv., 359.
 Macedonians, sect of, iii., 26; tenets of the, condemned, 156 and *note*.
 Macedonius I., semi-Arian Bishop of Constantinople, ii., 406; enters the cathedral at Constantinople, 408; oppresses the Orthodox party in Thrace and Macedonia, 409; and in Paphlagonia, 409.
 Macedonius II., Bishop of Constantinople (A.D. 496-511), exile of, v., 139.
 Macellum, castle of, ii., 262.
 Macepracta, town of, ii., 521.
 Machiavelli, i., 241 and *note*; on the popes, vii., 308 *note*.
 Macon, ii., 209 and *note*.
 Macoraba, Greek name for Mecca, *q.v.*
 Macpherson, Dr. John, iii., 43 *note*.
 Macpherson, James, iii., 43 *note*.
 Macpherson's Ossian, i., 141 *note*.
 Macrianus, Emperor, i., 296.
 Macrianus, Prætorian præfect under Valerian, i., 290.
 Macrianus, Prince of the Alamanni, i., 39.
 Macrinus Decianus, i., 391 *note*.
 Macrinus Opilius, i., 150; reign, 15 *sqq.*; death, 155; peace with the Parthians, 222.
 Macrobius, ii., 19 *note*; Saturnalia i., 317 *note*; his belief in the stars, 318 *note*.
 Madayn, *see* Ctesiphon and Modain.
 Madras, Church of St. Thomas near, 161 and *note*.
 Maecenas, i., 37 *note*.
 Maecenas, a prætorian senator, i., 201.
 Mæonius, i., 326.
 Maetis (lake), iii., 379 *note*.
 Maesia, *see* Moesia.
 Maffei, i., 38 *note*, 371 *note*, 451 and 453 *note*; history of Venetia, i., 496 *note*; interview between St. Leo and Attila, 499 *note*; on drama in Italy, iv., 453 *note*; on amphitheatres, vii., 329 *note*.
 Magdeburg, sack of, iii., 121 *note*.
 Magi, religion of, i., 218 *sqq.*; count of, 214; power of, 218 *sq.*; spirit of persecution of, 219; predicted birth of Sapor, ii., 237; restrained by Constantine, 332; number of, 33 *note*; persecute the Christians, i., 412; persecute the churches of Persarmenia, v., 43; persecute Persia, 77; fly to Arabia, 353 and *note*; astronomy of the, introduced into China, 438; fall of, in Persia, 517 *sqq.*
 Magic, practised by Julianus, i., 134 by Severus, 139; by the Persian priests, 219; under Valentinian and Valens, iii., 17 *sqq.* and *note*; ancient belief in, 18; persecutors of, in Rome and Antioch, 19 *sq.* Roman law against, iv., 580.
 Magister militum, *peditum et equitum*, ii., 186 and *note*; *utriusque militum*, *ib.*; in *præsenti*, *ib.*; per orientem, iv., 298 *note*; in Armenia, *ib.*
 Magister officiorum, ii., 194.
 Magistracies, civil, laid aside by Diocletian, i., 410 and *note*.
 Magistrates, Roman, i., 73 and *note*.
 Magna Mater, cult of, i., 86 *note*.

Magnaura, Palace of, *see* Constantinople.

Magnentius, saluted emperor in Gaul, ii., 247 and *note*, *sqq.*; campaign against Constantius II., 252 *sqq.*; battle of Mursa, 258 *sq.*; defeat and death, 257.

Magnesia, or Guzel Hissar, i., 54 *note*; Theodore Lascaris died at, vi., 490 and *note*; Amurath II. retires to, vii., 146 and *note*.

Magnia Urbica, i., 368 *note*.

Magnus of Carrhæ, ii., 541 *note*.

Magnus, senator, i., 187.

Magyars or Hungarians, iii., 441 *note*; name of, vi., 143 *sq.*

Mahadi (Mahdi), caliph, son of Al-Mansûr, wealth of, vi., 25.

Mahadi (Mahdi), last of the Persian Imâms, v., 417.

Mahadia, in Africa, vi., 220.

Mahmûd, Sultan, of Delhi, defeat of, by Timour, vii., 58.

Mahmûd II., Sultan, massacres the Janizaries, vii., 84 *note*.

Mahmûd, Prince of Gazna, v., 4 *note*.

Mahmûd, the Gaznevide, vi., 238 *sq.*; assumes title of Sultan, 234; in Hindostan, 235 *sq.*; character of, 236; death, 239.

Mahomet=Mohammad, *q.v.*

Mahomet I. (Ottoman Sultan), son of Bajazet, vii., 77; obtains Anatolia, *ib.*; defeats Mûsâ, *ib.*

Mahomet II., restores castles of Europe and Asia, ii., 152; his descent from the Comneni, v., 247; puts last Duke of Athens to death, vi., 506; marries Asiatic princess, vii., 66 *note*; besieges Belgrade, 155; character of, 166 and *note sq.*; reign, 168 *sqq.*; marriage, 169; hostile intentions of, 169 *sq.*; builds fortress on the Bosphorus, 172; prepares for the siege, 174; great cannon of, 177; forces of, 180 *sq.*; headquarters of, *ib.* *note*; besieges Constantinople, 185 *sqq.*; employs mines, 187; punishes Baltha Ogli, 191; transports his vessels ten miles, 192; constructs a bridge, 193; his treatment of the Greeks, 208 *sq.*; re-peoples Constantinople, 209 *sqq.*; his mosque, 210; his death, 217.

Mahomet, the Prophet, iii., 418 *note*; adopts the Legend of the Seven Sleepers, 438 *note*; date of his birth, v., 43 *note*; rejection of his summons by Chosroes, 79 and *note*; legendary embassies of, v., 79 *note*;

ancestors of, 350 and *note*; birth and education, 355 *sqq.*; appearance and character of, 357; true name of, 357 *note*; journeys to Syria, 359; his knowledge of writing, 358 *note*; assumes title of Prophet, 360, 361; creed of, 362 *sqq.*; composes the Koran, 364; prophecy of the Paraclete applied to, *ib.* and *note*; miracles of, 367 *sq.*; vision of, 367 and *note*; institutes a fast, 370; preaches at Mecca, 375 *sq.*; Lives of, 375 *note*; his disciples emigrate to Æthiopia, 378; his flight, *ib.* *sq.*; Prince of Medina, 379; declaration to Ansârs and Jews of Medina, v., 380 *note*; regal and sacerdotal office of, 381; military laws of, 383; wars of, 385 *sqq.*; subdues the Jews, 388; submission of Mecca, 390; ten years' truce with the Koreish, *ib.*; submission of Arabia, 395; embassy of, to Heraclius, *ib.*; expedition of Tabuc, 396 *sq.*; death, 397 *sq.*; epilepsy of, *ib.* *note*; tomb, 397 and *note*; character, 400 *sqq.*; private life of, 402 *sq.*; wives, 403; and children, 405; choice of a successor, 407; success of his religion, 419 *sq.*; Life of, in Modern Universal History, 422 *note*; embassy to Mokawkas, 477 and *note*.

Mahometanism, *see* Islam.

Maillet, M., Consul, his description of Egypt, v., 486 *sqq. note*.

Maimbourg, History of Iconoclasm, v., 268 *note*; on Alexius Comnenus, vi., 298 *note*.

Maimonides, ii., 3 *note*.

Mainfroy, King of Naples and Sicily, vi., 231; proscribed by the Popes, 495.

Mainotes or Eleuthero-Laonians, vi., 74.

Mainz, *see* Ments.

Maiuma, port of Gaza, ii., 503 *note*.

Majella, *see* Monte Majella.

Majestas, crime of, i., 89; law concerning, under Arcadius, iii., 385 and *note*; *iv.*, 534.

Majo, Admiral, conspires against William I. of Sicily, vi., 227.

Majorca and neighbouring seas, Vandals in, iii., 424; submit to Justinian, *iv.*, 308.

Majorian, Emperor, origin of, *iv.*, 17; panegyric of Sidonius on, 16 and *note*; made Emperor by Ricimer, 17; epistle of, to the senate, *ib.* *sq.*; laws of, 19 and *note*, 20; protects

- the edifices of Rome, 21; laws concerning marriage, 22; defeats Theodoric, 23; builds a fleet, 24 and *note*; his fleet destroyed by Genserich, 25; abdication and death, 26.
- Majorinus, African Bishop, ii., 352.
- Makrizi, vi., 375 *note*.
- Malabar, Nestorian Christians of, v., 162 *sq*.
- Malaga, reduced by Abdelaziz, v., 511; seat of learning under the Arabs, vi., 80.
- Malalas, John, i., 364 *note*; on History of Antioch, iii., 412 *note*.
- Malamir, son of Omurtag, vi., 140 *note*.
- Malarich, iii., 5.
- Malasontha, *see* Amalasontha.
- Malaterra, *see* Galfridus.
- Malatesta, Italian family of, vii., 381.
- Malatesta, Sigismund, Prince of Rimini, vii., 167 *note*.
- Malaxus, Emanuel, vii., 211 *note*.
- Malazkerd, siege of, vi., 247; called Manzikert, *ib. note*; battle of, 249.
- Malchus, account of embassy from the senate to Zeno, iv., 56 *note*.
- Malchus, adventures of, ii., 240 *note*.
- Maldives, islands, ii., 332 *note*.
- Malek Rodosaces, Emir of the tribe of Gassan, ii., 521.
- Malek Shah, son of Sultan Alp Arslān, vi., 246; conquests of, 253 *sq*.; pilgrimage of, to Mecca, 255; death of, 256.
- Malespina Ricordano, on Charles of Anjou, vi., 495 *note*.
- Malleolus, P., iv., 530 *note*.
- Mallevilla, name for Zemlin, vi., 236 *note*.
- Mallius (Theodorus), Prætorian præfect, ii., 184 *note*; epigram of Claudian on, iii., 298 and *note*.
- Malmistra, *see* Mopsuestia.
- Malomir, son of Omortag, vi., 140 *note*.
- Malta, i., 29; taken by the Saracens, vi., 41 *note*; conquered by Roger of Sicily, 220; Knights Hospitallers at, 329.
- Maltepe, Hill of, headquarters of Mahomet, vii., 180 *note*.
- Maltret, Claude, publishes Paris edition of Procopius, iv., 225 *note*; his unfulfilled promises, 328 *note*.
- Mamaocae, on the Oise, Palace of the Merovingians, vi., 13 *note*.
- Mamachi, Father, ii., 307 *note*.
- Mamalukes (Mamlûks), name, vi., 352 *note*; two dynasties of, 377 and *note*; recruited from Circassia, 582; defeat the Mongols, vii., 15; alliance of, with the Khan, 22.
- Mamas, beacon of, v., 218 *note*.
- Mamas, St., monument of, at Omsara ii., 458 and *note*.
- Mamertinus, the panegyrist, i., 380 *note*; 387 *note*; consul, ii., 447 and *note*; 451 and *note*.
- Mango, the Scythian, i., 396.
- Mammæa, mother of Alexander Severus, i., 154; regent, 162; avarice, 171; murder of, 186; interview with Origen, ii., 119.
- Mamūn, Caliph, v., 518 *note*, *see* Al Mamūn.
- Man, Isle of, inhabited by Scots, ii., 44.
- Mananalis, in Cappadocia, vi., 117 and *note*.
- Manāt, Arabic, deity, v., 377 *note*.
- Man-Chu, dynasty in Northern China vii., 7 *note*.
- Mancipation, iv., 517 *note*.
- Mancipium, explanation of that term in Roman law, iv., 517 and *note*.
- Mandsians, ii., 10 *note*.
- Mandracium, suburb of Carthage, sacked by a Roman officer, iv., 304; restored by Belisarius, 304.
- Manes, i., 220 *note*; ii., 351 *note*; *tema* of, revived, v., 151; rejected by the Paulicians, vi., 118.
- Mangi, name of Southern China, vi., 11 *note*.
- Mangū, grandson of Zingis, vii., 11 and *note*.
- Maniaces, George, Greek governor of Lombardia, general, v., 232 *note*; subdues Sicily, vi., 184 and *note*.
- Maniach, Turkish ambassador, iv., 37 *note*; at the Byzantine court, 380.
- Maniach, prince of the Sogdoites, iv., 380.
- Manichæans, ii., 15, 351 and *notes*; law against, under Theodosius, ii., 160; persecuted by Hunneric, ii., 91; persecuted in the provinces, 104 on the nature of Christ, v., 108; in Arabia, 354; desert the standard of Alexius Comnenus, vi., 127.
- Manilius, i., 95 *note*.
- Manilius, Roman lawyer, iv., 498 *note*.
- Manlius Torquatus, i., 68 *note*.
- Manors or farms granted to the hospitallers and templars, vi., 329 and *note*.
- Mansūr, *see* Al-Mansur.
- Mansūr, Prince of Fars, opposes Timur vii., 49.
- Mansūra, battle of, vi., 375 and *note*, 37 *note*.
- Mantinium, ii., 409 *note*, 410.

- Manuel**, brother of Theodore Angelus, vi., 458 *note*.
- Manuel Comnenus**, Emperor of Constantinople, v., 245; wars of, *ib. sq.*; character, 246; repulses the Normans, vi., 222; his ambition, 224; makes peace with the Normans, 226; second and third crusades in reign of, 340; accused of treachery, 342; wives of, 387; letters of, to Pope Alexander III., 388 *note*; wall of, vii., 182 *note*.
- Manuel Comnenus**, first of the Comneni, v., 235.
- Manuel Comnenus of Trebizond**, vi., 489 *note*.
- Manuel Comnenus**, son of Andronicus, v., 257.
- Manuel Comnenus**, brother of Alexius I., v., 239.
- Manuel Palæologus** (Emperor), vii., 41; imprisonment and escape, *ib.*; serves under Bajazet, 42; visits French court, 43; returns to Constantinople, 79; concludes treaty with Mahomet, 80; death, 81, 108; negotiations of, 101; dialogues of, *ib. note*.
- Manuel Palæologus**, son of the elder Andronicus, vi., 512.
- Manuel**, Roman general, 684 A.D., v., 462.
- Manufactures**, Roman, i., 58.
- Manumission**, limitation of, i., 846 *note*.
- Manus**, power of a husband over his wife, iv., 507 and *note*.
- Manuscripts**, ancient, destruction of, by the Turks in Constantinople, vii., 203 *note*, 206 and *note*.
- Manzikert**, *see* Malazkerd.
- Maogamaloha**, fortress of, taken by Julian, ii., 525 *sq.*
- Maphrian**, Jacobite ecclesiastic, v., 164.
- Maracci**, Father, on the Koran, iii., 418 *note*; on almsgiving, v., 371 *note*; on Paradise and Hell of Mahomet, 374 *note*.
- Marasquin**, vii., 403 *note*.
- Marble**, varieties of, i., 190 and *note*.
- Marcella**, a Roman lady, iii., 268 *note*, 343 *note*; taught by Athanasius, iv., 66 *note*.
- Marcellinus**, brother of Maximus, iii., 174.
- Marcellinus**, Count, Chronicle of, iii., 281, 382 *note*; on treaty of Theodosius with Attila, 456 *note*; on the miracle of Tipasa, iv., 98.
- Marcellinus**, Count of the Sacred Largesses, rebels against Constans, ii., 246; embassy to Constantius, 248; death, 258 and *note*.
- Marcellinus** [Marcellianus], son of Maximin, iii., 66 *sq.*
- Marcellinus**, Roman general, rules in Dalmatia, iv., 27 *sq.*; acknowledges and assists Anthemius, 37; expels the Vandals from Sardinia, *ib.*; flight to Sicily, 40; death, *ib. note*.
- Marcellus**, Bishop of Apamea, destroys the temples, iii., 207 *sq.*
- Marcellus**, Bishop of Rome, ii., 139 and *note*.
- Marcellus Epirus**, i., 89 *note*.
- Marcellus**, general of the cavalry in Gaul, ii., 298, 294 *note*; son of, executed, 450.
- Marcellus**, conspirator against Justinian, iv., 457.
- Marcellus of Ancyra**, ii., 370 and *note*.
- Marcellus**, centurion, ii., 128.
- March**, Spanish, instituted by Charlemagne, v., 307.
- Marcia**, concubine of Commodus, i., 100, 105; ii., 117.
- Marcian**, conspires against Gallienus, i., 305.
- Marcian** (Emperor), iii., 406; marries Pulcheria, 470; education and character, 470 and *note*; his dream before the death of Attila, 501; acknowledges Avitus, iv., 10 and *note*; death, 81.
- Marcian** (or Black) Forest, ii., 434 and *note*.
- Marcianopolis**, siege of, by the Goths, i., 265 and *note*; camp of Valens at, iii., 64; revolt of the Goths at, 104; Attila defeats the Romans at, 449; position of, vi., 167 *note*.
- Marcilian fountain**, fair at the, iv., 205.
- Marcion**, ii., 52 and *note*.
- Marcionites**, gnostic sect, ii., 15, 86; persecuted, 351; *phantastic* system of, v., 107; in Arabia, 354; remnant of, in fifth century, vi., 116.
- Marco Polo**, visits the court of the great Khan, vii., 6 *note*.
- Maroomanni**, i., 254 and *note*.
- Maroomir**, Frankish king, iii., 283.
- Marcus**, *see also* Mark.
- Marcus**, Bishop of the Nazarenes, ii., 10.
- Marcus** (deacon), his Life of Porphyry, iii., 403 *note*.
- Marcus** (Emperor), in Britain, iii., 287 and *note*.
- Marcus Græcus**, on Greek fire, vi., 11 *note*.
- Mardaites** or Maronites of Mount Libanus, v., 167 *sq.*; reconciled to

- the Latin churches, 167 and *note* ;
attack Damascus, vi., 4 ; in the
Greek navy, 97.
- Mardavige, the Dilemite, v., 519 *note*.
- Mardia, battle of, i., 465.
- Mardin (Merdin), taken by the Persians,
v., 74 *note*.
- Mardonius the eunuch, ii., 457 *note*.
- Margaret, daughter of Catherine of
Valois, vi., 462 *note*.
- Margaret of Hungary, wife of Isaac
Angelus, vi., 393 *note*, 435 *note*.
- Margensis, or Upper Moesia, i., 376 *note*.
- Margus, battle between Carinus and
Diocletian at, i., 376 and *note*, 470 ;
magazine of arms at, iii., 261 ;
meeting between Attila and Bleda,
and the ambassadors of Theodosius,
442 ; Bishop of, treats with the
Huns, 448 ; battle between Theo-
doric the Ostrogoth and the Romans,
iv., 198.
- Maria, daughter of Emperor Manuel,
wife of Reinier of Montferrat, vi.,
404 *note*.
- Maria, daughter of Emperor Maurice,
v., 56 *note*.
- Maria, daughter of Eudæmon the Car-
thaginian, iii., 486.
- Maria, daughter of Isaac Comnenus, v.,
236.
- Maria, daughter of Michael Palæologus,
marries Noga the Mongol, vii., 22.
- Maria, daughter of Theodore Lascaris,
vi., 478 *note*.
- Maria, sister of Alexius II., v., 253.
- Maria, widow of Amurath II., vii., 163
and *note* ; retires to a convent, 163.
- Maria, widow of Manuel Comnenus, v.,
247 ; regent, 253 ; death, 255.
- Maria, wife of Constantine VI., v., 202
note.
- Maria, wife of Honorius, iii., 296.
- Mariaba or Merab, i., 2 *note*.
- Mariana, i., 241 ; his History of Spain,
v., 502 *note*.
- Marina, daughter of Arcadius, iii., 406.
- Marino, nobles gather at, against Rienzi,
vii., 283.
- Marinus, elected emperor by the Mosian
legions, i., 257 ; murder of, *ib.*
- Marinus, Prætorian præfect, iv., 259
note.
- Marius Maximus (historian), iii., 317 and
note.
- Marius of Aventicum, account of the
Burgundian war, iv., 121 *note*.
- Marius, Tone of the Thirty Tyrants, i.,
297 *sq.*, 323.
- Marius, Villa of, iv., 57.
- Mark Antony, ii., 540 *note* ; removes the
Pergamene library to Alexandria
iii., 210 *note*.
- Mark, Bishop of Arethusa, ii., 262 and
persecution of, 490 *sq.*
- Mark, Bishop of Ephesus, at Council of
Florence, vii., 114 ; opposes union
of the churches, 116 ; death, 142.
- Mark I., of Alexandria, v., 188 *note*.
- Markesina, the, mistress of John Vatatzes,
vi., 477 *note*.
- Markland, Jeremiah, vii., 131 *note*.
- Marlborough, battle of, iv., 160 and *note*.
- Marmol, his description of Africa, v.,
489 *note*.
- Maroboduus, King of the Marcomanni,
i., 254 *note*, 356 *note*.
- Maroe, name for the Savus (river), v.,
286 *note*.
- Maron, a Syrian saint, account of, v.,
166.
- Maronga, battle at, ii., 539.
- Maronites, *see* Mardaites.
- Marozia, Roman courtesan, v., 307, 357.
- Marriage, of the Visigoths, iii., 354 and
of the Lombards, 354 *note* ; law
of Majorian concerning, iv., 12.
Roman and Byzantine laws of, 57
sqq. ; of the Cæsars, vi., 90 *sq.*
- Marsa, widow at Constantinople, per-
secutes Chrysostom, iii., 396 *note*.
- Marsala, built on site of Lilybæum, v.,
40 *note*.
- Marseilles, siege of, by Constantine, i.,
442 ; taken by Euric, iv., 108 ; pro-
vince of, ceded to the Ostrogoths,
118 *note* ; resigned to the Franks,
128 and *note* ; conquered by Theo-
doric, 199 ; port for Avignon, vi.,
276 *note*, 292.
- Marsham, Sir John, on Islam, v., 37
note.
- Marsi, i., 23.
- Marsigli, Count, his Military State of the
Ottoman Empire, vii., 180 *note*.
- Marsyas and Meander, rivers of Phrygia,
iii., 387 and *note*.
- Martel, *see* Charles Martel.
- Martialis, assassinates Caracalla, i., 157.
- Martial, on Ravenna, iii., 274 *note*.
- Martin, abbot, pilgrimage of, vi., 47
note ; in Palestine, 405 *note* ; picture
robbery of, 429 *note*.
- Martin, brings Sclavonians and Huns to
siege of Rome, iv., 344.
- Martin I. (Pope), presided at the Lateran
Council, v., 151 ; exile, 151 and
276.
- Martin IV. (Pope), excludes Michael
VIII. from Latin Church, vi., 463.

- French Pope, 497; made senator, vii., 242.
- Martin V. (Pope), vii., 101, 104; election of, 301; medals of, *ib.* and *note*; restoration of Rome under, 386.
- Martin, St., Bishop of Tours, ii., 334 *note*; toleration of, iii., 163; miraculous gifts of, *ib.* and *note*; destroyed the pagan temples, 207 and *note*; founds monasticism in Gaul, iv., 66; life of, *ib.* *note*; miraculous shrine, 101, 116; miracles of, 141 *note*.
- Martin, Vice-Prefect of Britain, ii., 258.
- Martina, wife of Heraclius, v., 82; assumes the purple, 185; disgrace and exile, 187.
- Martinianus, named Cæsar by Licinius, i., 474 and *note*.
- Martius, Galeotus, on Matthias Corvinus, vii., 156 *note*.
- Martyrdom, criteria of, ii., 105.
- Martyropolis, siege of, iv., 275; restored, v., 55; taken by Persians, 74 *note*.
- Martyrs, primitive, legends of, ii., 102; honours paid to, 111; under Diocletian, 124; number of, 146; worship of, iii., 219 *sq.*; fabulous, 221.
- Maru, city of Khorasan, destroyed by Zingis, iii., 452; tomb of Alp Arslan at, vi., 253.
- Marwān, caliph, *see* Mervan.
- Mary, an Egyptian captive, v., 402 *note*, 404.
- Mary, daughter of Conrad of Montferrat, vi., 451.
- Mary, Queen of Bulgaria, vi., 494.
- Mary, Virgin, worship of, by the Latin Church, v., 162; Christians of St. Thomas object to image of, *ib.*; worshipped as a goddess by the Collyridians, 361; doctrine of immaculate conception of, borrowed from the Koran, 364 and *note*.
- Masada, town near the Dead Sea mentioned by Pliny, iv., 64 *note*.
- Mascezel, brother of Gildo, commands troops against Gildo, iii., 247 and *note*; his victory, 249; death, 250 and *note*.
- Mascon on Roman law, iv., 489 *note*.
- Massagetæ, invade Persia, ii., 244 and *note*; sail for Africa, iv., 295.
- Massoud (Masūd), son of Mahmūd the Gaznevide, vi., 240.
- Master-General, of cavalry and infantry, *see* Magister militum.
- Master of the Offices, *see* Magister officiorum.
- Maternus, insurrection of, against Commodus, i., 97.
- Maternus, Julius Firmicus, on idolatry, iii., 198 *note*; his Cato, 322 *note*.
- Mathasuintha, iv., 853 *note*; mother of Germanus, 856 *note*.
- Mathematics, study of, by the Arabs, vi., 81 and *note*.
- Mathilda, Countess, vi., 271.
- Matthew of Montmorency, vi., 395; at passage of the Bosphorus, 409; ambassador to the emperor, 414.
- Matthew, St., Hebrew gospel of, ii., 60 *note*; v., 105 *note*.
- Matthias Corvinus, *see* Corvinus.
- Mattiaci, i., 357 *note*.
- Mattiarii, iii., 117.
- Ma Tuan-lin, Chinese book, iv., 245 *note*.
- Maundrell, his account of march of the Franks, vi., 321 *note*, 322 *note*.
- Maurenahar, name for Transoxiana, *see* Mā-warā-l-nahr.
- Maurice (Emperor), Strategikon of, iv., 371 *note*; commands the confederates, v., 20 and *note*; reign, 21 *sqq.*; policy of, 21 *note*; Persian war, 22; receives embassy of Chosroes, 58; wars against the Avars, 61; his books on military art, 68 *note*; flight, 66; execution, 67; Life of, 72 *note*; pretended son of, 74 and *note*.
- Mauringania, supposed seat of the Franks, i., 274 *note*.
- Mauritania Cæsariensis and Tingitana, i., 28 and *note*, *sq.*; Genserik in, iii., 425; relinquished to the empire by Genserik, 483; ravaged by Genserik, iv., 25; *Gaditana*, 815 *note*; *Tingitana*, conquered by Akbah, v., 494.
- Mauritanian Sifti, province of, iv., 318.
- Maurontius, Duke of Marseilles, vi., 18 *note*.
- Maurus, iii., 114 *note*; betrays pass of Succi to the Goths, 121.
- Mausoleum (Rome), i., 48 *note*.
- Mavia, reign of, v., 342 *note*.
- Mā-warā-l-nahr, Transoxiana, iii., 91 *note*; vii., 11 *note*.
- Maxentius, son of Maximian, revolt of, i., 428; declared emperor at Rome, 434 *sq.* and *note*; excluded from the succession by Congress of Carnuntum, 439 *note*; opposes Galerius in Italy, 439; one of the six emperors, 440; tyranny of, 445 *sq.* and *note*; civil war with Constantine, 447 *sqq.*; leaves Rome, 454; defeated by Constantine at Saxa Rubra, 455; death, *ib.*; protected the Christians, ii., 139.

- Maximian, colleague of Diocletian, i., 354, 378; emperor, 379 and *note*; provinces ruled by, 382 and *note*; defeats the Bagaudæ, 383 *sq.*; wars of, 385 *sqq.*; triumph of, 406; abdicates, at Milan, 417; reassumes the purple, 442 and *note*; takes Arles, *ib.*; death, *ib.* and *note*; persecutes the Christians, ii., 127, 138.
- Maximianists, Donatist sect, ii., 355.
- Maximilianus, martyr, ii., 128.
- Maximin, courtier of Constantinople, his embassy to Attila, iii., 459; account of, *ib.* *note*; interview with the ministers of Attila, 460; returns to Constantinople, 467.
- Maximin (Emperor), origin and reign, i., 183 *sqq.*; character of, 186 and *note*; marches into Italy, 198; death, 200; portrait of, *ib.*
- Maximin [Galerius Valerius Maximinus] (Daza), Cæsar, i., 427; emperor, 440; divides the empire with Licinius, 444; allies himself with Maxentius, *ib.*; takes Byzantium, 459; death, 460; conduct towards Valeria, 461 *sq.*; towards the Christians, ii., 119, 142.
- Maximin, Prefect of Gaul, iii., 21; tyranny of, 66.
- Maximinianopolis, *see* Messinople.
- Maximus (Abbot), opponent of monotheism, v., 151 and *note*; protected by Prefect Gregory, 490 *note*.
- Maximus, Emperor with Balbinus, i., 195; reign, *ib.* *sqq.*; death, 203.
- Maximus, friend and rival of Gregory Nazianzen, iii., 158 and *note*.
- Maximus, made emperor in Spain by Gerontius, iii., 359; death, 360.
- Maximus, Marius (historian), iii., 317 and *note*.
- Maximus, military Governor of Thrace with Lupicinus, iii., 102 *sq.*
- Maximus, Petronius, Senator of the Anician family, iii., 505; procures the death of Valentinian, *ib.*; character of, iv., 2; epistle of Sidonius on, *ib.* *note*; made emperor, 3; marries Eudoxia, 4; death, 5.
- Maximus, revolt of, in Britain, iii., 143 *sq.*; invades Gaul, 144; persecutes the Priscillianists, 161 *sq.*; invades Italy, 169 *sqq.*; defeat and death, 173.
- Maximus, Roman Patrician, iv., 431.
- Maximus, the Platonist, ii., 464; at the court of Julian, 475 and *note*; at Julian's deathbed, 544; on Valentinian, iii., 8 *note*; charged with magic, 19 *note*; metaphysics of, v., 106 *note*.
- Mazanderân, Princes of, v., 418 *note*.
- Mazara, Euphemius lands at, vi., 41
- physician of, at the court of Roger of Sicily, 200.
- Mazdak, the Persian Archimagus, iv., 383 and *note*, *sq.*
- Mazdakites, massacre of, iv., 385 *note*.
- Mead, Dr., on the plague, iv., 468 *note*.
- Mebodes, general of Chosroes I., iv., 385 death, *ib.*
- Mebodes, general of Chosroes II., v., 54
- Mecca, v., 388 and *note*; Caaba at, 350 besieged by Abraham, 355 *sq.*; flight of Mahomet from, 378; the kebl of prayer, 388; taken by Mahomet, 390 *sq.*; Christians excluded from, 392 and *note*; college at, 524 *note* pillaged by Abu Taher, vi., 52
- Malek Shah at, 255; acknowledge Saladin, 355; threatened by Reginald of Chatillon, 358.
- Medals, *see* Coins.
- Media, Persian province, invites Tadjan, i., 7; vizier of, appointed by Nushirvan, iv., 385.
- Mediana, Castle of, iii., 11.
- Medicine, science of, among the Arabs, vi., 83.
- Medicis, Cosmo of, vii., 134.
- Medicis, Lorenzo of, learning of, vi., 134.
- Medîna, residence of Mahomet, v., 381 and *note*; under Scythian conquest, 340; Mahomet made Prince of, 340 *sq.*; siege of, by Abu Sofyan, 340 death and burial of Mahomet, 399; acknowledges Saladin, vi., 35
- Mediomatrici, iii., 61 *note*.
- Mediterranean Sea, included in Roman Empire, i., 29.
- Megalesia, Roman festival, i., 98 *note*.
- Mekrân conquered by the Saracens, 440 *note*.
- Melania, St., iii., 313 *note*; general to the monks, iv., 75.
- Melanthius, iv., 455 and *note*.
- Melchites or royalists, eastern names Catholics, v., 158 *sq.* and *note*; Paphlagonia put Xenias to death, 163; in Egypt, under the Arabs, 481, 522.
- Meletians, sect of, ii., 386 and *note*.
- Meletius, Bishop of Antioch, ii., 157 and *note*; his death, 157 and *note*; persuades Chrysostom to enter the Church, 395.
- Melisenda, daughter of Baldwin II., 357.

- Melissenus pretender, vi., 259.
- Melitene, restored by Justinian, iv., 273; battle of, v., 44; destruction of, 45 and *note*; won from the Saracens by Constantine V., 199 *note*.
- Mellobaudes, Count of the Domestics and King of the Franks, iii., 112. *See* Mirobaudes.
- Melo of Bari, vi., 182.
- Melos, isle of, taken by the Venetians, vi., 435 *note*; alum mines in, vii., 78 *note*.
- Melphi, metropolis of the Normans in Apulia, vi., 185 *note, sq.*; synod of, 194.
- Membressa, in Africa, iv., 417 *note*.
- Memnon, Bishop of Ephesus, v., 122; degraded by the Oriental synod, 124.
- Memory, temple of, at Carthage, iii., 858.
- Memphis, taken by the Saracens, v., 475 *sq.* and *notes*.
- Menander (comic poet), last plays of, vi., 111 *note*; "whom the gods love die young," quoted, vii., 294 *note*.
- Menander (historian), extracts of, iv., 382 *note*; embassies of, v., 42 *note*.
- Menbigz, bridge of, over the Euphrates, ii., 515 *note*.
- Menelaus, archer, ii., 254 *note*.
- Mengo, Timour, Khan of Kipsak, vii., 22.
- Menophilus, i., 199.
- Mensurius, Bishop of Carthage, ii., 189.
- Mentesia, lord of, submits to Orohan, vii., 27 *note*.
- Mentz (Mainz), destroyed by the Germans, iii., 285; pillaged by the Franks, 480; massacre of Jews at, vi., 285; story of its foundation, vii., 261 *note*.
- Mequines, i., 28.
- Merab, in Arabia Felix, reservoir at, v., 338 and *note*.
- Meranes or Mirranes, Persian title, ii., 539, 542.
- Mercury, promontory of, *see* Bona.
- Merdasa (Merdansâh), son of Chosroes, v., 98, 99 *note*.
- Merians, Russian tribe, vi., 157 *note*.
- Merida (Emerita), iii., 364; defeat of Hermanric at, 426; Theodoric at, iv., 11; siege of, 100; taken by the Saracens, v., 509 *sq.*
- Merioneth, archers of, iv., 168.
- Mermeroes, Persian general in the Lasic war, iv., 407.
- Merobaudes, poet of the fifth century, panegyric of Aetius, iii., 473 *note*.
- Merobaudes (*wrongly called* Mellobaudes), general saves Romanus from justice, iii., 58 and *note*; with Equitius elevates Valentinian II., 71; death, 146.
- Meroliac (castle), taken by Theodoric, iv., 145; position of, *ib. note*.
- Merou, revolts from Yazdegerd, v., 439; taken by Zingis, vii., 9.
- Meroveus, younger son of Clodion, seeks protection of Rome, iii., 480 and *note*.
- Merovingian Kings of the Franks, iii., 478 and *note*; coinage of, iv., 129 and *note*; laws of, 181 *sqq.*; domains of, 140; palaces of, *ib.*; survival in Aquitain, v., 306; last kings, vi., 13 *sq.*
- Merseburg, vi., 151 and *note*.
- Mervan, last Omayyad, caliph, vi., 21 and *note*; death at Busiris, 22.
- Merv, taken by the Saracens, v., 436 *note*.
- Merv-er-Rûd, Yazdegerd at, v., 435 *note*; taken by the Saracens, 36.
- Mesebroch (Merseburg), vi., 286 *note*.
- Mesembria, battle of, vi., 140 *note*; town of, captured by Krum, *ib.*; taken by the Turks, vii., 179.
- Mesene, island of, siege of, i., 220 *note*.
- Meshed Ali, city of, v., 413 *note*.
- Meshed Hosein, city of, v., 413 *note*.
- Mesopotamia, subdued by Trajan, i., 7; resigned by Hadrian, 8; ravaged by Carus, 366; Galerius defeated in, 398; ceded to the empire, 404; invaded by Sapor, ii., 239, 283 *sqq.*; Julian in, 520; towns of, fortified by Justinian, iv., 274.
- Mesrobes, inventor of Armenian alphabet, iii., 414 *note*.
- Messalla, Governor of Pannonia, saves Constantia, iii., 67.
- Messalla Valerius, first præfect of Rome, ii., 178 and *note*.
- Messiah, *see* Christ.
- Messina, Straits of, iii., 351; capture of town of, by the Normans, vi., 185; Roger the Norman at, 199 and *note*; etymology of name, 200 *note*.
- Messinople or Maximianopolis, fief of Villehardouin, vi., 446 *note*.
- Messius Decius, Q. Herennius Etruscus, son of the Emperor Decius, i., 258 *note*.
- Messius Quintus, C. Valens Hostilianus, son of the Emperor Decius, i., 258 *note*.
- Mesua, Arabian physician, vi., 33.
- Metaurus, river, i., 320 *note*.

- Metelli, consulships of the, i., 171 *note* ; ii., 174 *note*.
 Metellus, iii., 51.
 Metellus Numidicus, on women, i., 163 *note*.
 Metempsychosis, vi., 358 *note*.
 Meteorion, in Asia Minor, vi., 485 *note*.
 Methodius, Bishop of Tyre, ii., 40 *note*.
 Methone or Modon, iii., 72 *note* ; iv., 184 *note*.
 Metius Falconius, i., 345.
 Metrodorus, the grammarian, iv., 259.
 Metrophanes, Patriarch of Constantinople, vii., 142.
 Metropolitans, Spanish, preside at the legislative assemblies, iv., 153.
 Metz, destruction of, by Attila, iii., 484 and *note*.
 Meursius, treatise on Rhodes, v., 472 *note*.
 Michael Angelo, vii., 337.
 Michael, Archbishop of Athens (Akominatos), vi., 485 *note* ; defends the Acropolis, 436 *note*, 505 *note*.
 Michael Catharus, grandson of Andronicus the Elder, vi., 513 *note*.
 Michael Doceanus, Catepan, vi., 185 *note*.
 Michael I. (Angelus), despot of Epirus, vi., 439 and *note*.
 Michael II., despot of Epirus, son of Michael I., vi., 458 *note* ; war with Theodore Lascaris, 478 *note*.
 Michael I., Rhangabe (Emperor), elected, v., 205 ; reign of, 205 ; superstition of, 297 ; persecutes the Paulicians, vi., 123.
 Michael II. (Emperor), revolts against Leo, v., 206 *sq.* ; reign of, 208 *sq.* ; letter to Louis the Pious, 209 *note* ; Crete and Sicily lost under, vi., 38.
 Michael III. (Emperor), v., 212 *sqq.* ; campaign against the Paulicians, vi., 124.
 Michael IV., the Paphlagonian (Emperor), v., 232 and *note*.
 Michael V., Calaphates (Emperor), v., 238 *sq.*.
 Michael VI., Stratioticus (Emperor), v., 234 *sq.*.
 Michael VII., Parapinaces (Emperor), v., 237 *sq.* ; made Archbishop of Ephesus, v., 239 *note*.
 Michael VIII., Palæologus, reign, vi., 458 *sq.* ; recovers Constantinople, 459 *sqq.* and *note* ; campaign of, in Epirus, 478 *note* ; his family and character, 480 *sqq.* ; his elevation, 482 *sq.* ; entry into Constantinople, 484 ; blinds John Lascaris, 487 ; excommunicated by Arsenius, 488 ; absolved by Joseph, 489 ; union of with the Latin Church, 491 ; releases Villehardouin, *ib.* *note* ; sends an embassy to Council of Lyons, 491 ; persecutes the Greeks, 493 *sq.* ; poverty of, 502 *note* ; restored the navy, 531 ; Golden Bull to Genoa, 532 *note* ; surprised by the Tatars vii., 22.
 Michael IX., defeated by the Catalans, vi., 503 ; associated in the empire, 511 and *note* ; death, *ib.*
 Michael, pretender, acknowledged by Robert Guiscard, vi., 202 ; death at Durazzo, 209.
 Michael the Janissary, vii., 192 *note*.
 Michael the Syrian, v., 18 *note*.
 Middleton, Dr., his Free Inquiry, i., 31 *note* ; on paganism, iii., 2 *note*.
 Milan, Duke of, opposes Eugenius IV, vii., 106 ; troops of, before Ferni, 113.
 Milan, siege of, i., 305 ; imperial residence of Maximin, 408 ; edicts of, ii., 810 and *note*, 839, 840 and *note* ; council of, 393 *sq.* and *note* ; capital of Emperor of the West, iii., 12 ; Porcian Basilica at, 166 ; disorders at, 167 ; taken by Attila, 495 ; by the Goths, iv., 350 ; destroyed, 350 and *note* ; taken by Alboin, v., 11 ; by Frederic I., 324 ; rebuilt by Manuel, vi., 224.
 Miles, i., 13 *note*.
 Milesians, iii., 42 *note*.
 Military force of the Roman emperors, i., 9 *sq.* ; whole amount of, 20.
 Military officers, ii., 185.
 Millennium, doctrine of the, ii., 25 and *notes*.
 Millet, culture of, iv., 370 and *note*.
 Milo, trial of, iv., 539 *sq.*
 Milosh Obilic, Servian who stabbed Murad Sultan, vii., 34 *note*.
 Milton, ii., 4 *note* ; iv., 463 and *note*.
 Milvian Bridge, i., 124 *note* ; battle of, 455 *note* ; Vitiges at, iv., 334 and *note*.
 Mina, valley of, v., 351 ; Feast of Victims in, 370 *note*.
 Mincius, iii., 499.
 Minden, bishopric of, v., 306.
 Mineo, taken by the Saracens, vi., 1 *note*.
 Minervina, wife of Constantine, ii., 21 and *note*.
 Mines, use of, at siege of Constantinople, vii., 187 and *note*.

- Ming, Chinese dynasty of, vii., 21 *note*, 69.
- Mingrelia, *see* Lazica.
- Minorbino, a count of, vii., 286.
- Minorca, relics of St. Stephen at, iii., 224 *note*.
- Minority, Roman law distinguished two kinds, iii., 289 *note*.
- Mint, revolt of workers in, i., 887 *sq*.
- Minucius, Felix, ii., 81 *note*.
- Mirabilia Roma*, vii., 316 *note*.
- Miracles of the Primitive Church, ii., 80 *sqq.*; pagan writers omit to notice, 78; iii., 231 and *notes*; of the monks, iv., 80 *sq.*; of Mahomet, v., 867.
- Miran, Shah, son of Timour, vii., 74 *note*.
- Mirchond, his History of the East, v., 518 and *note*.
- Mirranes of Persia, iv., 292 and *note*.
- Mirtschea the Great, Prince of Walachia, at battle of Nicopolis, vii., 87 *note*.
- Mirza Mehmed Sultan, grandson of Bajazet, vii., 62.
- Miscareants, origin of word, vi., 807 and *note*.
- misenum, a naval station, i., 19; restored by Majorian, iv., 24; promontory of, 57.
- misitheus, minister of Gordian, i., 205 and *note*.
- misithra, Despotat of, province of the empire in fourteenth century, vi., 525 *note*.
- misnah, ii., 478.
- misopogon, Julian's, ii., 448 *note*, 444, 511 and *notes*.
- misrah, name of Memphis, v., 476.
- missionaries, Christian, ii., 61; amongst the Scythians, iii., 452 and *note*.
- Missorium, gold dish belonging to Torismund, King of the Goths, iii., 855.
- mistrianus, ambassador of Licinius, i., 466.
- mithras, i., 216; ii., 126 *note*; birthday of, iii., 227 *note*.
- mithreum, iii., 211 *note*.
- mithridates, i., 89; gold bust of, iii., 269 *note*; subdues Colchos, iv., 400.
- moawiya (caliph), subdues Persia and Yemen, v., 418; attempt on his life, *ib.*; reign, *ib. sq.*; sends forces to Africa, 498; his peace with the emperor, vi., 4.
- moawiya, Ibn Hudaii, general of the Caliph Moawiyah, v., 498 and *note*.
- mooculus, beacon of, v., 214 *note*.
- moctadi (Muktadi, caliph), marries the daughter of Malek Shah, vi., 257.
- moctador (Muktadir, caliph), vi., 25; defeated by the Carmathians, 58.
- Modain, v., 54; *see* Al Modain and Cresiphon.
- Modar, a Gothic prince, iii., 181.
- Modena and Parma, settlement of the Taifals in, iii., 114 and *note*; Attila at (?), 495; reduced by the Greeks, v., 23; threatened by the Hungarians, vi., 150.
- Moderator, name used by the Pope of the Greek emperor, vii., 89 and *note*.
- Modestinus, ii., 79 *note*; authority of, in jurisprudence, iv., 491.
- moetis, Lake, i., 848.
- Moesia, i., 24 *sq.*; legions of, elect Marinus, 257; invaded by the Goths, 265; regained by Claudius, 311; revolt of the Goths in, iii., 108 *sqq.*; Duke of, *see* Theodosius the Great; Theodoric in, iv., 187; *secunda*, 267 *note*.
- Moezaldowlat (Muizz ad-dawla), vi., 59.
- Moez, Fatimite caliph, v., 418.
- Mogan, plains of, Heraclius in, v., 88 and *note*.
- Moguls, great, i., 226 *note*; successors of Timour, vii., 74.
- Moguls, *see* Mongols.
- Moguntiacum (Mentz), taken by the Alemanni, iii., 86 and *note*.
- Mohadi or Mahdi, Abbasside caliph, sends expedition to the Thracian Bosphorus, vi., 86.
- Mohagerians, or fugitives of Mecca, v., 381 [Al-Muhajirun].
- Mohammad, *see* also Mahomet.
- Mohammad-al-Ikshid, founder of the Ikshidid dynasty, vi., 56 *note*.
- Mohammad I., Aghlabid (caliph), vi., 44 *note*.
- Mohammad Ibn Kāsim, conquests beyond the Indus, v., 440 *note*.
- Mohammad, Mameluke (Sultan, A.D. 1311-1341), vi., 377 *note*.
- Mohammad, son of Abbas, vi., 19.
- Mohammad, son of Abubekr, v., 489 *note*.
- Mohammad, son of Ismail, vi., 51 *note*.
- Mohammad, Sultan of Carizme, iii., 91 *note*; defeated by Zingis Khan, vii., 9; death, 10.
- mohtadi (Muhtadi) (caliph), vi., 60 *note*.
- Mokawkas, an Egyptian noble, v., 477 and *note*, 479.
- Moko, slave of the Topa princes, iii., 275.
- Mola, surrendered to the Saracens, v., 511.
- Moldavia, conquest of, by Bajazet, vii., 86 and *note*.

- Molinists, iii., 481 *note*.
 Momyllus, Greek corruption of Romulus, iv., 56.
 Monachus, George, iv., 258 *note*.
 Monaldeschi, L., Diary of, vii., 267 *note*, 811.
 Monarchianism, heresy of, ii., 367 *note*.
 Monarchy, i., 65.
 Monasticism, iv., 62 *sqq.*; in Egypt, 64; in Rome, 65; in Palestine, 66; in Gaul, 67; causes of the progress of, 67 *sq.*
 Moncada, de, History of the Catalans, vi., 504 *note*.
 Mondars, dynasty of, v., 429 and *note*.
 Money, use and value of, i., 238.
 Mongols or Moguls, their connection with the Tatars, iii., 74 *note*; barbarous maxims of war, 450 *sq.* and *notes*; conquests of, under Zingis, vii., 1-23; derivation of name, 3 *note*; division of empire of the, 27.
 Mongous, iii., 85 and *note*.
 Monks, their legends, ii., 102; of Egypt, 401; iv., 64; serve in the army, iii., 29; destroy pagan temples, 208; origin of, iv., 62 *sq.*; account of, 64 *sqq.*; obedience of, 70 *sq.*; dress and habitations, 71 *sq.*; diet, 72 *sq.*; labour, 74 *sq.*; riches, 75; solitude, 76; visions of, 77; two classes of, 78; miracles and worship of, 80 *sq.*; suppressed by Constantine V., v., 271 *sq.*; attitude of the Saracens to, 448; lay-monks, *ib.* *note*.
Monomachus, meaning of the name, v., 234 and *note*.
 Monophysite doctrine, v., 129; defined by Severus, 168.
 Monophysites, pillage Jerusalem, v., 135; history of, 141 *note*; massacre of, in Persia, 157.
 Monopolies, under Justinian, iv., 254.
 Monothelete controversy, v., 149 *sq.*; Greek patriarch a Monothelete, 522 *note*.
Monoxyla, or canoes, vi., 160.
 Monreal, *see* Montreal (Chevalier).
 Monstrelet, on siege of Constantinople, vii., 170 *note*.
 Montaigne, i., 289 *note*.
 Montanists, ii., 20 *note*; excommunicated, 55 *note*; on martyrdom, 118; persecution of, by Constantine, 351; in Phrygia, v., 143 and *note*.
 Montasser (caliph, Muntasir), vi., 49 *sq.*
 Monte Maggiore, battle of, between Normans and Greeks, vi., 186 *note*.
 Monte Majella, vii., 287 *note*.
 Monte Peloso, Norman victory at, v., 186 *note*.
 Montesquieu, i., 207; his *Sylla* and Eucrates, 198 *note*; on Roman military government, 207; on censorship, 267 *note*; on taxation, ii., 202 and *note*; criticised by Baynal, 414 and *note*; on decline of the empire, 414; on English laws, *ib.* *note*; on revolutions of Asia, ii., 79 *note*; on the Goths, 139 *note*; on Armoria, 372 *note*; proper history of Theodorice, iv., 193 *note*; on secret history of Procopius, 266 *note*; on crime, 537 and *note*; on climate, vii., 219 *note*; on a passage of Florus, 426 *note*.
 Montfaucon, Father, edition of St. Chrysostom, iii., 378 *note*, 396 *note*; on the Coliseum, vii., 333 *note*; visits to antiquities of Rome, *ib.* *note*.
 Montferrat, Marquis of, sends his daughter to Constantinople, v., 101.
 Montius, quaestor of the palace, ii., 2 and *note*, *sq.*
 Montreal (beyond Jordan), lordship of, vi., 331 *note*.
 Montreal, Chevalier, Italian freebooter, vii., 290 and *note*.
 Monumentum Ancyranum, i., 2 *note*.
 Monuments, Roman, i., 47 *sqq.*
 Monza, Palace of, v., 29 *note*.
 Moors and Parthians, instructors of Commodus, i., 101.
 Moors, wars of Antoninus against the, i., 9 *note*; description of the, iii., 3 and *note*; preserved the Mahometan religion, 218 *note*; ally themselves with the Vandals, 426 and *note*; Gelimer among the, iv., 311 and *note*; origin and manners of, *ib.* and *note*; revolt from Justinian, 317; defeat of, 318; rebellion of, 419 *sq.*; conversion of, to Islam, v., 501.
 Mopsucrene, near Tarsus, death of Constantine at, ii., 489.
 Mopsuestia, in Cilicia, *Ætius* at, v., 396 *note*; siege of, by Andronicus, v., 248; by Phocas and Zimisces, vi., 61; taken by the crusaders, 810; restored to the empire, 317 *note*; name of, *ib.* *note*.
 Moravia, i., 254 *note*.
 Mordvans, religion of the, vii., 143 *note*.
 Morea, the, *see* Peloponnesus.

- Morging cup*, wedding gift of the Lombards, iii., 354 *note*.
- Morocco, i., 28.
- Morosini, Patriarch of Constantinople, vi., 433 and *note*.
- Morrah, district of, in fourteenth century, vi., 525 *note*.
- Mortgages, Roman laws concerning, iv., 526.
- Mortmain*, in Empire of Romania, vi., 447.
- Moscow, province of, vi., 157; city of, destroyed by Mongols, vii., 16 and *note*; burnt, A.D. 1382, 50 *note*; threatened by Timour, 51; taken by Tootamish, 52 *note*.
- Mosellama, a false Arabian prophet, v., 424 and *note*; death, 425.
- Moselle, iii., 35 and *note*.
- Moses of Chorene, ii., 240 *note*; Persian war described by, iii., 57 *note*; adventures of Para, 60 *note*; history of Armenia, 414 *note*.
- Moses, religion of, ii., 4 *sqq.*; did not teach immortality, 23; in the Koran, v., 363; laws of, compared with those of Mahomet, 383.
- Mosheim on Gnosticism, ii., 15 *note*; v., 104 *note*; on the Paulicians, vi., 116 *note*; on Arnold of Brescia, vii., 229 *note*.
- Moslemah, brother of Caliph Soliman, besieges Constantinople, vi., 7 *sqq.*; his retreat, 9.
- Moslim, or Musulman, meaning of, v., 360 *note*.
- Mostali, Caliph of Egypt, imprisons deputies of the crusaders, vi., 819.
- Mostarabes, *see* Mosarabes.
- Mostasem [Mustasim], last of the Abbasside caliphs, vi., 46 and *note*; death, 24 *note*, 49; brings Turks into Bagdad, *ib.*; put to death by Holagou, vii., 14.
- Mosthadi (Mustadi), caliph of Bagdad, acknowledged in Egypt, 358.
- Mosul, Heraclius at, v., 95 and *note*.
- Motadhed (Mutadid, caliph), v., 522 and *note*.
- Motassem (Mutasim, caliph), "Ocotonary," war with Theophilus, vi., 46 *sqq.*
- Motawakkel (Mutawakkil, caliph), edicts of, v., 522 *note*; death of, vi., 50.
- Motas (caliph), vi., 50 *note*.
- Moulinet, metallic history of, vii., 300 *note*.
- Moulton, conquest of, by grandson of Timour, vii., 58.
- Mountain, Old Man of the, vii., 14.
- Mourzoufle, deposes Isaac Angelus, vi., 419; flight, 422; death, 437.
- Mousa, *see also* Mūsā.
- Mousa, son of Bajazet, King of Anatolia, vii., 64; flight of, and defeat by Mahomet, 76; death, 77.
- Mousa Cassem, descendant of Ali, v., 418 *note*.
- Moxoene, province of, i., 404 and *note*.
- Moyle, Mr., i., 214 *note*; on Roman religious colleges, iii., 199 *note*.
- Mozarabes of Spain and Africa, v., 521 and *note*.
- Mucaper, assassinate Aurelian, i., 340.
- Mucii, family of, iv., 485.
- Muesin* (crier), vii., 207.
- Mugello, battle of, iv., 428 and *note*.
- Muhallab advances to the Indus, v., 440 *note*.
- Mukan, iv., 381 *note*.
- Muizz ad-dawla, in Irak, A.D. 932, vi., 57 *note*; *see* Moesaldowlat.
- Muizz ben Badis, Zayrid, Sultan of Tunis, vi., 184 *note*.
- Multan on the Hyphasis, siege of, by the Saracens, v., 440 *note*; taken by Mahmud, vi., 235.
- Mulucha, river, i., 28 *note*.
- Mummius, iii., 257 *note*.
- Mummolus, last governor of Burgundy, iv., 149 and *note*.
- Mundus, quells tumult at Constantinople, iv., 241.
- Mundzuk, father of Attila, iii., 442.
- Municipal cities, Italian, i., 39, 40 and *note*; under Hadrian, *ib.*; under the Antonines, *ib.*
- Munster, bishopric of, v., 808.
- Muntaner, Ramon de, historian of the Catalans, vi., 504 *note*.
- Munuza, (or Abu Nesa), rebel Moor, vi., 15.
- Muratori, Italian annalist, i., 198 *notes*; on Eudoxia and the Vandals, iv., 4 *note*; his Script. Rer. Ital. vii., 226 *note*; on decline of imperial power in Italy, 246 *note*; account of his works, 311; biographies of, 312.
- Murcia, Saracens at, v., 514.
- Murci, ii., 192 and *note*.
- Murder under the Merovingians, iv., 132 *sq.*; under Charlemagne, 135; Roman law concerning, 529.
- Muromians, Russian tribe, vi., 157 *note*.
- Murom, town of, vi., 157 *note*.
- Murra, *see* Porcelain.
- Mursa, or Essek, battle of, ii., 253 and *note*.
- Mursa, Tatar chiefs so called, iii., 92.

- Murtadi of Cairo, v., 484 *note*, 486 *note*.
 Mūsā, *see also* Mousa.
 Mūsā [ibn Nusair] the Saracen, defeats the Greeks at Utica, v., 498; converts the Africans, 501; date of, 500 *note*; conquers Spain, 509 *sqq.*, 510 *note*; disgrace and death, 513; legends concerning, 514.
 Mūsā, last of the Holagou dynasty, vii., 48 *note*.
 Musailima, *see* Moseilima.
 Music, under the Romans, iii., 317 *sq.*
 Musonian, Prætorian præfect, ii., 281.
 Mustapha, reputed son of Bajazet, vii., 75; imprisonment and release of, 80; dismisses ambassadors of Manuel, 80.
 Muta, battle of, v., 395.
 Muzalon, George, great domestic, vi., 479; death of, 480.
 Mycenæ, ii., 453.
 Mycone, Isle of, taken by the Venetians, vi., 435 *note*.
 Mygdonius, river, i., 404; ii., 243 and *note*.
 Myos Hormos, trading port on the Red Sea, i., 59.
 Myriandrion, part of wall of Constantinople, vii., 180 *note*.
 Myron, heifer of, at Rome, iv., 204 and *note*.
 Mythology, Pagan, i., 82 and *note*.
 NABAL, father of Firmus, iii., 50; discord in the house of, 247 *sq.*
 Nabathæan, Syriac dialect, v., 154 *note*.
 Nabathæan Arabs oppose Antigonus, v., 340 *note*.
 Nacolia, battle of, iii., 16 and *note*.
 Nacoragan, Persian general in the Lazic war, iv., 407; death of, 408.
 Nadhirites, Jewish tribe of [Banu Nadir], v., 388.
 Nadir Shah, v., 409 *note*; enriches tomb of Ali, 413 *note*.
 Nahar Malcha, canal of the Tigris, ii., 530 and *note*.
 Naniens, iii., 112.
 Nairs, or nobles of Malabar, v., 161.
 Naissus, birthplace of Constantine, i., 428; Julian at, ii., 437; magazine of arms at, iii., 261; included in Attila's dominion, 455; embassy to Attila arrive at, 460.
 Nakitchevan, destroyed by Heraclius, v., 87 *note*.
 Nantes, siege of, by Clovis, iv., 112 *note*; subdued by the Britons of Armorica, 161.
 Naples, kingdom of, fief of the Holy See, vi., 191.
 Naples, town of, buildings of Theodorice at, iv., 206; Greek language spoken at, 329 and *note*; taken by Belisarius, 330; taken by Totila, 423; dukes of, v., 25.
 Napoli di Romania, or Nauplia, vi., 43 and *note*.
 Naptha, vi., 10 and *note*.
 Narbonne, besieged by the Visigoths, iii., 476; marriage of Placidia and Adolphus at, 354; palace of, 354; column of Musa at, v., 511; conquered by the Saracens, vi., 14 and *note*; recovered by Pepin, 18 *note*.
 Narbonne (Narona) in Illyricum, i., 35 *note*.
 Narbonne, province of, i., 22; First and Second Narbonnese, two of the seven provinces, iii., 376 *note*.
 Nardini, topographer, vii., 337 *note*.
 Narisci, i., 253 and *note*.
 Narni, Galerius at, i., 437; saved from Alaric, iii., 304; rock of, iv., 334; taken by Belisarius, 345.
 Narses, King of Persia, war with Rome, i., 398 and *note*; flight, 400; receives the ambassadors of the emperor at Media, 403; treaty with Rome, 444.
 Narses, Persian ambassador of Sapor ii., 281.
 Narses, Persian general of the Emperor Maurice, restores Chosroes, v., 1 and *note*; revolt and death of, 73.
 Narses, the eunuch, iv., 348; opposes Belisarius, 349 *sq.*; recall of, 350; character and expedition of, 44; titles of, *ib. note*; marches to Ravenna, 442; defeats Totila, 440; takes Rome, 445 *sqq.*; his disaffection and death, v., 9 *sq.*
 Narshaki of Bokhara on the conquest of Transoxiana, v., 440 *note*.
 Nasr ibn Ahmad, founder of Samanid dynasty, vi., 56 *note*.
 Natanleod opposes Cerdic, iv., 162 and *note*.
 Nations, or Ditch, battle of the, i., 387.
 Naulobatus, chief of the Heruli, i., 25.
 Navigation, Roman, i., 56; iii., 373 and *note*; in fourteenth century, v., 276 *note*.
 Navy, Roman, i., 19, 20; stations of under Augustus, *ib.*; strength of, *ib.*; of the Greek emperors, v., 3 *sqq.*
 Naxos, Island of, taken by the Venetians, vi., 435 *note*.
 Nazarene church, at Jerusalem, ii., 9.
 Nazario, church of S., and S. Celso at Ravenna, Mausoleum of Placidia, iii., 503 *note*.

Nazarius, oration of, i., 468 *note*; account of, Constantine's dream, ii., 822 and *note*.

Nazianzus, church of, ii., 504 *note*; site of, iii., 152 and *note*.

Neapolis, *see* Sichem.

Nebrius, Prætorian præfect in Gaul, quaestor of the palace, ii., 265 *note*, 433 and *note*.

Necho, King of Egypt, constructs canal, v., 485 *note*.

Nectarius, successor of Gregory at Constantinople, iii., 158 and *note*, 894.

Neged, district of Arabia, v., 885.

Negra, city of Yemen, iv., 412 and *note*.

Negroes, African, iii., 55 and *note*.

Negroponte, derivation of, vi., 406 *note*.

Negus of Abyssinia, iv., 412, 418.

Nehavend, battle of, v., 885 and *note*.

Neisabour, *see* Nishabur.

Nemausus, taken by the Saracens, vi., 14 *note*.

Nemesianus, i., 835 *note*, 873 *note*.

Nennius, iv., 155.

Neo-Cæsarea, retreat of St. Basil near, iv., 66 *note*.

Neoplatras, in Thessaly, vi., 506.

Neo-Platonists, i., 423; ii., 127; suppressed at Athens, iv., 282 *sq.*

Nepos, Julius, Emperor of the West, iv., 50; makes Eodicius patrician, *ib. note*; flight and death, 51; sends Epiphanius to the Visigoths, 50 *note*.

Nepotian, nephew of Constantine, ii., 256.

Nepotianus (consul), i., 432 *note*; ii., 218.

Nepthalites (Ephthalites), or White Huns, *see* Euthalites.

Nero, Emperor, i., 80, 101, 108 *note*; conspiracy against, 78; character of, 87; desires to abolish taxes, 178; said to have burned Rome, ii., 89 *sq.*; introduces musical contest at Olympia, vii., 267 *note*; fire in his reign, 318 and *note*.

Nerva, Emperor, i., 82; administration of, ii., 98.

Neshri, Ottoman historian, vii., 68 *note*.

Nestor, Russian chronicle ascribed to, vi., 154 *note*.

Nestorian heresy, suppressed by Pulcheria, iii., 407; controversy in the East, iv., 105.

Nestorians, opinions of the, v., 155 *sqq.*; school of, at Edessa closed, 156; missions of the, in Tartary, India, China, 158; under the caliphs, 160; in Transoxiana, 441 *note*; friendly to the Mahometan government, 522.

Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople,

v., 118, 118 *sqq.*; heresy of, 119 and *note*, 121 *note*; condemned by the Council of Ephesus, 123; exile of, 127; death, 128.

Netad, battle of the, iii., 502; position of, *ib. note*.

Neuss, fortified by Julian, ii., 301 *note*; siege of, vii., 147 *note*.

Nevers, ii., 209 and *note*.

Nevigastes, general of Honorius, iii., 288.

Nevitta, general of Julian's cavalry, ii., 434; defends pass of Succia, 436, 447; consul, 451; in Mesopotamia, 519; at Maogamalcha, 525; faction of, after death of Julian, 545.

Newstadt, in Austria, defended by the Franks against the Tartars, vii., 18.

Newton, Sir Isaac, iv., 463; on corruption of the New Testament text, v., 111 *note*; chronological rule of, 256.

Neyss (Neisse), city in Silesia, v., 61.

Nicaea, *see* Nice.

Nice, in Bithynia, gymnasium and theatre at, i., 49 *note*; burnt by the Goths, 284; council of, ii., 348; emperor elected at, iii., 8; its canons, concerning synods, ii., 347 *note*; synod at, A.D. 451, v., 132; reduced by Andronicus, 256; second council favours image worship, 294; metropolis of the Obsequian theme, vi., 7 *note*; pillaged by the Paulicians, 125; Seljuk conquest of, 259 and *note*; capital of Roum, 260; crusaders near, 288; besieged by the crusaders, 306; taken by Alexius Comnenus, *ib.*; Conrad at, 343 *note*; Theodore Lascaris at, 438; empire of, *ib.*; panic of citizens of, caused by the Tartars, vii., 23; taken by the Turks, 27 and *note*; Mirza Mehemmed at, 68.

Nicephorium, or Callinicum, town of, Julian at, ii., 517; vi., 37 *note*; pillaged by the Carmathians, 52.

Nicephorus I. (Emperor of Constantinople), v., 7 *note*; character of, 204; financial administration of, *ib. note*; embassy of, to Charlemagne, 314; to Haroun al Rashid, vi., 37; clemency to the Paulicians, 123; slain by the Bulgarians, 189; expedition against the Bulgarians, 164 *note*; treaty of, with Bulgaria, 165 *note*; death of, *ib.*

Nicephorus II., Phocas (Emperor of Constantinople), character of, v., 226 and *note*; death, 227, 228; reduced Crete, 60; Eastern conquests, 60; fortifies Bagras, vi., 311 *note*.

- Nicephorus III., Botaniates (Emperor of Constantinople), revolt of, v., 289; interview with Alexius, 240; revolt of, vi., 259.
- Nicephorus Blennydes, his autobiography, vi., 475 *note*; his quarrel with Vataces, 477 *note*.
- Nicephorus Bryennius, revolt of, v., 238; vi., 259; vanquished, v., 240; history of, vi., 245 *note*.
- Nicephorus Callistus, Greek of the fourteenth century, account of the death of Theodosius, iii., 469 *note*.
- Nicephorus, son of Constantine Copronymus, v., 201 *sq*.
- Nicephorus Gregoras, historian, vi., 475 *note*, 511 and *note*, 526 *note*; on the Quietists, 530 *note*; on Cantacuzene, vii., 80 *note*, 140 *note*.
- Nicephorus Melissenus, rebellion of, v., 240.
- Nicephorus, son of Michael II. of Epirus, vi., 478 *note*.
- Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople, and chronicler, v., 204 *note*; abridgment of, 428 *note*.
- Nicephorus Xiphias, victory of, over the Bulgarians, vi., 142 *note*.
- Nicetas, son of Constantine V., v., 201.
- Nicetas, son of Gregory, lieutenant of Maurice, v., 71; marries daughter of Heraclius, 72; general against Persians, 75 *sq. notes*.
- Nicetas, a Greek general in tenth century, vii., 193 *note*.
- Nicetas, Choniates, historian, vi., 226 *note*; defends Philippopolis against the Franks, 341 *note*; on Isaac Angelus, 380 *note*, 418; on flight of the Greeks, 421; saved by a Venetian merchant, 423 and *note*; narrative of compared to Villehardouin, 425; misfortunes of, 425; *Ms. of*, in Oxford, 427.
- Nicotius, Bishop of Trèves, on baptism of Chlodwig, iv., 115 *note*; v., 149 *note*.
- Nicholas, Specialis, Sicilian writer, vi., 499 *note*.
- Nicholas, Cardinal, corrects text of the Latin Bible, iv., 96 *note*.
- Nicholas I. (Pope), his quarrel with Photius, vi., 884.
- Nicholas II. (Pope), makes Robert Guiscard duke of Apulia, vi., 194.
- Nicholas III., Marquis of Este, vii., 111 and *note*.
- Nicholas III. (Pope), vi., 497; enmity of, to Charles of Anjou, vii., 241; his Bull, *ib. note*.
- Nicholas IV. (Pope), vii., 261; [Uman] 263; his policy, 263 and *note*.
- Nicholas V. (Pope), vii., 183, 215; founds Vatican library, 133; fails to save the Greek emperor, 178; recognized by Greek Church, 183, 301; Rome restored under, 302.
- Nicholas Querini, Venetian, vi., 456.
- Nicodemus, body of, exhumed, iii., 222.
- Nicolaus Mysticus, Patriarch of Constantinople, v., 221 and *note*; vi., 14 *note*.
- Nicolo, S. di Lido, Island of, crusade imprisoned by the Venetians in, v., 402 *note*.
- Nicomedia, forum and aqueduct at, *ib. note*; taken by the Goths, 284, 285 residence of Maximian and Diocletian, 408; abdication of Diocletian, 417; Church of, burnt, 180; Palace of, burnt, 182; earthquake at, 382; pillaged by Paulicians, vi., 125; Seljuk conquest of, 260; crusaders at, 806; territory of, invaded by Othman, vii., 25.
- Nicon, St., Life of, vi., 60 *note*.
- Nicopolis, siege of, i., 265 and *note*; captured by Julian, ii., 452 *note*; captured to the Goths, iii., 181 and property of Paula, 309 and Goths at, iv., 488; battle of, between Turks and European allies, vii., 5.
- Nicosia, Cathedral of, vi., 830 *note*.
- Niebuhr, his work on Arabia, v., 4 *note*; his visit to Meahed Ali, *ib. note*, 419 *note*.
- Niger Pescennius, governor of Syria, Pescennius.
- Nika riots at Constantinople, iv., 2 *sqq.*; suppressed, 241.
- Nile, statue of, found at Rome, vii., 3.
- Nile, navigation of the, i., 361; iii., *note*; rising of the, v., 476 and *note*.
- Nilus, Patriarch, vii., 41 *note*.
- Nine, reverence of the Tartars for mysterious number, vii., 49 *note*.
- Nineveh, battle of, v., 95; circumference of, *ib. note*.
- Nini, battle of the river, v., 499 and *note*.
- Ninus, date of, i., 212 *note*.
- Nisabur, *see* Nishapur.
- Nisavi, secretary of Sultan Gelaeddin, vii., 5 *note*.
- Nishapur, royal city of the Seljuks, v., 241; palace at, 242; taken by Zingis, iii., 452; vii., 9.
- Nisibis, i., 206 *note*; capture of, by Avidius Cassius, 223 *note*; besieged by Sapor, 290; meeting of emperors at, 401, 403; siege of,

- Sapor, ii., 242; ceded by Jovian, 550; taken by Zimisceus, vi., 68.
- Nitria, desert of, iii., 29; tall brothers of, 398 *note*; anachorets of, iv., 66.
- Nitzsch, battle of, vii., 149.
- Nivernois, Duke of, on political system of Clovis, iv., 110 *note*.
- Nizām [al-Mulk], vizir, vi., 254; crimes and dismissal of, 256.
- Noah, a prophet, his place in the Koran, v., 363; seven precepts of, *ib. note*.
- Nobades or Nubians, i., 398; conversion of, v., 175 and *note*.
- Nobilissimus*, title of, ii., 225 and *note*.
- Nobles, Roman, wealth of the, iii., 308 *sq.* and *notes*; manners of, 310 and *notes*; character of, by Ammianus Marcellinus, 311 *sqq.* and *notes*.
- Nocera, in Apulia, Saracen colony at, vi., 231.
- Noga, Mongul chief, vii., 22.
- Nogaret, William of, minister of Philip the Fair, vii., 253.
- Nogent, near Soissons, battle of, iv., 111 *note*.
- Nohordates (Nohordares), ii., 542.
- Nola, retreat of Paulinus, iii., 264 *note*, 348; destroyed by Alaric, 349.
- Nolhac, P. de, vii., 124 *note*.
- Nolli, plan of Rome by, vii., 387 *note*.
- Nomius, ambassador of Theodosius to Attila, iii., 468.
- Nonnosus, ambassador of Justinian, iv., 412 *note*; his interview with the Negus, 413.
- Noodt, treatise on Aquilian law, iv., 528 *note*, 537 *note*.
- Noricum, i., 22.
- Normans or Northmen, vi., 154; invade Italy, 181; in Sicily, 184; in Apulia, 185; Italian conquests, 196; conquest of Sicily, 199; extinction of, 232; serve under Romanus, 248.
- Northern Sea (Baikal), iii., 86.
- Notaras, Lucas (Great Duke), vii., 167, 184; quarrels with Giustiniani, 194; his fate, 208 *sq.*
- Notoria*, official despatch, i., 307 *note*.
- Notitia Dignitatum*, ii., 168 and *note*, 190; *Urbis Romæ*, iii., 201 *note*; *Imperii*, 247 *note*; of Ancient Gaul, by De Valois and D'Anville, 372 *note*; cities mentioned in, i., 21 *note*.
- Noureddin (Nūr-ad-Dīn), Sultan of Aleppo, v., 252; war with Christians, vi., 349 *sq.*; conquests in Egypt, 351 *sq.*; death of, 354.
- Novairi, v., 488 *note*.
- Novatians, excommunicated, ii., 55 *note*; persecuted, 352; exempted from penalties, *ib.* and *note*; of Constantinople, 409.
- Novels*, of Theodosius, iii., 421 *note*; of Justinian, iv., 499 *sq.*
- Novempopulania, one of the seven provinces, iii., 376 *note*.
- Novgorod, Russian capital, vi., 157 and *note*; Borga Khan at, vii., 22.
- Nubia, Church of, v., 175 *sqq.*
- Numerals, Arabic, vi., 5 *note*.
- Numerian, M. Aurelius, son of Carus, i., 364 and *note*; Cæsar, 365; emperor, 367; character, 373; death, 374.
- Numidia, i., 28; council of bishops in, ii., 358; ceded to the Vandals, iii., 488 *note*; restored to the Empire, iv., 2 *note*; attacked by the Saracens, v., 494.
- Numidicus, Metellus, censor, i., 163 *note*.
- Nushirvan, *see* Chosroes.
- Nushizad, son of Nushirvan, iv., 888 *note*.
- Nymphæum, residence of the Emperors of Nice, vi., 484 and *note*.
- OAK, suburb of Chalcedon, iii., 232; synod of the, 399 and *note*.
- Oasis of Libya, description of, iii., 384 *note*; Timasius exiled to, 385; Nestorius exiled to, v., 127, 128 *note*.
- Oaths of the Ancients, iii., 384 *note*.
- Obedience, passive, theory and practice of, ii., 313 *sq.*
- Obeidollah (Obaid-Allāh), governor of Cufa, v., 415; insults corpse of Hosein, 417, 439 *note*.
- Obelisk, of the temple of the Sun, removed by Constantine, ii., 277; placed in the Circus at Rome by Constantius, *ib.* and *note*.
- Oblations, of the Church, ii., 50 *sq.*
- Obligations*, Roman law concerning, iv., 524 *sqq.*
- Obsequium, fourth Theme, vi., 7 and *note*.
- Ochrida, capital of Samuel, the Bulgarian, vi., 142 *note*.
- Ockley, author of the History of the Saracens, v., 417 *note*, 442 *note*; vi., 5 *note*.
- Octai, son of Zingis, Khan of the Mongols, vii., 11; conquests of, 15 *sq.*
- Octavia, tragedy of Seneca, iii., 322 *note*.
- Octavian, son of Alberic, *see* John XII.
- Octavianus, name of Augustus, i., 65.
- Octavius, i., 65 *note*.
- Oculus Pastoralis*, vii., 289 *note*.
- Odenathus of Palmyra, i., 298, 296, 298; Persian victories of, 326; death, *ib.*

- Odenathus (?), Prince, i., 285 *note*.
 Odeum, restored by Herodes, i., 50 and *note*.
 Odin, flight of, i., 260 and *note*; Gibbon renounces his earlier view on, vii., 321 *note*.
 Odo, Frangipani, marries niece of Emperor Manuel, vi., 224.
 Odo, Abbot of Chigny, his *Life of Gregory of Tours*, iv., 148 *note*.
 Odo de Deogilo, vi., 338 *note*.
 Odoacer, son of Edecon, commands in Italy, iv., 52; puts Orestes to death, 53; reign, 53 *sqq.*; his correct name, Odovacar, *ib. note*; abolishes the Western Empire, 54; silver coin of, *ib. note*; enters Ravenna, iv., 56 *note*; character, 58; miserable state of Italy under, 60 *sq.*; resigns provinces to Euric, 107; defeated by Theodoric, 191; capitulation and death, 192, 198 and *note*.
 Odothæus, invasion of, iii., 185 *note*.
 Oea, city of, iii., 49 and *note*.
 Oenoe, in Pontus, Manuel Comnenus at, v., 263.
 Ogli, Lazarus, vii., 163 *note*.
 Ogotai, Grand Khan, death of, vii., 18 *note*.
 Ogors or Varchonites, conquered by the Turks, iv., 377 and *note*.
 Ogyges, comets in his time, iv., 462 and *note*.
 Ohud, battle of, v., 387 and *note*.
 Oil, distribution of, at Rome, iii., 320; tax on, in Africa, *ib.*
 Okba ibn Nafi, *see* Akbah.
 Olahus, Nicholas, Archbishop of Gran, his *Life of Attila*, iii., 440 *note*.
 Old Man of the Mountain, vii., 14.
 Olearius, traveller, v., 49 *note*; on Novgorod, vi., 157 *note*.
 Olga, Princess of Russia, baptism of, vi., 169.
 Olibriones, Gallic tribe, iii., 487 *note*.
 Olive, cultivation of, i., 57.
 Olivento, river, victory of the Normans on the, vi., 186 *note*.
 Oljai, wife of Timour, vii., 47 *note*.
 Olybrius, Roman patrician, iv., 481.
 Olybrius, senator, made Emperor of the West by Ricimer, iv., 47; death, 49 *sq.* and *note*.
 Olympias, wife of Arsaces Tiranus [Arshak], iii., 56 and *note*, 58.
 Olympias, daughter of Ablavius, ii., 516 *note*.
 Olympic games at Antioch, ii., 491.
 Olympiodorus, account of Rome, iii., 309 *sq.*
 Olympius, the philosopher, defends paganism, iii., 211 and *note*.
 Olympius of Tralles, iv., 259.
 Olympius, an officer of the palace, under Honorius plots against Stilicho, iii., 298 *sq.*; dismissed the ambassadors of Alario, 331; death, 332.
 Olympius (exarch), defends Sicily, vi., 40 *note*.
 Olympus, deities of, ii., 459.
 Oman, district of Arabia, v., 335.
 Omar I. (caliph, Omar ibn al-Khattab), mosque of, at Jerusalem, ii., 464; conversion to Mahometanism, v., 376; acknowledges Abubeker, 407; reign and death, 408; virtues of, 426; conquests, 427 *sq.*; founds Bassora, 433; interview with Har-mozan at Jerusalem, 464 *sq.*; mosque of, 465 and *note*; Mahomet's opinion of, 471 *note*; destroys library at Alexandria, and Persian books, 481 *sq. note*; mosque of, at Jerusalem, vi., 361.
 Omar II. (caliph), persecutes the Christians, v., 522 *note*; journey to Syria 464 *note*; vi., 8 and *note*.
 Omayya, *see* Ommiyah.
 Ommiyah, family of, v., 378; support Omayya, 412; Syria, under the, 471; revolt of Arabia and Persia from, vi., 19 *sqq.*; fall of, 22.
 Omortag, *see* Giom Omortag.
 Onagri, warlike engines, iv., 337 and *note*.
 Onegesius, favourite of Attila, iii., 463 *sq.*; wife of, receives Attila, 464.
 Onulph, brother of Odoacer, iv., 53.
 Opadna, iv., 275 *note*.
 Ophites, ii., 13 *note*.
 Opilio, delator of Bethius, iv., 215 *note*.
 Opima, iii., 135 *note*.
 Opis, ii., 536.
 Oppas, Archbishop of Toledo, v., 503, 509 *note*.
 Oppian law, iv., 508 *note*.
 Opsikian Theme, mutiny of, v., 196; besiege Anastasius, vi., 7 *note*.
 Opsopoeus, iv., 328 *note*.
 Optatianus, panegyric of, i., 470 *note*; ii., 221.
 Optatus, brother-in-law of Constantine, ii., 218; his death, 236.
 Optatus of Milevis, ii., 410 *note*.
 Ora or Opta, given by Theodemir to the Saracens, v., 511.
 Oracles, ii., 126 and *note*; abolished, 415.
 Orang outang, iii., 54 *note*.
 Orchan, son of the Caliph Othman, conquers Prusa, vii., 25; conquests of,

- 27 *sqq.*; marries daughter of Cantuzene, 30; death, 33.
- Orchoe, in Assyria, ii., 522 *note*.
- Orda, grandson of Zingis, vii., 50 *note*.
- Ordeals, trial by, abolished by Michael VIII., vi., 483; compared with judicial combat, 488 *note*.
- Ordination of clergy, ii., 337 and *note*.
- Orestes, præfect of Egypt, persecuted by Cyril, v., 116.
- Orestes, Roman patrician, iv., 481.
- Orestes the patrician, ambassador of Attila, iii., 459 *sq.*; at Constantinople, 468; deposes Nepos, iv., 51; account of, *ib. sq.*; refuses to divide Italy, 52; put to death by Odoacer, 53.
- Orhiehuela, given by Theodemir to the Saracens, v., 511.
- Oribasius, physician of Julian, ii., 427 *note*.
- Origen, ii., 15 *note*, 89; account of the number of Christians, 69; of the martyrs, 104; tries to convert Mamma, 119; opinions of, v., 146 and *note*.
- Origenism, controversy in Egypt concerning, iii., 398 *note*.
- Orlando (Rutland or Rolando), v., 304 *note*.
- Orleans, Duke of, brother of Charles VI. of France, vii., 96.
- Orleans, colony of Alani at, iii., 474 and *note*; besieged by Attila, 484; siege of, raised, 487; Ægidius defeats Ricimer at, iv., 41.
- Ormud, principle of good, i., 215 and *note*.
- Ormus, city of, vii., 49 and *note*.
- Orosius, i., 276; iii., 280; in Palestine, 351 and *note*; history of, Africa, 357 *note*; on an inundation of Rome, vii., 319 *note*.
- Orpheus, Christian forgery of, ii., 74 and *note*.
- Orsini, *see* Ursini.
- Orthogrul, father of the Caliph Othman, vii., 24.
- Ortok, hereditary Emir of Jerusalem, vi., 268.
- Ortokides, expulsion of the, vi., 267 *note*.
- Ortois, territory of, iii., 91.
- Orvieto, taken by Belisarius, iv., 350; bishop of, vicar of pope, vii., 272, 275, 281.
- Osimo (Auximum), taken by Belisarius, iv., 350, 352 and *note*.
- Osiris, Egyptian deity, iii., 210 and *note*.
- Osialmi, tribe of, iv., 161.
- Osius, Bishop of Cordova, ii., 338 *note*, 353; presided at Council of Nice, 377; banishment, 395 *sq.* and *note*.
- Oskold, Slav hero, vi., 155 *note*.
- Osnaburgh, bishopric of, v., 308.
- Osrhoene, conquered by Trajan, i., 7; by Severus and Caracalla, 224.
- Osset, or Julia Constantia, in Bætica, font at, iv., 101 and *note*.
- Ossian's poems, i., 141 and *note*; ii., 68 *note*.
- Ostia, port of, i., 56; taken by Alaric, iii., 334; description of, *ib. note*; an episcopal city, 335 *note*; held by the Goths, iv., 429 *note*; Cæsarius at, vi., 44; bishops of, their part in imperial coronations, vii., 220 *note*; in the twelfth century, 247.
- Ostius, L., first parricide in Rome, iv., 530 *note*.
- Ostrogoths, *see* Goths.
- Ostrogotha, i., 265 *note*.
- Otas, satrap, i., 396.
- Othmān (caliph), revises the Koran, v., 365; reign, 408; forged document bearing the seal of, 410 and *note*; death of, 410; recalls Amrou, 478.
- Othmān, first Ottoman Sultan, reign, vii., 24 *sq.*
- Otho, Roman Emperor, i., 81, 115 *note*.
- Otho (Otto) I., or Great, Emperor of the West, v., 318 and *note*; restores the Western Empire, *ib. sq.*; nominates the Popes, 317; war with the Hungarians, vi., 151 *sqq.*; defeats the Hungarians at the battle of the Lech, 152; Zürich walled in his reign, vii., 230 *note*.
- Otho (Otto) II., Emperor of the West, marries Theophano, v., 225 and *note*; massacres the senators, 321 and *note*; vi., 92.
- Otho (Otto) III., removes bones of Boethius, iv., 216 and *note*; revolt of Rome against, vi., 321; defeat of, by the Saracens, vi., 177; spurious diploma of, vii., 234 *note*.
- Otho (Otto) of Freisingen, historian, on Italian cities, v., 323 *note*; vi., 343 *note*; leads part of Conrad's army, *ib.*; his Works, vii., 242 *note*; on the Franks, 245 *note*.
- Otho de la Roche, Duke of Athens and Thebes, vi., 505.
- Otranto (Hydrus, Hydruntum), Greek dialect spoken in, vii., 123 *note*; capture by Turks, 217 and *note*.
- Otrar, massacre of Moguls at, vii., 8 and *note*; taken by Zingis, 9 and *note*; death of Timour at, vii., 71.

- Otter, on Africa, v., 488 *note*; travels in Turkey, vi., 309 *note*.
- Ottomans, origin of, vii., 23; etymology of name, 24 *note*; era of Ottoman Empire, 26; their conquests under Orchan, *ib. sqq.*; coinage of the, 26 *note*; cavalry, *ib.*; causes of success of, 29 *note*; establishment of, in Europe, 31; conquests of, under Bajazet, 36 *sqq.*; threaten Constantinople, 42; attack Constantinople, 79; besiege Constantinople, under Amurath II., 80; hereditary succession and merit of the, 81 *sq.*; education and discipline of, 82 *sq.*; levy tribute on the Christians, *ib. note*; principle of Ottoman law, that Sultans may abrogate treaties, 170.
- Outlaws, in Gaul, ii., 429 and *note*.
- Ovid, i., 90 *note*, 246 *note*; his *Fasti*, ii., 19 *note*; description of the Sarmatians, 228 and *note*.
- Oxford, number of students at university of, vii., 122 *note*.
- Oxus or Gihon, river, iv., 382, 397; v., 488 and *note*.
- Oxyrhynchus, city of, monasteries at, iv., 65 and *note*.
- PACATUS, his panegyric of Theodosius the Great, iii., 175 *note*.
- Pachomius, Abbot, in the Isle of Tabenne, iv., 65.
- Pachymeres, George, historian, on Ordeals, vi., 481 *note*; perspicuity of, 482 *note*, 511 and *note*.
- Pacts*, in Roman law, iv., 524.
- Pacuvius, of Brutus and Decius, iii., 322 *note*.
- Paderborn, camp of Charlemagne at, v., 301; bishopric of, 308.
- Padua, destroyed by Attila, iii., 495; wealth of, 496.
- Pænius, i., 390 *note*.
- Pæderasty, laws against, iv., 535 *sqq.*
- Pætus, Lucas, vii., 304 *note*.
- Pætus, Thræsea, i., 147 *note*.
- Pagan, history of the word, ii., 417 *note*.
- Paganism, toleration of, by Constantine and his sons, ii., 414 *sqq.*; restored by Julian, 469 *sqq.*; fall of, under Jovian, iii., 4 *sq.*; tolerated by Valentinian, 25; account of, under Theodosius, 198 *sqq.*; prohibited, 214 *sqq.*; extinguished, 217; in the fifteenth century, vii., 186.
- Pagans, zeal against the Christians, ii., 126; favoured by Julian, 476; they persecute the Christians, 495 *sq.*; of the West, iii., 217; tolerated by Theodosius, *ib.* and 218; conversion of, under Justinian, v., 144.
- Pagi, chronology of, iv., 383 *note*.
- Pagus Arebrignus, i., 57 *note*.
- Painting, in Italy, in sixth century, i., 86.
- Palaces of the Merovingians, iv., 140.
- Palæologi, end of the, vii., 212 *sq.* and *note*; of Montferrat, extinction of the, 212 *note*.
- Palæologus, Andrew, son of Thomas, despot of the Morea, vii., 214 and *note*.
- Palæologus, Andronicus, Regent of Constantinople, vii., 94; receives Theodora, 103.
- Palæologus, Andronicus, son of John, v., 40; blinded, 41; made Emperor, *ib.*
- Palæologus, Demetrius, despot of the Morea, vii., 162; pays tribute to Turks, 212; civil war with his brother, 212; submits to Turks and recovers islands in North Aegean, *ib.*
- Palæologus, George, v., 240; *despot* of Durazzo, vi., 204; besieges Epirus, 223; death, 226.
- Palæologus, John, brother of Michael VIII., vi., 459 *note*.
- Palæologus, John, son of Andronicus, vii., 40; blinded, 41; made Emperor, *ib.*; held Selymbria, 41; civil war with Manuel, 42; receives Ottoman support, 43.
- Palæologus, Manuel, son of Thomas, despot of the Morea, vii., 214.
- Palæologus, Theodore, vii., 199 *note*.
- Palæologus, Thomas, despot of the Morea, vii., 162; son of, 174; pays tribute to Turks, 212; war with his brother, *ib.*; flees to Italy, 214.
- Palamas, Gregory, his theological views, vi., 530 and *note*.
- Palamites, *see* Palamas.
- Palanders, or horse transports, vi., 410 and 410 *note*.
- Palatine, Mount, i., 322 *note*; iv., 36.
- Palatine palace, i., 48 *note*.
- Palatines, ii., 186; auxiliaries, 421 and 421 *note*; or borderers, in Africa, iv., 310.
- Palermo, sack of, by Genseric, iv., 5 taken by Belisarius, 326 *sq.*; Saracens at, vi., 41 and *note*; silk manufacture at, 76 *note*, 77; coronation of Roger at, 218.
- Palestine, i., 27; invaded by the Isaurians, iii., 403; taxes remitted after Samaritan revolt, iv., 258 and *note*; monasteries built by Justinian at 265; corruption of, 537 *note*.

- Palestrina** (Præneste), overthrown by the Romans, vii., 247; seat of the Colonna, 262.
- Palimbothra** (Patna), *see* Kinnoge.
- Palladium**, i., 188; iii., 199 *note*; of Edessa, v., 265; brought to Constantinople, 267 and *note*.
- Palladius**, Bishop of Helenopolis, defence of St. Chrysostom, iii., 895 *note*; iv., 70 *note*.
- Palladius**, son of the Emperor Petronius Maximus, marries daughter of Valentinian III., iv., 4.
- Palladius**, messenger, iii., 418.
- Palladius**, a notary, sent to Africa, iii., 49 and *note*.
- Pallas**, son of Evander, discovery of his tomb, vii., 335 *note*.
- Pallas**, i., 99 *note*.
- Pallium**, vii., 331 and *note*.
- Palma**, A. Cornelius, lieutenant of Trajan, v., 340 *note*.
- Palmaria** (Island), Sylverius at, iv., 494 *note*.
- Palmyra**, i., 298 and *note*, 329 *sqq.*
- Paltogles**, admiral of Mahomet II., vii., 179 *note*.
- Pambo**, the monk, iv., 75 *note*.
- Pampeluna**, taken by Euric, iv., 41.
- Pamphronius**, Roman patrician, his mission to Constantinople, v., 22.
- Pamphylia**, peasants of, resist Tribigild, iii., 387.
- Pan**, Altar of, on the Palatine, iv., 86.
- Panætius**, friend of Scipio, iv., 487 *note*.
- Panaretos**, Michael, historian of Trebizond, vi., 439 *note*.
- Panchatantra**, collection of fables, iv., 389 *note*.
- Pandects**, or *Digest* of Justinian, iv., 482, 494 and *notes*, 495; Latin of, 496 *note*; faintly remembered at Rome, vii., 235.
- Pandetaria**, ii., 97 *note*.
- Pandulph** of Capua, vi., 188 *note*.
- Pandulph** of Pisa, vi., 271 *note*; vii., 224 *note*.
- Pandulph**, nephew of Hugh of Alatri, vi., 271 *note*.
- Paneas** in Palestine, image of Christ at, v., 264 and *note*.
- Panhypsebastos**, title invented by Alexis Comnenus, vi., 84.
- Pankalia**, battle of, v., 230 *note*.
- Pannonia** or Hungary, description of, i., 24; submits to Roman yoke, 121; settlement of Suevi, 280; colony of Sarmatians in, ii., 283; invaded by the Quadi, iii., 66; falls to the Emperor of the East, 421; Ætius in, 482; occupied by the Ostrogoths, 502; campaign of Majorian in, iv., 28 *note*; evacuated by the Goths, 366.
- Pannonia Secunda**, iv., 267 *note*.
- Pannonians**, character of, i., 121.
- Pansophia** or Irene, v., 133.
- Pansophia**, matron of Florence, iii., 280 *note*.
- Pantheon** at Rome, i., 48 *note*; made into a Christian Church, iii., 209 and *note*.
- Pantomimes**, Roman, iii., 328 and *note*.
- Panvinus**, Onuphrius, vii., 387 *note*.
- Paolo**, Fra, ii., 148 *note*; on the Papal System, vii., 104 *note*, 308 *note*.
- Paper**, manufacture of, at Samarcand, v., 441 and *note*.
- Paphlagonia**, invaded by legionaries, ii., 409; seized by David Comnenus, vi., 488 *note*.
- Papianilla**, wife of Sidonius, iv., 42 *note*.
- Papias**, the Great, office of, vi., 85 *note*.
- Papinian**, Prætorian præfect, i., 135; death of, 147; legal work of, iv., 486; authority of, 491 and *note*.
- Papirius**, i., 62 *note*; iv., 472 *note*.
- Papirius**, Pætus, friend of Cicero, iv., 61 *note*.
- Papua**, Mount, iv., 311 and *note*.
- Para**, son of Arsaces Tiranes, acknowledged King of Armenia, iii., 57; adventures of, 58 *sqq.*; assassinated by the Romans, 60 and *note*.
- Parabolani**, or visitors of the sick, ii., 339; v., 115 and *note*.
- Paradise**, Persian garden, iv., 300 and *note*; of the Moslems, v., 374.
- Parakæmomenos** (chamberlain), v., 229 *note*.
- Paraspondylus** Zoticus, vii., 153 *note*.
- Paris**, Matthew, on Baldwin II., vi., 454 *note*.
- Paris**, description of, ii., 308 *sq.*; palace of the baths (Thermaum) at, 424 and *note*; siege of, by Clovis, iv., 112 *note*; University of, vii., 122 *note*, 267, 298 and *note*.
- Parma**, reduced by the Greeks, v., 28.
- Parricide**, laws concerning, iv., 529.
- Paros** (Island), taken by the Venetians, vi., 435 *note*.
- Parsees**, i., 216 *note*.
- Parthia**, subdued by Trajan, i., 7; by Artaxerxes, 212; feudal government in, 220; summary of war with Rome, 221.
- Parthians**, subdued by Artaxerxes, i., 212; wars of, with the Romans, 221, 222.

- Partholanus, the giant, i., 284 *note*.
 Paschal II. (Pope), his coins, vii., 221 *note*; sedition against, 226 *sq.*; contest with the Colonna, 260.
Paschal chronicle, account of Attila in, iii., 472 *note*; v., 81 *notes*.
 Passia Sigismundi, edition of, iv., 121 *note*.
 Pasitigris, or Shat-el-Arab, ii., 522 *note*.
 Paspates, on the transport of Turkish ships, vii., 192 *note*.
 Patara, in Lycia, iv., 424 *note*.
 Paternus, Proconsul of Africa, ii., 107.
 Patras, Basil I. at, v., 216.
Patriarch, title of, iv., 94 *note*.
Patria Potestas, iv., 503 *sq.*; limitation of, 504 *sq.*.
 Patrician of Rome, title granted by the Senate to Charles Martel, v., 289.
 Patricians, Roman, revived by Constantine, ii., 174, 175 and *notes*; v., 288 *sq.* and *note*.
Patricius, name of, iv., 56 *note*; title of, in Burgundy, 149 and *note*.
 Patricius, Augustin, historian, vii., 119 *note*.
 Patrick, St., iv., 56 *note*.
 Patripassians, ii., 367 *note*.
 Patrocles, admiral of the Kings of Syria, fleet of, in the Caspian Sea, v., 45 *note*.
 Patzinaks, invasion of, under Constantine IX., v., 284 *note*; besiege Kiev, vi., 165 *note*.
 Pauceton, M., his *Métrologie*, iv., 507 *note*.
 Paul Catena, ii., 258, 447.
 Paul of Cilicia, deserts to Totila, iv., 487.
 Paul the Civilian, i., 187; iv., 486; authority of, 491.
 Paul, commissioner in Africa, ii., 410 and *note*.
 Paul, orthodox bishop of Constantinople, banished, ii., 378; persecution, flight and death of, 407.
 Paul, the deacon of Aquileia, on the Seven Sleepers, iii., 439 *note*; on the provinces of Italy, 495 *note*.
 Paul, the hermit, ii., 108 *note*.
 Paul, brother of the Patrician Orestes, iv., 49.
 Paul II. (Pope), persecutes Roman Academy, vii., 136 *note*.
 Paul III. (Pope), vandalism of his nephews, vii., 333 and *note*.
 Paul IV. (Pope), vii., 308 *note*.
 Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, ii., 122; his degradation, 128; vi., 117 *note*.
 Paul the Silentiary, iv., 261 *note*, 263 *note*.
 Paul of Tanis, Patriarch of Alexandria, v., 171.
 Paul Warnefrid, the deacon of Friuli, the Lombards, v., 6 *note*, 7 *note*.
 Paula, pupil of Jerome, family of, ii., 806 and *note*; owned Nicopolis 810; founds hospital and monasteries in Palestine, iv., 69; epistle of, by Jerome, *ib.* *note*; generous of, to the monks, 75.
 Paulicians, Christian sect, description of, vi., 116 *sqq.*; derivation of name, 117 *note*; seven teachers of the sect, belief and worship of, 119 *sq.*; in Armenia and Pontus, 120 *sq.*; persecuted, 121; revolt of, 123; in Asia Minor, 125; in Thrace, 126; in Italy and France, 128; vii., 229; settled among the Albigeois, vi., 130.
 Paulinus of Bordeaux, iii., 371 and *note*.
 Paulinus, Suetonius, i., 3 *note*.
 Paulinus, Bishop of Antioch, iii., 157.
 Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, iii., 264 *note*.
 Paulinus, secretary of Ambrose, iii., 12.
 Paulinus, master of the offices, execution of, iii., 411.
 Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquileia, v., 11.
 Paulinus, Bishop of Trèves, banished, ii., 395.
 Paullini, family of the, conversion of, iii., 205.
 Paullina, wife of Maximin, i., 187 *note*.
 Paulus, Julius, on Roman law, iv., 5 *note*.
 Paulus the Secutor, i., 104 and *note*.
 Pautalia, iv., 267 *note*.
 Pavia, battle of i., 321; pillaged by Attila, iii., 495; Honorius at, 24; siege of, by Odoacer, iv., 53; during the reign of Theodoric at, 205; Boetius at, 215; taken by Charlemagne, 286; burnt by the Hungarians, v., 149.
Paximacia, monastic loaves, iv., 507 *note*.
 Peace, temple of, at Rome, *see* Rome.
 Peacock, a royal bird, vii., 215 *note*.
 Pearl fishery in Britain, i., 3 and *note*; in Ormuz and Cape Comorin, *ib.* *note*; large pearl in caliph's treasure at Cairo, vi., 350 *note*.
 Pears, on the transport of Turkish ships, vii., 192 *note*.
 Pegasians, legal sect of the, iv., 490 *note*.
 Pegasus, slave of Domitian, iv., 490 *note*.
 Pegu, kingdom of, conquered by Zingis, vii., 13.

Pehlvi language, i., 214 *note*.
 Peking, besieged by Zingis, vii., 8 and *note*; royal residence of the Khans, 11 *note*, 21.
 Pelagian controversy, iii., 285 and *note*.
 Pelagianism in Britain, iii., 375 and *note*; decay of, iv., 105
 Pelagius, papal legate in Egypt, vi., 370; his measures at Constantinople, 447.
 Pelagius, archdeacon, embassy to Gothic camp, iv., 430 and *note*; appeals to Totila, 431; Pope, *ib.* *note*; v., 148.
 Pelagius, Prætorian præfect, oppresses the people of Pavia, iv., 59 *note*.
 Pelamides, or thunnies, ii., 156 *note*.
 Pelekanon, position of, vii., 27 *note*.
 Pella, Nazarene church at, ii., 10 and *note*; iv., 184 *note*.
 Pellegrino Camillo, history of the Lombards, vi., 174 *note*.
 Peloponnesus, state of, in eighth century, vi., 78 *sqq.*; cities and revenue of, 72; manufacture of silk in, *ib.* and 75; families of, transported to Constantinople, vii., 210; condition in fifteenth century, 212 and *note*; Albanians in, *ib.*; conquered by Turks, 218.
 Pelson, lake, i., 448 and *note*; iv., 182 *note*.
 Pelusium, plague at, iv., 466; taken by Chosroes, v., 76; taken by Amrou, 475; evacuated by Shiracouh, vi., 851.
 Pempion (gate), at Constantinople, attack on, vii., 186.
 Penance, public, ii., 55.
 Pendragon, or British dictator, iii., 375.
 Pengwern, or Carmarthaen, iv., 167.
 Peniscola, Benedict XIII. at, vii., 300.
 Penitentials, Greek, vi., 279.
 Pentadius, master of the offices, ii., 428.
 Pentapolis, the inland (in Italy), v., 24.
 Pentapolis, the maritime (in Italy) of Ravenna, v., 24, 290.
 Pepin, son of Charles Martel, delivers Rome, v., 284 *sq.*; King of France, 286 *sq.*; coronation of, 287 and *note*; donations of, to the Pope, 290 *sq.*; recovers Narbonne, vi., 18 *note*.
 Pepin, John, Count of Minorbino, vii., 286 and *note*.
 Pepper, price of, iii., 329 *note*.
 Pera, ii., 169; Latins in, vi., 417; Genoese in, 531; siege of, 534 *sq.*; power of the colony at, 537; royal school of the Turks at, vii., 83.
 Peratea, in Crimea, vi., 439 *note*.
 Peredeus, murdered Albain, v., 13 *sq.*

Peregrinus, the philosopher, ii., 36 *note*.
 Perennis, minister of Commodus, i., 96 and *note*.
 Perfectissimus, rank of, ii., 171 *note*.
 Pergamus, ancient splendour of, i., 54 and *note*; library of, iii., 210 *note*; taken by the Saracens, vi., 7.
 Peristhlava, Sviatoslav at, vi., 165 *note*.
 Perinthus, i., 131; Belisarius at, iv., 296.
 Periplus, of Sallust, iv., 397 *note*; of Arrian, *ib.*
 Perisabor, or Anbar, on the Euphrates, destroyed by Julian, ii., 524 and *note*.
 Perjury, Roman law concerning, iv., 530.
 Pernice, A., on Heraclius, v., 73 *note*; on Persian wars, 74 *sq. notes*.
 Peroun, god of thunder, vi., 171.
 Perozes, Persian physician, iv., 388.
 Perozes, King of Persia, iii., 92; death, iv., 274 *sq.* and *note*; Nestorianism of, v., 157.
 Perpera, silver coin, vi., 455 *note*.
 Perpignan, iv., 127 *note*.
 Perron, Cardinal du, on early Christian faith, iii., 225 *note*.
 Persarmenia, iii., 415; revolt of, v., 43 *sqq.*
 Persecution of the early Christians, under Nero, ii., 89 *sqq.*; under Domitian, 95 *sqq.*; three methods of escaping, 118 *sq.*; ten persecutions, 115; in second century, 117; by Severus, 118; in third century, 118 *sqq.*; by Diocletian and his colleagues, 129 *sqq.*; in Italy and Africa, 138 *sq.*; in the East, 140 *sq.*; fresh persecution by Maximin, 142; end of, 143.
 Perseus, treasures of, i., 172.
 Persia, foundation of Sassanid monarchy in, i., 212 *sqq.*; religion of, 218; extent and population of, 221; military power of, 228; civil war in, 397; war between Sapor and Constantius, ii., 240 *sqq.*; Christians of, protected by Constantine, 382; Julian invades, 518; peace with Theodosius, iii., 418; under Kobad or Cabades, iv., 388 *sq.*; accession of Chosroes, 383; province of, 385; endless peace with Rome, 390; war with Rome, v., 42 *sqq.*; anarchy after the death of Chosroes, 45 *sqq.*; Christianity in, 155 *sq.*; Shiite schism in, 409 and *note*; Sophis of, 418 and *note*; conquered by the Saracens, 436 *sqq.*; Seljuks in, vi., 257; under Sangiar, 348; under

- Mohammad of Carizme, vii., 8; conquered by Holagou, 13; decline of Mogul Khans in, 23; conquered by Timour, 48 *sq.*
- Persians, relations with Jews, v., 77 *note.*
- Persona, Christopher, translates works of Procopius, iv., 225 *note.*
- Pertinax, Emperor, i., 105 *note*; reign, *ib. sqq.*; employments of, 106 *note*; death, 112, 120 *note*; funeral and apotheosis of, 126.
- Pertinax Helvius, i., 146 and *note.*
- Perusia (Perugia), taken by Belisarius, iv., 345; besieged by Totila, 486; a retreat of Popes, vii., 252.
- Pescennius Niger, governor of Syria, i., 118, 120; war with Severus, 126 *sqq.*; death, 131.
- Pessinus, ii., 474 *note*; altar of Cybele at, 503.
- Pesteherski, or Crypt Monastery at Kiev, vi., 178 *note.*
- Pestilence at Rome, under Commodus, i., 99.
- Petancius, Felix, on Varna campaign, vii., 153 *note.*
- Petavius, on the Trinity, ii., 363 *note*; v., 108 *note.*
- Peter, King of Arragon, receives Charles of Anjou, vi., 498; proclaimed King of Sicily, 499.
- Peter Bartholomy, vision of Holy Lance seen by, vi., 316 *sqq.*
- Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, iii., 148.
- Peter, Bulgarian Tsar, vi., 128 *note*, 164 *note.*
- Peter of Bulgaria, founds second Bulgarian kingdom, vi., 891.
- Peter of Courtenay, Emperor of Constantinople, vi., 448; captivity and death, 449 and *note.*
- Peter Gnapheus, Patriarch of Antioch, v., 189 and *note.*
- Peter the Great, Tsar of Russia, ii., 222; iv., 278 *note*; fleet of, in the Caspian, v., 45 *note.*
- Peter the Hermit, vi., 269; proclaims first crusade, 270 *sq.*; lead the first, 284; flight of, 286; shirks the fast, 315.
- Peter, brother of the Emperor Maurice, v., 62.
- Peter the Notary, iii., 296 *note.*
- Peter, the Patrician, i., 401 *note*; ambassador to Italy, iv., 327.
- Peter Phocas, defeated by Sclernus, v., 280 *note.*
- Peter the Reader, murders Hypatia, v., 117.
- Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, vii., 248 *note.*
- Peter Mongus (patriarch of Alexandria) correspondence of, v., 187 *note.*
- Peter, St., visit to Rome of, ii., 49 and *note*; trophies of, at Rome, iii., 113 *sq.*; apparition to Attila, 500.
- Epistles of, rejected by the Paulicians, vi., 118 and *note*; church of, at Rome, spared by the Goths, iii., 340.
- Peter of Navarre, gunpowder mines used by, vii., 187 *note.*
- Peter of Corbara, vii., 251.
- Petit de la Croix, his history of Zingir, vii., 5 *note*; of Timur Beg, 44 *note.*
- Petra, Arabian town of, iv., 403 *sq.* and *note*; siege of, 405 *sq.*
- Petrarch, on Charles IV., v., 329; speech of, to the Doge of Venice, vi., 335; revived learning in Italy, vii., 14 *sq.*; Greek studies of, 125; on Bernard, 228 *note*; on foreigner at Rome, 258 *note*; character of coronation, 265 *sqq.*; relations to Rienzi, 270, 278; letter of connection to the Colonna, A.D. 1347, 280 *note*; advice to a cardinal on reforming Roman government, 288 *note*; regarded Rienzi as a poet, 288 and *note*; invites Emperor Charles IV., 291 and *note*; exhorts Popes to return from Avignon, 291 *sq.*; influence of, on Porcario, 300; on the despoiling of Roman buildings, 324 and *note*, 329 and *note*; on the population of Rome, 325, 326 *note*; on the indifference of the Romans to their monuments, 334 and *note.*
- Petrie, Prof. Flinders, on vision of Constantine, ii., 323 *note.*
- Petronius, father-in-law of Valens, ii., 13.
- Petronius, Maximus, *see* Maximus.
- Petronius, P., Diaries of, vii., 301 and 311.
- Petrus de Godis, vii., 306 *note.*
- Petrus Pisanus, Lives of the Popes, vi., 271 *note.*
- Petrus Tudebodus, history of, vi., 270 *note.*
- Petulants, corps of, ii., 421 and *note.*
- Poncini, i., 263.
- Peyssonel, M. de, i., 281 *note*; vii., 113 *note.*
- Pezaro, Inscription at, i., 321 *note.*
- Pfeffel, Abrégé Chronologique de l'histoire d'Allemagne by, v., 327 and *note.*
- Phadamas, occupies Cyzicus, vi., 2 *note.*

- Phalanz*, Grecian, i., 15; Macedonian, of Caracalla, 151.
- Phallas*, horse of Heraclius, v., 96.
- Phanagoria* (city), Justinian II. at, v., 192.
- Phantastic system*, invented by the Docetes, v., 107.
- Pharamond*, iii., 370 and *note*.
- Pharanaki*, identified with Hieria, iv., 266 *note*.
- Pharandsem*, wife of Arsaces Tiranus (Arshak), iii., 56 and *note*.
- Pharas*, chief of the Heruli, iv., 295; letter to Gelimer, 311 *sq*.
- Pharezdak*, poet, v., 478.
- Pharisees*, sect of the, ii., 28.
- Pharos*, lighthouse at Constantinople, v., 214 *note*.
- Phasis*, river, i., 288, 348; iv., 397; fortifications on, 402; Grecian colony of, 407; Heraclius at, v., 98.
- Phasis*, town, i., 282 *note*.
- Pheasant*, a royal bird, vii., 215 and *note*.
- Pheretime* of Cyrene, v., 10 *note*.
- Phidias*, transformed into a magician, vii., 335.
- Philadelphia* (in Asia Minor), siege of, raised by Roger de Flor, vi., 502; in fourteenth century, 525 *note*; capture of, by the Ottomans, vii., 28 and *note*; Frederic Barbarossa at, vi., 341.
- Philadelphia* (in Syria), fortifications of, v., 444 and *note*.
- Philagrius*, præfect of Egypt, ii., 389.
- Philaretus*, governor of Antioch, vi., 261.
- Philelphus*, Francis, sophist, vii., 120 and *note*; Latin ode of, 167 *note*, 204; on siege of Constantinople, 179.
- Philemuth*, commands the Heruli against Totila, iv., 441.
- Phillip*, Prætorian præfect under Gordian III., i., 206 *sq*. and *note*; reign, 208 *sqq*.; rebellion against, 257; death, 258; protected the Christians, ii., 120.
- Phillip II.*, of Spain, vii., 308 *note*.
- Phillip*, ambassador of Constantius II., ii., 258, 407; Prætorian præfect, 407.
- Philip I.* of France, quarrel with Urban II., vi., 273 *sq*.
- Phillip Augustus* (II.) of France, in the East, vi., 364 *sqq*.; institutes fund for Holy Land, 394.
- Phillip III.* of France, vii., 254 *note*.
- Phillip IV.* (the Fair) of France, his struggle with Boniface VIII. and Benedict XI., vii., 258.
- Philip of Macedon*, his revenue from the gold mines of Thrace, iii., 107 *note*.
- Philip Mouskes*, Bishop of Tournay, vi., 453 *note*.
- Philip of Swabia*, Alexius Angelus visits, vi., 393; Boniface of Montferrat at court of, 401 *note*.
- Philip of Tarentum*, vi., 462 *note*.
- Philip*, Duke of Burgundy, joins Hungarian crusade, vii., 147; tries to organise crusade against Turks, 215 and *note*.
- Philip*, King of Germany, befriends the young Alexius, vi., 404.
- Philip of Side*, ii., 468 *note*.
- Philip of Courtenay*, vi., 449.
- Philip*, son of Baldwin II., vi., 455; betrothed to daughter of Charles of Anjou, 496; allies himself with Charles of Anjou, 497.
- Philippa*, daughter of Raymond of Poitou, v., 251.
- Phillippicus*, general under Heraclius, v., 75 *note*; made emperor, 183; restores Monothelitism, 184; *see* Bardanes.
- Philippopolis*, siege of, i., 266 and *note*; captured by the Russians, vi., 166 *note*; destroyed by the Bulgarians, 446; taken by Murad Sultan, vii., 33 *note*.
- Philippus*, iii., 319 *note*.
- Philo*, ii., 4 *note*; philosophy of, 358 and *note*.
- Philocrene*, battle of, A.D. 1330, vii., 27.
- Philopatris*, dialogue, i., 366 *note*; ii., 82 *note*.
- Philosophers*, Grecian, i., 33; attitude to Christianity, ii., 72 *sq*.; fanaticism of the neo-platonic, 463; at the court of Julian, 475 *sq*.
- Philosophumena*, of Hippolytus, discovered at Mount Athos, v., 107 *note*.
- Philosophy*, divine, of the monks, iv., 63; at Athens, 280; studied by Arabians, vi., 81 *sq*.; in Middle Ages at Constantinople, 108 *sqq*.
- Philostorgius*, partial to Gallus, ii., 267 *note*; Arianism of, 364 *note*; on election of Valentinian, iii., 7 *note*; on Pulcheria, 408 *note*; heresy of, iv., 82 *note*.
- Philostratus*, biographer of Herodes Atticus, i., 50 *note*; Life of Apollonius of Tyana, ii., 126 *note*.
- Philotheus*, a Macedonian sectary, iv., 35.
- Philoxenos*, bishop of Mabbogh, v., 141 *note*.

- Phineus, palace of, ii., 151 and *note*.
 Phirouz, a Syrian renegade, vi., 812.
 Phlegon, ii., 74 *note*.
 Phocaea, in fourteenth century, vi., 525 *note*; Genoese colony at, vii., 78 *sq.*
 Phocas, a centurion, elected emperor, v., 65 and *note*; puts Maurice to death, 67; character, 69 *sq.*; statue of, *ib.* *note*.
 Phocas, *see* Bardas, Constantine, Leo, Nicephorus, Peter.
 Phoenicia, i., 27; temples of, destroyed, ii., 415.
 Phoenician inscriptions, iv., 316 *note*.
 Pholoe, Mount, retreat of Alaric, iii., 258.
 Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, iii., 398 *note*; educates Leo VI., v., 220; vi., 109 *sq.*; on conversion of the Russians, 168; theological disputes of, 383 *note*; position of, vi., 109 *note*.
 Photius, son of Antonina, iv., 358; exile of, 359; arrests the Pope, *ib.* *note*; arrests Theodosius at Ephesus, 361; captivity of, *ib.*; becomes a monk, 362.
 Photius, patrician, v., 144.
 Phrantzes, *see* Phranza.
 Phranza, George, Greek historian, on captivity of Bajazet, vii., 67; account of, 102 and *note*; embassy from Constantine Palæologus into Georgia, 162 *sqq.*; great logothete, 164; on events of the siege of Constantinople, 174 and *note*; numbers the citizens of Constantinople, 180 and *note*; fortunes after capture of Constantinople, 204; fate of his children, *ib.* *sq.*; his enmity to Notaras, 208 *note*.
 Phrygia, settlement of Ostrogoths in, iii., 135; description of, by Claudian, 387 *note*; rebellion of Tribigild in, 387 *sq.*
 Physicians amongst the Arabs, vi., 38 *sq.*
 Picardy, origin of the name, vi., 269 *note*.
 Picoen, John, the Sanguinary at, iv., 346 *sq.*; famine in, 454 and *note*.
 Pictures, worship of, v., 262 *sq.*
 Pierleoni, family of, vii., 226 *note*; their fortress, 328 *note*.
 Pierleone, Jordan, vii., 284 *note*.
 Pigmies of Africa, *see* Pygmies.
 Pilate, Pontius, procurator, ii., 91, 116 and *note*.
 Pilgrimages, Christian, ii., 480 and *note*.
 Pilgrims, missionary, in Hungary, vi., 15 *note*.
 Pilgrim, the, and the *Paradis*, the galleys of the Latins, vi., 431 and *note*.
 Pilpay, fables of, iv., 388 and *note*.
 Pilum, description of the, i., 14 *sq.* and *note*.
 Pincian Gates, battle of, iv., 340 and *see* *Pinna marina*, manufacture of silk from iv., 245 and *note*.
 Pipe, a German princess, i., 279.
 Piræus, i., 286, 472 and *note*.
 Pisa, Pandects at, iv., 498 and *note*; merchants of, expelled by the Genoese from the Crimea, vi., 533 Council of, vii., 105.
 Pisani, Venetian admiral, vi., 536.
 Pisidia, prætor of, iv., 272; people of, *ib.* *note*; Manuel Comnenus in, v., 246.
 Piso, Calpurnius, i., 296 *sq.*
 Pissumena, mother of Læta, iii., 28 *note*.
 Pistis Sophia, Gnostic work, preserved in Coptic, ii., 15.
 Pityus, siege of, by the Goths, i., 261. Abundantius at, iii., 383 and *note*. desert of, 402; fortifications of, 402 and *note*.
 Pius II. (Pope), *see* Æneas Sylvius.
 Placentia, battle of, i., 320; Anas made bishop of, iv., 15; synod of, vi., 272.
 Placidia, sister of Honorius, adventures of, iii., 353 *sq.*; marries Adolphus *ib.*; marries Constantius, 417; flies to Constantinople, 418; administration of, 421 *sqq.*; banishes Honorius, 481; death, 503; sepulchre at Ravenna, *ib.* *note*.
 Placidia, younger daughter of Valentinian III., restored by Genseric, ii., 30; marries Olybrius, 47.
 Plague at Rome, iii., 327; under Justinian, iv., 465-469; under Constantine V., v., 199 *note*.
 Plane-trees, cultivated by the ancients iii., 350 and *note*.
 Planudes, Maximus, vi., 462 *note*.
 Platæa, bulwarks of, restored by Justinian, iv., 269.
 Plato, abbot of Studion, v., 202 *note* banished, 205 *note*.
 Plato, on Immortality, ii., 21; his Republic, 50 and *note*; system of before Christ, 355 *sq.*; dialogues translated into Persian, iv., 386 *sq.* *note*; study revived in Italy, vii., 133.
 Platonists, new, *see* Neo-Platonists.
 Platonists, theology of, i., 83.

- Plantianus, minister of Severus, i., 185.
 Plautilla, Fulvia, daughter of Plantianus, i., 185 and *note*.
 Plebeians, Roman, ii., 174 *sq*.
 Pletho, George Gemistus, vii., 132 *note*, 186 *note*; on state of the Morea, 212 *note*.
 Plinthus, ambassador to the Huns, iii., 442.
 Pliny, the elder, i., 394; *Natural History* of, ii., 75; on monks, iv., 64 *note*; on use of silk, 245; on the Arabs, v., 844.
 Pliny, the younger, i., 88, 178; examines the Christians of Bithynia, ii., 85; letters to Trajan, 62 and *note*; edict against the Christians, 84 *note*; proceedings against the Christians, 98; on the augurate, iii., 200 *note*.
 Plotina, Empress, i., 82.
 Plotinus, the philosopher, i., 206 *note*, 295 and *note*, 423 and *note*; ii., 461.
 Plumbate, weapons, i., 409 *note*.
 Plutarch, his treatise of Isis and Osiris, ii., 334 *note*; his *Lives*, vi., 84 *note*; on the tribunes, vii., 279 *note*.
 Pocock, on dynasty of the Almondars, v., 429 *note*; his *Description of the East*, 457 *note*.
 Podestà, office of, vii., 289 and *note*.
 Poet Laureate, vii., 266, 268.
 Poetovio (Pettau), ii., 268.
 Poggius, his dialogue, *De Varietate Fortunæ*, vii., 65 and *note*; discourse of, from the Capitoline, 313 and *note*, 332, 333 *note*.
 Poimanenos, battle of, vi., 450.
 Poitiers, battle of, *see* Vouillé.
 Pol, St., Count of, joins fourth crusade, vi., 405, 409; Lord of Demotice, 436.
 Pola, ii., 268; Belisarius at, iv., 426.
 Poland, ravaged by the Mongols, vii., 16.
 Polemo, King of Colchos, iv., 402 and *note*.
 Polenta, Roman family of, vii., 331.
 Politian, Angelo, vii., 184.
 Pollentia, battle of, date of, iii., 267 *sq*. and *note*; sack of, by Theodoric, iv., 14.
 Pollistore, vii., 288 *note*.
 Polovtai, name of the tribe of Uzi, vi., 248 *note*.
 Polybius, on Rome, iv., 172 and *note*, 173.
 Polycarp, martyr, relics of, iii., 221 *note*.
 Polyseutes, Patriarch of Constantinople, dismisses Theophano, v., 228 and *note*.
 Polyseutes, Martyr, story of, ii., 112 *note*.
 Polytheism, i., 32 *note*; weakness of, ii., 58, 460; revival of, iii., 228 *sq*.
 Pomærium, Rienzi's confusion with *pomarium*, vii., 271 *note*.
 Pompeianus, Claudius, i., 95, 104, 108.
 Pompeianus, præfect of Rome, superstition of, iii., 327 *sq. note*.
 Pompeianus, Ruricius, commandant of Verona, i., 451; death, 452.
 Pompey the Great, i., 69 and *note*; villa of, iv., 327 *note*; at the Caspian Sea, v., 45.
 Pompey, nephew of the Emperor Anastasius, iv., 240; death, 241.
 Pomponius Lætus, iii., 298 *note*; founded Roman Academy, vii., 186 *note*.
 Pomponius Mela, i., 4 *note*; on Mauritania, v., 494 *note*.
 Pomptine marshes, drained by Theodoric, iv., 206 *sq. note*, 331.
 Ponte Molle, *see* Milvian Bridge.
 Pontifex Maximus, i., 34, 72; title of, adopted by Christian emperors, ii., 417 and *note*.
 Pontiffs, ambition of the Roman, ii., 48; pagan pontiffs established, 143; jurisdiction of, iii., 199 and *note*.
 Pontirolo (pons Aureoli), i., 305 and *note*.
 Pontius, his *Life of Cyprian*, ii., 106 *note*.
 Pontus, kingdom of, Alani in, i., 348; Christianity in, ii., 62; Paulicians in, vi., 120; kings of, *ib. note*.
 Pope, Alexander, Homer's *Iliad*, i., 32 *note*.
 Popes of Rome, title given to the Roman pontiff, iv., 208; their power, v., 39 *sq*.; policy and ambition, 273 *sqq*.; regarded as first magistrates in Rome, 282; assisted by the Carolingians, 286; donations of Pepin and Charlemagne to, 290 and *note*; donation of Constantine to, 292 *sq*.; final separation of, from the Eastern empire, 298; transfer the empire to Charlemagne, 300; method of their election, 316 *sq*.; poverty and vices in ninth and tenth centuries, 317; alleged gift of Constantine to, vii., 222; authority of, in Rome, 221 *sqq*.; appeals to, 223; election of, 248 *sqq*.; absence from Rome, 251 *sqq*.; final return of Gregory XI., 298; triple crown or tiara of, 294 and *note*; rival popes of the great schism, 297 *sqq*.; absolute dominion of Rome, 307 *sqq*.; their government, 309 *sq*.; care of public buildings, 336 *sq*.

- Poppæa, Nero's mistress, intercedes for the Jews, ii., 94.
- Population of Europe, i., 46 and *note*; of Rome, iii., 323 *sqq.* See *Rome*.
- Porcario, Stephen, his conspiracy at Rome, vii., 305 *sq.*; death, 306.
- Porcelain, Chinese, iii., 314 *note*.
- Porcian laws, i., 68.
- Porphyrians, the Arians so called, ii., 377.
- Porphyrio, whale, iv., 266 and *note*.
- Porphyrius, Optatianus, *see* Optatianus.
- Porphyrogenitus*, meaning of, v., 221.
- Porphyry, neo-Platonist, i., 423 and *note*; ii., 461.
- Porphyry of Gaza, iii., 408 *note*.
- Portico of the Stoics, iv., 280.
- Porta Polyandri (Constantinople), vii., 186.
- Porto, city of, iv., 341; Goths evacuate, 345, 429 *note*; colony of Corsicans planted in, by Leo IV., vi., 45; bishops of, their part in imperial coronations, vii., 220 *note*; in twelfth century, 247.
- Portoria*, or customs, i., 175.
- Portuguese, in Abyssinia, iv., 412 *note*; v., 176 *sq.*; in South Persia, vii., 49 *note*.
- Portus, *see* Porto.
- Porus, i., 226 *note*; *πῶς δὲ ἰσχυρὰς γράφειν*, i., 10 *note*.
- Posides, eunuch of Claudius, ii., 260 *note*.
- Possidius, Life of St. Augustin, iii., 480 *note*.
- Posthumian, a Gallic monk, iv., 67 *note*; on monastic institutions, 70 *note*.
- Posthumus, general of Gallienus, i., 276 and *note*; emperor, 296, 299 *note*; death, 323.
- Posts and post-houses under the empire, i., 55 *sq.* and *note*; post-waggons, ii., 428 *note*.
- Potamius, quaestor, in the Gothic camp, iii., 337.
- Potestas*, in sense of municipal magistrate, vii., 239 *note*.
- Potidæa, destroyed by the Bulgarians, iv., 872.
- Poullains, or *Pullani*, children of the crusaders in Syria, vi., 327 *note*.
- Præfect*, Latin title, iv., 135 and *note*.
- Prefects of Rome and Constantinople, ii., 178; iv., 514 *note*; of Rome in middle ages, vii., 226 *note*, 237 *sq.*
- Præjecta, niece of Justinian, iv., 485 and *note*.
- Præpositus*, chamberlain, ii., 193.
- Præses*, ii., 181, 187 *note*.
- Præsens, Bruttius, ii., 97 *note*.
- Prætextatus, Archbishop of Rouen, v., 150 *note*.
- Prætextatus, Proconsul of Achaia, ii., 25, 32 and *note*.
- Prætorian Guards, i., 19; of Augustus, 70; discontent under Pertinax, 111; assassinate Pertinax, *ib.*; description of, 114; number of, *ib.* *note*; claims of, 115; sell the empire, 115; disgraced by Severus, 125; remodelled by him, 134; pay, 149 *note*; murder Ulpian, 167; rebel against Maximus, 202; revolt of under Maximus, 203; reduced by Diocletian, 409; elevate Maxentius, 484; oppose Maximian, 441; increased by Maxentius, 448; rebel against Constantine, 455; suppressed by him, 457.
- Prætorian præfects, office of, i., 133; civil and military power, ii., 175; four præfects, 176 *sqq.*
- Prætor tutelaris*, instituted by Marcus Aurelius, iv., 514 *note*.
- Prætors, Roman, i., 73 *note*.
- Praevalitana, province of, iv., 267 *note*.
- Pragmatic Sanction, of Justinian, iv., 45 *note*.
- Prague, university of, founded by Charles IV., v., 328 *note*; Rienzi at, vi., 288.
- Praxagoras, Life of Constantine, i., 45 *note*.
- Praxeas, heresy of, ii., 364 and *note*; Fauns of, iv., 337 *note*.
- Praxedis (Eupræcia, Eufrasia, Adelaide), wife of Henry IV., of Germany, vi., 272 *note*.
- Praxiteles, sculptures of, i., 268; transformed into a magician, vii., 335.
- Pray, George, on the Hungarians, vi., 143 *note*.
- Preaching, freedom of public, ii., 34 *sq.* and *notes*.
- Preger, Th., on date of foundation of Constantinople, ii., 167.
- Presbyters, ii., 44.
- Presidents, *see* *Præses*.
- Presidius, iv., 848.
- Prespa, capital of Samuel the Bulgarian, vi., 142 *note*.
- Prester John, story of, v., 159 and *note*, vii., 3 and *note*.
- Priarius, King of the Alamanni, iii., 112.
- Prideaux, Dr., i., 214 *note*; Life of Mahomet, v., 375 *note*.
- Priesthoods, pagan, hereditary, ii., 335 *note*; impostures of, iii., 212.

- Primate*, title of the Bishop of Carthage, iv., 94 *note*.
- Primogeniture*, iv., 519.
- Princeps Senatus*, i., 66, 108 *note*.
- Principate* of Augustus, i., 67 *sqq.*; transformed by Diocletian, 378 *note*.
- Printing in China*, iv., 250.
- Prior*, chief of militia at Rome, vii., 304.
- Prisca*, wife of Diocletian, i., 462; embraces Christianity, ii., 124.
- Priscian*, iv., 284.
- Priscillian*, Bishop of Avila, execution of, iii., 161 and *note*.
- Priscillianists*, persecuted by Maximus, iii., 161 *sq.*; tenets of, 162.
- Priscus*, accepts the purple from the Goths, i., 266.
- Priscus*, engineer, fortifies Byzantium against Severus, i., 181 and *note*.
- Priscus*, general of the Emperor Maurice, defeats the Avars, v., 63.
- Priscus*, Helvidius, i., 147 *note*.
- Priscus*, philosopher, ii., 544.
- Priscus*, the historian, his mention of Eudocia, iii., 411 *note*; concerning Attila, 440 *note*; on the wars of the Huns, 448 *note*; meets a Greek in the camp of Attila, 454; accompanies Maximin to Attila, 459; account of, *ib.* *note*.
- Priscus*, Thrasea, i., 147 and *note*.
- Prülf*, Gothic leader, iii., 188 and *note*; death, *ib.*
- Proba*, widow of the præfect Petronius, iii., 346; flight of, to Africa, *ib.*
- Probole* or *Prolatio*, ii., 362 *note*.
- Probus*, chief of the Anician family, iii., 308 *sq.* and *notes*.
- Probus*, general of Aurelian, i., 329; opposes Florianus, 350 and *note*; character of, 351; reign, *ib.* *sqq.*; victories of, 353 *sqq.*; wall of, 357; triumph of, 361; death, 362.
- Probus*, Prætorian præfect, iii., 67 *sq.* and *note*.
- Procession of the Holy Ghost*, vi., 382 *sq.*; discussion concerning, at Ferrara and Florence, vii., 114.
- Processions of the Greek emperors*, vi., 88 *sq.*
- Proclus*, the quaestor of Justin, iv., 221; opposes the adoption of Chosroes, 383 and *note*.
- Proclus*, proposes to burn the fleet of Vitalian, iv., 258.
- Proclus*, St., boy of, v., 189 *note*.
- Proclus*, the Platonist, iv., 283; Life of, *ib.* *note*.
- Proconnesus*, Island of, ii. 160 and *note*.
- Proconsul*, title of, assumed by Augustus, i., 67; of Asia, Greece, Africa, Gaul and Syria, 70; of Asia, Achaia and Africa, under Constantine, ii., 180 and *note*.
- Proconsularis* (province), ceded to Vandals, iv., 2 *note*.
- Procopia*, consort of Michael I., v., 205 *sq.*
- Procopius*, father-in-law of Valens, iii., 384; father of Anthemius, iv., 33.
- Procopius*, kinsman and general of Julian, ii., 516; conducts Julian's funeral, 556; adventures of, iii., 12 *sqq.*; death, 16.
- Procopius*, the historian, account of testament of Arcadius, iii., 403; testimony uncertain, 506 *note*; account of the Vandalic persecution, iv., 90 *note*; on battle of Vouillé, 126 *note*; on Britain, 168 and *note*; character and writings, 224 and *note*; his Edifices, 225, 264 *note*; Secret History of, 286 *note*; serves under Belisarius, 292 *sqq.*; defence of archery, 295 *sq.*; confession of dishonesty, 325 *note*; chronology of, 328 *note*; corrupt text of, 333 *note*; description of temple of Janus, 338 *note*; mission to Campania, 344 and *note*; on the Slavonians, 371 *note*; estimate of numbers destroyed by the Barbarians, 372 and *note*; on invasion of Syria, 392; on Lazic war, 397 *note*; on troubles in Africa, 415 *note*; escapes from Carthage, 417; on state of Africa, *ib.*; history of the Gothic war, 421 *note*; in Corcyra, 438 *note*; alleged medical skill of, 466; on the Plague, *ib.*; on religion, v., 142 *notes*; seems to promise an ecclesiastical history, 148 *note*.
- Procopius*, St., Church of, iv., 458 *note*.
- Proculians*, legal sect of, iv., 489 *sq.*
- Proculus* [L. Aradius Valerius], ii., 184 *note*.
- Proculus*, præfect, son of Tatian, iii., 230 and *note*; death, 231.
- Proculus*, revolt of, i., 360.
- Proculus*, Roman lawyer, iv., 490.
- Procurators*, ii., 196 *note*.
- Professors*, at Athens, iv., 281.
- Profuturus*, general of Valens, iii., 108.
- Promotus*, master general of the infantry, iii., 135; exiled, 230.
- Promotus*, president of Noricum, ambassador to Attila, iii., 474 *note*.
- Propertius*, iv., 477 and *note*.
- Porperty*, Roman law of, iv., 515 *sq.*

- Prophets, of early church, ii., 43.
 Propontis, or Sea of Marmora, description of, ii., 153.
 Prosper, chronicle of, iii., 281.
Protectores, ii., 199 and *note*; mutiny of, under Jovius, iii., 333.
 Proterius, patriarch of Alexandria, murder of, v., 136.
 Protestants, ii., 313; vi., 132 *sqq.*
Protosebastos, title invented by Alexius Comnenus, vi., 84.
Protospathaire, Byzantine title, vi., 86 and *note*.
Protostrator, Byzantine officer, vi., 86.
Protosymbulos, name given by Theophanes to the caliph, v., 498 *note*.
Provestiars, officer of the Byzantine emperors, vi., 85.
 Provinces, Roman, i., 20 *sq.*; government of, 38; division of the Latin and Greek provinces, 41; division of, between emperor and senate, 70; oppressed by Maximin, 188; governors of, under Constantine, ii., 181 *sq.* and *notes*; Seven Provinces, iii., 376 and *note*; assembly of the Seven, *ib.* 377 and *note*.
 Provincials (Provençals), vi., 291.
 Prudentius, books against Symmachus, iii., 204 *note*; against gladiatorial combats, 272 and *note*.
 Prusa, baths at, i., 49 *note*; taken by the Goths, 284; Vetricio banished to, ii., 251; reduced by Andronicus, v., 256; conquest of, by Orhan, vii., 25; *see* Bursa.
 Prussia, Goths in, i., 262.
 Prussians invade Britain, iv., 158.
 Prypec, river, i., 263.
Psallition, or the scissors, name given to Alexander the Logothete, iv., 424.
 Psalmody, ii., 404 *sq.*
 Psellus, Michael, instructor of Michael VII., v., 238; vi., 111 *note*; revived study of Plato, vii., 132 *note*.
 Psellus the elder, vi., 111 *note*.
 Psephina, tower (Neblosa, Castellum Pisanum) at Jerusalem, vi., 324 *note*.
 Paylli, African tribe, iv., 37 *note*.
 Ptolemais, or Acre, ii., 344 and *note*; taken by Saracens, v., 469; *see* Acre.
 Ptolemies, library of, iii., 210 *note*.
 Ptolemy I., Sôter, i., 415 *note*.
 Ptolemy II., Philadelphus, clears canal, v., 485 *note*; navy of, vi., 96 *note*.
 Ptolemy III., Euergetes, inscription of, at Adulis, iv., 248 *note*.
 Ptolemy, Roman senator, v., 321.
 Pudentius, African subject, iv., 292.
Pugione, a, Cleander's title, i., 100 *note*.
 Puisdu, Pierre, vii., 253 *note*, 298 *note*.
 Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius the Younger, Augusta, iii., 406; character and administration, *ib.* *note*; religious opinions of, 406; accedes Theodosius, 408; Empress of the East, 469; puts Chrysaphius to death, *ib.*; marries the senator Marcian, 470; death and canonization, iv., 81 and *note*.
 Puloi, Morgante Maggiore of, vii., 10 *note*.
 Pule Rudbar, or Hyrcanian Rock, v., 10 and *note*.
Pullani, or *Poullains*, vi., 327 *note*.
 Punic idiom, i., 41.
 Punishments, capital, revival of, iv., 51.
 Punjab, Timour in, vii., 53.
 Pupienus, i., 204 *note*.
Purim, Jewish feast, ii., 79 *note*.
 Purple chamber of the Byzantine palace, vi., 81.
 Purple colour, Phœnician, iv., 243 and *note*.
 Purple or porphyry, v., 221.
 Purpurius, ii., 353 *note*.
 Pusæus, ii., 521.
 Pydna, iv., 184 *note*.
 Pygmies, iii., 54 and *note*.
 Pylades, a dancer, i., 117.
 Pyramids, Egyptian, vii., 317 and *note*.
 Pyramus, river, v., 90 *note*.
 Pyrrhic dance, i., 12 and *note*.
 Pyrrhus, iv., 335.
 Pyrrhus, the Monothelite, v., 167.
 Pytheas, of Marseilles, i., 261 *note*.
 QUADRI, subdued by M. Antoninus i., 258 *note*, 254; wars with Commode, 94 *sq.* *note*; receive the Sarmatians, ii., 232; subdued by Commodus, 278 *sq.*; oppressed by Marcus Aurelius, iii., 66; invade Pannonia, *ib.* appeal to Valentinian, 69.
 Quadriburgium (Schenkenschanz), fortified by Julian, ii., 301 *note*.
 Quadrivium, vi., 111 *note*.
Questines, iv., 539.
Questor, ii., 195-196 and *notes*.
 Quarto-decimans, *see* Audians.
 Quierzy, assemblies at, v., 285.
 Quietists, *see* Hesychasts.
Quindecevir, iii., 199.
 Quinque Gentanei, i., 391 *note*.
 Quintianus, Bishop of Rodes, iv., 124 and *note*; life of, *ib.*
 Quintilian brothers i., 96.
 Quintilian, the critic, v., 484 *note*.
 Quintilius [M. Aurelius Claudius], brother of Claudius, i., 313 and *note*.

Junius Curtius, i., 204 *note*, 226 *note*.
Juvirites, i., 169 *note*.

Kaoca, palace of Harun al-Rashid at, vi., 37; *see* Nicephorium.

Kacine, iii., 257 *note*.

Kadagaisus, or Rhodogast, in league with Alaric, iii., 264 *note*; invades Italy, 278; besieges Florence, 279; threatens Rome, *ib.*; his defeat by Stilicho, 280; death, 281, 290.

Kadbod, King of the Frisons, iv., 88 *note*.

Kadiger, King of the Varni, iv., 169.

Kadulphus Cadomensis on miracle of the Holy Lance, vi., 318 *note*.

Kagæ, or Rei, princes of, v., 48 and *note*, 436; vi., 242.

Kagnachar, dominions of, iv., 109 *note*.

Kagusa, i., 24; taken by the Saracens, vi., 41 *note*; treaty of, with Murad Sultan, vii., 33 *note*.

Kahdi, the Abbāsīd, vi., 57.

Rahzadh (Persian general), defeats Heraclius, v., 75 *note*.

Kainulf, count, leader of the Normans, vi., 183 and *note*; receives Siponto and Mount Garganus, 187 *note*.

Ralph of Coggeshall, vi., 367 *note*.

Ramadan, Mahommedan fast, v., 870.

Rama, kingdom joined to Hungary, vii., 297 *note*.

Rama, submits to Saracens, v., 467 and *note*; crusaders at, vi., 321; battle of, 359 *note*.

Rametta, taken by the Saracens, vi., 41 *note*; battle of, 185.

Ramlah, *see* *Rama*.

Ramusio, history of the conquest of Constantinople by, vi., 430 *note*.

Randnitz, vii., 288.

Rando, chief of the Alamanni, enters Mentz, iii., 36.

Ranzanus, Peter, on Corvinus, vii., 156 *note*.

Raphael, his picture of the apparition of SS. Peter and Paul to Attila, iii., 500 and *note*; his fresco of the battle of Ostia, vi., 44 *note*; finding of his coffin, vii., 322 *note*, 337.

Rasaphe, or Sergiopolis, tomb of Sergius and Bacchus at, v., 56 and *note*.

Ratchis, duke, v., 7 *note*.

Ratiaria, magazine of arms at, iii., 261; destroyed by the Huns, 449 and *note*.

Rationales, ii., 196 *note*, 197 and *notes*.

Ravenna, naval station, i., 19; besieged by Maximian, 435; account of, iii., 273 and *note*, *sq.* and *notes*; Stilicho

slain at, 395; entered by Ardaburius and Aspar, 419; arsenal of, restored by Majorian, iv., 24; besieged by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, 192; buildings of Theodoric at, 205 *note*; taken by Belisarius, 353, 355 and *note*; Narses at, 442; marshes near, *ib.* *note*; exarchate of, v., 24 and *note*; set on fire by Justinian II., 195 *note*; sedition concerning image worship at, 279 *sq.*; Greeks expelled from, *ib.*; subdued by Astolphus, 283 and *note*; mosaics of, given to Charlemagne, 292 *note*; marbles taken from, to Aix la Chapelle, vii., 323 and *note*.

Ravennika, parliament at, vi., 447 *note*.

Raymond, Count of Toulouse, v., 245; takes part in the first crusade, vi., 276, 291; march to Constantinople, 296 *sq.*; relation of, to King of France, 301; at Dorylaeum, 308; illness of, 309; at Antioch, 315; guardian of the Holy Lance, 316; expedition into Syria, 320; at siege of Jerusalem, 323; saves the garrison, 324; refuses crown of Jerusalem, 324 *note*; death of, *ib.*

Raymond, Count of Toulouse, in thirteenth century, his heresy, vii., 254 *note*.

Raymond, Count of Tripoli, treachery of, vi., 358 *sq.*

Raymond des Agiles, on legend of the Holy Lance, vi., 318 *note*.

Raynal, Abbé, *Histoire des deux Indes* by, ii., 331 *note*; his criticism on Montesquieu, 414.

Rayy, *see* *Ragæ*.

Rasis, Arabian physician, v., 504 *note*.

Recared, son and successor of Leovigild, conversion of, iv., 101, 153.

Rechiarus, King of the Suevi in Spain, message to Theodoric, iv., 13; defeated by Theodoric, *ib.*

Recitach, son of Theodoric, son of Triarius, iv., 186 *note*.

Red Sea, part of Mare Rubrum, v., 333 *note*.

Reformation, Protestant character and consequences of, vi., 131 *sqq.*

Reformatores, council of the Seven, vii., 304 *note*.

Reggio, conquered by Robert Guiscard, vi., 195.

Regia Potestas, i., 71 *note*.

Regilianus, Emperor, i., 296, 300 *note*.

Reginald of Châtillon, vi., 358 and *note*.

Regnum, *see* *Tiara*.

Rehimene, province of, i., 404 *note*.

- Reindeer in Germany, i., 233.
 Reinier, brother of Marquis of Montferrat, vi., 404 *note*.
 Rei, *see* Ragæ.
 Reis Effendi, principal secretary of the sultan, vii., 158.
 Reiske, vii., 135.
 Reland, treatise on the spoils of the temple at Jerusalem, iv., 6 *note*; on Mahomet, v., 372 *note*; on wars of Mahomet, 384 *note*; on the Holy Land, 461 *note*.
 Relics, worship of, iii., 221; trade in, vi., 429, 455 *sq.*
 Remigius, Bishop of Rheims, iv., 115 and *note*; epistles of, *ib.*
 Remigius, master of the offices, iii., 49.
 Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, his character of Aëtius, iii., 473 *note*.
 Renaudot, Abbé, v., 174 *note*.
 Rennel, Major, his maps and memoirs of Asia, iv., 247 *note*; maps of Hindostan, vii., 53 *note*.
 Rennes, subdued by the Britons of Armorica, iv., 161.
Renuntiatio, i., 73 *note*.
 Repentance, doctrine of, ii., 34.
 Republic, Roman, name of, confined to the Latin provinces, iii., 379.
 Resaina, Persians defeated by Mithreus at, i., 206 *note*.
Res mancipi, iv., 517 *note*.
 Restan or Arethusa, ii., 490 *note*.
 Restitutus, sub-deacon, confessor who spoke with tongues, iv., 98.
 Restom, or Rostam, hero, iv., 387 *note*; romance of Restom and Isfendiar, *ib.*; *see* Rustan.
 Resurrection of the dead, ii., 30; church of the, on Calvary, ii., 483; Mohammedan belief in, v., 371 *sq.*
 Retiarius, i., 103.
 Retz, Cardinal de, his description of Conclave of 1665, vii., 250 *note, sq. note*.
 Revenue, total under Augustus, i., 174 and *note*; of the Christian Church, ii., 53.
Rex, title of, vi., 341 *note sq.*
Rex Romæ, vii., 297 *note*.
Rex versuum, vii., 266 *note*.
 Rhadagast, iii., 277 *note*.
 Rhætia, i., 24, 353; invaded by the Goths, iii., 264 and *note*; Alamanni in, iv., 113 *note*.
 Rhazates, general of Chosroes II., v., 96.
 Rhegium, taken by Totila, iv., 437; Columna Rhegina, v., 24 and *note*.
 Rheims, taken by the Germans, iii., 285; siege of, by Chlodwig, iv., 112 *note*; baptism of Clovis at, 115 and *note*.
 Rhetoric, study of, encouraged by Valentinian, iii., 23; iv., 280.
 Rhine, freezing of the, i., 232; ~~see~~ posts of Julian on the, ii., 301 and *note*; fortified by Valentinian, iii., 37; crossed by the Suevi, ~~see~~ dals, Alani and Burgundians, 284.
 Rhodanus, chamberlain, iii., 21 *note*.
 Rhodes, Island of, conquered by Chosroes, v., 77; attacked by Saracens, ~~see~~ and *note*; colossus of, *ib.*; ~~see~~ by John Vataces, vi., 450; ~~see~~ to Michael, 490; conquered by the Turks, vii., 27 *sq.*
 Rhodope, ridge of mountains, iii., 11 *note*.
 Rhodosto, Andronicus and John Philologus at, vii., 41.
 Rhœteum, city of, ii., 155.
 Rhyndactus, river, i., 285.
 Riada, battle of, vi., 151 *note*.
 Rialto, island of, vi., 396.
 Riazan, city of, taken by the Moors, vii., 16 *note*.
 Richard I. of England, in the East, v., 361, 364 *sqq.*; treaty with Saladin, 367 *sq.*; conquers Cyprus, 390; answer to Fulke of Neuilly, 394.
 Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity, v., 367 *note*.
 Richard, Count of Aversa, vi., 190.
 Richard de St. Germano, vi., 371 *note*.
 Richard of Cirencester, i., 5 *note*, 40 *note*; on Cities of Britain, iii., 45 *note*, 373 *note*.
 Richard of Cornwall, candidate for Roman kingdom, v., 327 *note*.
 Richomer, count of the domestics, v., 108; ambassador to the Great camp, 117 *sq.*; retreat of, at Edrianople, 118.
 Ricimer, Count, family of, iv., 10; destroys Vandal fleet, *ib.*; deposes Avitus, *ib.*; consents to elevation of Majorian, 17; causes his deposition, 26; reigns under name of Severus, 27; negotiations with Eastern Empire, 30; marries daughter of Anthemius, 34; ~~see~~ at Orleans, 41; resides at Milan, 45; marches to Rome, 47; ~~see~~ Rome, 48; death, 49.
 Rienzi, Cola di, the Roman tribune, account of, vii., 269 *sqq.*; ~~see~~ government of Rome, 273; tribune, 273; laws of, *ib. sq.*; ~~see~~ 274; his Italian policy, 277; ~~see~~ 278; knighthood, 280 *sqq.*; ~~see~~ nation of, 281; arrests Cola di Rienzi, 282; fall and flight of, ~~see~~

- sqq.*; at Prague and Avignon, 288; senator of Rome, 289; death of, 290; his pyre, 816 *note*; knowledge of Roman antiquities, 334.
- Limini, council of, ii., 342 and *note*, 374 *sq.* and *note*; confession of, 500; Alaric at, iii., 303; conference at, between Jovius and Alaric, 333; British bishops at the Council of, 375 *note*; taken by John the Sanguinary, iv., 347; siege of, by the Goths, *ib.*
- Linaldo, hero of Tasso, vi., 292 *note*.
- Liothamus, British chieftain, sails up the Loire, iv., 42.
- Lipaille, hermitage of, near Thonon, vii., 119 and *note*.
- Lipuarian Law (*Lex Ribuaria*), iv., 131 and *note*.
- Lipuarians or Riparii, join Theodoric against the Huns, iii., 487 and *note*; Franks, territory of, iv., 110 *note*.
- Lizzo, Antonio, ship of, sunk by the Turks, vii., 174 and *note*.
- loads, Roman, i., 54 and *note*.
- Robert of Courtenay, Emperor of Constantinople, vi., 450 *sq.*
- Robert, Count of Flanders, letter of Alexius I. to, vi., 261 *note*; in first crusade, 290; march to Constantinople, 297, 301.
- Robert, King of Naples, vii., 324 and *note*.
- Robert, Duke of Normandy, in first crusade, vi., 290; march to Constantinople, 297; at siege of Nice, 312; refused crown at Jerusalem, 324 *note*.
- Robert of Paris, ascends the throne of Alexius, vi., 302 and *note*.
- Roderic, of Toledo, v., 504 *note*, 508 *note*.
- Roderic the Goth, iv., 153; supplants the sons of Witiza, v., 503; escapes from battle of Xeres, 506; legend of, 507 *note*.
- Rodosto or Rhaedestus, vi., 443.
- Rodugune, iv., 170.
- Rogation, consular of Tuscany, iv., 22 *note*.
- Rogatians, Donatist sect of, ii., 355.
- Rogatus, father of Paula, iii., 306.
- Roger I., Count of Sicily, measures Naples, iv., 330 *note*; introduces silk manufacture into Sicily, vi., 76.
- Roger II., Count of Sicily, conquers Sicily, vi., 199 *sqq.*; reign of, 217 *sqq.*
- Roger de Flor, Catalan chief, account of, vi., 501 *note*; Admiral of Romania, *ib.*; made Caesar, 503; death of, *ib.*
- Roger de Loria, Catalan admiral, vi., 500.
- Roger, M., *Carmen Miserabile* of, vii., 6 *note*.
- Rohde, Th., on coins of Aurelian, i., 315 *note*.
- Rollo, funeral of, vi., 181 *note*.
- Roman Empire, Holy, foundation of, v., 300; division of, 888 A.D., 312 *sq.*; transactions of the Western and Eastern empires, 314 *sq.*; electoral college of, 327 *sq. note*; abolition of, vii., 219 *note*; relations of emperors to popes, 219 *sqq.*
- Roman Empire, its decline, author's Preface, i., v. *sqq.*; in the second century, 1; boundaries under Augustus, 8; military establishment, 10 *sqq.*; naval and military force of, 20; extent of the empire, 29; population, 46 and *note*; union of, 47; number of cities in, 52 and *note*; refinement and luxury, 58; eastern commerce of, 59 *sq.*; felicity and decline of, in second century, 61 *sqq.*; condition after the battle of Actium, 65 *sq.*; imperial system, 74; happiest period of, 85; sale of, by the prætorians, 116 *sq.*; civil wars of, 127 *sq.*; attempted division of, by Caracalla and Geta, 144 and *note*; under Severus, 166; finances of, 171 *sqq.*; want of hereditary succession, 182; decline of, 209; limits of, under Philip the Arabian, 210; invasion of the Goths, 261 *sq.*; division of, under Diocletian, 382 and *note*; treaty between Diocletian and Narses, 404 *sqq.*; decline of the arts and letters, 422 *sq.*; disturbances after Diocletian's abdication, 425 *sqq.*; six emperors, 440; under Maximin and Licinius, 444; war between Constantine and Maxentius, 447 *sqq.*; division of, between Constantine and Licinius, 463; treaty of peace after the battle of Mardia, 466; united under Constantine the Great, 476; divided into 116 provinces, ii., 181; division among the sons of Constantine, 237; Christianity the national religion, 330 *sqq.*; treaty of Dura, memorable era in the decline of, 556; division into East and West under Valentinian I., iii., 11; fall of, dates from reign of Valens, 73. *See* Greek Empire, Western Empire.
- Roman island, i., 351 *note*.

- Roman religion, i., 32 *note*.
- Romans, number of, in the Punic war, iii., 805 and *note*; in Gaul, under the Merovingians, iv., 148 and *note sqq.*; language of, 150 and *note*; their fondness for the factions of the circus, 233 *sq.*; intercourse with the Greeks, 474; name of, in the empire of Constantinople, vi., 108.
- Romanus I., Lecapenus, commands fleet, v., 222 and *note*; reign, 222; rebellion of his children, 223; compared to Pippin, 228 *note*.
- Romanus II. (Emperor), v., 224; children of, 225.
- Romanus III., Argyros (Emperor), v., 231 *sq.*
- Romanus IV., Diogenes, marries Eudocia, v., 287; deposed, 288; his wars against the Turks, vi., 247; defeated by Alp Arslan, 248; captivity and deliverance of, 250.
- Romanus, son of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, vi., 91.
- Romanus, Count, in Africa, iii., 48 *sqq.*; chronological difficulties of the history of, 50 *note*.
- Romanus, governor of Bosra, v., 445.
- Romanus, military duke, ambassador to Attila, iii., 474 *note*.
- Rome, Church of, foundation of, ii., 50 and *note*; statistics of, in third century, 65 and *notes*; under Constantine, 404 *sqq.*; vices under Valentinian, iii., 81; accepts image worship, v., 274; discipline different from that of the Greek Church, vi., 388; quarrel with Greek Church, 384 *sqq.*; corruption of, vii., 104; great schism of, 297 *sqq.*
- Rome, greatness of, i., 81; foreign creeds in, 35; number of citizens, 37; freedom of, *ib. sq.*; monuments at, 47 and *note*; date of its foundation, 209 *note*; threatened by the Alemanni, 277; pestilence in, under Gallienus, 302; fortified by Aurelian, 322; sedition at, under Aurelian, 337; Diocletian and Maximinian, first emperors who did not live in, 407; Diocletian visits Rome, 408; Maxentius resides at, 447; Babylon of the primitive Christians, ii., 27; destruction of, predicted, *ib.*; fire under Nero, 90; præfects of, 180; vicars of, 181 *note*; visit of Constantius to, 276 *sqq.*; council of, 353; appeals to See of Rome sanctioned by the Council of Sardica, 390 *note*; 424 temples at, 482 *note*; inquiry concerning magic at, *ib. sq.*; conversion of, to Christianity, 203 *sqq.*; prosperity in the Italic age, 308 *sqq.*; description of, 311 *sqq.*; population of, 312 and *note*; house rent, 325 and *note*; siege by Alaric, 326 *sqq.*; second siege, 334 *sqq.*; third siege, 339 *sqq.*; pillage and fire of, 341 *sqq.*; restoration of the *Fora* of, 344 *note*; sack of, by troops of Charles V., 346 *sq.*; laws for the relief of, 356; restoration of the city, *ib.* and *note*; sacked by Genseric, iv., 5 *sq.*; Majorian protects the edifices of, 21 *sq.*; sacked by Ricimer, *ib. sq.*; monasticism in, 65; under Theodoric the Great, 203 *sqq.*; citizens invite Belisarius, 333; taken by Vitiges, *ib. sqq.*; circumstances of, 336 and *note*; distress during the siege, 341 *sqq.*; besieged by Totila, 427 *sqq.*; famine, taken by Totila, 430; by Belisarius, 433; retaken by Totila, 436; Narses, 445; five sieges of, *ib. note*; citizens send embassy to Tiberius and Maurice, v., 22; sack of, 24; subject to the exarch of, *ib. sq.*; depopulation, 33 *sq.*; preserved by the relics of the apostles, 34; temples of, attacked by Gregory, 34; republic of, 280; territory of the duchy of, *ib.* and *note*; style of the Roman senate and people revived, 281; attacked by the Lombards, 282; saved by Pepin, *ib. sq.*; separation from the Eastern Empire, 298 *sq.*; plundered by the Arabs, vi., 42 *sq.*; Constantine attempts to restore seat of empire to, 106; siege of, by Henry of Germany, 212; Saracens visit, Robert Guiscard at, 214; comparison with Constantinople, vii., 138; revolutions at, from the eleventh century, 218 *sqq.*; French and German emperors of, 219 *sqq.*; authority of the popes, 221 *sqq.*; Bernard's character of the Roman senate, 228 and *note*; restoration of the senate, consuls and tribunes, *ib. sqq.*; of the Capitol, 235; of the præfects of the city, 237 *sq.*; revolution of A.D. 1191, 240 *note*; first municipal statute of, *ib.*; with neighbouring cities, 246 *sq.*; popes reside at Avignon, 255; nobles and barons of, 258 *sq.*; coronation of Petrarch at, 268 *sq.*

conspiracy of Rienti, 272; city under his administration, 273 *sqq.*; taxation of, 274; population in fourteenth century, *ib. note*, 326 and *note*; in sixteenth century, *ib.*; in eighteenth century, 336 *note*; Pope Gregory XI. returns from Avignon to, 298; state of during the great schism, 297; last revolt of, 301; last coronation of a German emperor at, 302; statutes and government of, 303 *sqq.*; councils of, 304 *sq.*; conspiracy of Porcario at, 305 *sqq.*; last disorders of the nobles, 306; absolutely ruled by the popes, 307 *sqq.*; taken by Charles V., 308; authorities for its history in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, 311 *note*; *quartieri* (franchises) of, 310 and *note*; Poggius' description of, 313 *sqq.*; her buildings and ruins, *ib.*; decay of, 316 *sq.*; four causes of destruction, 317 *sqq.*; games at Rome, 330; bull-fight at, 331 *sqq.*; barbarism of the Romans, 334 *sqq.*; restored under Martin V. and his successors, 336 *sqq.*

Rome, topography and buildings:—

Amphitheatre of Titus, *see* Colosseum.

Aqueducts, vii., 337.

Arches of: Antoninus, vii., 327 *note*. Augustus, 315 *note*. Claudius, *ib.* Constantine, 315. Faustina, *ib.* Gallienus, *ib.* Julius Cæsar, 327 *note*. Lentulus, 315 *note*. Severus, 315. Tiberius, *ib. note*. Titus, 315, 327 *note*.

Arx, vii., 235 *note*.

Augustus, Mausoleum of, vii., 316 and *note*.

Basilica Julii, iv., 355 *note*.

Baths of: Alexander, vii., 315 and *note*. Caracalla, iii., 321 *sq.*; vii., 314. Constantine, 315, 335. Decius, 315 *note*. Diocletian, i., 433 and *note*; vii., 314. Nero, 315 *note*. Titus, 315 and *note*. Trajan, 315 *note*. Scipio Africanus, iii., 321 *note*.

Bridges: Milvian, vii., 248. Salarian, inscription on, iv., 440 *note*. Of St. Angelo, vii., 256 *note*.

Cæcilia Metella, tomb of, vii., 325 *note*, 327 and *note*.

Campus Martius, vii., 324.

Capitol, *see* below, under Hills.

Castles: Torre di Bove, vii., 327 *note*.

Of the Brati, 327 *note*. Cartularia,

Rome, topography and buildings—*continued*—

ib. Of the Cenci, 328 *note*. Of the Colonna, 316 *note*, 327 *note*. Of the Cosecti, 327 *note*. Of the Frangipani, *ib.* Of the Pierleoni, 226 *note*, 328 *note*. Of the Savelli, 327 *note*. St. Angelo, 259, 316, 328 and *note*.

Catulus, vaults of, vii., 314.

Cestius, pyramid of, vii., 314.

Churches, shape of, vii., 324. St. Angelo, vii., 272. St. George, *ib.* St. John Lateran, *lex regia* in, 271 and *note*, 332. St. Maria in Ara Cœli, 236 *note*, 280 *note*. St. Maria in Turri, 224 *note*. St. Maria Maggiore, 314 *note*, 332. St. Maria sopra Minerva, 322 *note*, 323 *note* (Pantheon). St. Paul, pilgrimage to, a title to absolution, 256. St. Peter, first coronation in, 220 *note*; pilgrimage to, a title to absolution, 256, 325; its defences, 328; "the most glorious" religious structure, 337. St. Stephen (in Piazza di Pietra), 315 *note*.

Circus Agonalis, vii., 330 and *note*.

Colosseum or Coliseum, vii., 329 *sqq.*; used as a quarry, 332 *sq.*

Columns of: Marcus Antoninus, vii., 315 and *note*. Trajan, 315.

Constantine, church and palace of, vii., 280.

Crescentius, Tower of, vii., 259.

Forum olitorium, vii., 236 *note*.

Gates; Asinarian, Belisarius enters Rome by, iv., 333, 343; opened by Isaurians to Totila, 431. Aurelian, 346 and *note*. Capena, 344 and *note*. Flaminian, opened to Belisarius, 335. Maggiore, 339. Pincian, 340 and *note*. St. Paul, opened to Goths, 437. Salarian, 335; assaulted by Vitiges, 339; Goths enter by, 343 *note*.

Goths, camps of the, at the gates, iv., 337 *note*.

Hadrian, Mausoleum of (Castle of St. Angelo), iv., 337 and *note*; vii., 259, 316, 327 *sq.* and *note*.

Hills; Aventine, vii., 272. Capitoline, in Middle Ages, 235 and *note*; fortification of, 236; Poggius on, 314 and *note*; legend of the capitol, 334 *sq.* and *note*. Palatine, Poggius on, 314. Tarpeian, 236 *note*. Testacean, 330 and *note*.

Lateran, *see* under Churches and Palaces.

Rome, topography, and buildings—*continued*—
 Leonine city, foundation of, vi., 45 and *note*.
 Library, Palatine, destroyed by Gregory I., v., 34.
 Meta Romuli, vii., 256 *note*.
 Monasteries, vii., 325 and *note*.
 Navalia, near Monte Testaccio, iv., 437 *note*.
 Navona, vii., 330 *note*.
 Nero's tower, Garden of, vii., 331.
 Obelisks, Egyptian, ii., 277 and *note*; vii., 315 and *note*, 337.
 Palaces: of Constantine, *see* above, Constantine. Farnese, vii., 333. Lateran, restored by Calixtus II., 227; Charles of Anjou in, 241; decay of, 292. Numa, 318 *note*, *sq.* *note*. Pincian, iv., 343 and *note*; of Severus (Septizonium), defended by nephew of Gregory VII., vi., 213; history and remains of, vii., 317 and *note*, 324, 327. Vatican, decay of, 292. Of Sallust, *see* Sallust.
 Pomœrium, vii., 271 *note*.
 Porticus crinorum, vii., 236 *note*.
 Regions of, vii., 327 and *note*.
 Rota porphyretica, vii., 220 *note*.
 St. Laurence, suburb of, vii., 273.
 St. Silvester, convent of, vii., 285 *note*.
 Septizonium, *see* Palace of Severus.
 Stadium, vii., 315 *note*.
 Statues: horses "of Phidias and Praxiteles," vii., 316, 334, 335 *note*; the Nile, 335; of Pompey, 335.
 Tabularium, vii., 236 *note*.
 Temples: of Concord, vii., 325 and *note*. Hercules (dedicated by Evander), 318 *note*. Janus, iv., 338 and *note*; vii., 327 *note*. Jupiter Capitolinus, 236 and *note*. Jupiter Stator, 318 *note*. Minerva, 335. The Moon, 318 *note*. Neptune, 315 *note*. The Pantheon, 314, 322 and *note*, *sq.* and *note*. Peace, v., 34; vii., 314; burned under Commodus, iv., 6 *note*. Vesta, 318 *note*, *sq.* *note*.
 Theatres of: Balbus, vii., 328 *note*. Marcellus, v., 34; vii., 226 *note*, 315, 327 and *note*. Pompeius, 315, 327 and *note*.
 Vatican quarter, iv., 340 (and *see* under Palaces).
 Via Flaminia, Narses on the, iv., 442 and *note*.
 Via Latina, iv., 333.
 Vivarium, iv., 339 and *note*.

Rome, New, ii., 168, *see* Constantinople.
 Romilda, v., 80.
 Romuald, Duke of Beneventum, v., 5 *note*.
 Romulus, Count, ambassador to Arminius, 474 *note*; his daughter, mother of Augustulus, iv., 56.
 Romulus, King, interregnum after, i., 34.
 Romulus, son of Maxentius, i., 445 and *note*.
 Roncaglia, diet of, v., 324.
 Roncesvalles, battle of, v., 304.
 Borico, iv., 127 *note*, *sq.* *note*.
 Rosamund, daughter of Coning, King of the Gepides, marries Alboin, v., 6; murders him, 13 *sq.*; flight and death, 14.
 Roselli, Niccolò, vii., 225 *note*.
 Rospigliosi, Italian family, vii., 22 *note*.
 Rossano, held by the Goths, iv., 434 and *note*; seven convents at, vii., 15 *note*.
 Rosweyde, Lives of the Fathers, iv., 2 *note*.
 Rotharis, King of the Lombards, iv., 12 *note*; laws of, v., 27 *note*; concerning witchcraft, 32.
 Rotrud, daughter of Charles the Great, v., 202 *note*.
 Rouda, island of the Nile at Memphis, v., 475.
 Roum, Seljukian kingdom of, vi., 22 *sq.*; extent of, 306.
 Roumelia, i., 25; Eastern and Western, *ib.* *note*.
 Rousseau, on animal food, iii., 75 *note*; his parallel between Christ and Socrates, v., 111 *note*.
 Rovere, Jacova di, vii., 331.
 Rowe, Mr., his tragedy of the Boy-Convert, iv., 170 *note*.
 Roxolani, Sarmatian tribe, i., 263, 26 *note*; iii., 96 and *note*.
 Rubies, in the East, vi., 237 and *note*; in caliph's treasure at Cairo, 35 *note*.
 Rubruquis, the monk, traveller, iii., 2 *note*; visits the court of the great Khan, vii., 6 *note*, 20 *note*.
 Rudbeck, Olaus, i., 233 *note*, *sq.*
 Rudolph, Emperor, v., 327 *note*.
 Rudolph, Norman adventurer in Italy, vi., 182 *note*.
 Rufinus, minister of Theodosius the Great, iii., 182; eye-witness of the destruction of the temple of Serapis, 209 *note*; character and administration, 229 *sqq.*; accuses Tatian and Proculus, 230; prefect of the

- East, 232; oppresses the East, *ib. sqq.*; death, 241; correspondence with the Goths, 254.
- Rufinus, presbyter of Aquileia, *ii.*, 332 *note*; *iii.*, 263 and *note*; on monastic institutions, *iv.*, 70 *note*.
- Ruga, Spurius Carvilius, *iv.*, 510 *note*.
- Rugians, at the battle of Ohâlons, *iii.*, 489; invade Britain, *iv.*, 158; usurp Gothic throne, 422.
- Rugilas, or Roas, uncle of Attila, *iii.*, 441; death, 442.
- Rukn ad-dawla, principality of, *vi.*, 57 *note*.
- Rukn ad-Dîn, prince of the Assassins, *vii.*, 13 *note*.
- Rumili Hissari, *see* Asomaton.
- Rûmiya, city of, *iv.*, 394 *note*.
- Runic characters, *i.*, 235 *note*.
- Ruotgerus, biographer of St. Bruno, *v.*, 312 *note*.
- Ruric, Scandinavian chief, *vi.*, 155 and *note*.
- Ruscianum, *see* Rossano.
- Rusium, battle at, *vi.*, 444.
- Russia, empire of, *iv.*, 177; geography and trade of, *vi.*, 157 *sqq.*; conquest of, by the Mongols, *vii.*, 15 *sq.*
- Russians, serve in the Greek navy, *vi.*, 97; their origin, 154; Greek form of the name, *ib. note*; colony of, in Hungary, 158; extent of their empire, 157 *sq.*; expedition of the, against Constantinople, 160 *sqq.*; their negotiations with the Greek emperor, 163 *sq.*; oppose the union of the Greek and Latin Churches, *vii.*, 143.
- Rustam, general of Yesdegerd, King of Persia, *v.*, 431; slain by an Arab, *ib.*
- Rustan, *i.*, 87, 221 *note*; and Asfendiar, Persian heroes, *iii.*, 84; *see* Restom.
- Rusticiana, widow of Boethius, *iv.*, 212; alleviates the famine in Rome, 432.
- Ruthenius of Verona, *vi.*, 103 *note*.
- Rutilius Namatianus, *iii.*, 248 *note*; paganism of, 297 *note*; voyage of, 357 *note*.
- Rutland, Rolando, Orlando, death of, *v.*, 304 *note*.
- Ruy Gonzalez de Olavijo, his embassy to the court of Timour, *vii.*, 70 *note*.
- SAADI EFFENDI, synopsis of, *vii.*, 25 *note*.
- Sana, city of, *iv.*, 412 *note*; *v.*, 388 and *note*; markets of, 339.
- Sabæans, or Homerites, Christianized by Theophilus, *ii.*, 332.
- Sabaria, Severus declared emperor at, *i.*, 122 *note*.
- Sabas, St., monastery of, *iv.*, 64 *note*, 232 *note*; intercedes for people of Palestine, 253 and *note*; courage of, *v.*, 163 *note*.
- Sabatius, father of Justinian, *iv.*, 219 *note*.
- Sabaton, lake, *i.*, 443 *note*.
- Sabellianism, *ii.*, 367 and *note, sq. note*.
- Sabellius, account of his heresy, *ii.*, 364 *note*.
- Sabians in Arabia, *v.*, 352; religion of, 353 *sq.* and *note*.
- Sabinian, conducts the war against Sapor, *ii.*, 288.
- Sabinian, general of Anastasius, *iv.*, 196.
- Sabinians, legal sect, *iv.*, 489 *sq.*
- Sabinus, Flavius, cousin of Domitian, *ii.*, 97 and *note*.
- Sabinus, Prætorian præfect, *ii.*, 142.
- Sabinus, Roman lawyer, *iv.*, 490, 496 *note*.
- Sables of Sweden, *iv.*, 197 and *note*.
- Sabrata, city of, *iii.*, 49; conquered by Saracens, *v.*, 489 *note*.
- Sacæ, tribe of, *i.*, 398 *note*.
- Sacrifices, human, of the Suevi, *i.*, 277; of the Scythians, *iii.*, 444 and *note*; of the Arabians, *v.*, 351 and *note*; public, at Rome, suppressed, *iii.*, 206.
- Sacrificial king, *iii.*, 199.
- Sad ad-Dîn, Ottoman historian, *vii.*, 63 *note*.
- Sadder, *i.*, 215 *note*.
- Sadducees, sect of, *ii.*, 23 and *note*.
- Sade, Abbé de, Life of Petrarch, *v.*, 329 *note*; *vii.*, 266 *note*; on the exile of Avignon, 254 *note*; on the Colonna, 261 *note*; his descent from Laura, 266 *note*.
- Sade, Hughes de, *vii.*, 265 *note*.
- Sadée, E., on accession of Tacitus, *i.*, 342 *note*.
- Saffâh, Al (or Abu-l-Abbâs), *vi.*, 21.
- Sagorinus, John, *vi.*, 139 *note*, 398 *note*.
- Sagreda, John, History of the Ottoman monarchs by, *vii.*, 217 *note*.
- Sagundinus, Nicolaus, on Mahomet II., *vii.*, 167 *note*.
- Sahib Koran, surname of Timour, *vii.*, 46 *note*.
- Said ibn Ahmad, *vi.*, 29 *note*.
- Said, lieutenant of the caliph Omar, *v.*, 433 *sq.*
- Saif, Homerite prince, restored by Nushirvan, *v.*, 43.
- Sain (Shâhin), Persian general, takes Mardin, etc., *v.*, 74 *note*; takes

- Caesarea in Cappadocia, *ib.*; not conqueror of Egypt, 76 *note*; interview with Heraclius, 81, 90 *note*.
- Saints, worship of, iii., 219 *sqq.*
- Sakaliba, *see* Lulon.
- Sala, river, iii., 38 *note*; Charlemagne's camp, at, v., 314.
- Saladine tenth, *see* Tythe.
- Saladin Sultan, v., 252; defends Alexandria, vi., 352; Grand Vizir of Egypt, 354 and *note*; character of, 354 *sq.*; conquest of Palestine, 357 *sqq.*; treats with Richard I., 367; death of, 368; embassy of Isaac Angelus to, 390 and *note*.
- Salankamen, battle of, vii., 82 *note*.
- Salarian bridge, battle at, iv., 334 *note*.
- Salban, v., 89 *note*; taken by Heraclius, 90.
- Salem, son of Ziyād, v., 439 *note*.
- Salerno, anonymous writer of, v., 315 *note*; school of, vi., 33 and *note*; subject to Greek emperor, 176; siege of, by the Saracens, 178, 182 *note*; by the Normans, 195; medical school of, 196 and *note*; Gregory VII. at, vii., 225.
- Sallian Franks, in Toxandria, ii., 298 and *note*.
- Salians, confraternity of the, iii., 200.
- Salic lands, iv., 141 and *note*.
- Salic laws, iv., 131 *note*.
- Salices [Ad], battle of, iii., 109 and *note*.
- Sālih Ayyūb, Sultan, vi., 373 *note*; death of, 376 *note*.
- Salimbene, Fra, vii., 263 *note*.
- Salisbury, siege of, iv., 160.
- Salle, town, i., 28.
- Sallet, A. von, on accession of Carinus and Numerianus, i., 347 *note*.
- Sallust, historian, description of the Moors, iv., 316; *Periplus* of, 397 *note*.
- Sallust, officer of Julian, ii., 292 and *note*, 422; *Præfect* of Gaul, 433 and *note*, 447 *note*.
- Sallust, Palace of, at Rome, destroyed by the Goths, iii., 344 and *note*.
- Sallust, *Præfect* of the East, judge at Chalcedon, ii., 447 and *note*; his advice to Julian, 531; refuses the empire, 545; his embassy to Sapor II., 549; again refuses the empire, iii., 7; *Præfect* of the East for the second time and quells revolt of Procopius, 15.
- Sallustia Barbia Orbiana, wife of Alexander Severus, i., 163 and *note*.
- Salmasius, i., 100 *note*; on silk, iv., 244.
- Salona or Sula, *see* Amphissa.
- Salona, residence of Diocletian, i., 419 description of, 419 *sqq.*; Diocletian's palace at, 420; fleet of Belisarius, iv., 426; Narses at, 441.
- Salonina, Empress, i., 280 *note*.
- Saloninus, son of Gallienus, i., 275, *note*.
- Salt, tax on, at Rome, vii., 274, 285.
- Salva, Castra of, iii., 37.
- Salvian, on Carthage, iii., 435 and *note*.
- Sāmān, a nobleman of Balkh, vi., *note*.
- Sāmānids, Saracen dynasty of, vi., *note*; fall of, 234.
- Samara on the Tigris, ii., 547 and *note*; residence of Motassem, vi., 34 *note*, 50; palace at, 48; name of, *ib.*
- Samarcand, iv., 376; missionaries, v., 159; conquered by the Saccens, 441 and *note*; defeat of the Turks by the Turks near, 444 *note*; Seljuk in, vi., 241; subdued by Malek Shah, 254; taken by Timur, vii., 9; observatory at, 46 *note*; Timur at, 54; triumph of Timur at, 70.
- Samaritans of Palestine, persecuted by Justinian, v., 145 *sq.*
- Samiel, hot wind, ii., 552 *note*.
- Samnites, i., 23.
- Samosata, massacre of heretics at, 410; taken by Zimisces, vi., *note*; rise of Paulician sect at, 117.
- Samothrace, inhabitants of, transported to Constantinople, vii., 210 *note*; Demetrius Palaeologus lord of, *ib.*
- Samoyedes, iii., 85; in Greenland, 197 *note*; vii., 19.
- Sampsiceramus, ii., 490 *note*.
- Samsamah, weapon of Caliph Harun, 37.
- Samuel, son of Shishman, vi., 142 *note*.
- Samuel the prophet, ashes of, brought to Constantinople, iii., 220.
- Samuka, general of Zingis, vii., 9 *note*.
- Sancho, the Fat, King of Leon, vi., *note*.
- Sanctuary, privilege of, ii., 343 and *note*.
- Sand, used for Mahometan ablutions, v., 369.
- Sandoval, History of, v., 513 *note*.
- Sandwich, iii., 45.
- Sangarius, river, iv., 266.
- Sangeles, for Count of St. Gilles, vi., *note*.
- Sangiar (Sinjār), Seljukian Sultan of Persia, vi., 348.
- Sangiban, King of the Alani, offered to betray Orleans to Attila, iii., *note*; at the battle of Châlons, 489.

- anjak*, iv., 267 and *note*; title given to Scanderbeg, vii., 157.
- anut*, family of, acquire Duchy of Naxos, vi., 435.
- anutus Marinus*, History of Jerusalem by, vi., 326 *note*.
- apaudia*, *see* Savoy.
- aphadin* or *Adel*, brother of *Saladin*, *see* *Adel*.
- aphrax*, Gothic warrior, iii., 96; *see* *Alatheus*.
- apor I.*, son of *Artaxerxes*, accession of, i., 228; Roman wars of, 290 *sqq.*; death, 331 and *note*.
- apor II.*, son of *Hormous*, King of Persia, birth of, ii., 237; besieges *Nisibis*, 239; defeats *Chosroes*, 240; defeats *Constantius*, 241; raises siege of *Nisibis*, 244; expedition to *Mesopotamia*, 283 *sqq.*; besieges *Amida*, 285; *Singara* and *Bezabde*, 287; attempts *Virtha*, 288; sends a messenger to *Hormisdas*, 535; his peace with *Jovian*, 548 *sq.*; invades *Armenia*, iii., 55 *sqq.*; death, 58.
- apor*, lieutenant of *Theodosius*, iii., 155.
- appho*, odes of, vi., 111 *note*.
- aracens*, Greek and Latin name for the *Arabians*, described by *Ammianus*, ii., 240 *note*; in the service of *Julian*, 517; iii., 96; in the service of *Valens*, 120 and *note*; pillage a town in *Syria*, v., 102; wars with *Theophilus*, 209; name applied to the *Arabians*, 342; derivation of name, *ib.* *note*; their caliphs, 425 *sq.*; military force of the, vi., 100 *sqq.*; *see* *Arabs*.
- aragossa* (*Cæsar Augusta*), city of, taken by *Euric*, iv., 41; Emir of, asks protection from *Charlemagne*, v., 307; mosque at, 510.
- arapana*, river, iv., 397 *note*.
- arbaraza* (*Shahrbaraz*), Persian general, v., 74 *note*, 85 *note*; conquers *Egypt*, 76 *note*; expedition to *Carthage*, *ib.*; defeated by *Heraclius*, 90 and *note*, 91; at *Chalcedon*, 94.
- arbar*, *see* *Sarbaraza*.
- ardes*, Turks driven from, vi., 335.
- ardica* (*Sofia*), *Galerius* dies at, i., 444 *note*; *Constantius* and *Vetranio* at, ii., 250 and *note*; Council of, 389 *note*, *sq.* and *note*; ambassadors of *Theodosius* and *Attila* meet at, iii., 458 *sq.*; *Justinian* born at, iv., 219 and *note*. *See* *Sophia*.
- ardinia*, Island of, ravaged by the *Vandals*, iv., 29; bishops exiled into, by *Thrasimund*, 92 and *note*; sur-
- rendered with *Corsica* to officer of *Justinian*, 308; Duke of, 310; *Arabs* and *Moors* at, vi., 44.
- Sarmatæ* (*Alani*), settled in *Gaul*, iii., 487 and *note*.
- Sarmatian games*, i., 470 *note*.
- Sarmatia*, province of, i., 253 *note*.
- Sarmatians*, i., 253 and *note*, 263 and *note*; subdued by *Probus*, 353; subdued by Emperor *Carus*, 355; allies of the *Goths*, 469; account of, ii., 227 *sqq.*; settlements on the *Danube*, 228; their Gothic wars, 230 *sqq.*; alliance with the *Quadi*, 232; colony of, in the Roman provinces, 233; crossed the *Danube*, 271; made into a kingdom by *Constantius*, 279; alliance with the *Quadi* against *Valentinian*, iii., 66 *sqq.*
- Sarnus*, or *Draco*, river, iv., 446 and *note*.
- Sarts*, tribe of, iii., 461 *note*.
- Sarukhan*, Emir of, subdued by *Bejaset*, vii., 35.
- Sarukhân*, Turkish chieftain, vii., 27 and *note*.
- Sarus*, Gothic warrior, joins *Stilicho*, iii., 279; pursues *Constantine*, 288; at *Bologna*, 295; ability of, 301; destroys a body of *Goths*, 339; supports *Jovinus*, 362; death, 363.
- Sarus*, river, battle at the, *Persians* defeated by *Heraclius*, v., 90 *sq.*
- Sasima*, Bishopric of, held by *Gregory Nazianzen*, iii., 152 and *note*.
- Sassan*, founder of the Persian dynasty, i., 213 *note*; house of, iv., 383.
- Sassanides*, Persian dynasty of, i., 212 and *note*.
- Sassoferrato*, iv., 443 *note*.
- Satala*, in *Armenia*, restored by *Justinian*, iv., 273.
- Satalia*, the ancient *Attalia*, Louis VII. at, vi., 344.
- Satires*, ii., 505 *note*.
- Satrapies*, Persian, i., 225 and *note*.
- Saturnalia*, at *Antioch*, ii., 511; of *Lipsius*, iii., 272 *note*.
- Saturninus*, *Cælius*, ii., 184 *note*.
- Saturninus*, competitor of *Gallienus*, tyrant in *Pontus*, i., 296, 298.
- Saturninus*, consul, iii., 384; count of the domestics, assassinated by order of *Eudocia*, 411.
- Saturninus*, Count, daughter of, chosen to marry *Attila*'s secretary, iii., 458.
- Saturninus*, general of the cavalry, operations of, against the *Goths*, iii., 110.
- Saturninus*, general of *Probus*, revolt, i., 359.

- Saturninus, husband of Theodora's favourite, iv., 281 *note*.
- Satyrs*, Greek, ii., 505 *note*; in Africa, iii., 54 and *note*.
- Saul, general of Stilicho, slain at Pol-lentia, iii., 267 *sq*.
- Sauromaces, King of the Iberians, expelled by Sapor, iii., 56.
- Sauzes, son of Amurath I., vii., 41 and *note*.
- Savary, travels in Egypt, v., 479 *note*, 488 *note*.
- Save, i., 25 *note*.
- Savelli, Lucas, senator, vii., 248 *note*, 286.
- Savelli, Roman family, vii., 259 and *note*, *sq. note*; member of, murdered at Rome, 307, 331.
- Saverne, ii., 294 and *note*.
- Savoy (Sapaudia), first mention of, iii., 476 *note*; Burgundians settle in, *ib*.
- Saxa Rubra, battle of, i., 454 *sq*.
- Saxons, i., 385 *note*; account of, iii., 89 *sqq.*; settlement in Gaul, 41; join Theodoric against Attila, 487 and *note*; converted by Roman missionaries in Britain, iv., 84; in Britain, 156 *sqq.*; Saxon heptarchy, 157 *sq.*; tribe of *old Saxons*, 157; invade Italy under Alboin, v., 9; vanquished by Charlemagne, 308.
- Saxony, ancient, v., 308 *sq*.
- Scabini, iv., 136 *note*.
- Scævola, Mucius, Roman lawyer, iii., 317 *note*; iv., 485.
- Scævola, Q. Cervidius, master of Papinian, iv., 483 *note*.
- Scaliger, vii., 185.
- Scanderbeg, Prince of Albania, vii., 145; birth and education of, 156 *sq.*; revolt of, from the Turks, 157 *sq.*; date of his birth, 158 *note*; valour of, 159; Calabrian expedition of, 160 and *note*; applies to Pope Pius II., 160; death of, at Alessio, *ib*.
- Scanderoon, Gulf of, Heraclius at v., 84.
- Scandinavia, i., 281 and *note*.
- Scanzia or Thule, *see* Thule.
- Scaramangion*, tunic of the Byzantine Emperors, vi., 83 *note*.
- Scarponna, battle of, iii., 85 *sq*.
- Scatinian law, *see* Law.
- Scaurus, family of, ii., 174 *note*.
- Scepticism, of the pagan world, ii., 59.
- Sceptre*, Greek (*dikanice*), vi., 485 *note*.
- Schiltberger, John, on battle of Nicopolis, vii., 87 *note*, 68 *note*.
- Schmidt, L., on German forces, i., 255 *note*; on boundaries of the Gepidae, iv., 366 *note*.
- Scholæ*, of guards, i., 419; military, 194; iv., 455 and *note*.
- Scholarius, *see* Gennadius.
- Scholasticus*, ii., 185 *note*.
- Schultens, Life of Saladin by, vi., 24 *note*.
- Schultingius, oration of, iv., 495 *note*.
- Science, cultivated by the Greeks, i., 2.
- Soili, Christian martyrs at, ii., 117 *note*.
- Scipio, Younger, iv., 519 *note*; at Carthage, vii., 208 *note*.
- Sciri, Scirri, *see* Scyri.
- Scironian rocks, iii., 256 and *note*.
- Sclavonia, crusaders in., vi., 293.
- Sclavonians, *see* Slavonians.
- Sclerena, concubine of Constantine (IX.), v., 284.
- Sclerus, *see* Bardas Sclerus.
- Soodra, or Scutari, crusaders at, vi., 293 and *note*.
- Soots, daughter of Pharaoh, iii., 42.
- Scotland, crusaders from, vi., 265 *note*; historians of, vii., 303 *note*.
- Soots and Picts, invade Britain, ii., 45 and *note*; iii., 45 *sq.*; description of, 43 *sq.* and *note*.
- Scotta, brother of Onegesius, present Maximin an interview with, iii., 461.
- Scourge of God*, epithet of Attila, 452 and *note*.
- Scribonianus, revolt of, i., 80 *note*.
- Scrinia, ii., 194 and *note*.
- Scudilo, Tribune, ii., 267.
- Scupi, iv., 267 *note*.
- Scutari, in Bithynia, *see* Chrysopolis.
- Scutari, in Dalmatia, *see* Soodra.
- Soylitzes, continuator of Cedrenus, 245 *note*.
- Soyllitan martyrs, ii., 66 *note*.
- Seyros, island, taken by the Venetians, vi., 485 *note*.
- Seyrri, rearguard of Uldin, iii., 405 *note*; iv., 51; defeated by Eder, 53.
- Soythians, *see* Tatars, name used by Goths, i., 288 and *note*.
- Soythia or Tartary, trade in furs, 470; situation and extent of, ii., 470 *sqq.*
- Soythopolis, iv., 253 *note*.
- Sebaeos, on sack of Jerusalem, v., 405 *note*.
- Sebastian, Count of Egypt, ii., 371 *note*, 552.
- Sebastian, Count, persecuted by Eusebius, iv., 94 and *note*.
- Sebastian, general of Valens, iii., 114 *note*; master general of infantry, 114 *note*; death, 118.

- lebastian, made emperor by Jovinus, iii., 362.
 lebastian, son-in-law of Boniface, persecuted, iii., 472; seizes Barcelona, *ib. note*.
 lebastocrator, title invented by Alexius Comnenus, vi., 84.
 lebasto-hypertatos, title of Leo Sguros of Nauplia, vi., 486 *note*.
 lebastopolis, fortifications of, iv., 402 and *note*.
 lebectagi, father of the Sultan Mahmud, vi., 234 and *note*.
 lebzar, village of, birthplace of Timour, vii., 46.
 lecond, the, office of, vi., 85.
 lecular games, i., 208 and *note*.
 lecondinus, Duke of Osrhene, ii., 519.
 lecutor, i., 103.
 leditiosus, meaning of, iv., 496 *note*.
 leek, on Diocletian's name, i., 377 *note*;
 on Maximian's character, 379 *note*;
 on panegyrics of Maximian, 381 *note*;
 on death of Diocletian, 419 *note*;
 on birth of Constantine, 429 *note*;
 on elevation of Licinius, 439 *note*;
 on death of Maximian, 443 *note*;
 on battle of Mardia, 465 *note*.
 lees, cruelty of Geoffrey of Anjou at, vii., 225 *note*.
 lefi, Sheik, fourteenth century saint, v., 418 *note*.
 legelmessa, i., 28.
 legestan, princes of, i., 221 *note*.
 legestans, i., 365; in the army of Sapor, ii., 285 and *note*; assist Yezdegard, v., 436.
 legjah, Arabian prophetess, v., 424 *note*.
 legued, Emperor of Abyssinia, v., 178.
 leid, *see also* Said.
 leid Beohar, vii., 81.
 leids, descendants of Mahomet, vii., 146 *note*.
 leifeddowlat, caliph, vi., 62.
 lejanus, i., 152 *note*.
 lelden, ii., 5 *note*.
 leleucia, i., 222 *sq.*; taken by Carus, 366; Julian at, ii., 530.
 leleucia, in Cilicia, besieged by the Isaurians, ii., 271.
 leleucia, in Isauria, council of bishops at, ii., 382.
 leleucus, Mount, battle of, ii., 258 and *note*.
 leleucus Nicator, i., 220 *note*; aera of, *ib.*
 lelgæ, battle at, Tribigild defeated at, iii., 388 and *note*.
 elim I. (Sultan), conquers Egypt, vi., 378 and *note*; (alleged) treatment of Greek Church, vii., 211 and *note*.
 Selina, salt pits of, vii., 158.
 Seljuk, vi., 289; founder of the Seljukian dynasty, 241 and *note, sq.*
 Seljukians, dynasty of, vi., 241 *sq.*; probably Christian, 241 *note*; invade the empire, 245; division of empire of, 257; revival of, vii., 85.
 Seljuks of Kirman, vi., 257 *note*.
 Selsey, near Chichester, given to Wilfrid of Sussex, iv., 166.
 Selymbria, residence of Andronicus and John Palæologus, vii., 41; besieged, by the Turks, 179.
 Sematsien, History of China, iii., 84 *note*.
 Semi-Arians, iii., 26.
 Semiramis, ii., 260 *note*.
 Semlin, crusaders at, vi., 286 *note*.
 Semno, chief of the Lygii, i., 355.
 Semnones, i., 277.
 Sempronian laws, i., 68.
 Senaar, ruins of, v., 175.
 Senate of Constantinople, ii., 451; office of President of, v., 229 *note*; authority of, eradicated by Leo VI., vi., 94.
 Senate of Rome, reformed by Augustus, i., 66; under the empire, 74; attempt of, after death of Caligula, 79; jurisdiction of, 108 and *note*; condemns Julianus, 125; oppressed by Severus, 131; opposes Macrinus, 152; women excluded from, 163; restored by Alexander Severus, 166; declares against Maximin, 192; elects Maximus and Balbinus emperors, 194; repulses the Alamanni, 279; not admitted to military offices, *ib.*; under Tacitus, 346 *sq.*; under Diocletian and Maximian, 409 *sqq.*; taxed by Constantine, i., 458 *note*; majority of Roman senators remained Pagans, iii., 201 and *note*; debate concerning worship of Jove or Christ, 204 and *note*; armed ten legions, 278 *note*; Stilicho refers the demands of Alaric to the, 291 *sq.*; filled with new families from the colonies, 306 *note*; condemns Serena, 326; conduct to Alaric, 328 *sq.*; refuses to allow Pagan sacrifices, 328; convened by Attalus, 386; condemns Avitus to death, iv., 15; elects Libius Severus, 27; supports Anthemius, 48; epistle to Zeno on transfer of seat of empire to the East, 55 *sq.*; deputies of, invite Justinian's lieutenant to enter Rome, 338; extinction of, 445; decrees of, 478; revival of, in twelfth century, vii., 238 *sqq.*; no senate

- between eighth and twelfth centuries, 233 *note*; election of, 238 *sq.*
- Senator*, title of, in middle ages, vii., 233 *note*; office of, 239 *sq.*; Charles of Anjou elected, 241; Rienzi, 289; Forensis, 303.
- Senatorial tax (*foliis*), i., 458 and *note*.
- Senators, Roman, i., 37 *note*, 103 *note*; in Theodosian age, iii., 306 *sqq.*
- Seneca, Quæst. Natur., ii., 74; on the luxury of Rome, iii., 310 and *note*; iv., 57 *note*; on Corsica, 92 and *note*; on comets, 462 and *note*.
- Seniors*, or *Lords*, iv., 141.
- Sens, Decentius at, ii., 257; Julian at, 293; monasteries at, iv., 169 *note*; Abderame at, vi., 15.
- Sentinum, battle of, vi., 443 *note*.
- Septem or Centa, taken by Roman tribune, iv., 309 and *note*; besieged by the Visigoths, 319 *sq.*; attacked by the Saracens, v., 502 and *note*, 504.
- Septetus*, interpretation of the word, v., 277 *note*.
- Septimania, retained by the Visigoths, iv., 127; invaded by Gontran, 181 *sq.*; invaded by Saracens, v., 510.
- Septizonium of Severus, *see* under Rome.
- Sepulchres of the Gauls, *see* Busta Gallorum.
- Sepulveda, vii., 289 *note*.
- Sequani, lands of the, taken by the Germans, iv., 138.
- Seraglio, ii., 158.
- Serai, city and palace of, vii., 18 and *note*.
- Serapeum, at Alexandria, *see* Serapis.
- Serapion, deacon of Chrysostom, iii., 398.
- Serapion, friend of Julian, v., 446 *note*.
- Serapion, saint of the Nitrian desert, v., 109; teaches Cyril of Alexandria, 114.
- Serapis, i., 145 *note*, 148; temple of, ii., 152; description of the temple of, at Alexandria, iii., 209 *sq.*; its destruction, 211 *sqq.*
- Seraticuli*, provincial troops of the Turks, vii., 180 *note*.
- Serbi, tribe of, v., 60 *note*.
- Serena, niece of Theodosius, marries Stilicho, iii., 238 and *note*; intercession of, concerning Alaric, 292; paganism of, 297 and *note*.
- Serendib, *see* Taprobana.
- Seres or Sinae, iv., 246 *note*.
- Sergieevich, vi., 160 *note*.
- Sergiopolis, *see* Rasaphe.
- Sergius IV., Duke of Naples, vi., 183 *note*.
- Sergius and Bacchus, saints and *note*, v., 56 and *note*.
- Sergius, the interpreter, ii., 238 *note*; 387 *note*.
- Sergius the Paulician, vi., 117 and pilgrimage of, 122 and *note*.
- Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, condemned by Third Council, 151 *note*.
- Sergius I., Pope, v., 195 *note*.
- Sergius, nephew of Solomon the emperor, iv., 418 and *note*, 419.
- Serica, iv., 246.
- Seriphus, island, i., 90 and *note*.
- Serjabil, friend of Caled, v., 445.
- Sergeants*, horsemen who were not knights, vi., 328, 410 and *note*.
- Seronatus, præfect of Gaul, *see* under iv., 45.
- Serranus, friend of Sidonius Apollinaris, iv., 2 *note*.
- Serres, city of, taken by the Seres, vi., 523 *note*.
- Servatius, St., of Tongres, iii., 484.
- Servetus, martyrdom of, vi., 133 and *note*.
- Servia, rebellion of, A.D. 1040, v., 1 *note*; dominant position of, fourteenth century, vi., 533 and code of laws of Stephen Dushan, 528; expedition of Cantacuzenus, 527.
- Servians, overthrown by the Bulgarians, vi., 140 and *note*; settlement at Constantinople, vii., 210 *note*.
- Servitudes*, term in Roman law, iv., 1 and *note*.
- Servius, civil law of Rome made by, 472.
- Sesostris, long wall of, v., 344 *note*.
- Sestus, ii., 154; fortifications at, 269.
- Severa, wife of Valentinian I., ii., 1 and *note*.
- Severianus, i., 460.
- Severinus, St., his prophetic speech, Odoacer, iv., 54; life of, by Gippius, *ib.* *note*; his bones in monastery of Misenum, 57; and *ib.* *note*.
- Severus, Alexander, i., 155 *note*; as Caesar, 161; reign, 162 *sqq.*; character, 170; murdered, 183; victory over Artaxerxes, 225; private ship of, v., 262 *note*.
- Severus, Bishop of Hermopolis, *see* under Arabic history of, v., 116 *note*.
- Severus, Bishop of Minorca, iii., 1 and *note*.

- Severus, blind man, miraculously cured, iii., 169.
- Severus, general of cavalry under Julian, ii., 294.
- Severus, Jacobite historian, v., 478 *note*.
- Severus, Libius, elected emperor by Ricimer, iv., 27; death, *ib*.
- Severus, officer of Galerius, made Cæsar, i., 427 and *note*; Augustus, 432; defeat and death, 435 and *note*.
- Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, Monophysite, v., 141 *note*, 163; Life of, *ib. note*.
- Severus, philosopher, consul under Anthemius, iv., 35.
- Severus, Septimius, i., 108 *note*; commands in Pannonia, 122; declared emperor, *ib*.; marches to Rome, 223; rapid march, 124 and *note*; disgraces the prætorians, 125; emperor, *ib*.; defeats Niger and Albinus, 126; reign, 127 *sqq.*; expedition to Britain, 140 *sqq.*; assumes the name *Pertinax*, 140 *note*; death, 142; promotes Maximin, 183; his treatment of the Christians, ii., 117 *sq*.
- Severus, Sulpicius, ii., 26 *note*; iii., 161 *note*; Dialogues, and Life of St. Martin by, iv., 81 *note*.
- Seville, in fourth century, iii., 364; siege, of, iv., 100; taken by Musa, v., 509; legion of Emesa at, 504; Christianity abolished in, 521.
- Sfetigrade, siege of, vii., 145 *note*, 159; site of, 159 *note*.
- Shabā, the great Khan, invades Persia, v., 48.
- Shafei, sect of, vi., 356.
- Shāhin, *see* Sain.
- Shahmanism, ancient religion of, vii., 143 *note*.
- Shah Mansūr, Prince of Fars, vii., 49.
- Shah *Nameh*, or book of Kings, iv., 387 *note*.
- Shāhraplakan, Persian general, v., 90 *note*.
- Shahrbarāz, *see* Sarbaraza.
- Shajar-ad-Durr, Queen of Egypt, vi., 376 *note*.
- Shamer, Arabian chief, v., 416.
- Sharokh, son of Timour, vii., 74.
- Shah Abbas, i., 204 *note*; plants colony at Isfahan, v., 519.
- Shah Allum, vii., 45 *note*, 74 *note*.
- Shargapāk (Persian general), raises siege of Tiflis, v., 94 *note*.
- Shaw, Dr., account of the Berbers, v., 501 *note*.
- Shawar, leader of a faction in Egypt, vi., 350 and *note*; death of, 358.
- Shazbān Khan of the Kirghiz Kazaks, vii., 50 *note*.
- Shebdiz, horse of Chosroes, v., 78.
- Sheibani Khan, conquers Siberia, vii., 18.
- Sheikhs, Arabian, v., 342.
- Shelun, or Zarun, descendant of Moko and conqueror of Tartary, iii., 275 and *note*.
- Sherefeddin Ali, his history of Timour, vii., 44 *note*, 64 *sq. note*; his account of Bajazet, 67.
- Sherhzour, city of, Heraclius at, v., 97.
- Sherif al-Edrissi, Arabian scholar, vi., 201 *note*.
- Sherif, used by Zonaras for ambassador, vi., 242 *note*.
- Sheroe, daughter of Chosroes, v., 56 *note*.
- Shiites, sect of Mahometans, v., 409; burial ground of, near tomb of Ali, 418.
- Shiracouh, Emir of Nouredin, vi., 351 and *note*; second invasion of Egypt by, 351; governs Egypt, 358.
- Shishman of Bulgaria, vii., 33 *note*; revolts against the Ottomans, 34 *note*.
- Shishman of Trnovo, kingdom of, vi., 142 *note*.
- Siam, i., 226 *note*.
- Siasset *Nameh*, or book of government by Nizam, vi., 256 *note*.
- Siberia, description of, iii., 85; conquered by Sheibani Khan, vii., 18.
- Sibylline books, consulted by Aurelian, i., 321 *sq.*; by Constantine, ii., 326; burnt by Stilicho, iii., 297.
- Sibyls, Christian, ii., 74.
- Sicamber, name applied by Remigius to Clovis, iv., 115 *note*.
- Sichem [Neapolis], temples at, ii., 482 *note*; position of, v., 145 *note*; taken by Saracens, 469; grove of Tasso near, cut down by crusaders, vi., 323.
- Sicily, i., 300; conquered by the Vandals, iv., 2, 40; ceded to Theodoric, 192; regained by Belisarius, 324 *sqq.*; plundered by Totila, 438 *sq.*; reduced by Artaban, 439; partly recovered by Maniaces, v., 232 *note*; conquered by the Arabs, vi., 40 *sqq.*; Roger the Norman introduces silk into, 76; Normans serve in, 184; princes of, legates of holy see, 201; Roger II., King of, 217; under William the Bad, 227; under William the Good, 228; subdued by Henry VI., 280; by Charles of Anjou, 495 *sqq.*; Sicilian Vespers, 499

- and *note*; falls under the House of Aragon, 500 *sq.*
- Sicininus, Basilica of, iii., 31 and *note*.
- Sicorius Probus, i., 403.
- Siculi, tribe of the Huns, vi., 153 *note*.
- Siculus, Peter, historian, vi., 116 *note*, 120 *note*.
- Sienpi, tribe of Tatars, iii., 90 and *note*; power of, 98; style themselves "Topa," 275.
- Sidon, manufacturers of, iv., 242; taken by Saracens, v., 469; Emir of, helps crusaders, vi., 321; lord of, in court of peers, 330; lordship of, *ib.* *note*; lost by the Franks, 379.
- Sidonius Apollinaris, on taxation, ii., 208; on Saxon pirates, iii., 41 *note*; on human sacrifices, 42 *note*; proposed history of Attila, 483; on Emperor Maximus, iv., 2 *note*; account of Avitus, 8 *note*, *sq.* *note*, 15; of the country life of the Gallic nobles, 9 *note*; of Theodoric, 10 and *note*, *sqq.*; panegyric on Majorian, 16 and *note*; on Anthemius, 38 and *note*, *sq.* and *note*; on trial of Arvandus, 42 *note*, 44; on Seronatus, 45 *note*; on Basilus, 59 and *note*; epistles of, 89 *note*; ambassador to Euric, 108.
- Siebenbürgen, *see* Transylvania.
- Siffin, plain of, battle of rival caliphs on, v., 412; site of, *ib.* *note*.
- Sigambrians, short hair of, iii., 479 *note*.
- Sigan, capital of China, iii., 89; Yesid dies at, v., 439.
- Siganfu, inscription of. *See* Singanfu.
- Sigebut, despoils the daughter of Eba of her estate, v., 514.
- Sigelgaita, *see* Gaita.
- Sigibert, King of Austrasia, iv., 99.
- Sigibert, King of the Ripuarian Franks, iv., 113 *note*.
- Sigismund (Emperor), protects the synod of Constance, vii., 106, 108, 300.
- Sigismund, King of the Burgundians, iv., 121 *sq.*; flight and death, 122.
- Sigismund, King of Hungary, war with Bajazet, vii., 37 *sq.*
- Signia, the Conti counts of, vii., 260.
- Sigonius on Roman law, iv., 537 *note*; on Pope Gregory I., v., 41 *note*; de Regno Italiæ, vi., 174 *note*.
- Silenus, character of, in Cæsars of Julian, ii., 505; in sixth eclogue of Virgil, *ib.* *note*.
- Silingi, in Bætica, iii., 365; exterminated by Wallia, 368.
- Sillistria, battle of, vi., 167 *note*.
- Silius Italicus, i., 41 *note*.
- Silk, trade in, i., 60; manufacture of, China, iv., 244 *sqq.*; imported from China, 245; in Greece, 1st *sq.* vi., 75; in Spain, Sicily and *ib.* 76.
- Silko, King of Nubia, conversion of, 175 and *note*; receives envoy from Justinian, *ib.*
- Silures, British tribe, i., 22; iv., 162.
- Silvanus, *see* Constantine Sylvanus.
- Silver, i., 60 and *note*.
- Silvester I., St. (Pope), baptizes Constantine the Great, v., 298; legend of his healing Constantine, vii., 260 and *note*.
- Silvester II. (Gerbert Pope), his epistle on Boethius, iv., 216 *note*.
- Simeon, King of Bulgaria, vi., 140 and *note*; besieges Constantinople, 141.
- Simeon, Greek minister, vi., 122.
- Simeon Metaphrastes, vi., 67 and *note*.
- Simeon Stylites, the Syrian hermit, 79 *sq.*
- Simeon, teacher of the Paulicians, 117; causes death of Sylvanus, *ib.*
- Simeons, Nestorian sect, revolt of, v., 11.
- Simocatta, *see* Theophylactus.
- Simon de Montfort, in fourth crusade, 395.
- Simon the Magician, v., 128.
- Simony, ii., 122 *note*.
- Simplicius, Bishop of Rome, ii., 341 and *note*; his ecclesiastical distribution of Rome, iv., 48 *note*.
- Simplicius, last of the philosophers, 285.
- Sindbal, leader of Heruli, iv., 451; *ib.* of, 453.
- Singanfu, inscription of, v., 160 *note*.
- Singara, site of, i., 404 *note*; battle of, ii., 241; taken by Sapor, 287; sent by Jovian to the Persians, 550.
- Singeric, brother of Sarus, Gothic law, iii., 366.
- Singidunum, destroyed by the Huns, 449. *See* Belgrade.
- Singing, tramontane, v., 37 and *note*.
- Siniatus, high priest of the Burgundians, iii., 38.
- Sinjar, Seljuk Sultan, vi., 257 *note*.
- Sinope, aqueduct at, i., 49 *note*; under David Comnenus, vi., 438 *note*; taken by Turks, *ib.*, and vii., 213 *sq.*; inhabitants of, sent to Constantinople, 210 *note*.
- Sintha, i., 405.
- Sion, Mount, ii., 479.
- Sipahis, vii., 60.
- Sira or Schirin, wife of Chosroes, v., and *note*; flight of, 97.

- Sirmium**, i., 312, 368; residence of the emperors at, 419; Julian enters, ii., 436; Arians at, iii., 25; held by Mesalla against the Quadi, 67; Valentinian enters, 68; Imperial court, 125; destroyed by the Huns, 449; subdued by Theodoric, iv., 200 and *note*; siege of, by the Avars, v., 59.
- Sirmond**, on Aetius, iii., 498 *note*.
- Siroes or Kabad**, son of Chosroes and Sira, v., 98; embassy to the Romans, 99; not son of Shirin, 99 *note*.
- Sisaurane**, fortress of, iv., 395.
- Siscia**, town of, taken by Magnentius, ii., 252.
- Sisebut**, Gothic king of Spain, persecutes the Jews, iv., 103 *sq.*
- Sisenand**, King of Spain, iii., 855 *note*.
- Sisinnius**, Bishop of Constantinople, v., 118.
- Sisman**, *see* Shishman.
- Sitifensis** (province), restored to the Empire, iv., 2 *note*.
- Sitifi**, in Africa, Theodosius at, iii., 53; reconquered for Justinian by Solomon, iv., 318.
- Sitones**, i., 241.
- Sittas**, Duke of Armenia, iv., 226 *note*, 293 *note*.
- Sixtus IV.** (Pope), alarmed by Turkish invasion of Apulia, vii., 217; disturbed state of Rome under, 307.
- Sixtus V.** (Pope), places obelisk of Constantine near St. John Lateran, ii., 278 *note*; economy of, vii., 307 *note*; places statues of SS. Peter and Paul on columns of Trajan and Antonine, 310 *note*; character of, 311; uses the ruins of the Septizonium, 317 *note*, 325; munificence of, 337.
- Slaves**, among the Romans, i., 43 *sqq.*; enter the army, ii., 191; join army of Alaric, iii., 330; under the Merovingians, iv., 142 and *notes sq.*; state under conquerors of Rome, 142 *sqq.*; under Justinian, 501 *sq.*
- Slaves**, *see* Slavonians.
- Slavonians**, origin of, iv., 369; inroads of, 370; account of, by Procopius, *ib. note*; in Illyricum and Thrace, 373 *sq.*, 454; under Charlemagne, v., 308; in Greece, vi., 73 and *note*; name of Slavs, 137 and *note*.
- Slavic legends**, iv., 219 *note*.
- Sleepers**, Seven, legend of the, iii., 437 and *note*, 438 *sqq.*
- Smallpox**, v., 356 *note*.
- Smaragdus**, first exarch of Ravenna, iv., 452; v., 10 *note*.
- Smith**, Adam, vii., 309 *note*.
- Smyrna**, i., 54 and *note*; restored to the empire, vi., 335; besieged by the Turks and defended by the Rhodian knights, vii., 30 and *note*; taken by the Mongols, 63.
- Sosmias**, mother of Elagabalus, i., 154, 163.
- Soatra**, vi., 337 *note*.
- Socotora**, Christianity in, v., 159.
- Socrates**, daemon of, v., 401 and *note*.
- Socrates**, ecclesiastical historian, ii., 364 *note*; on Chrysostom, iii., 397 *note*; on Pulcheria, 409 *note*.
- Soderini**, Roman family of, vii., 316 *note*.
- Soffarides** (Saffarids), dynasty of, vi., 55.
- Sofia**, *see* Sophia.
- Sogdiana**, province of China, i., 397 and *note*; plains of, iii., 91 and *note*; iv., 246.
- Sogdoites**, tributaries of the Turks, iv., 379 *sq.*
- Soissons**, vase of, iv., 110 *note*; city and diocese of, under Syagrius, 110 and *note*; arsenals of, 111 and *note*; taken by Clovis, 112; church of St. Drausus at, vi., 308 *note*; crusaders' Parliament at, 401.
- Solicinium**, Mount, iii., 37.
- Solidus**, or Constantinian *aureus*, ii., 207 *note*; Gallic, iv., 20 *note*.
- Soliman**, brother of the caliph Walid, besieges Constantinople, vi., 6 *sq.*; death, 8.
- Soliman**, Shah of Carizme, death of, vii., 24.
- Soliman**, son of Bajaset, vii., 62; submits to Timour, 68; character and death, 75.
- Soliman**, son of Cutulmish, conquers Asia Minor, vi., 258; his new kingdom of Roum, 260; threatens Constantinople, 261; conquers Jerusalem, 262 *sq.*; tempts the crusaders into plain of Nice, 288; kingdom of, invaded by the crusaders, 306 *sq.*; called Kilidge Arslan, *ib. and note*.
- Soliman**, son of Orchan, vii., 82; death, 33.
- Soliman**, the Magnificent, Ottoman Sultan, alleged treatment of Greek Church, vii., 211 *note*.
- Solomon**, King of the Jews, book of Wisdom of, ii., 357 and *note*; his sacrifices, 482; not author of Ecclesiastes, iv., 314 *note*.
- Solomon**, the eunuch, commands in Africa, iv., 317 and *note sqq.*; conquers the Moors, 318; conspiracy against, 416; death of, 420 and *note*.
- Solon**, tables of, iv., 474.

- Sondis, Mount, iv., 187 and *note*.
 Song, Chinese dynasty, vii., 12.
Sonna, Mahometan oral law, v., 366 *sq.*
 Sonnenwald, sacred wood of the Suevi, i., 277.
 Sonnites, orthodox Mahometans, v., 409.
 Sontius, river, Odoacer at the, iv., 190.
 Sopater, the Philosopher, ii., 388 *note*, 474 *note*.
 Sophene, i., 404 *note*.
 Sophia, Basil II. at, vi., 142 *note*; taken by the Turks, vii., 38 *note*. *See* Sardica.
 Sophia, Empress, iv., 226 *note*; relieves the citizens of Constantinople of debt, v., 3 *sq.*; recalls Narses, 10; her treatment by Tiberius, 18 *sq.*
 Sophia, St., church of, *see* Constantinople.
 Sophian, lieutenant of Moawiyah, vi., 3 and *note*.
 Sophronia, Roman matron, i., 446 *note*.
 Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, treats with Omar, v., 464 *sq.* and *note*.
 Sophys, reign of, in Tauris, v., 88; claimed descent from Mahomet, 418 and *note*.
 Sora, Lombard fortress, v., 277 *note*.
 Sorbonne, faculty of the, vii., 298.
Sortes Sanctorum, mode of divination, iv., 125 *note*.
 Sosibius, ii., 492 *note*.
 Soubahs, rebellion of, in Hindostan, vii., 58.
 Soul, immortality of the, belief of ancient Germans concerning, i., 249; attitude of the pagans towards the doctrine of, ii., 20 *sqq.*; pre-existence of, 21 and *note*; Jewish views of, 23 *sq.*; material, of universe, 357 and *note*; metaphysics of, v., 106 and *note*; views of origin of, *ib.* *note*.
 Sovon or So-on, Chinese patriot, iii., 86 *sq.* *note*.
 Sozomen, ii., 496 *note*; on Chrysostom, iii., 397 *note*; on Pulcheria, 408 *note*.
 Sozopetra, besieged by the Emperor Theophilus, vi., 46.
 Sozopolis, frontier city in Thrace, vi., 524 *note*.
 Spado, ii., 260 *note*.
 Spain, provinces of, i., 20; division of, by Augustus, *ib.*; wealth of, 174; under Constantius, 382 and *note*, 481 and *note*; Christianity in, ii., 67; subdued by Constantine, iii., 288 *sq.*; account of, for first four centuries, 364; cities of, *ib.*; barbarians in, 365; Goths in, 366; conquest of and restoration of, by the Goths, 367; Vandals and Swabians driven into Galicia, 368; invaded by Goths, iv., 41 *note*; Visigoths in, converted from Arianism, 42; legislative assemblies of, 152 *sq.*; civil war in, 319; under Charlemagne, v., 307; Arabs in, 319; agriculture in, 515; religious reformation in, 516 *sq.*; revolt under the Abbassides, vi., 22 *sq.*, 54.
 Spalatro (Salona), i., 419 *sqq.*
 Spanheim, E., his *Orbis Romanus*, i., 36 *note*; his *de Usu Numismatum*, 410 *note*; his version of Julian, 505 *note*.
 Spanheim, F., his *Historia Imaginis restituta*, v., 268 *note*.
 Spaniards, in the sixteenth century, ii., 347; in Italy, vii., 309.
 Sparta, destroyed by Alaric, iii., 25; Mahomet II. at, vii., 213.
 Spartanus, i., 116 *note*, 119 *note*, 120 *note*.
Spectabiles, title of, ii., 170.
 Spectacles, Roman, i., 370 *sq.*
 Spelman, i., 399 *note*.
Sphæristerium or tennis court, v., 225.
 Spice country, i., 2 *note*.
 Spires, destroyed, ii., 290; by the Germans, iii., 285; massacre of the Jews at, vi., 285.
 Spoleto, buildings of Theodoric at, 205; taken by Belisarius, 345; betrayed to the Goths by Herodas, 435; Duke of, pillages Ravenna, v., 22; Duke of, assists Leo II., 301; baths of, vii., 324 *note*.
 Spondanus, on the schism of Constantinople, vii., 141 *note*; on Hunian crusade, 148 *note*; on Coarctation, 156 *note*; on union of Greek and Latin Churches, 182 *note*; on death of Constantine Palæologus, 201 *note*; his annals, 216 *note*.
Sportulæ or *Sportellæ*, iii., 316 *note*.
 Squillace, retreat of Cassiodorus, iv., 3.
 Squirrels (or dormice, *glires*), eaten by the Romans, iii., 816 and *note*.
 Stagira, Alexius Angelus at, vi., 392.
 Stagirus, friend of St. Chrysostom, 77 *note*.
 Stamboul, ii., 168 *note*.
 Statius, epistle of, iv., 329 *note*; failure at Capitoline contest, v., 267 *note*.
 Statues, destruction of, at Constantinople, vi., 427 *sqq.*
 Stature, Roman military, ii., 191 and *note*.
 Stauracius, Emperor, v., 205.

- Stefaneschi, Martin** [not Ursini], vii., 276.
- Stephanophorus**, magistrate of the Chersonites, ii., 231 *note*.
- Stephanie of Hebron**, vi., 359 *note*.
- Stephanites and Ichnelates**, iv., 389 *note*.
- Stephen III.** (Pope), mission of, to Lombardy, v., 284.
- Stephen**, Count of Blois and Chartres, in first crusade, vi., 290; march to Constantinople, 297; letter of, 301; deserts at Antioch, 315.
- Stephen Dushan**, despot of Servia, receives Cantacuzene, vi., 421; account of, 522 *note*; laws of, 523.
- Stephen**, Earl of Albemarle, at battle of Antioch, vi., 305 *note*.
- Stephen**, freedman of Domitilla, ii., 98.
- Stephen of Edessa**, Greek physician of Kobad, iv., 387 *note*.
- Stephen of Hungary**, embassy of, to Pope Sylvester, vi., 172 *note*, *sq.* *note*; protects pilgrims, 266.
- Stephen, St.**, first martyr, body of, removed to Mount Sion, iii., 222 and *note*; Abbey of, near Constantinople, vi., 407; Tower of, on Sea of Marmora, stormed by the Turks, vii., 179 *note*.
- Stephen**, son of Romanus I., v., 222.
- Stephen the Savage**, favourite of Justinian II., v., 194.
- Stephen Urosh III.** of Servia, vi., 522 *note*.
- Stephens**, Robert, error in text of Greek Testament, iv., 97 *note*; vii., 135.
- Stigmata**, of the Crusaders, vi., 284 *note*.
- Stilicho**, general of the West, iii., 191; account of, 237 *sqq.*; marries Serena, 238; guardian of the sons of Theodosius, 239; marches to Thessalonica, 241; his property confiscated, 243; brings corn from Gaul to supply Rome, 246; expedition to Greece against Alaric, 258 *sqq.*; defeats the barbarians in Rhætia, 264 and *note*; battle of Pollentia, 267; takes part in the triumph of Honorius at Rome, 271; opposes Radagaisus, 280 *sqq.*; treaty with Alaric, 290; adventures, 291 *sqq.*; death, 296 and *note*; his memory persecuted, *ib.* and *notes*.
- Stipulations**, iv., 524.
- St. Marc**, on Charlemagne, v., 291 *note*.
- Stobæus**, commonplace book of, vi., 110 *sq.* *note*.
- Stoic philosophy**, i., 83.
- Stoics**, maxims of the, iv., 540.
- Stonehenge**, iv., 157 *note*.
- Stoma**, a private soldier, insurrection of, iv., 417 and *notes*.
- Stradiots**, Albanian cavalry, vii., 160 *note*.
- Strasburg**, destroyed, ii., 290; battle of, 295 *sqq.*; destroyed by the Germans, iii., 285.
- Strata**, Roman road from Auranitis to Babylonia, iv., 390.
- Strategikon**, ascribed to Maurice, authorship of the, iv., 371 *note*.
- Strategius**, Arian Christian, ii., 351 *note*.
- Strategus**, Antiochus, on sack of Jerusalem, v., 75 *note*.
- Stratopedarch**, Byzantine officer, vi., 86.
- Strigonium**, *see* Gran.
- Stritter**, John Gotthelf, vi., 135 *note*.
- Strymon**, river, ii., 282.
- Studion**, fort of, vii., 179 *note*.
- Studites**, *see* Damascenus and Theodore.
- Stukely**, Dr., i., 387 *note*.
- Sturgeons**, of the Don, vi., 532 and *note*.
- Stutias**, *see* Stosa.
- Stylianus Zautzes**, minister of Leo VI., v., 220 *note*.
- Suanians**, tribe of, iv., 401.
- Suárez**, Joseph Maria, vii., 330 *note*.
- Sub-deacon (Rectores)**, jurisdiction of, v., 39.
- Subregulus**, epithet of Charles Martel, v., 284 *note*.
- Subuktigin**, *see* Sebectagi.
- Suburbicarian Churches**, ii., 347 *note*.
- Subutai**, general of Zingis, vii., 9 *note*, 16 *note*.
- Successianus**, i., 282.
- Succi**, Pass of, ii., 436 and *note*, 438; fortified by Frigeridus, iii., 114 *note*; betrayed by Maurus, 121.
- Sueno**, Prince, death of, vi., 288 *note*.
- Suerid**, Gothic leader, iii., 106.
- Suetonius**, on the revenue of Gaul, i., 173 *note*; account of the Christians under Nero, ii., 92.
- Suevi**, origin of, i., 277; assume the name of Alamanni, 278; in Italy, *ib.*; in Gaul, *ib.*; in Gallicia, iii., 368; iv., 12; defeated by Theodoric near Astorga, 13; hold Gallicia, 41; conversion of, 83, 101 and *note*, *sq.*
- Sufetula (Sbaitla)**, Gregory the Prefect at, v., 490 *note*; taken by Saracens, 491 and *note*, *sq.* *note*.
- Suger**, Abbé, vi., 344 *note*.
- Suicide**, under the Romans, iv., 540.
- Suidas**, Lexicon of, iii., 382 *note*; vi., 110 *sq.* *note*.
- Suintila**, King of the Visigoths, iv., 320 *note*.
- Suiones**, i., 241.
- Sujerass**, river, iv., 420 *note*.

- Sulaymān, *see* also Soliman.
 Sulaymān, caliph, conquests of, v., 440 *note*; *see* Soliman.
 Sullecte, receives Belisarius, iv., 300 and *note*.
 Sulpicianus, i., 116 *sq*.
 Sulpicius, Alexander, historian, iii., 188 *note*.
 Sulpicius Severus, *see* Severus.
 Sulpicius, Servius, Roman lawyer, iv., 486 *sq*.
 Sultan, title of, vi., 234 and *note*.
 Sumium, province of, i., 403 *note*.
 Sumnat, pagoda of, vi., 235.
 Sun, worship of, at Rome, i., 158; by the Persians, 216; temple of the, at Emesa, 155, 158; at Rome, 386 and *note*; represented the *Logos*, ii., 463.
 Sunday, ii., 308 and *note*.
 Sunnites, *see* Sonnites.
 Sunno, Frankish prince, iii., 283.
 Super-indictions, ii., 203.
 Superstition, i., 321; ii., 59; iii., 218; its fluctuations, vii., 251 *note*; modern decline of, 320 *note*.
 Surat, Magian religion among the exiles at, v., 519.
 Surenas, Persian general, ii., 521; flight of, 533; in the camp of Julian, 549.
 Surgut on the Sangar, camp of Orthogrul, vii., 24.
 Surmar (Suomar), King of the Alamanni, ii., 300.
 Surnames, uncertainty of, in Later Empire, i., 344 *note*; multiplication of, iii., 312 *note*; v., 233 *sq*.
 Sus, river of Western Africa, v., 495.
 Susa, in Italy, i., 450.
 Susanna, St., Church of, at Rome, on the site of Sallust's Palace, iii., 344 *note*.
 Susneus, *see* Segued.
 Sutri, camp of Barbarossa at, vii., 243 and *note*.
 Sviatopolk, or Svatopluk, vi., 148 *note*.
 Swabia, duchy of, v., 327 *note*.
 Swatoslaus, King of Russia, reign of, vi., 164 and *note*; paganism of, 169.
 Sweden, population of, in fifteenth century, vii., 215 *note*.
 Swedes, engaged in herring fishery on coast of England, vii., 17 *note*.
 Swinburne, Travels in Spain, v., 411 *note*.
 Swiss Cantons, i., 275.
 Switzerland, idolatry in, iv., 449 *note*.
 Sword (Roman), *see* Arms; of Mars, discovered by Attila, iii., 444 *sq*. and *note*.
 Sword of God, name of Caled, v., 396.
 Syagrius, son of Ægidius, King of the Franks, reigns over Soissons, vi., 110; extent of his kingdom, v *note*; defeat of, by Clovis and flight, 111.
 Syagrius, son of Timasius, iii., 383.
 Sybaris, attempt of Belisarius to relieve, iv., 434 and *note*.
 Sybilla, sister of Baldwin IV. of Jerusalem, vi., 357; marries Guy & Lusignan, ib., 359.
 Syene in Egypt, i., 393.
 Sylla, the dictator, his legislation, v., 533 and *note*.
 Syllanus, consul, i., 192.
 Sylvia, sister of Rufinus, iii., 243 and *note*.
 Sylvanus, advocate, ii., 555.
 Sylvanus, general of Constantius in Gaul, ii., 253; assumes the purple, 275; assassination of, ib.
 Sylverius, Pope, iv., 381 *note*; exile at, 343 *sq*., 424 and *note*.
 Sylvester, *see* Silvester.
 Sylvia, mother of Gregory the Great, v., 35.
 Symbatios, brother of Basil I., v., 21 *note*.
 Symbatios, story of, iv., 459 *note*.
 Symmachus, ii., 417; iii., 42 and *note*; solicits restoration of Altar of Victory, 201 and *note*, *sqq.* and *notes*; exile of, 204; warns the Roman Senate of scarcity of corn, 246 and *note*; iv., 217 *note*.
 Symmachus, father-in-law of Boethius, iv., 212; death, 217; family of, v *note*, 322.
 Symmachus, Pope, elected by Theodoric, iv., 208; lives of, 208 *note*.
 Syncellus, George, i., 326 *note*.
 Syncellus, Theodore, on discovery of the Virgin's raiment, v., 81 *note*, 93 *note*.
 Synesius, Bishop of Ptolemais, ii., 344 *note*; opinions of, 345 *note*; on the Roman republic, iii., 136 *note*, 25 and *note*, *sq*.; on St. Antony, v., 64 *note*.
 Synods, provincial, ii., 45; annual, 54; extraordinary, convened only by the emperor, ib.; canons of Nice concerning, ib. *note*, *see* Councils.
 Syracuse, sacked by the Franks, i., 25; Belisarius at, iv., 326; description of, ib. *note*; plundered by the Saracens, vi., 40 *note*; delivered by the Greeks, 41; siege of, ib. and *note*; castle Maniaci at, 184 *note*.
 Syria, province of, i., 26; desert of, 27; invasion of Sapor, 291 *sq*.; Christian

- churches of, ii., 61; invasion of Chosroes Nushirvan, iv., 293; subdued by Chosroes II., v., 74 sq.; governed by Moawiyah, 414; Saracens in, 442 sq.; history of conquest of, *ib. note*; climate of, 457 sq.; expedition of Nicephorus Phocas, vi., 60; Seljukian dynasty in, 257; invaded by the Seljuks, 267; invasion of Timour, vii., 57 sq.
- Syriac tongue, i., 42 and *note*; used in the eastern provinces of Armenia, iii., 414 *note*; v., 154 and *note*.
- Syrian, and Cilician gates, v., 84 *note*.
- Syrians, established in Gaul, vi., 129 *note*.
- Syrianus, Duke of Egypt, ii., 397 *note*.
- Syropulus, Sylvester, his history of the union of the Latin and Greek Churches, vii., 109; his name, *ib. note*.
- Szegedin, peace of, vii., 149; violated, 150.
- Szeklers, vi., 153 *note*.
- TABARI, on banishment of the Jews from Chaibar, v., 390 *note*; his general history, 428 *note*; account of the death of Rustam, 432 *note*.
- Tabaristān, conquered by the Saracens, v., 440 *note*.
- Tabenne, island in the Nile, monastery on, iv., 65; position of, *ib. note*.
- Tabenne, trumpet of the Egyptian monks, ii., 401.
- Table of Solomon, in the Gothic treasury, iii., 365 and *note*.
- Tables, astronomical, of the Arabians, vi., 82 *note*.
- Tables (*trictrac*), game of, iii., 317 and *note*.
- Tabraca, harbour of, iii., 249 and *note*.
- Tabuc, Mahomet's expedition of, v., 398 and *note*.
- Tacitus, Emperor, i., 88; account of, 344; reign, 345 sq.; restores right of coining to the Senate, 347 *note*.
- Tacitus, the historian, account of the Stoics, i., 85; his episodes, 211; Germania, 230; on revolt in Germany, 252; account of the Christians under Nero, ii., 65 and *note*, 94; Life of Agricola, 98; on Gaul, iv., 106 sq.
- Tactics, of Leo VI. and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, vi., 65 sqq. and *notes*, 99 and *note*, 146 and *note*.
- Tadgics, tribe of, iii., 461 *note*.
- Tadmir, name of Murcia and Carthage, v., 111 *note*.
- Tadmor, *see* Palmyra.
- Taeni, Arabic tribe, ii., 542 *note*.
- Taghlak Timur, Chagatay Sultan, vii., 46 *note*.
- Tagina, battle of, iv., 442 sq.; bishopric of, *ib. note*; date of, 445 *note*.
- Taherites (Tāhirids), dynasty of, vi., 55 and *note*.
- Taher (Tāhir), founder of Taherite dynasty, vi., 55 *note*.
- Tāhir, son of Amr, vi., 55 *note*.
- Tai, tribe of, v., 415.
- Taifals, Gothic tribe, ii., 280; ally themselves to Fritigern, iii., 111 and *note*.
- Taitsong, Emperor of China, v., 438.
- Tais, town of, i., 221 *note*.
- Talba, bishopric of, v., 188 *note*.
- Talents, i., 178 and *note*; Attic, vii., 177 *note*.
- Talmis, Inscription of, v., 175 *note*.
- Tamerlane, *see* Timour.
- Tamsapor, satrap, ii., 281.
- Tana, or Azoph, merchants of, send deputation to Timour, vii., 52; sack of, 52 *note*.
- Tanais (river), battle on, between Huns and Alani, iii., 94.
- Tancred, King of Sicily, vi., 280.
- Tancred, cousin of Bohemond, joins first crusade, vi., 292 *note*; at Constantinople, 301; parentage of, 308 *note*; at Antioch, 315; lenity of, at siege of Jerusalem, 323; defends Antioch, 336.
- Tancred de Hauteville, vi., 192, 193.
- Tang, Chinese dynasty of the, v., 438 and *note*.
- Tangier, Saracens advance to, v., 494.
- Tanjou, chief of the Huns, iii., 86 sqq.
- Taormina, *see* Tauromenium.
- Taor, village of, iv., 268 *note*.
- Taprobana (Ceylon), i., 59 and *note*, 351 *note*; ii., 506 and *note*; iv., 248 and *note*; Christianity in, v., 158 *note*.
- Tarachus, ii., 145 *note*.
- Taragai, father of Timour, vii., 46 *note*.
- Taranton, city in territory of the Huns, v., 89 *note*.
- Tarantula, bite of, vi., 200 *note*.
- Tarantus, nickname of Caracalla, i., 139 *note*.
- Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople, v., 202 *note*; crowns Nicephorus, 204; acknowledges his supremacy, 205 *note*, 295; presides at seventh general council, 296.
- Tarcalissus, *see* Zeno.

- Tarentum, assaulted by Anastasius, iv., 198; taken by Totila, 437; Constans II. at, v., 188.
- Targetius, ambassador of the Avars, v., 3.
- Targetteers, domestic guards, iii., 8.
- Tarif, Saracen chief in Spain, v., 504.
- Tarik, lieutenant of Musa, at Gibraltar, v., 505 and *note*; his treatment of Jews, 508, 512 *sq.*; ill-treated by Mūsā, 510.
- Tarkhan, Prince of Fargana, v., 438.
- Tarquin, posthumous punishments invented by, iv., 540 and *note*.
- Tarquitius, ii., 541 *note*.
- Tarraco, i., 445 *note*.
- Tarragona, province of, i., 21; city of, *ib.*; sacked by the Goths, 276; in fourth century, iii., 364.
- Tarreconensis, conquered by Goths, iv., 41 *note*.
- Tarsus, in Cilicia, taken by Sapor, i., 292, 350; Julian at, ii., 512; burial of Julian at, 556 *sq.*; King of Armenia at, iii., 59; reduced by the Saracens, v., 471; siege of, vi., 61; taken by crusaders, 310; restored to the empire, 337.
- Tartartopa, or Tartar gates, iv., 277 *note*.
- Tartary, *see* Scythia.
- Tasillo, Duke of Bavaria, v., 308.
- Tasso, iv., 440 *note*; account of Rinaldo, vi., 292 *note*; sacred grove of, near Sichem, 323 and *note*.
- Tatars, or Tartars, description of, iii., 74 *sqq.*; manners of, 74 and *note*; diet, 75 and *note, sq.*; habitations, 77 *sq.*; emigrations of, 78 and *note*; exercises, 79; government, 80 *sqq.* and *notes*; compared to the Huns of Attila, 450; origin of, vii., 3 *note*; under Zingis, *ib.* *sqq.*
- Tatian, on doctrine of daemons, ii., 31 *note*.
- Tatian, præfect of the East, imprisonment and exile of, iii., 230 and *note, sq.*
- Tatullus, of Petovio, accompanies embassy to Attila, iii., 474 *note*; father of Orestes, iv., 51.
- Tauresium (village), Justinian born at, iv., 219 *note*, 268 *sq. note*.
- Tauri, i., 228.
- Tauris, or Gandsaca, residence of Tirdates, i., 405; Heraclius at, v., 88 and *note*.
- Tauropolis, feast of, ii., 126 *note*.
- Tauromenium, capture of, by Saracens, vi., 42 and *note*.
- Taurus, brazen statue in the square of, vi., 168 and *note*.
- Taurus, philosopher, iv., 504 *note*.
- Taurus, Prætorian præfect of Italy, i., 382; flight of, 436; banished, *ib.* and *note*.
- Tavernier, v., 87 *note*; description of Kerman, vi., 257 *note*.
- Taxation, Romans were exempted from, i., 172; provincial taxation, *ib.* under Augustus, 175 *sqq.*; under Trajan and the Antonines, 178; under Alexander Severus, 184; under Diocletian, 414; under Galerius, 438 *sq.*; under Constantine the Great, ii., 202 *sqq.*; landtax, 203 *sq.*; on trade and industry, 210; reduced by Valens, iii., 24; law of Majorian concerning, iv., 19; under Justinian, 253 *sqq.* *See* Tribute.
- Tayef, siege of, by Mahomet, v., 38 and *note*; submits to Mahomet, 394.
- Tcheremisses, religion of the, vii., 10 *note*.
- Tebeste, modern Tibesh, battle of, v., 420 and *note, sq.* and *note*.
- Teobir, Arabian war-cry, v., 457 *note*.
- Tecrit, taken by Timour, ii., 269 *note*.
- Tedardi, on siege of Constantinople, vii., 180 *note*.
- Tellis, Heraclius at, v., 94.
- Teias, Gothic commander, iv., 441; defeat and death of, 446.
- Tekkur, title of Greek princes of Constantinople, vii., 68 *note*.
- Tekūa, rivulet near Jerusalem, vi., 324 *note*.
- Telemachus, St., iii., 272 and *note*.
- Telenissa, mountain of, iv., 80.
- Telha, Arabian chief, revolts against A. v., 411; death, 412.
- Tell Mannas, village of, taken by Raymond of Toulouse, vi., 320 *note*.
- Tempe, vale of, iv., 268 *sq.* and *note*.
- Templars, knights, foundation of, v., 328 *note*.
- Temple of Solomon, *see* Jerusalem.
- Temple, Sir William, v., 484 *note*; at the Saracens, vi., 23 *note*; at Timour, vii., 79 *note*; on Scanderbeg and Huiades, 156 *note*.
- Temples, pagan, destroyed, ii., 415 *sq.* in the provinces, iii., 206 *sq.* Marcellus leads an army to destroy, 208.
- Templeman, Dr., Survey of the Globe by, i., 80 *note*.
- Temugin, *see* Zingis.
- Tenoteri, i., 277.

- enedoe, island, John Palaeologus at, vi., 528.
 eneriff, Mount, i., 28 *note*.
 ephrice, foundation of, vi., 124 and *note*.
 erbelis, the Bulgarian, besieges Constantinople, v., 198; made Caesar by Justinian II., vi., 141 *note*.
 eredon, city of Assyria, ii., 522 *note*.
 erek, battle of the river, vii., 51 *note*.
 erracina, inscription at, iv., 206 *note*; v., 280 and *note*.
 errasson, on Roman Jurisprudence, iv., 472 *note*.
 ertullian, De Corona, ii., 20 *note*; on the last judgment, 29; his apology, 67 and *note*; Montanist opinions of, 86 *note*; describes the edicts of Tiberius and M. Antoninus, 115, 361 and *note*; chronology of his works, 117 *note*; opposes the Patripassians, 367 *note*.
 ertullus, Praefect of Rome, ii., 437.
 ervingi, oppose Claudius, i., 309 *note*. See Goths.
 essleræ (dice), iii., 317 and *note*.
 estament, Greek New, text of, iv., 97; published by Erasmus, *ib.* *note*; text concerning the three witnesses included in, *ib.*
 estaments, law of, iv., 520 *sq.*
 etricus, i., 309; reigned in Gaul, 296 *sq.*; defeated by Aurelian, 314; reign, 323 and *note*; at Rome, 334 *sq.*; reinstated, 335.
 eucori, name applied to Turks, vii., 202 *note*.
 eutonic knights, i., 261 *note*; iv., 177.
 eabor, Mount, discussion concerning Divine Light of, vi., 529.
 haece, battle of, iv., 417 and *note*.
 hadeus de Roma, vii., 233 *note*.
 hair, King of Yemen, ii., 238.
 ha'labites, iv., 390 *note*.
 haman, *see* Othman.
 hamar, Queen of Iberia, vi., 439 *note*.
 hamud, tribe of, v., 350, 377; caverns of, *ib.* *note*.
 hanet, isle of, iv., 156.
 hapaeus, fords of, ii., 284, 518 *note*.
 heatres, performances in, iii., 322.
 hebman legion, ii., 128 *note*; at Hadrianople, 268 *note*.
 hebais, deserts of, Western bishops banished to, ii., 396 *note*; monks of, 401.
 hebarma, or Ormis, city of, v., 89 and *note*.
 hebes (in Bosotia), taken by Roger of Sicily, vi., 221; under Otto de la Roche, 505; under the Accaioli, 506.
 Thebes (in Egypt), kings of, i., 121 *note*; walls of, ii., 160 and *note*.
 Thecla, sister of the Empress Michael, v., 216 *note*.
 Theft, Roman law concerning, iv., 532, 534.
 Thegan, biographer of Lewis the Pious, v., 331 *note*.
 Theisa, or Tibiscus, river, ii., 229; Roman embassy to Attila crosses the, iii., 462.
 Themes, vi., 7 and *note*, 70 *sq.*, 190 *note*.
 Themistius, his fourth oration, ii., 276 *note*, 420 *note*; epistle of Julian to, 441 *note*; his address to Jovian, iii., 4 and *note*; oration, A.D. 374, 28 *note*; speech to Valens, 65 *note*; oration on Theodosius, 137 *note*.
 Theobald, Duke of Spoleto, vi., 179 and *note*.
 Theobald of Champagne, vi., 394.
 Theoctiste, daughter of Emperor Maurice, v., 69 *note*.
 Theodatus (Theodahad), reigns in Italy, iv., 195 *note*; coin of, 201 *note*, 324 *sq.*; negotiates with Justinian, *ib.* *sq.*; letter to Theodora, 325 *note*; abdication of, 328 *sq.*; revolts against Justinian, *ib.* *sq.*; death, 332.
 Theodebald, King of the Franks, iv., 448 and *note*.
 Theodebert, King of Austrasia, iv., 169 and *note*; invades Italy, 350; death, 352.
 Theodelinda, *see* Theudelinda.
 Theodemir, Gothic prince, iv., 183 and *note*, *sq.*
 Theodolphus, Bishop of Orleans, v., 301 *note*.
 Theodora Angela, wife of Conrad of Montferrat, vi., 404 *note*.
 Theodora, daughter of Constantine IX. [VIII.], v., 231; empress, 234.
 Theodora, daughter of John Cantacuzene, marries Orchan, vii., 30.
 Theodora, niece of Manuel Comnenus, v., 247.
 Theodora Petraleipha, wife of Michael II. of Epirus, vi., 478 *note*.
 Theodora, *senatrix*, vii., 234 *note*.
 Theodora, sister of Marozia, v., 317.
 Theodora, widow of Baldwin III. of Jerusalem, v., 251.
 Theodora, wife of Constantius, i., 382 *note*, 432.
 Theodora, wife of Justinian I., iv., 226 *sq.*; belongs to the blue faction,

- ib.*; marriage, 229; her virtues, 232 *sq.*; death, 233; firmness of, during the Nika riot, 240; conspires against John of Cappadocia, 257; negotiations with Italian court, 325 *sq.*; makes Vigilius pope, 343; friendship with Antonina, 358; accuses her enemies of crime, 537; Monophysitism of, *v.*, 146.
- Theodora, wife of Justinian II., *v.*, 193.
- Theodora, wife of Emperor Theophilus, *v.*, 211 *note, sq.*; restorer of images, *ib.*; regency of, 213; opposes Bardas, 217; establishes images, 296; persecutes the Paulicians, *vi.*, 123.
- Theodore II., son of John Vataces, *vi.*, 458.
- Theodore Angelus, despot of Epirus, *vi.*, 439 *note*, 449; Emperor of Thessalonica, 450, 458 *note*.
- Theodore Gaza, *vii.*, 130 and *note*; on Aristotle and Theophrastus, 132.
- Theodore Lascaris I., *vi.*, 412; Emperor of Nicæa, 438 and *note*; character, 475 and *note*.
- Theodore Lascaris II., reign of, *vi.*, 478 *sq.*; writings of, 479 *note*.
- Theodore, brother of Heraclius, commander at battle of Ainzadin, *v.*, 448 *note*.
- Theodore, monk of Tarsus, made Primate of Britain, *v.*, 153 *note*.
- Theodore of Mopsuestia, *v.*, 147 and *note*.
- Theodore of Studion, *v.*, 202 *note*; banished, 205 *note*; iconoclast, 296 *note*.
- Theodore Palæologus, son of the elder Andronicus, *vi.*, 511 *note*.
- Theodore Graptos, tortured under Emperor Theophilus, *v.*, 297 *note*.
- Theodoret, *ii.*, 493 *note*, 495; sacred legend of, *iv.*, 81.
- Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrhus, *iii.*, 207; epistles of, 436 *note*; restored, *v.*, 147.
- Theodoric I., King of the Visigoths, accession, *iii.*, 475 and *note*; besieges Arles, *ib.*; account of, 477; daughters of, married to the Kings of the Suevi and Vandals, *ib.*; allies himself with the Romans, 485 and *note, sq.*; death, 490.
- Theodoric II., King of Visigoths, *iii.*, 486; account of, by Sidonius, *iv.*, 10 *sqq.*; expedition to Spain, 12 *sq.*; defeats the Suevi, 13; sacks Pollentia and Astorga, 14; defeated by Majorian, 23; allies himself with Rome, 24; acquires Narbonne, 41.
- Theodoric, son of Clovis, *iii.*, 493 and *note*; conquers Auvergne, *iv.*, 145.
- Theodoric, son of Triarius, *iv.*, 184 and *note*; attacks Theodoric, 187.
- Theodoric the Ostrogoth, marries sister of Clovis, *iv.*, 118; protects the Alamanni, *ib.* *note*; consul, 123; birth and education, 182 *sq.*; subdues the Sarmatians, 184; serves Zeno, 185; attacked by Theodoric, son of Triarius, 188; at Constantinople, 189; his march into Italy, 190; territory of, 192; reign, 193 and *note*; foreign policy of, 196 *sq.*; his defensive wars, 197 *sqq.*; civil government of, 200; Latin edict of, 203 *note*; coins of, 201; visit to Ravenna, 203; resides at Ravenna, 205; Verona, *ib.*; religious toleration, 207 *sqq.*; vices of his government, 208 *sq.*; persecutes the Catholics, 209; sends Pope John to Constantinople, 211; imprisons Boethius, 211; puts him and Symmachus to death, 216 *sq.*; death, 217; monuments, 218 and *note*; date of his marriage, 321 *note*; acts of, ratified by Justinian, 453; buildings of Rome under, *vii.*, 321.
- Theodoricus de Niem, *vii.*, 294 *note*.
- Theodoropolis, or Dristra, *see* Dristra.
- Theodorus, a person executed by Theodosius I., *iii.*, 18 *note*.
- Theodorus (a youth mentioned by Rufinus), *ii.*, 493 *note*.
- Theodorus, brother of Heraclius, 93.
- Theodorus, Mallius, consul, *iii.*, 300 and *note*.
- Theodosian Code, valid in Gaul under the Merovingians, *iv.*, 149; by the clergy, 150.
- Theodosiopolis, *iii.*, 414 and *note*; sack and flagration of, *iv.*, 276; won from the Saracens by Constantine V., 199 *note*.
- Theodosius I. (the Great), *ii.*, 315 and *note*; his succession foretold by Zosimus, *iii.*, 18 and *note*; defeats the Sarmatians, 67; Emperor of the East, 124 *sqq.*; birth and character, 125 *sqq.*; treaty with Duke of the Franks, 126 and *note*; conducts Gothic wars, 128 *sqq.*; illness of, 130 and *note*; entertains Athanasius, 132; Zosimus, 146; baptism and religious opinions of, 148 *sqq.*; enters Constantinople, 154; religious policy of, 159 *sqq.*; edicts of, against heretics, *ib.* *sq.*; visits The

- lonica, 171; marries Galla, 172; enters Rome, 175; virtues of, *ib. sqq.*; faults of, 177; statue of, broken at Antioch, 178; pardons the Antiochians, 180; massacre at Thessalonica, 181; restores Valentinian, 186; defeated by Arbogastes, 193; divides the empire between his sons Arcadius and Honorius, 195; attitude towards paganism, 205 *sqq.*; jewels of, 240 and *note*; family of, in Spain, 288; descendants of, at Constantinople, *iv.*, 49 and *note*; pillar of, removed by Justinian, 461.
- heodosius II. (the Younger), receives the relics of Chrysostom, *iii.*, 402 and *note*; Caesar and Augustus, 403; education of, 407; character, 408 and *note*; marries Eudocia, 410; campaign in Persia, 412 *sq.*; in Italy, 419; gives Western Empire to Valentinian III., 420; first Novel of, 421 *note*; negotiations with the Huns, 455 *sq.* and *notes*; treaty with Attila, 468; death, 469 and *note*; takes part in the Nestorian controversy, *v.*, 125 *sq.*; subscribes an edict against Nestorius, 127.
- heodosius III., Emperor of Constantinople, *v.*, 196; retires, *vi.*, 7.
- heodosius the deacon, brother of Constantians II., *v.*, 188; *vi.*, 60.
- heodosius, deacon of Syracuse, *vi.*, 41 and *note*; poem on conquest of Crete, 60 *note*.
- heodosius, father of Theodosius I., in Britain, *iii.*, 47 *sqq.*; in Africa, 51 *sqq.*; death, 53.
- heodosius, lover of Antonina, *iv.*, 358; flight of, 359; retires to Ephesus, *ib.*; return and death, 361.
- heodosius, Patriarch of Alexandria, *v.*, 170; orthodoxy of, 172 *sq.*
- heodosius, son of the Emperor Maurice, *v.*, 65; goes to Persia, 66; death, 69.
- heodosius, opposes the usurper Constantine, *iii.*, 288 and *note*.
- heodote, wife of Constantine VI., *v.*, 202 *note*.
- heodotus, philosopher, Life of, by Tribonian, *iv.*, 492.
- heodotus, President of the Council of Hierapolis, *ii.*, 438 and *note*.
- heognostos, his History of Sicily, *vi.*, 40 *note*.
- heon, father of Hypatia, *v.*, 117 and *note*.
- heonas, St., church of, at Alexandria, *ii.*, 398.
- Theophanes, Continuation of*, *vi.*, 65.
- Theophanes, the chronicler, *i.*, 195 *note*; *ii.*, 819 *note*; *iv.*, 414 *note*, 452 *note*; on Constantine VI., *v.*, 203 and *note*, 428 *note*.
- Theophanes, tortured under Emperor Theophilus, *v.*, 297 *note*.
- Theophania, widow of the younger Romanus, *vi.*, 60.
- Theophano, daughter of Romanus II., wife of Otto II., *v.*, 225 and *note*; *vi.*, 92.
- Theophano, wife of Leo V., *v.*, 207.
- Theophano, wife of Romanus II., *v.*, 224; marries Nicephoros II., 226; conspires against him, 227; dismissed by John Zimisces, 228 *note*.
- Theophilus, Archbishop of Alexandria, *ii.*, 345 *note*; destroyed the temple of Serapis, *iii.*, 210; persecutes Chrysostom, 398 *sq.*; escape of, 399; his book against Chrysostom, 401 *note*.
- Theophilus, author of Justiniani Vita, *iv.*, 219 *note*, 222 *note*.
- Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, *ii.*, 31, 263 *note*.
- Theophilus, consular of Syria, death, *ii.*, 265.
- Theophilus, Maronite of Mount Libanus, *vi.*, 34 *note*.
- Theophilus, missionary to the Sabæans, *ii.*, 332 and *note*.
- Theophilus, son of Michael the Stammerer, Emperor of Constantinople, *v.*, 209 *sqq.*; iconoclasm of, 297; war of, with Motassem, *vi.*, 46 *sqq.*; his embassy to Lewis, 154; walls of, *vii.*, 182 *note*.
- Theophilus, the jurist, *iv.*, 481, 501; *vi.*, 107 *note*.
- Theophobus, Sassanid prince, *v.*, 201.
- Theophrastus, Dialogue, date of composition of the, *iv.*, 98 *note*.
- Theophrastus, disciples of, *iv.*, 279; exile of, 282 *note*; account of the Romans, 474 *note*; study of, by Theodore Gaza, *vii.*, 182.
- Theophylactus, father-in-law of Alberic, *vii.*, 234 *note*.
- Theophylactus Simocatta, *iv.*, 377 *note*; *v.*, 6 *note*; on speech of Justin, 17 *note*; on Hormuz, 47 *note*; History of Maurice, 68 *note*.
- Theopolis, *iv.*, 393; *see* Antioch.
- Theopolis, village or castle of, *iii.*, 374 *note*.
- Theopompus, *vi.*, 111; recovery of Helenica, *ib.* *note*.

- Theotocos*, title of the Virgin, v., 119 *note*.
- Therapeion, fort of, taken by the Turks, vii., 179 *note*.
- Therapeuta*, ii., 68 and *note*; studied philosophy, 357 *note*; Christianity of, iv., 62 *note*.
- Therma*, *see* under Rome, Baths of.
- Thermantia, niece of Theodosius, iii., 288 *note*.
- Thermantia, wife of Honorius, divorce of, iii., 296.
- Thermopylae, Straits of, fortified by Justinian, iv., 268.
- Thervingi, *see* under Goths.
- Theseus, Duke of Athens, character in Shakespeare, Boccaccio, and Chaucer, vi., 505 *note*.
- Thessalonica, siege of, i., 310; headquarters of Theodosius, iii., 129; revolt at, 181 *sqq.*; massacre at, 181; magazine of arms at, 261; captured by Saracens, A.D. 904, v., 220 *note*; sacked by the Sicilians, 256; play on the name, 472 *note*; Bulgarian siege of, vi., 446; kingdom united to Nice, 457 and *note*; Cantacuzene at, 521; importance of, in the empire, 524 *note*; John Palaeologus at, 527; under Andronicus Palaeologus, vii., 103; conquest of, by Amurath II., 145 and *note*.
- Thessaly, province of, ceded to the Bulgarians, vi., 137; Wallachian, in fourteenth century, 525 *note*.
- Theudechildis, sister of Theodebert, iv., 169 *note*.
- Theudelinda, daughter of Garibald, King of Bavaria, converts the Lombards, iv., 102; marries Autharis, v., 30.
- Theudes, King of the Goths in Spain, expedition of, to Africa, iv., 819; death, *ib.* and *note*; kinsman of Hildibald, 422.
- Theudibert of Metz, iv., 436 *note*.
- Theurgy*, of the Platonists, ii., 464.
- Theveste, *see* Tebeste.
- Thibaut, Count of Champagne, general of the confederate crusaders, vi., 401; death, *ib.*
- Thibet, kingdom of, destroyed by Cuplai Khan, vii., 13.
- Thilsaphata, ii., 552 and *note*.
- Thilutha, fortress of, ii., 521.
- Thomas, a Greek noble, v., 450 *sq.*; exile of, 453.
- Thomas, apostle, apocryphal gospel of, v., 363 *note*.
- Thomas of Stromoncourt, territory of, in Greece, vi., 436 *note*.
- Thomas, Patriarch of Antioch, v., 160 *note*.
- Thomas, St., Indian missionary, v., 160 and *note*; Christians of, in India, 160 *sq.*
- Thomas the Slavonian, officer of Michael II., v., 206 and *note*; rebels against Michael II., 208 *sq.* and *note*.
- Thomassin, on Monasticism, iv., 63 and *note*; on the Roman Cardinals, vi., 160 *note*.
- Thor, cave of, v., 379.
- Thoros, Armenian prince, vi., 316 and *note*.
- Thous, Malek Shah at, vi., 254.
- Thrace, Province of, i., 25; invaded by the Goths, 311; settlement of the Goths in, 358; of Sarmatians, 388; invaded by the Visigoths, 62; Goths settled in, 100; mines of, 107 and *note*; great Theodosius, 125; settlement of the Goths in, 135; ravaged by the Huns, 450.
- Thraesae, i., 88.
- Thrasimund, King of the African Vandals, persecutes the Catholics, 89; exiles the bishops, 92; married sister of Theodoric, 320.
- Three Chapters*, dispute concerning, 146 *note*.
- Thucydides, on the plague at Athens, iv., 466 and *note*.
- Thule, iv., 197 and *note*; name of England, vi., 156; colony to serve in Greek army, 206, 336 and *note*.
- Thundering Legion*, story of the, ii., 160 and *note*.
- Thuringia, under the rule of Attila, 445; boundaries of the kingdom, iv., 112 *note*.
- Thuringians, at the battle of Chalons, 489; cruelty of, to the Franks, 489 and *note*.
- Thuroczius, historian of Hungary, v., 6 *note*.
- Thyatira, church of, ii., 61; baptism, iii., 16 and *note*.
- Thyrus, church of St., iii., 407 *note*.
- Thysdrus, city of, i., 189 and *note*.
- Tiara, crown of the Popes, vii., 294 and *note*.
- Tiber, river, inundations of, vii., 160 *sq.*
- Tiberias, residence of the Jewish patriarch, ii., 479 and *note*; Masada, v., 518; siege and battle of, vi., 160 and *note*.
- Tiberius I., i., 35 and *note*, 72 and *note*; adoption by Augustus, 80; character, 87; places camp of the praetorians in Rome, 114; *note*.

- the excise, 176 *note*; alleged edict in favour of the Christians, ii., 116.
- berius II., sends embassy to the Turks, iv., 381; reign, v., 17 *sqq.*; virtues of, 18 *sq.*; selects Maurice for the empire, 20; relieves Rome, 22; truce with Persia, 44.
- berius III., *see* Apsimar.
- berius, brother of Constantine Pogonatus, made Augustus by him, v., 190.
- berius, son of Justinian II., v., 195.
- bet, Buddhists of, form friendship with the Saracens, v., 441 *note*.
- bur, or Tivoli, town of, i., 835; Totila at, iv., 424; war of, with Rome, vii., 234 *note*; subdued by Rome, 247 and *note*.
- cinum, or Pavia, Stilicho at, iii., 279; siege of, by Alboin, v., 12.
- flis, besieged by Heraclius, v., 94 *note*.
- granocerta, i., 405 *note*.
- granes, i., 226 *note*.
- gris, Julian crosses the, ii., 530; navigation of the, 536 *sq. note*.
- l, or Tula, river, iv., 377 and *note*.
- llemont, M. de, i., 188 *note*, 198 *note*; life of Chrysostom, iii., 395 *note*; of St. Augustin, 430 *note*; shocked at certain Popes, v., 189 *note*; Gibbon "takes leave for ever of," 141 *note*.
- masius, master-general, iii., 184 *note*; attempts of, to reform the legions, 191; defeats the Goths in Thessaly, 384; character, *ib.* and *note*; exile and death, *ib.* and *note*.
- imavus, river, described by Virgil, i., 199 *note*.
- imolaus, i., 327 *note*.
- imosthenes, Greek historian, iv., 399 *note*.
- imotheus of Gaza, tragedy of, iv., 251 *note*.
- imothy, St., body of, brought to Constantinople, iii., 220.
- imothy the Cat, a monk, Patriarch of Alexandria, v., 186 and *note*.
- imour or Tamerlane, iii., 82 *note*; massacres of, 452 *note*; histories concerning, vii., 44 and *note*; derivation of name Timour, 45 *note*; account of, 45 *sqq.* and *notes*; reign and wars, 48 *sqq.*; conquers Persia, *ib.*; Turkestan, 50; invasion of Syria, 57 *sq.*; sacks Aleppo, 58; invades Anatolia, 60 *sq.*; his conquests, 68 *sq.*; enters China, 71; death, *ib.*; character, *ib. sq.*; his Institutions, 74.
- Tingi or Tangier, i., 26; v., 494.
- Tingitana (Mauritania), i., 28.
- Tipasa, maritime colony of Mauritania, miracle at, iv., 97 *sq.* and *notes*.
- Tiraboschi, on restoration of Greek learning in Italy, vii., 123 *note*, 134 *note*.
- Tiranus, King of Armenia, imprisoned by Sapor, iii., 55 and *note*.
- Tiridates, son of Chosroes, King of Armenia, i., 394 *sqq.*; educated at Rome, *ib.*; invasion of Assyria, 397; defeated by Narsees, 398; restored, 405; converted to Christianity, ii., 239; death, *ib.*
- Tithes, *see* Tythes.
- Titles, of Augustus, i., 77; and surnames of the Roman nobles, iii., 812; of the imperial family of Byzantium, vi., 83.
- Titus, i., 81.
- Tivoli, *see* Tibur.
- Tobolskoi, residence of the Mongol Khans, vii., 18.
- Toctamish, Khan of Kipzak, vii., 50 and *note*; flight and death, 51.
- Togrul Beg, King of the Turkmans, vi., 241; reign and character, *ib. sqq.*
- Togrul, chief of the Karaites, vii., 8 *note*.
- Tokay, iii., 462 and *note*.
- Tolbiac, battle of, iv., 113 and *note*.
- Toledo, Council of, iv., 102; eighth Council of, *ib. note*, 104; Tarik at, v., 507 and *note*.
- Toleration, in the Roman Empire, popular, i., 31 *sq.*; philosophical, 33; official, 34; in the provinces, 35; at Rome, *ib.*; of paganism, 414 *sqq.*
- Tollenburg, name for Prague, vi., 286 *note*.
- Tollius, iv., 316 *note*.
- Toncat, diet of, iii., 463 *note*.
- Tongouses and Samoyedes, iii., 85.
- Tongres, destroyed by the Germans, ii., 290; Julian at, 298; pillaged by the Huns, iii., 484; subdued by Clovis, iv., 112; confounded with Thuringia, *ib. note*.
- Tonkin, kingdom of, conquered by Cublai, vii., 13.
- Tonsure, iv., 72 and *note*; v., 448 *note*.
- Topa, name assumed by the Sienpi, iii., 275.
- Toparch of Gothia, notes of the Greek, vi., 170 *note*.
- Topirus, siege of, by the Slavonians, iv., 373 and *note*.
- Torismund, King of the Visigoths, iii., 486; in the battle of Châlons, 488 *sqq.*; declared king, 492; put to

- death by his brother Theodoris, iv., 10 and *note*.
- Torjok, Subutai the Mongol general at, vii., 16 *note*.
- Tortona, sedition in the Roman camp at, iv., 26.
- Torture, use of, ii., 201 and *notes*.
- Totila, King of the Goths in Italy, iv., 422; his name, *ib. note*; reduces Naples, 423; character of, 424; besieges Rome, 427 *sqq.*; takes Rome, 430; orations of, 431; recovered by Belisarius, 438; enters Rome a second time, 436; in Sicily, 438; attacks coast of Greece, *ib.*; battle of Tagina, 442; death, 444; did not injure buildings of Rome, vii., 321.
- Tott, Baron de, on defence of the Dardanelles, vi., 3 *note*; vii., 178 *note*; on Turkish navy, 189 *note*.
- Toucush, brother of the Sultan, Malek Shah, vi., 267.
- Toulouse, residence of the Gothic kings, iii., 369; attacked by Litorius, 476; Saracens at, vi., 14; Inquisition of, 180 *sq. note*.
- Toulun, conqueror of Tartary, *see* Shelun.
- Toulunides (Tūlūnids), dynasty of, vi., 56 and *note*.
- Touran, kingdom of the Turks, iv., 382.
- Touran (Tūrān) Shah, Sultan of Egypt, vi., 376.
- Tournament, vi., 294.
- Tournay, taken by the Germans, iii., 285; by the Franks, 479.
- Tournefort, ii., 151 *note*; iv., 272 *note*; v., 87 *note*; on Heraclea, vi., 38 *note*; his map of the Bosphorus, vii., 171 *note*.
- Tournus, battle at, i., 129 *note*.
- Tours, baptism of Chodwig at, iv., 115 *note*; second Council of, 161 *note*; Abderame at, vi., 15; battle of, 18.
- Toushi [Jūji], son of Zingis Khan, vii., 11 and *note*; sons of, 50 *note*.
- Towns, walled, origin of, vi., 149.
- Toxandria, in Brabant, Franks in, ii., 290 and *note*.
- Toxotius, husband of Paula, iii., 306 and *note*.
- Toxus, Hungarian ruler, vi., 149 *note*.
- Trade, foreign, of the Romans, i., 59.
- Traditio, term in Roman law, iv., 517 *note*.
- Traditors, ii., 134, 354.
- Tradonicus, Peter, Doge of Venice, vi., 397 *note*.
- Tragurium, *see* Traü.
- Trajan, Emperor, i., 5; annexes Dacia, *ib. sq.*; his eastern conquests, 6; enters Persian Gulf, 7; *ib.* spirit, 13; forum and pillar of, 13; revived the consular oath, 73; adopted by Nerva, 82; refuses censorship, 267 *note*; arch of, erected by Constantine, 457; conducted Christians, ii., 99; in Julian's wars, 506; his bridge over Danube, iv., 267 and *note*; constructed canal in Egypt, v., 485 *note*.
- Trajan, Count, in Armenia, iii., 10; causes Para (Pap) to be murdered, 60; general of Valens, 108.
- Tralles, in Asia Minor, population at, 502 *note*.
- Trani, *see* Troina.
- Transmigration, *see* Soul.
- Transoxiana, conquered by Zingis, i., 1.
- Transubstantiation, vi., 370.
- Transylvania, occupied by the Magyars, vii., 18 *note*.
- Trapezus, *see* Trebizond.
- Trascalisseus, *see* Zeno.
- Traü, i., 421 and *note*.
- Treason, law of, by Arcadius, iii., 421 and *note, sq. and note*; Roman law of, iv., 529.
- Treasures, Gothic, at Narbonne, iii., 421 and *note*.
- Trebatius, iv., 488 and *note*, 498 *note*.
- Trebellianus, Emperor, revolt of, Isauria, i., 296, 302.
- Trebizond (Trapezus), taken by the Goths, i., 288 *sq.*; buildings of Justinian at, iv., 272; gold mines of Justinian, v., 257; independence of the Turks in eleventh century, vi., 260; dukedom and empire, 488 *sq. and notes*; inhabitants transferred to Constantinople, vii., 210; falls under the Turks, 213 *sq.*; population of, 213 *note*.
- Trent, Council of, ii., 27 *note*.
- Trèves, i., 391 and *note*; amplified, at, 445; Decentius at, ii., 35; destroyed by the Germans, 445; Athanasius at, 388; Valentine at, iii., 37; pillaged by the Franks, 455; massacre of the Jews at, 285.
- Trevoux, i., 129 *note*.
- Triaditza (Sophia), v., 237 *note*.
- Tribes, assembly of the, at Rome, 477.
- Tribigild, the Ostrogoth, rebelled, iii., 387 *sqq.*; allies himself with Gainas, 389; dictates terms of peace, *ib.*
- Tribonian, minister of Justinian, treason, iii., 385 *note*; iv., 385

- account of, 492 *sq.*; chooses foreign lawyers, 495; error of, concerning the Julian laws, 585 *note*.
- ribuli**, engines used in the siege of Rome, iv., 433 and *note*.
- ribunes**, i., 71, *sq.* *note*; in middle ages, vii., 283; tribune, title of Rienzi, 278.
- ribunicia Potestas**, i., 71 *note*, *sq.* *note*.
- ribute**, i., 172 *sqq.*, 270 and *note*; reduced after the invasion of the Goths into Italy, iii., 356.
- ricisimæ** (Kellen), fortified by Julian, ii., 301 *note*.
- rigetius**, ambassador to Attila, iii., 498.
- ringuemale**, harbour of, iv., 248.
- rinity**, controversy concerning the, ii., 355; Platonic doctrine of, *ib.* *sq.*; controversy at Alexandria, 360 *sqq.*, 364; decision of the Council of Nice, 368; of Constantinople, iii., 156 *sq.*; texts interpolated in Gospel of St. John, iv., 96 and *notes*, *sq.* and *notes*.
- ripod**, in memory of defeat of Xerxes, ii., 162 and *note*.
- ripoli** (Syrian), conquered by the Saracens, v., 489 *note*, *sqq.*; attacked by Zimiscees, vi., 63; taken by Roger of Sicily, 220; emir of, helps crusaders, 321; taken by Baldwin I., 327 and *note*; county of, 327; count of, in court of peers, 380; belongs to descendants of Count of St. Giles, 324 *note*; escapes from Saladin, 359; lost by the Franks, 379.
- ripoli** (African), federation of, iii., 49 and *note*; loyal to Justinian, iv., 308; duke of, 310; under Saladin, vi., 355.
- risagion**, hymn, v., 189 *sq.*
- istram**, Sir, romance of, iv., 161 *note*.
- itheism**, ii., 366 *sq.* *note*.
- iumph**, the last at Rome, i., 406 *sq.*
- novo**, cathedral of, inscription of Asen, King of Bulgaria, vi., 452 *note*.
- cas**, aqueduct of Herodes Atticus at, i., 49.
- oina**, battle of, vi., 185; fortress of, 199; siege of, 200.
- owers** (*braccæ*), i., 334 *note*.
- oy**, ii., 155.
- oyes**, i., 391; threatened by the Huns and saved by St. Lupus, iii., 484.
- uce**, annual of the Arabs, v., 346 and *note*.
- uce of God** (*Trenga Dei*), i., 248; vi., 274 and *note*.
- ulæ**, name given to Goths in Spain, iii., 368 *note*.
- Trumpet**, Gothic, iii., 105 and *note* Roman, iv., 340 *note*.
- Tryphon**, Jewish writer, v., 104 *note*.
- Tsepho**, grandson of Esau, ii., 79 *note*.
- Tubero**, Roman lawyer, iv., 498 *note*.
- Tudela**, Benjamin of, vi., 77 and *note*.
- Tuka Timur**, Khan of Great Bulgaria, vii., 50 *note*; house of, 52 *note*.
- Tuli**, son of Zingis Khan, vii., 11.
- Tülünids**, *see* Toulunides.
- Tumen**, King of the Turks, iv., 375 *note*.
- Tunis**, Latin Christians at, v., 521; taken by Roger of Sicily, vi., 219; siege of, by Louis IX., 377.
- Turcilingi**, iv., 51.
- Turin**, battle of, i., 450; Attila at (?), iii., 495; siege of, iv., 179 *note*.
- Turisund**, King of the Gepidæ, v., 5.
- Turkestan**, expedition of Alp Arslan into, vi., 252; conquered by Malek Shah, 254; by Timour, vii., 50.
- Turks**, origin and description of, iv., 373 *sqq.*; religion and laws of, 375; conquests of, *ib.* *sqq.*; embassy to Constantinople, 378 *sq.*; conquests of, in the East, v., 241; earliest inscription of the, 441 *note*; in Bagdad, vi., 50; in Persia, 238 *sqq.*; manners and emigration of, 238 *sqq.*; called Turkmans, 242 *note*; invade the empire, 245 *sq.*; Gela-læan æra of, 256 and *note*; conquest of Asia Minor, 258 *sq.*; take Jerusalem, 262; in Egypt, 318 *sq.*; seat of government at Iconium, 337 and *note*; conquest of Egypt, 350 *sqq.* For Ottoman Turks *see* Ottomans.
- Turks or Magyars**, *see* Magyars.
- Turpilio**, general of Honorius, iii., 301.
- Turpin**, Archbishop of Rheims, vi., 273 and *note*.
- Turtullian**, iv., 480 *sq.*
- Tuscans**, produced the first *Haruspices*, iii., 206 *note*.
- Tuscany**, marquises of, Roman See in subjection to, v., 317.
- Tusculum**, counts of, hold the See of Rome in subjection, v., 317; their titles, vii., 234 *note*; Clement III. gives to the Romans, 239 *note*; overthrown, 247; battle of, 248; partly belonged to the Colonna, 261.
- Tutela**, in Roman law, iv., 514.
- Twelve Tables**, laws of the, iv., 478 *sqq.*; severity of, 529.
- Tyana**, siege of, i., 328, 349; Jovian at, iii., 5; taken by the Saracens, v., 194 *note*; vi., 7.

- Type* of Constans, v., 150.
Tyrant, in sense of *usurper*, i., 296.
Tyrants, the Thirty, i., 295 *sqq.*; of Britain, iii., 375 and *note*.
Tyre, council of, ii., 387; recovered by Afdal, vi., 319 and *note*; emir of, helps crusaders, 321; taken by the Franks, 327 and *note*; besieged by Richard I., 362; lost by the Franks, 379.
Tythes, ii., 51; instituted by Charlemagne, v., 305 and *note*; Saladine tenth, vi., 369 and *note*.
Tsangra, cross-bow, vi., 308 *note*.
Tzechi, tribe of, v., 60 and *note*; vi., 340.
Tzetztes, Isaac, vi., 111 *note*.
Tzetztes, John, iv., 259 and *note*; *Chiliads* of, 459 *note*; vi., 110; other works of, 111 *note*; on death of Moursoufié, 488 *note*.
Tzympe, fortress of, taken by the Ottomans, vii., 32 *note*.
UBERTINUS Pusculus, vii., 184 *note*.
Ubii of Cologne, i., 236 *note*.
Ugernum, near Arles, assembly at, declares Avitus emperor, iv., 10 and *note*.
Ugri, or Hungarians, vi., 145 *sq.*
Ujenar, identified with Petra, iv., 404 *note*.
Ukraine, Goths in, i., 280.
Uldin, King of the Huns, defeats Gainas the Goth, iii., 394; his rearguard extirpated, 405.
Uljai-Tu, Khan of Persia, vii., 23 *note*.
Ulphilas, apostle of the Goths, account of, iv., 82 *sq.*; his translation of the Scriptures, 82 *note*; Arianism of, 87 *note*.
Ulphilas, lieutenant of Constantius, iii., 361.
Ulpian, head of Mamæa's council, i., 137, 164; on the duties of a proconsul, ii., 181; iv., 478; a jurist, 486; authority of, 491; fragments of, 498 *note*.
Ulpiana, iv., 268 *note*.
Ulpian Crinitus, i., 314 and *note*.
Ulubad, battle of, vii., 76 *note*.
Ulugh Beg, founds observatory at Samarcand, vii., 46 *note*.
Ulysses, ship of, at Corcyra, iv., 438 *note*.
Umbrians, i., 23.
Unitarians, v., 362.
Universal History, Modern, on Mahomet and the Caliphs, v., 422 *note*.
Universities, European, vii., 122.
Upravda, translation of name Justinian iv., 219 *note*.
Upsala, temple of, i., 242 *note*, 259 *note*; Codex Argenteus at, ii., *note*.
Uraias, nephew of Vitiges, iv., 341.
Uranus, sophist, at court of Justinian iv., 388.
Urban II. (Pope), vi., 270; at Comacina, Placentia, 271.
Urban IV. (Pope), letter of, v., 376; protects Baldwin of Courtenay, 491.
Urban V. (Pope), vii., 292 and *note*; dressed by Petrarch, 291 and *note*; *sq. note*; returns to Rome, 291; death foretold by St. Bridget, 291; introduces conservators, 308 *note*.
Urban VI. (Pope), vii., 295; supported by Rome, England, etc., 295; cruelty, *ib.*, 297.
Urban VIII. (Pope), removes roof of portico of Pantheon, vii., 322 *note*.
Urban or *Orban*, Hungarian, cannon for Mahomet, vii., 174 *note*.
Urbicus, river, battle on the bank; Theodoric defeats Bechiaris, 18.
Urbino (Urbs Vetus), taken by Petrus, iv., 349 and *note*; duchy united to Ferrara, vii., 306.
Uregundi, *see* Burgundians.
Uroah V., King of Servia, marches to deliver Hadrianople, vii., 23 *note*.
Ursacius, Bishop of Illyricum, pro-Arianism, ii., 375; epistles of, *note*.
Ursacius, master of the offices, *ib.* and *note*.
Ursel of Baliol, commands the Germans in the service of Romanus, 248 and *note*; rebellion of, v., 37.
Ursicinus, in Gaul, ii., 275; in Mesopotamia, 288; disgrace, *ib.*
Ursini, Roman family, vii., 261; splendour of, 309, 331.
Ursini, Bartoldo, stoned, vii., 287.
Ursini, Martin, execution of, vii., [see Stefaneschi].
Ursini, Savella, vii., 331.
Ursinus, contention of, with Damasus, iii., 31.
Ursula, St., iii., 145 *note*.
Ursulus, the treasurer, death, ii., 14.
Urtupa, battle of, vii., 51 *note*.
Usipetes, i., 277.
Usucapio, term in Roman law, ii., *note*, *sq. note*.
Usufruct, iv., 518 and *note*.

Isury, iv., 526 *sq.*
Ius, term in Roman law, iv., 518.
Itica, honorary colony, i., 40 *note*; iii., 50; battle of, v., 498.
Itturgurians, iv., 369 *note*.
Istus (River), Romans defeated by Attila, iii., 449.
Iabeks, or Usbec Tartars, iii., 75 *note*, 461 *note*; vii., 46 *note*; invade Persia and Transoxiana, 74.
Izi, tribe of, vi., 248 and *note*.
ABALLATHUS (or *Balbatas*), i., 327 *note*.
Abasora, subdued by the Saracens, v., 511.
Abaca, Flaminius, vii., 322 *note*.
Abacaricia, battle of, vi., 182 *note*.
Abaca or law of Zingis, vii., 72 *note*.
Adomair, a prince of the Alamanni, ii., 429 and *note*; epistle of, to Constantius, 437 *note*; son of, murdered, iii., 36; commands with Count Trajan in Armenia, 57.
Agabanta, battle of, iii., 57.
Alarsaces, date of, i., 396 *note*; King of Armenia, iii., 415 *note*.
Aladrada, wife of Lothaire II., vi., 92.
Alencia, worship of Christ abolished in, v., 521.
Alens, Arian Bishop of Mursa, ii., 254 *note*; influences Constantius, 379.
Alens, Augustus, iii., 10; Emperor of the East, *ib.*; character, 20 *sq.*; administration, 22 *sq.*; adopts the Arian heresy, 25; assists the Iberians, 57; Gothic war, 62 *sqq.*; resides at Antioch, 98 *sq.*; settles the Visigoths in Thrace, 99; at Constantinople, 113; defeated at the battle of Hadrianople, 116 *sq.*; death, 117.
Alens, Bishop of Illyricum, professes Arianism, ii., 375; epistles of, 392.
Alens, general of the Dalmatian legions, escapes, iii., 331; in the Gothic camp, 337; deserts to Attila, *ib.*
Alens, made Cæsar by Licinius, i., 465; death, 466.
Alens, usurper in Achaia, i., 296 *sq.*
Alentia, city of, Constantine besieged in, iii., 288; destroyed by the Goths, 374; colony of Alani at, 463 and *note*; reduced by Abd al-Asiz, v., 511.
Alentia, province in Britain, iii., 48 and *note*.
Alentin, general, despatched to the East by Heraclius, v., 187.

Valentin, guard of Justinian, iv., 378.
Valentinian I., law against deserters, ii., 192 *note*; character, iii., 7 *sq.*; divides the empire, 10; cruelty of, 20 *sq.*; bears of, 21; administration, 22 *sq.*; institutes *defensors*, 23; religious toleration, 24; edict against the clergy, 29 and *note*; war with the Alamanni, 35 *sqq.*; invades Germany, 39; sends Palladius to Africa, 50; war with the Sarmatians, 65 *sqq.*; enters Sirmium, 68; death, 69 and *note*.
Valentinian II. (Emperor), iii., 69; rules in Italy, Africa and Western Illyricum, 147; expelled by Maximus, 171; restored by Theodosius, 186; character, 187; death, 199.
Valentinian III. (Emperor of the West), edict of, concerning the annual consumption of Rome, iii., 320, 420 and *note*; reduces the tribute of Numidia and Mauritania, 433 *note*; flight to Rome, 498; peace with Attila, 499; puts Aetius to death, 503 *sq.*
Valentinians, sect of the, ii., 15; persecuted, 351, 498; theory on the nature of Christ, v., 110 *note*.
Valentola, surrendered by Theodemir to the Saracens, v., 511.
Valeria, daughter of Diocletian, i., 382 *note*; fate of, 461 *sq.*; embraces Christianity, ii., 124.
Valeria, province of, i., 443 *note*; governed by Marcellinus, iii., 66 and *note*.
Valerian, brings army to the relief of Rome, iv., 345.
Valerian, censor, i., 267; Emperor, 273 and *note*; associates Gallienus, 274; wall of, 286 *note*; expedition to the East, 290; capture of, 291, 293 *sq.*; conduct towards the Christians, ii., 121.
Valerianus, P. Licinius Cornelius, son of Gallienus, i., 274 *note*; death, 276 *note*.
Valerius Flaccus, on the Oppian law, iv., 508 *note*.
Valerius, name assumed by Diocletian, i., 377 *note*.
Valet, meaning of, vi., 403 *note*.
Valla, Laurentius, grammarian, iv., 496 *note*; v., 294 and *note*; Latin interpreter, vii., 126.
Valle, della, Roman family of, vii., 331.
Valle, Pietro della, ii., 529 *note*; iv., 404 *note*; on ruins of Assyria, v., 435 *note*.
Vallio, Count, death, iii., 146 *note*.

- Valturio, Robert, his *de Re Militari*, vii., 167 *note*.
- Valvassors, order of, at Rome, v., 323 and *note*; or *bannerets*, in diocese of Coustances, vi., 192.
- Van (city of, Salban), v., *sq. note*.
- Van Dale, de Consecratione Principum, i., 75 *note*.
- Vandale, physician, ii., 492 *note*.
- Vandals, in Germany, i., 253 *note*, 261 and *note*, 317 *note*; settle in Britain, 358; ally themselves with the Sarmatians, ii., 229; invade Italy, iii., 277; defeated by the Franks, 284; in Gaul and Spain, 365; defeated by Wallia, 368; take Seville and Carthage, 424; in Africa, 425 *sqq.*; maritime power, iv., 1; treaty with Empire, 2 *note*; plunder Rome, 5 *sqq.* and *notes*; on the coasts of the Mediterranean, 29; their conversion, 83; persecute the African Christians, 88 *sqq.*; number of, under Gelimer, 301; fate of, 309 *sqq.*; become extinct in Africa, 314; revolt of, in Africa, 416; complete disappearance of, 421; effect of their capture on the buildings of Rome, vii., 321.
- Vannes, diocese of, subdued by the Britons of Armorica, iv., 161.
- Vapincum, ii., 258 *note*.
- Varanes, general of Honorius, iii., 301.
- Varanes, or Bahram, usurper, exploits of, v., 48; rebellion of, 50 *sqq.*; interviews with Chosroes, 52 *note*; death of, 55.
- Varanes, or Bahram, King of Persia (Varahran II.), i., 365 and *note*.
- Varanes, son of Yezdegerd, King of Persia, persecutes the Christians, iii., 412; ruin of the Armenian kingdom under, 415 *note*.
- Varangians, in the Byzantine service, vi., 86, 155; name of, *ib. note*; acclamations of, 89 *note*; serve under Alexis Comnenus, 206; composed of Danes and English, 412 and *note*; serve under the Emperors of Nicæa, 483, 484.
- Varochonites, *see* Ogors.
- Varna, battle of, vii., 151 *sq.*
- Varni, or Varini, iv., 169.
- Varro, on fall of Rome, iii., 506 and *note*; on comets, iv., 462 and *note*.
- Varronian, Count, father of Jovian, ii., 546.
- Varronian, infant son of Jovian, iii., 6.
- Varus, Alfenus, Roman lawyer, iii., 371 *note*.
- Varus, i., 3 *note*, 22 *note*.
- Vasinobronca, iii., 61 *note*.
- Vataces, John Ducas, Emperor of the vi., 450; besieges Constantinople, 452; conquests, 457; death, 457; administration, 476 *sqq.*; treaty of, 482 and *note*; interview with Sultan of Iconium, vii., 23; account of the Mongol invasion, 23.
- Vatari, village of, iv., 417 *note*.
- Vatican, library of the, vii., 134 and *note*.
- Vaucluse, retreat of Petrarch, vii., 134 and *note*.
- Vayvods, or Hungarian chiefs, vii., 155. *See* Voivode.
- Veccus, Johannes, Patriarch of Constantinople, vi., 493 and *note*.
- Vedastus, St., Life of, iv., 113 *note*.
- Vegetius, his description of Roman legions, i., 17 *note*; iii., 197 and *note*.
- Veii, siege of, i., 172; position of, *note*, 407 *note*.
- Velleda, German prophetess, i., 240.
- Venantius, consul, v., 136.
- Venaissin, county, ceded to the Pope, vii., 254 and *note*.
- Velleius, Paterculus, i., 121 *note*.
- Venedi, i., 263 *sq.* and *note*; subdued by Hermanric, iii., 61.
- Venerianus, i., 285 *note*.
- Venetians, recover Ravenna, v., 215; alliance with Alexis Comnenus, 215; war with Emperor Manuel, 225; commerce, 397; government, 398; treaty with the crusaders, 398 *sqq.*; treachery of, to crusaders, 398 *note*; territory after conquest of Constantinople, 434; settlement in Constantinople, *ib.*; war with the Genoese, 535; treaty with the Genoese, *ib.*; their defeat, 535; use of gunpowder by, vii., 86; transport ships from Adige to Lake Garda, 193 *note*. *See* Venice.
- Veneti, i., 23 and *note*.
- Venice, or Venetia, foundation of the republic of, iii., 495 *sqq.*; history of, by Maffei, 496 *note*; infant dominion of, v., 25; ally of Lombardy, 25; trade of, with Egypt and Palestine, vi., 263 *note*; History of, 394 *sqq.*; bronze horses of Constantinople taken to, 429 *note*; her monopoly of trade with the East, vii., 16 and *note*; John Palæologus at, 110; knowledge of Turkish political affairs, 217 *note*; holds aloof from fate of Italy, 326.

- enti, Emperor of China, memorial to, iii., 87 *note*, *sq. note*.
- enus, chapel of, at Jerusalem, ii., 480.
- enusia, in Lucania, ii., 134; Robert Guiscard buried at, vi., 216 and *note*.
- eratus, iv., 528.
- erdun, massacre of the Jews at, vi., 285.
- ergerius, pupil of Chrysoloras, vii., 129 *note*.
- erina, widow of Leo, iv., 50; claims the empire, 185 *sq.*
- eriniannus, opposes Constantine the tyrant, iii., 288 and *note*.
- erona, amphitheatre at, i., 48; splendour of, 53; siege of, 451 *sq.* and *note*; defeat of the Goths near, iii., 270; destroyed by Attila, 495; battle of, iv., 191; palace of Theodoric at, 205 and *note*; chapel of St. Stephen at, destroyed by Theodoric, 210; Teias at, 441; Lombards in, v., 11.
- eronica, or Image of Christ, v., 266.
- erres, tyrant of Sicily, iv., 582.
- ersinicia, battle of, vi., 140 *note*.
- ersus politici, vi., 118 and *note*.
- ertæ, an unknown nation, in the army of Sapor, ii., 285 and *note*.
- ertot, Abbé de, vii., 187 *note*.
- erulamium (Roman municipium), i., 40 *note*.
- erus, Ælius, i., 88.
- erus the Younger, i., 88.
- es, Russian tribe, vi., 157 *note*.
- espasian, i., 48, 72 *note*, 81 *sq.* and *note*; discovery of his *lex de imperio*, vii., 271 and *note*.
- espasiana, alleged province in Scotland, i., 5 *note*.
- estals, i., 124; iii., 199 and *note*.
- eterans, lands bestowed on, ii., 191 and *note*.
- etranio, governor of Illyricum, assumes the purple, ii., 248 and *note*; deposed and exiled by Constantius, 251.
- ettius, celebrated Roman augur, iii., 506 *note*.
- exin, Count of, title of King of France, vi., 343 *note*.
- ézelay, Parliament of, St. Bernard at, vi., 347.
- ia *Caesaris*, suburb of Ravenna, iii., 274 *note*.
- icars, or vice-præfects, ii., 181 and *note*.
- icennalia, i., 406 and *note*.
- icenza, destroyed by Attila, iii., 495.
- ictor, African bishop, his history of the African persecution, iv., 97.
- Victor, Aurelius, ii., 245 *note*; præfect of the city, 420 *note*.
- Victor (Flavius), son of Maximus, death of, iii., 174 and *note*.
- Victor, the Sarmatian, Julian's general of infantry, ii., 519; at Maogamalcha, 525; wounded, 533; general of Valens against the Goths, iii., 63; with Arintheus arranges peace with the Goths, 64; retreat of, at Hadrianople, 118.
- Victor Vitensis, History of the Vandalic persecution, iii., 430 *note*; iv., 90 *note*.
- Victor (the Younger), historian, ii., 216 *note*, 261 *note*.
- Victoria, mother of Victorinus, i., 296, 323 and *note*.
- Victorianus, proconsul and martyr, iv., 94 *note*.
- Victorinus, associate of Posthumus, i., 296; death, 323 and *note*.
- Victors, veteran band of the, in Britain, iii., 47.
- Victory, statue and altar of, iii., 201 and *note*; banished by Gratian, *ib.*; restoration solicited by Symmachus, 202.
- Victovali, i., 253 *note*.
- Vicus Helena, town of, Clodion defeated by Ætius at, iii., 480 and *note*.
- Vienna (Vienne), ii., 422; Julian at, 429; Valentinian II. at, iii., 188; Constantine besieged in, 288; taken by Clovis, iv., 120.
- Vienna, Theodoric born at, iv., 182.
- Viennensis, one of the Seven Provinces, iii., 376 *note*.
- Vigenna or *Vienne*, river, iv., 125.
- Vigilantia, mother of Justinian, iv., 219 *note*, 229.
- Vigilantius (presbyter), iii., 221 *note*.
- Vigilantius, general of Honorius, iii., 301.
- Vigilius, deacon, made Pope, iv., 348; accused of exile of Sylverius, 424 *note*; sends Sicilian corn to Rome, 428 and *note*; apostacy of, v., 148.
- Vigilius, interpreter sent with embassy to Attila, iii., 459; interview with Attila, 464; his conspiracy against Attila, 467.
- Vigilius of Thapsus, dialogue of, iv., 96 and *note*.
- Vignoles, M. des, on date of fire in Nero's reign, vii., 318 *note*.
- Viliaris, a Gothic warrior, iv., 423 *note*.
- Villages, in Russia and Poland, iv., 370 *note*; authorities upon, *ib.*
- Villains, or serfs, in Syria, vi., 384.

- Villani, John, on the revolution of A.D. 1328 at Rome, vii., 251 *note*.
- Villani, Matthew, history of, vi., 528 *note*.
- Villas, of the Merovingians, iv., 140 and *note*.
- Villehardouin, Geoffrey de, joins fourth crusade, vi., 395; origin of name of, *ib. note*; compared to Nicetas, 425; Marshal of Romania, 436; retreats before the Bulgarians, 448.
- Villehardouin, William, Prince of Achaia, captivity of, vi., 459 and *note*.
- Viminacium, i., 140 *note*; destroyed by the Huns, iii., 448.
- Vindonissa, battle of, i., 390; ruins of, iv., 112 and *note*.
- Vine, cultivation of the, i., 57 and *note*.
- Virgil, fourth eclogue of, ii., 326 and *note*; sixth eclogue of, 505 *note*; ninth eclogue of, iii., 370 and *note*; mention of silk by, iv., 244; mentions suicides, 541 and *note*; as a magician, vii., 334 *note*.
- Virtha, or Tecrit, Arabian fortress, besieged by Sapor, ii., 288 and *note*.
- Visandus, Gothic standard-bearer, iv., 335.
- Visconti, sovereignty of, in Milan, v., 329.
- Visigoths, *see under* Goths.
- Vistula, settlement of Goths on, i., 261.
- Vitalian, Gothic chief, death of, iv., 222; family of, *ib. note*.
- Vitalian, nephew of Anastasius, revolt of, v., 140.
- Vitalianus, Prætorian præfect, i., 187 *note*, 192.
- Vitalius, general of Justinian, iv., 422 *note*.
- Vitaxæ, or satraps, i., 220.
- Vitellius, emperor, i., 81, 87 *note*.
- Viterbo, v., 280 and *note*; battle of, vii., 248 and *note*; a retreat of popes, 252.
- Vitiges, general of Theodatus, King of Italy, iv., 332; besieges Rome, 334 *sqq.*; six camps at Rome, 338 and *note*; besieges Rimini, 347; flies to Ravenna, 348; accepts Belisarius as King of the Goths, 355; taken prisoner, *ib.*; senator and patrician at Constantinople, 356 and *note*; embassy of, to Persia, 391.
- Vitruvius, the architect, iii., 324 and *note*.
- Vitry, James de, vi., 326 *note*.
- Vivarium, at Rome, *see* Rome.
- Vivonne, Clovis attacks the Visigoths near, iv., 126 *note*.
- Visir, office of, revived, v., 496 and *note*; Turkish office of, vii., 26.
- Vlachia, Great, vi., 390 *note*.
- Vlacho-Bulgarian kingdom, vi., 391 and *note*.
- Vladimir, metropolis, taken by the Mongols, vii., 16 *note*.
- Vladimir, *see* Wolodimir.
- Voconian law, iv., 519 and *note*, 523.
- Voguls, Siberian people, vi., 145 *note*.
- Voivode, vi., 507.
- Volaterranus, Jac., Diary of, vii., 311.
- Volaterra, Raphael de, translates work of Procopius, iv., 225 *note*.
- Volney, traveller in Egypt, v., 479 and 488 *note*.
- Volocean marshes, i., 443 *note*.
- Vologesia, ii., 522 *note*.
- Voltaire, i., 28 *note*; his *Zadig*, v., 311 *note*; on Mahomet, 391 *note*; siege of Damascus, 446 *note*; division of the Saracen Empire, 428 *note*; on Alexius Comnenus, 523 *note*; on Amurath II., vii., 146 and 196 *note*; Turcophil prejudice, 523 *note*.
- Volusianus, son of Gallus, i., 272 and *note*.
- Volusius, wealthy Roman senator, i., 310 *note*.
- Vopiscus, on Aurelian's reign, i., 28 *note*; estimate of, 342 *note*.
- Vortigern, British prince, iv., 156 and 162.
- Vortimer, son of Vortigern, iv., 162.
- Vonillé, battle of, Clovis defeats the Goths at, iv., 125; position of the site of the battle, 126 *note*.
- Vou-ti, Emperor of China, i., 397 and *note*; iii., 88 and *note*.
- Vsevlav of Kiev, vi., 272 *note*.
- Vulcanus, Bonaventura, author of Latin version of Agathias, iv., 225 *note*.
- Vultures, twelve, of Romulus, iii., 50.
- WAKIDY (Al Wākidi), history of the conquest of Syria ascribed to, v., 471 *note*; history of conquest of Mesopotamia, 471 *note*; history of conquest of Egypt, 474 *note*.
- Waimar of Salerno, vi., 186 *note*; near Capua, 187 *note*.
- Wakusa, battle of (Yermuk), v., 471 *note*.
- Walachians, i., 317 *note*; origin of, 137 and *note*; share in second Bulgarian kingdom, 390 and *note*; rebel against the Turks, vii., 146 *note*; claim Hunyady, 154 *note*. *See* Vlachia.

- Wladimir I., of Russia, *see* Wolodomir.
- Walamir, Prince of the Ostrogoths in Pannonia, friend of Attila, iii., 446; brother of Theodoric the Ostrogoth, iv., 183 and *note*, *sq.*
- Walamirs, Gothic tribe, fight for the Emperor Zeno, iv., 186.
- Wales, Britons retreat to, iv., 161; marches of, 166; music in, 167 *sq. note.*
- Walid, caliph, marries granddaughter of Yazdegerd, v., 439 *note*; conquers Transoxiana, 440 and *note*; annexes Spain, 503; death of, 513; vi., 5.
- Wall, Roman in Britain, i., 5; of Rome (Aurelian's), 322; of Probus, on German frontier, 357; of China, iii., 87; of Rome, under Honorius, 324; of Justinian in Thracian Chersonese, iv., 269; of Anastasius in Thrace, 270.
- Wallia, King of the Goths, allies himself with Rome, iii., 368; death, 475.
- Wallus, or Cambricus, iv., 166 *note.*
- Walter de Brienne, Duke of Athens, vi., 505; death, 506.
- Walter de Poissy, uncle of Walter the Penniless, vi., 284 *note.*
- Walter the Penniless, vi., 284; in Asia Minor, 288.
- Wangkhan, *see* Prester John.
- War, rights of, iv., 853 *note.*
- Warburton on Julian, ii., 482.
- Warna, *see* Varna.
- Varnefrid, Paul, on the Lombards, iv., 367 *note*; v., 24 *note*; on defeat of the Saracens, vi., 18 *note.*
- Waters, Prince of the, Persian title, iv., 386 and *note.*
- Watson, Dr., vi., 10 *note.*
- Waywode, *see* Voivode.
- Wei-liao, Chinese document, iv., 245 *note.*
- Vells, in Persia, iv., 386 *note.*
- Veltin, vision of, v., 303 *note.*
- Vends or Slavonians, iv., 316 *note.*
- Venzel, son of Charles IV., v., 329 *note.*
- Verdan, general of Heraclius, v., 448 and *note.*
- Western Empire, divided from Eastern, iii., 10; invaded by the Alamanni, 112; usurped by Eugenius, 191; given to Honorius, 228; discord with Eastern Empire, 242 *sq.*; invaded by the Goths, 253 *sqq.*; laws separate from Eastern, 421; prophecy of its fall, 506 and *note*; extinction of, iv., 54; observations in fall of, 172 *sqq.*
- Wharton, Thomas, Mr., History of English Poetry, iv., 168 *note.*
- Wheat, price of, ii., 90 *note*; fixed by Julian, 510.
- Whitaker, i., 142 *note*; his History of Manchester, iii., 45 *note*; iv., 155 *note*; on English language, 164 *note.*
- White and black, meaning of, in Turkish language, vii., 34.
- White Horde, vii., 50 *note.*
- White Huns, iii., 91 *sqq.*
- White, Mr., Arabic professor at Oxford, vi., 16 *note*; institutions of Timour translated by, vii., 44 *note.*
- Wibald of Corvei, Abbot, vi., 343 *note.*
- Wibert, his life of Leo IX., vi., 188 *note.*
- Widimir, brother of Theodoric the Ostrogoth, iv., 182 and *note.*
- Wietersheim, on German invasion of Gaul, i., 276 *note.*
- Wilfrid, Anglo-Saxon bishop, iv., 166 and *note*; at the Lateran synod, v., 153 *note.*
- William I., King of Sicily (the Bad), vi., 227 *sq.*
- William II., of Sicily (the Good), vi., 226, 228.
- William, Count of Apulia, vi., 185, 186; divides the conquests with Rainulf and Waimar, 187 *note*; death, 218.
- William of Malmesbury, on first crusade, vi., 305 *note.*
- William of Nogaret, vii., 253.
- William of Tyre, error of, vi., 262 *note*; knowledge of antiquity of, 309 *note.*
- William, Viscount of Melun, flight of, at Antioch, vi., 315.
- Wilmanns, i., 7 *note.*
- Wimpen, i., 357.
- Winchester, Roman, gynaeceum at, ii., 197 *note.*
- Windmills, introduced into Europe by the crusaders, vi., 463 *note.*
- Wine, public distribution of, at Rome, iii., 320; scarcity of, 321 and *note.*
- Wingfield, Sir Robert, ambassador of Henry VIII., vii., 301 *note.*
- Wisdom, of Solomon, published by the Alexandrian Jews, ii., 357 and *note.*
- Wisumar, Vandal King of the Goths, ii., 232.
- Witchcraft and Witches, iii., 18; in Lombard code of laws, v., 32.
- Withicab, son of Vadomair, murder of, iii., 36.
- Withimer, King of the Goths, war against the Huns and Alani, iii., 96.
- Witikind (Widukind), Saxon chief, v., 813 and *note.*
- Witikind (Widukind), Saxon monk, iv., 156 *note.*

- Witiza, King of the Goths in Spain, iv., 153; v., 503.
- Woden, god of war, iv., 158.
- Wolodomir, Grand Duke of Russia, v., 225; sends auxiliaries against Phocas, 230 *note*; vi., 93; baptism of, 170; marries Princess Anne, *ib.*; date of, *ib. note*.
- Wolodomir, province of, *see* Moscow.
- Women, position among Romans, i., 162; among the Germans, 245 *sq.*; among the Mahometans, v., 374; how regarded legally, iv., 507.
- World, date of creation of, ii., 25 and *note*; conflagration of, 27 *sq.*
- Worms, destroyed, ii., 290; murders at, in tenth century, vi., 279 *note*; massacre of the Jews at, 285.
- Worship, public, solid foundation of religion, iii., 218.
- Wotton's Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning, v., 484 *note*; vi., 33 *note*.
- Writing, knowledge of, in Arabia, v., 357 *note*.
- XENAIAS, or Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabug, exile and death of, v., 163 and *note*.
- Xenophon, on eunuchs, ii., 261 *note*; *Cyropaedia* and *Anabasis*, 551 *note*; on Syrian and Cilician gates, v., 84 *note*.
- Xeres, battle of, v., 506 and *note*.
- Xerxes, Bridge of Boats, ii., 154 and *note*; iv., 864 *note*.
- Ximenes, Cardinal, publishes the Greek testament, iv., 97 *note*.
- Ximenes, Roderic, his *Historia Arabum*, vi., 13 *note*.
- Xiphilin, Patriarch of Constantinople, v., 237.
- YAROSLAV, *see* Jaroslaus and Ieroslaus.
- Yatreb, *see* Medina.
- Yeletz, taken by Timour, vii., 51.
- Yelutchousay, Chinese mandarin, iii., 451 and *note*.
- Yemanah, Arabian city, and province of, v., 424 and *note*.
- Yemen, or Arabia Felix, conquered by Nushirvan, v., 43; kingdom of, 335 and *note*; cities in, 388; subjugation of, by the Abyssinians, Persian, Egyptians and Turks, 340 and *note*; subdued by Moâwiya, 413; subdued by Saladin, vi., 855.
- Yen King, *see* Peking.
- Yermuk, battle of the, v., 460 *sqq.*
- Yezdegerd I., iii., 403.
- Yezdegerd III., last King of Persia: 480; era of, *ib. notes*; defeated the Arabs at Jalula, 435; at *ib. 435 note*; takes refuge with the Prince of Fargana, 438; slain by the Turks, 439; children of, *ib. note*; iv., 387 *note*.
- Yezd, Magian Pontiff near, v., 519.
- Yezid I. (Caliph), son of Moâwiya: 414; spares family of Ali, 417; siege of Constantinople, vi., 3.
- Yezid II. (Caliph), iconoclastic edict of, 267 *note*.
- Yezid, favourite of Sulaymân, v., 513.
- Yezid, son of Walid, v., 439 *note*.
- Yolande, daughter of John of Brienne, wife of Frederic II., vi., 371 and *note*.
- Yolande, sister of Baldwin and Henry, wife of Peter of Courtenay, v., 448.
- Youkinna, chief of Aleppo, v., 466, 467.
- Yuen, Mongol dynasty of, vii., 21.
- ZAB, lesser, v., 96.
- Zabatus, or great Zap, river, ii., 21 *note*; Heraclius at, v., 96; defeated Caliph Mervan on the banks of, v., 21.
- Zabdas, general of Zenobia, i., 328.
- Zabdicene, province of, ceded to the empire, i., 404 and *note*.
- Zabergan, leader of the Bulgarian embassy, iv., 454; threatens Constantinople, *ib.*; retires, 456.
- Zablestan, reduced by Nushirvan, iv., 41.
- Zacagni, v., 24 *note*.
- Zachariah, Patriarch of Jerusalem, taken by Chosroes to Persia, v., 76.
- Zachariah, prophet, iv., 362.
- Zacharias, Bishop of Mytilene, v., 13 *note*.
- Zacharias, the Paulician, vi., 117 *note*.
- Zachary, Pope, v., 287.
- Zadenghel, v., 178.
- Zagan Pasha at siege of Constantinople, vii., 180 *note*.
- Zagarola, fief of the Colonna, vii., 290.
- Zagatai, son of Zingis, vii., 11 and *note*.
- Zagatais, defeat Tootamish, vii., 51.
- Zaid, *see* Zeid.
- Zaleucus, laws of, iv., 474 and *note*.
- Zalzuts, vi., 241 *note*.
- Zama, battle of, i., 362 *note*.
- Zama, Saracen leader, death of, vi., 14.
- Zames, iv., 441 *note*.
- Zamma, brother of Firmus, iii., 50.
- Zamolxis, i., 317.
- Zamorin, grants privileges to Christians of St. Thomas, v., 161.

- Lampea*, attendant of the Empress Anne, vii., 90 and *note*.
Lani, Peter, Doge of Venice, vi., 435 *note*.
Lani, tribe of, iv., 278; sent by Justinian against the Persians, 405.
Lano, brother of Gelimor, iv., 305 *sqq.*; death, 308.
Lante or *Zacynthus*, massacre at, by Genesio, iv., 30; taken by Venetians, vi., 435 *note*.
Lanubi, poet laureate, vii., 291 *note*.
Lapharan, Jacobite monastery, near Merdin, v., 164.
Lara, siege of, vi., 402 and *note*.
Zarathustra, *see* Zoroaster.
Lathus, King of Lazica, iv., 403.
Layrids, *see* Zeirides.
Lealots, sect of the, ii., 78 *note*, 94.
Lebras at Rome, i., 370 *note*.
Lehra, city of, near Cordova, vi., 26.
Leid, slave of Mahomet, v., 365 *note*, 375; standard-bearer at Muta, 395.
Leineb, wife of Mahomet, v., 402 *note*.
Leineddin (Zayn ad-Din) Cadhi, vi., 348.
Leirides, Saracen dynasty in Africa, vi., 219.
Letator Italia, title, vii., 279.
Lemlin, *see* Semlin.
Leitzen, holy well of Mecca, v., 389, 350.
Leid language, i., 214 *note*.
Leidavesta, or Bible of the Ghebers, i., 214, 217.
Leidecan, battle of, vi., 240.
Leighi, Governor of Aleppo, vi., 348 *note*.
Lenia or *Zenastan*, Armenian name for China, i., 396 *note*.
Lenobia, queen of Palmyra, i., 296, 299, 309; defeated by Aurelian, 314; character and reign, 325 *sqq.*; protects Paul of Samosata, ii., 123.
Lenobius, i., 335 *note*.
Leno, Emperor, restored, iv., 55; husband of Ariadne, 184, 271; Henoticon of, v., 137 and *note*.
Leno, Bishop of Maiuma, ii., 496 *note*.
Leno, orator, iv., 260.
Lephaniah, prophecy of, iii., 122.
Leugma, passage of the Euphrates, ii., 515 *note*.
Leuxippus, baths of, ii., 163 and *note*.
Lehebu, the chagan of the Khazars, v., 94 *note*.
Lichidae, vii., 146 *note*.
Liebel, Prince of the Chozars, v., 94; co-operates with Heraclius, *ib. note*.
Limiscees, John, the Armenian, v., 225 *note*; Typikon of, 226 *note*, *sq.*; account of, 227 *sqq.*; eastern con-quests, vi., 60 *sqq.*; settles the Paulicians in Thrace, 126 and *note*; conquers Eastern Bulgaria, 142 *note*; his name, 166 *note*; takes Marcianopolis, 167; triumph of, 168.
Zingis Khan, iii., 74 *note*, 82 and *note*, 443 and *note*; slays the Chinese, 451 *sq.*; account of, vii., 2 *sqq.*; birth and race, 2 and *note*; etymology of name Zingis, 3 *note*; laws of, 3 *sq.* and *note*; religion of, 4; invades China, 7 *sq.*; conquers Carizme, Transoxiana and Persia, 8 *sq.*; his strategical ability, 9 *note*; return and death of, 10; children and successors of, 11 *sq.*
Zizais, chief of the Sarmatians, ii., 281.
Zobeide, wife of Harun Al-Rashid, v., 86 *note*.
Zobeir, Arabian chief, supported by insurgents of Kufa, v., 410 and *note*; revolts against Ali, 411; death, 412; kills Gregory the Prefect, 491 *sqq.*
Zoe, Carbonupsina, wife of Emperor Leo VI., v., 221 and *note*; regency of, 222.
Zoe, daughter of Constantine IX. (VIII.), v., 231; empress, 233.
Zoe, second wife of Leo VI., v., 220 *note*, *sq.* and *note*.
Zoltan, son of Arpad, Hungarian ruler, vi., 149 *note*; Hungarian form of "Sultan," 234 *note*.
Zonaras, i., 196 *note*; on Anna Comnena, vi., 111 *note*.
Zoroaster or *Zarathustra*, i., 214 and *note*; system of, 215 *sqq.*; ii., 15; iv., 383 *note*; writings of, v., 517; religion confounded with that of the Hindoos, *ib. note*, 519.
Zosimus, on taxation, ii., 211; accuses Constantine, 307; on epistles of Julian, 437 *note*; prejudiced, iii., 114 *note*; description of his style, 128; lack of judgment, 136, 172; fanaticism of, 218 and *note*; account of Britain, 373; on revolt of Tribigild and Gainas, 387 *note*; on the monks, iv., 75.
Zoste patricia, maid of honour at Byzantine Court, vi., 85 *note*.
Zoticus, i., 160 *note*.
*Zoupan*s, or Lords of Croatia, vi., 138.
Zuheir, Saracen governor of Africa, v., 496.
Zürich, city of, vii., 280 and *note*.
Zwinglius, ii., 28 *note*.
Zygomala, Theodosius, on siege of Constantinople, vii., 170.

INDEX

PART II. TO APPENDICES

- ABASCIA**, vi., 560.
Abbadān, town, ii., 598.
Abbāsids, the, their influence on historiography, v., 543.
Abd al-Malik, building at Jerusalem, ii., 597; coinage of, vi., 555.
Abd ar-Rahmān (historian), vi., 553.
Ablavius, i., 496 *sq.*
Abraha, King, iv., 578 and *note*.
Abraham, Armenian monk, vii., 346.
Abramos, in Yemen, iv., 578.
Abulfaragius, *see* Bar-Hebræus.
Abū-l-Fidā, geography of, ii., 598; life and works of, vi., 553.
Abū-Shāma, *see* Abd ar-Rahmān.
Abyssinia, in fourth to sixth centuries A.D., iv., 576 *sqq.*
Achaia, province, i., 489.
Achelis, H., iv., 562.
Acciajoli, the (Nicholas; Angelo; Nerio I.; Antonio; Nerio II.), vi., 577-9.
Acre, Saracen siege of, vi., 553.
Acropolites, George, vi., 541.
Acts of Archelaus, vi., 565.
Adad, King, iv., 577 *note*, 578.
Adam de Montaldo, vii., 346.
Adamek, v., 526 *note*.
Adelperga, friend of Paul the Deacon, v., 541.
Adonts, N., v., 551.
Adoptionism, doctrine of, vi., 565.
Adoration of Emperors, ii., 575.
Adrunutzion, vi., 560.
Adscriptitii, v., 562.
Aegean sea, theme of, vi., 557.
Aegina, vi., 580.
Aegyptus, province, i., 489.
Aelana, iv., 570.
Aelius Lampridius, writer of *Hist. Aug.*, i., 479 *sqq.*
Aelius Spartianus, writer of *Historia Augusta*, i., 479 *sqq.*
Aemilianus, tyrant, i., 499.
Aerarium of Rome, ii., 575.
Aerikon, iv., 584.
Aeras of the world (Roman, Antioch etc.), ii., 568; Roman or Byzantine, v., 527.
Aetius, in Merobaudes, iii., 515; military command of, iii., 535; relations with Boniface, 536-7.
Africa, wars in (sixth century), iv., 527; exarchs of, 580; præst. prefects of, magg. mil., *ib.*
Africa, Diocese of, ii., 583.
Africa, province of, i., 489; ii., 583.
Agapetus of Synnada, ii., 597.
Agapius, v., 547.
Agathangelus, i., 494; sources of, 591.
Agathias, i., 494; iv., 550.
Agentes in rebus, ii., 586.
Agnellus, iii., 517.
Agriculture, code relating to (eighth century), v., 563 *sq.*
Aizan, King, iv., 577.
Ajnādain, battle of, v., 571.
ἀκρόπορις ὕμνος, v., 527.
Alamanni, i., 503.
Alania, vi., 560.
Alanovimuthes, i., 496.
Alans, in Gaul, iii., 512, 522; vi., 555.
Alaric, Stilicho's campaigns against, 525-7; in Greece, 527; in Italy, 527-8.
Albanès, ii., 567.
Albanians, in the Peloponnesus, vi., 565.
Albano, Bogomils of, vi., 565.
Albert of Aachen, vi., 548.
Aleppo, college of, vi., 552.
Alexander of Alexandria, ii., 566.
Alexandria, Libraries of, iii., 524; *see* *ib.* at, iv., 571; date of capitulation, 578.
Alexius Comnenus, v., 587.
Ali, Caliph, coinage of, vi., 555.
Allard, P., ii., 561, 570, 572.
Allectus, iii., 520.
Allelengyon, v., 561.
Alpes, maritimæ, Cotticæ, Poeninæ, i., 489.

- Alphabets, Slavonic, vi., 571.
 al-Mamūn, ii., 597.
 al-Tabārī, iv., 558.
Altan dŋler, Mongol annals, vii., 340.
 Amalasuntha, iv., 565.
 Amalfi, vi., 578.
 Amatus of Salerno, vi., 545.
 Ambrose the Norman, vi., 549.
 Ambrose, St., iii., 515.
 Amélineau, iv., 560 *sq.*
 Amorgos, vi., 581.
 Ammianus Marcellinus, his History, ii., 562 *sq.*; list of Gallic and Egyptian provinces, 577 *sq.*, 581.
 Ammon, bishop, iv., 560.
 Anmyris, of Filelfo, vii., 346.
 Anaea, vi., 580.
 Ἀνάκλημα τῆς Κωνσταντινόπολης, vii., 346.
 Anaphe, vi., 580.
 Anastasius I., Emperor, iv., 549; ordinance of, 558; institutes *comes patri- monii*, 564; coinage of, 571; long wall of, 584.
 Anastasius, Martyr, Life of, v., 528.
 Anastasius of Mount Sinai, v., 529.
 Andan, *see* Adad.
 Anderson, J. G. C., iv., 582.
 Andronius I., Emperor, vi., 542.
 Andros, vi., 580.
 An-hsi (Parthia), iv., 570.
 Anianus, ii., 568; iii., 588; v., 546.
 Anna Comnena, her *Alexiad*, v., 587 *sq.*
 Annales Barenses, vi., 546.
 Annales Beneventani, vi., 546.
 Annals of Angers, iv., 558.
 Annals of Ravenna, iii., 517.
 Annee Epigraphique, i., 484.
 Annae foederaticæ, ii., 585.
 Anonymous Chronographer of A.D. 354, i., 482, 493.
 Anonymous Continuation of Suetonius, i., 480.
 Anonymous Continuator of Dion, i., 478, 497, 500; v., 525 *note*, 535.
 Anonymous Dirge on Constantinople, vii., 340.
 Anonymous Monodia, on Theodore Palæologus, ii., 560.
 Anonymous Scribe of King Béla, vi., 572.
 Anonymus Cuspiniani, *see* *Chronicon Cusp.*
 Anonymus, on Constantine the Great and Helen, ii., 595.
 Anonymus Valesii, the first fragment, ii., 560; second fragment, origin of, iii., 517; nature of, iv., 554.
 Ansaldo, L., vi., 549.
 Antal, subdued by Avars, v., 548.
 Antala, iv., 556, 579.
 Anthony, St., iv., 560.
 Antioch, i., 497; mentioned in Chinese books, iv., 571; mint at, *ib.*; Radulph's account of capture of, vi., 548.
 Antiochus, king of Palmyra, i., 502.
 Antiparos, vi., 580.
 Antiquitates (Codinus), ii., 574.
 Antoninus (tyrant), i., 499, 500.
 Antoninus, Pius, Titus, Edict of, concerning Christians, ii., 569.
 Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, rescript ascribed to, ii., 569; Christian persecution of, 571; mentioned in Chinese books, iv., 570.
 Antony, Life of, iv., 560.
 Anzitene, v., 550.
 Aosta, v., 549.
 Aphthartodocetism, v., 554.
 Apollonius, Acts of, ii., 572.
 Apology of Aristides, v., 529.
 Apronianus, father of Dion Cassius, i., 477.
 Aquitania, province, i., 488.
 Arabia, province of, i., 486, 489; iv., 582; in fourth century, ii., 578; gold in, v., 570.
 Arbeticio, iii., 584.
 Arbogast, iii., 521, 535.
 Arborius, iii., 512.
 Arcadia, province, ii., 577 *sq.*
 Arcadius, Emperor, iii., 533.
 Arch of Constantine, i., 504.
 Archer and Kingsford, Hist. of Crusades, vi., 554.
 Ardeshir (I.), religious movement under, i., 494.
 Ardashir II., iii., 521, 584.
 Arentans, the, vi., 559.
 Areobindus, iv., 556.
 Arethas, King of Axum, iv., 579.
 Arethas, Martyrdom of, iv., 577 and *note*.
 Arichis, Duke of Beneventum, v., 541.
 Aristakes, Catholicus of Armenia, ii., 592.
 Aristarchos, vi., 539.
 Aristotle, Psellus on, v., 536.
 Arius, Letters of, ii., 566.
 Armenia, history and historians of, in fourth century, ii., 591 *sqq.*; church of, 592; division of, between the Empire and Persia, iii., 534; later historians of, vi., 553; account of, by Constantine Porph., 560.
 Armenia minor, ii., 579.
 Armenia, the Roman provinces of, under Hadrian, i., 486; under Justinian, v., 550 *sq.*; under Maurice, 550.
 Armoricis, defeated by Aetius, iii., 515.
 Army, Roman, i., 486; under Diocletian and Constantine, ii., 584 *sqq.*; size of, third to sixth centuries, 585.

- Arnold, C. F., ii., 572.
 Arnold, W. T., i., 484; ii., 572.
 Arosa, i., 485.
Arsaces, title, ii., 592.
 Arsacius, dragon slayer, ii., 597.
 Aršak, King, ii., 592.
 Artemius, Life of, *see Vita Artemii*.
 Artillery, in Roman Army, i., 487.
 Arverni, iv., 553.
 Arzanene, v., 550.
Asceticon, iv., 560.
 Aschbach, J., i., 490; iii., 520.
 Asena, iv., 575.
 Ashburner, W., v., 561, 565.
 Asia, province, i., 489.
 Asmus, J., ii., 562, 566.
Assessor, iv., 546.
 Assises of Jerusalem, vi., 576 *sq.*
 Aštišat, ii., 592.
 Asturia (province), i., 489.
 Astypalæa, vi., 581.
 Asylum, right of, v., 560.
 Ataulf, iii., 512.
 Ateotti, the, iii., 520-1.
 Atelkuzu, vi., 573.
 Athalaric, iv., 565.
 Athanasius, Patriarch, writings a source of Socrates, ii., 566.
 Athanasius, præf. pref. of Africa, iv., 556.
 Athanasius (St.), iv., 560.
 Athenais, iv., 581.
 Athens, population of, i., 505; iii., 511; Goths at, 527; under Acciajoli, vi., 579.
 Attaleiates, Michael, his History, v., 586.
 Attalus, tyrant, iii., 512.
 Attica, population of, i., 505.
 Aubé, B., ii., 572.
 Augusta Praetoria, v., 549.
 Augustine, St., iii., 516, 518; *De Civitate*, *ib.*
 Augustus, offices held by, i., 492.
 Auler, A., iv., 550.
 Aurelian, Emperor, walls of, at Rome, i., 500; war with Zenobia and Waballath, i., 501 *sq.*; relations with Tetricus, 502.
 Aurelian, præf. pref. ("Osiris"), iii., 510, 533 *sq.*
 Aurelius, M., *see* Antoninus, M. Aurelius.
 Aurelius Victor, i., 499.
 Aureolus, tyrant, i., 499.
Aurum coronarium, iv., 588.
 Ausonius, Decimus Magnus, iii., 512.
 Austria, advance in S.E. of Europe, i., 490.
 Auvray, E., v., 532.
 Auxentius, iv., 562.
 Auxilia, i., 487; ii., 584; palatina, *ib.*
 Avars, the, iii., 522; their conquests and empire in Europe, v., 548 *sq.*; the empire broken up, vi., 567.
 Avellane Collection, iii., 519.
 Axumites, the, in fourth to sixth centuries, iv., 576 *sqq.*
- BABYLON, captured, v., 573.
 Baourius, iii., 490.
 Baetica, provinces, i., 488.
Bagaudae, iii., 515.
 Bahā ad-Dīn, vi., 552.
 Bahrām IV., iii., 521.
 Bahrām V., iii., 521.
 Bährens, i., 481.
 Baian, v., 549.
 Baian, *see* Paganos.
 Baidar, vii., 343.
 Balbinus, elevation of, i., 494.
 Baldric, Archbishop of Dol, vi., 547.
 Baldwin IV., vi., 550.
 Baldwin III., vi., 576.
 Balearic Islands, iv., 557.
 Balista, general, i., 498; tyrant, *ib.*
 Ball, V., i., 491.
 Banduri, A., ii., 574.
 Barbaro Nicolo, journal of, vii., 344.
 Barbaria, iv., 554.
Barbarus of Scaliger, iii., 517.
 Bardenhewer, ii., 567.
 Baret, E., ii., 562.
 Bar-Hebræus (Abū-l-Faraj), v., 526 *sq.*
 Barlaam of Calabria, vi., 542.
Barlaam and Joasaph, v., 529.
 Barlow, J. W., vi., 554.
 Baronius, Cardinal, v., 567.
 Barthold, W., iv., 575.
 Basil I. restores laws of Justinian, 557; land legislation of, 563.
 Basil II., land legislation of, v., 562 *note*.
 Basilica, collection of laws, v., 557.
 Basiliscus, tyrant, iv., 543 and *note*.
 Basina, iv., 558.
 Bassus Pomponius, corrector Italiae, 502.
 Bastarnæ, the, ii., 591.
 Batifol, P., ii., 566.
 Baur, on the early episcopate, ii., 566.
 Baybars, Sultan, vi., 553.
 Bede, Venerable, History of, v., 545.
 Bedjan; *Acta Martyrum*, ii., 560, 57.
 Belgica, province, i., 488.
 Belisarius, iv., 546, 547.
 Beloch, i., 505.
 Belser, J., ii., 573.
 Benchel, i., 487.
 Benedict of Peterborough, vi., 550.
 Benjamin, O., ii., 567; iv., 559.
 Benson, ii., 573.

- berezin, J. N., vii., 340.
 berge, De la, i., 486.
 bernard the Treasurer, vi., 550.
 berndorf, i., 486.
 berthmann-Hollweg, A. von, iv., 559.
 bessarabia, vi., 570.
 besse, Dom J. M., iv., 561.
 bestuzhev-Riumin, vi., 544, 575.
 bezmër, Bulgarian King, vi., 568.
 bidez, J., ii., 562; iv., 544, 583.
 bieljaiev, D. T., ii., 574; on *De Cere-*
moniis, vi., 541.
 bigelmair, A., ii., 573.
 bilâdhuri, Al., v., 545.
 bilâmi, Mohammad, v., 544.
 binding, C., iii., 520.
 birt, Th., iii., 513 *sq.*; on Radagaisus'
 invasions, 529 *sq.*
 bithynia, province, i., 489.
 bizya in Thrace, Abbot Maximus at, v.,
 529.
 blanchet, i., 490; iii., 538.
 blasel, C., iv., 584.
 blasius, G. de, vi., 554.
 blennydes, Nicephorus, vi., 543.
 blennydes, the, iv., 579.
 bocaccio, vi., 578.
 bocking, ed. of Not. Dign., ii., 577.
 boeckh, i., 484.
 bogomils, vi., 565.
 bohadin, *see* Bahâ ad-Din.
 boissevain, i., 478; iv., 550.
 boissier, G., ii., 562, 567.
 boleslaw the Chaste, vii., 543.
 bolgary, village of, vi., 567.
 bologna, law school at, v., 557.
 boniface of Montferrat, vi., 551.
 boniface, Count, relations to Aetius, iii.,
 535 *sqq.*
Book of the Conquest [of Morea], vi.,
 543.
 boor, G. de, on Continuator of Cassius
 Dio, i., 478; on Eastern bishoprics,
 ii., 596; on John of Antioch, iv.,
 558; v., 583; on George Monachus,
 vi., 563; mentioned, v., 584, 589.
 bordeaux, iii., 512.
 borghesi, i., 493.
 boris and Gleb, vi., 544.
 boris, Bulgarian prince, conversion of,
 vi., 571.
 bornmann, i., 490.
 borries, E. von, ii., 564.
 bore, A., iii., 512.
 bosporus (Crimean), iv., 574; vi., 560.
 bostra, in Arabia, i., 486.
 bouillon, Godfrey of, vi., 576.
 bourbon, House of, Gibbon's reference
 to, iv., 562.
 Bousquet, J., iv., 583.
 Brandt, i., 481 *sq.*
 Braun, H., iv., 548.
 Bréhier, L., v., 547; vi., 554.
 Breslau, Mongols at, vii., 543.
 Bretholz, vi., 572.
 Bretschneider, iv., 570; vii., 341.
 Brieger, on Constantine's religion, ii.,
 593 *sq.*
 Britain, Hadrian in, i., 486; militia in,
 487; province, 488; diocese of, ii.,
 581; Saxon conquest of, iii., 516;
 Scots in, 520; Carausius II. in, 530;
 tyrants in, *ib.* *sq.*
 Broadribb and Besant, History of Con-
 stantinople, vii., 347.
 Brooks, E. W., iv., 552 *sq.*; v., 545 *sq.*,
 556, 573; vi., 556 *sq.*
 Brownlow, ii., 578.
 Bruce, i., 489.
 Brückner, A., vi., 572.
 Brückner, M., iv., 545, 548.
 Brunet de Presle, i., 490.
 Brünnow, iv., 582.
 Bryce, Jas., iv., 559.
 Brythons, the, iii., 521.
 Bucellarian theme, vi., 557.
 Buchon, J. A., vi., 548, 579.
 Buck, H., v., 546.
 Büdinger, i., 480 *note*, 485; ii., 562.
 Bulgaria, Black, vi., 559.
 Bulgaria, White, Paulicianism in, vi.,
 564, 567; list of princes of, 568;
 extension of, north of Danube, 570
sq.; conversion of, 571.
 Bulgarians, were they Kotrigurs? iv.,
 572; relation to Avar empire, v.,
 549; early history of, vi., 567 *sqq.*
 Bunbury, i., 485.
 Burckhardt, J., ii., 567, 593.
 Burdigala, iii., 512.
 Burgundians, i., 503.
 Bury, J. B., on a passage in Ammianus,
 ii., 563; on battle of Singara, 591;
 on the Nika Riot, iv., 568; on an
 oracle in Procopius, 572; on origin
 of Turks, 576 *sq.*; v., 547, 556; ed.
 of Philotheus, vi., 541; on Cere-
 monial Book, *ib.*; on themes, v.,
 556, 557; on early Bulgarian kings,
 569; on Omortag's inscription, 570.
 Butler, A. J., on Alexandrian Library,
 iii., 524; on Nicoetas, v., 551; on
 conquest of Egypt, 578 *sq.*
 Butler, Dom C., iv., 560 *sq.*
 Butler, O. F., iv., 582.
 Bittenweiser, M., iv., 582.
 Butyras, J., v., 527.
 Byzantios, Sk. D., ii., 578.

- CAESAREA, battle of, v., 572.
 Caesarea (in Cappadocia), see of, Armenian Church dependent on, ii., 592.
 Caesares, i., 482.
 Caesarius ("Typhos"), iii., 538.
 Catani, v., 542, 544, 547, 571, 572.
 Cafaro of Genoa, vi., 549.
 Cagliari, seals of, vi., 558.
 Cagnat, i., 484, 487.
 Cahun, L., iii., 522.
 Calchi, vi., 581.
 Callegari, E., i., 485.
 Callistus Andronicus, Monody of, vii., 846.
 Cananus, John, vii., 840.
 Candac, settlement founded by, i., 495, 496.
 Candia, vi., 581, *see* Crete.
 Candidus, historian, iv., 543.
 Cantacusino, Spandugino, on siege of Constantinople, vii., 848.
 Canterbury, mentioned by Constantine Porph., ii., 590.
 Capito, the Lycian, iv., 543.
 Capitulinus, *see* Julius Capitulinus.
 Cappadocia, province, i., 489; theme of, vi., 557.
 Caracalla, law of citizenship of, iv., 581.
 Carausius I., tyrant, iii., 520.
 Carausius II., tyrant, iii., 530 *sq.*
 Carcasan, iv., 580.
 Caria, province of, vi., 556.
 Caro, G., vi., 554.
 Carpathos, vi., 581.
 Carpi, the, ii., 590.
 Carpocratians, Gnostic sect, ii., 567.
 Carrière, A., i., 494.
 Carrobalistae, i., 487.
 Carthage, mint at, iv., 571.
 Carus, P., v., 554.
 Carystos, vi., 581.
 Casanova, M., v., 570.
 Caspar, E., vi., 554.
 Cassian, iv., 561.
 Cassianus Postumus (tyrant), i., 498.
 Cassino, Monte, Paul the Deacon at, v., 541.
 Cassiodorus, Gothic History of, i., 496; career and works, iv., 565 *sq.*
 Castinus, iii., 537.
 Castricia, iii., 534 *note*.
 Cassius Dio Cocceianus, notice of, i., 477; on Hadrian, 486; mentioned, 502.
 Catacombs, the, ii., 569.
 Catalan Grand Company, vi., 551, 578.
 Catherine of Valois, Empress of Romania, vi., 577.
 Catholic Patriarch, title of chief of Nestorians, vi., 553.
 Catina, mint at, iv., 571.
 Cecaumenos, his *Strategikon*, v., 538.
 Cedrenus, George, mentioned, i., 537.
 Candidus a source of, iv., 543; *see* *Strategikon* of, v., 539.
 Cefalonia, vi., 579.
 Celsus, tyrant, i., 499.
 Censorship of Augustus, i., 492.
 Ceos, vi., 580.
 Cephalenia, theme of, vi., 557.
 Cefalonia.
 Cerealis, Governor of Cyrenaica, iii., 521.
 Cerigo, vi., 579.
 Cerigotto, vi., 580 *sq.*
 Ceuleneer, A. de, i., 485.
 Chabot, v., 546.
 Chachanov, A. S., iv., 551 *note*.
 Chadwick, H. M., iv., 569.
 Chalandon, F., vi., 554.
 Chalatiants, G., iii., 534.
 Chalatzianz, on Zenob., ii., 591 *sq.*
 Chalcondyles Laonicus, vii., 839.
 Chaleb, King of Axum, iv., 577.
 Châlons, battle of, where fought, 537 *sq.*
 Champollion-Figeac, ed. of Amate, 545.
 Chapot, V., i., 488; iv., 559, 582 *sq.*
 Chariobaudes, iii., 535.
 Chariton, iv., 561.
 Charles the Great, receives Paul the Deacon, v., 541; receives key of St. Peter, 569.
 Charles Martel, keys of St. Peter to, v., 569.
 Charsianon, theme of, vi., 558.
 Chazaria, vi., 558.
 Chazars, mission to the, vi., 571.
 Chelidromi, vi., 581.
 Chénon, i., 491.
 Cherson, mint at, iv., 571; "dub" 578; vi., 560; mission of Constantine at, 571.
 Chersonites, their relations with Patzinaks, vi., 558.
 Chesney, General, ii., 591.
 Childeric, iv., 558.
 China, commerce of, with Roman Empire, iv., 569 *sq.*
 Chinese Annals, iii., 522; vii., 841.
 Chinese inscription, *see* Si-ngan-fu.
 Chios, vi., 581.
 Chlodwig, iv., 558 *sq.*
 Chlotachar I., iv., 558.
 Chosroes I., v., 528.
 Chosroes II., v., 528.
 Chosrov I., of Armenia, ii., 592.
 Chosrov II., of Armenia, ii., 592.

- hosrov of Persarmenia, iii., 534.
 hrist, W., i., 485 ; ii., 562.
 hristians, persecutions of in first and second centuries, ii., 570 *sqq.* ; under Diocletian, 572 ; under Constantine, 593 *sq.*
hronica Gallica, iii., 516 *sq.* ; iv., 557.
hronica Italica, iii., 517 ; iv., 556 *sq.*
hronicle (Anonymous Syriae), v., 546.
hronicle of Constantinople, iii., 516 ; iv., 556.
hronicle of A.D. 354, *see* Anonymous.
hronicle of Cassiodorus, i., 482 ; iv., 555.
hronicle of Edessa, iv., 558.
hronicle of Eusebius, ii., 560.
hronicon Alexandrinum, *see* Euty-chius.
hronicon Cuspiniani, i., 482 ; iii., 517.
hronicon Imperiale (Gibbon's "Prosper Tiro"), iii., 516.
hronicon breve Nortmannicum, vi., 546.
hronicon Paschale, relation to Idatius, ii., 565 ; on a passage in (p. 532, ed. Bonn), 589 *note* ; account of, v., 526.
hronicon Pithæanum = *Chronicon Imperiale*.
hronicon Terra Sanctæ, vi., 550.
hronicon Venetum, iii., 538.
 hronographer of A.D. 354, i., 482, 493.
 hrysgyryon, iv., 584.
 hrysopolis, iv., 582.
 hrystostom, John, Palladius on, iii., 510.
 urch of the Sepulchre, iv., 583.
 hwolsohn, on Sabianism, v., 570.
 byrrhaeot theme, vi., 557 ; shipbuilding in, 562.
 ichorius, C., i., 486.
 icialia, province, i., 489.
 imolos, vi., 580.
 mnamus, John, historian, v., 538.
 ipolla, C., iii., 539 ; iv., 554, 566.
 rous factions, iv., 567 *sq.*
 lary, Robert de, his works, vi., 551.
 lassis pretoria, etc., i., 487.
 audian, poet, iii., 513 *sq.* ; on Stilicho, 526 ; on Radagaisus, 529 *sq.* ; mentioned, i., 497, 501 ; iv., 584.
 audian, brother of Maximus the philosopher, iii., 513.
 audius, i., 498, 500 *sq.*
 audius Gothicus, i., 504.
 audius Mamertinus, i., 481.
 ement, St., of Bulgaria, *Life of*, vi., 564.
 ement I., Pope, remains of, discovered, vi., 571.
 Clement V., Pope, vi., 553.
 Clinton, Fynes, i., 485, 498 ; v., 547.
Clisurarchias, vi., 557.
 Codex Justinianus, iv., 558 ; Greek form of, v., 556.
 Codex Theodosianus, iii., 519.
 Codinus, George, works of, vi., 541.
 Cohen, i., 484, 498 ; iii., 519.
 Cohors equitata, i., 487.
Cohortes, ii., 584 ; *cohortes urbanae*, i., 487.
 Coinage, under Constantine, ii., 586 ; Saracen, vi., 555.
 Coins, authorities for, i., 484.
Coloni, v., 562.
 Colonies, definition of, i., 490.
Comes, iii., 535 ; *Comes patrimonii*, iv., 564.
 Comet of A.D. 581, iv., 581.
Comitatenses, ii., 584.
Comites, ii., 576 ; of Domesticos, 586.
 Commerce, condition of, in eighth century, v., 565.
 Comparetti, D., iv., 550.
 Concubinage, law concerning, v., 557.
 Conrat, ii., 570.
 Cons, i., 490.
Consiliarius, iv., 545.
Consilium of Hadrian, ii., 576.
Consistorium, ii., 576.
 Constans I., his share in the empire, ii., 589 *sq.*
 Constantia, sister of Constantine I., ii., 587.
 Constantine I., the Great, Arch of, i., 504 ; letter against Arius, ii., 566 ; forum of, 573 ; his organisation of the empire, 575 *sq.* ; military reforms, 584 *sqq.* ; treatment of Fausta and Crispus, 586 *sq.* ; divisions of empire under, 587 *sq.* ; religion of, 593 *sqq.* ; churches of, at Jerusalem, 597 ; military system of, iii., 584 ; conversion of, iv., 588 ; land legislation under, v., 562 *sq.*
 Constantine II., share in the empire, ii., 589 *sq.*
 Constantine VII. (Porphyrogenitus), on the partition of A.D. 338 ; ii., 590 ; v., 590 *note* ; suggests history of Genesisius, 534 ; organises continuation of Theophanes, *ib.* ; mentioned, law of, concerning inheritance, v., 559 ; novel of, 564 *note* ; *De Cere- moniis*, vi., 540 ; treatise of, on *Themes*, 557 ; on *Administration*, 558 ; on the Dnieper rapids, 575 *sq.*
 Constantine IX., founds a university, v., 536 ; founds law school at Con-

- stantinople, 557; drives the Paulicians out of Armenia, vi., 565.
 Constantine, apostle of the Slavs, *see* Cyril.
 Constantine, Bishop of Naecolia, v., 568.
 Constantine Kaballinos, v., 529.
 Constantine, son of Emperor Manuel, vii., 339.
 Constantine, tyrant in Britain and Gaul, his career, iii., 530 *sq.*
 Constantinople, topography of (especially Augusteum and Forum of Constantine), ii., 573; great Palace of, *ib.*; Forum Bovis, *ib.*; Forum Tauri, *ib.*; Forum Amastrianorum, *ib.*; Chalkoprateia, *ib.*; Senate house in the Augusteum, *ib.*; the Mesé, *ib.*; Hippodrome, *ib.*; Milestone, *ib.*; Golden Gate, *ib.*; the Zeuxippus, *ib.*; Churches of S. Sophia, S. Constantine, S. Mary of the Forum, the Theotokos, *ib.*; site of the Hebdomon, 574; Palace of Lausus, iii., 527; names of buildings burned in Nika riot, iv., 568; fire in reign of Leo I., 543; St. Sophia injured, 547 *note*; demes of, 567 *sq.*; siege of, in A.D. 626, v., 527; synod of, in A.D. 680, 528; in A.D. 920, 559; siege of, by Saracens, 527; Bulgarian siege of, A.D. 815, 533; university at, founded by Constantine IX., 536; law school at, 557; the Phiale at, vi., 560; degeneration of people of, vii., 345.
 Constantius I., Chlorus, German campaigns of, i., 503; in Britain, ii., 581 *note*; share in the empire, 588; legend concerning, 595; military command of, iii., 585.
 Constantius II., share in the empire, ii., 589 *sq.*
 Constitution of Roman Empire, i., 491 *sq.*
 Consular nominations (East and West), iv., 562 *sq.*
 Consular power of the Emperor, i., 492.
Consularis, vir, i., 492.
 Continuator, of Dion, anonymous, i., 478.
 Continuator, Havniensis, of Prosper, *see* Prosper.
 Conybeare, F. C., on Moses of Chorene, i., 494; on the Paulicians, vi., 565; mentioned, i., 489; iv., 552, 582; v., 527.
 Corfu, vi., 579.
 Corinth, bishop at, ii., 569; under Nicholas Acciajoli, vi., 578.
 Corippus, iv., 556 *sq.*, 579 *sq.*
 Cornelius Laelianus, *see* Lollianus.
 Cornelius Palma, i., 486.
 Cornet, E., vii., 344.
 Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum, i., 484.
 Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum, i., 484.
 count of, i., 484.
Corrector Italiae, i., 502 *sq.*
 Corsica, province, i., 488; territorial rights of the Church in, v., 561.
 Cosmas, Sicilian monk, v., 529.
 Costa, iv., 559.
 Council of Arles (A.D. 316), date of, 595.
 Council of Orleans (A.D. 511), iv., 559.
 Cracow, taken by Mongols, vii., 343.
 Cramer, v., 533.
 Credit, defective system of, v., 565.
 Crees, J. H. E., iv., 584.
 Crete, province of, i., 489; expedition to, in tenth century, vi., 561; Venetian, 581.
 Crimea, Onogurs, Kotrigurs, Gothic, iv., 573.
 Criminal law, v., 560.
 Critobulus of Imbros, his *History of the Mohammedans*, vii., 340.
 Crivellucci, A., ii., 559.
 Croatians, vi., 559.
 Cross, finding of true, ii., 596.
 Cruithnig (= Scots), iii., 520.
 Crum (or Crumn), vi., 570.
 Crusade, Fourth, vi., 551.
 Cumans, iii., 522; revolt of the, vii., 340.
 Cumont, F., ii., 562; iv., 543.
 Cunimund, v., 541.
 Cuq, E., i., 498; ii., 576.
 Cura, v., 559.
 Cusina, iv., 579.
 Cyclades, province of, vi., 556.
 Cyprus, province of, i., 489; vi., 556; account of, by Constantine P., 560; Assizes of, 577.
 Cyrene, i., 489; iii., 510.
 Cyriac of Gantzao (Guiragos), vi., 579.
 Cyriades, i., 497 *sq.*; a tyrant, 497.
 Cyricus, mint at, iv., 571.
 Cyril (Constantine) and Methodius, i., 544; mission of, to the Slavs, 570 *sq.*
 Cyrillic alphabet, vi., 571.
 Cyrus (Malchite Patriarch), v., 574.
 Cythera, *see* Cerigo.
 Cythnos, vi., 580.
 Oswalina, L., ii., 577.
 DACIA, of Trajan, and Ripensis, i., 487; militia in, 487; three divisions, 488; occupation by Goths, 488; evacuation of, 505 *sq.*
 Dacia, diocese of, ii., 576, 580.
 Dacian war, first of Trajan, i., 483.
 Dacicus, title of Trajan, i., 483.

- ahmen, v., 568 *note*.
 ahn, F., iii., 519; on Procopius, iv., 545 *sqq.*, 560.
 almatia, province, i., 488; designs of Alaric on, iii., 526; annexed to East Illyricum, *ib.*; account of, by Constantine Porph., vi., 559.
 almatius, *see* Delmatius.
 amasus, capture of, v., 571.
 amasus, Pope, ii., 569.
 amian, King of Homerites, iv., 578.
 andolo, A., iii., 538.
 ara, iv., 584.
 aras, iv., 553, 579.
 arenberg, i., 485.
 areste, i., 489.
 armarios, Greek copyist, v., 533 *note*.
 armesteter, J., i., 494.
 avis, vi., 554.
 ebidour, A., iv., 550.
 e *Ira Dei*, i., 488.
 e la Berge, i., 486.
 e *Mortibus Persecutorum*, i., 482.
 e *Pretis Rerum Venalium*, i., 508.
 ecebalus, i., 485.
 ecus, Emperor, founder (?) of Proteotores, ii., 586.
 egrees of relationship, laws concerning, v., 558.
 eissmann, ii., 572.
 elacourt, Peigné, iii., 538.
 elaro, O., vi., 545, 554.
 elaville de Roulx, vi., 554.
 elbrück, H., i., 487, 503, 505; iv., 559.
 elmatius, his share in division of empire A.D. 385, ii., 589.
 elos, vi., 580.
 emes of Constantinople, iv., 567 *sq.*
 emocrats of Blues and Greens, iv., 568.
 esjardins, i., 489.
 essau, i., 479, 480, 485.
 estunis, G. S., vii., 340.
 ethier, A., vii., 346.
 etlefsen, L., 489, 495, 500.
 evastatio *Constantinopolitana*, vi., 551.
 exippus, i., 478, 497; used by Zosimus, ii., 565.
 ohū Novas, iv., 577.
 iadem, imperial, ii., 575.
 iadmond mine of Soumelpour, i., 491.
 iataxis, v., 537 *note*.
 icalidones, the, iii., 521.
 iehl, C., iv., 559, 571, 581; vi., 556.
 iekamp, iv., 544.
 ierauer, i., 486.
 ietrich of Bern, iv., 566.
 igisene, v., 550.
 ill, i., 485.
 illmann, iv., 576.
 indr, vi., 555.
 Dindorf, text of Dion Cassius, i., 478.
 Dioceses of Asturia and Gallaecia (216 A.D.), i., 489; introduced by Diocletian, ii., 576; list of, *ib. sqq.*
 Dioclea, vi., 559.
 Diocletian, German campaigns of, i., 503; tariff, monetary reforms of, 503; persecutions of, ii., 572; organisation of empire by, 575 *sq.*; dioceses instituted by, 576 *sq.*; military organisation, 584; division of empire, A.D. 293, 587.
 Dion Cassius, *see* Cassius, Dion; Anon. continuator of, *see* Anonymous.
 Dionysius (traveller), iii., 522.
 Dionysius of Alexandria, letter of, ii., 592.
 Dionysius of Tellmahrē, v., 546; Chronicle of, 525.
 Dirhem, Saracen coin, vi., 555.
 Diptunes, Cæsar, Tib. Jul., iv., 575 *note*.
 Divine Institutions, i., 482.
 Divorce, laws of the Church concerning, v., 558.
 Dizabul, iv., 576 *sq.*
 Dnieper, waterfalls of the, vi., 575 *sq.*
 Dodu, G., vi., 554, 576.
 D'Ohsson, Mouradja, on Ottoman Empire, vii., 342.
 Döllinger, v., 569; vi., 564.
 Dolphin, Zorzi, vii., 346.
 Domaszewski, i., 487, 490, 504; iv., 582.
 Domestici, ii., 585 *sq.*; counts of, 586.
 Dominus, imperial title, ii., 576.
 Domitian, persecution of Christians, ii., 571.
 Domitilla, ii., 571.
 Donatists, and Constantine the Great, ii., 595; mentioned, iv., 583.
 Donatus, *De Mortibus* dedicated to, i., 483.
 Dorotheus, his translation of the *Digest*, v., 557.
 Dos (dowry), v., 559.
 Douglas, R. K., Life of Jinghis Khan, vii., 341.
 Dovin, v., 550; council of, 528.
 Dragovici, vi., 565.
 Dräseke, J., ii., 561.
 Drexler, i., 485, 494.
 Droysen, i., 482, 485.
 Drungartius, vi., 561.
 Ducas, historian, vii., 339.
 Ducas, Michael, vii., 339.
 Ducatus *Romæ*, v., 569.
 Ducenarii, members of council, ii., 576; protectors, 586.
 Duchesne, Abbé, ii., 567, 569, 596; iii., 520; iv., 576, 578 *sq.*; his edition of the *Liber Pontificalis*, v., 540;

- on letters of Gregory II., 566; on rise of papal power, 569.
- Dudden, F. H., v., 541.
- Dudleby, the, v., 548.
- Dulaurier, vi., 553.
- Dunaan, *see* Dhû-Novas.
- Düncker, A., i., 485.
- Dürr, J., i., 486.
- Duray, i., 484.
- EBBERSOLT**, vi., 541.
- Ebert, on Lactantius, i., 482.
- Ecdicius, iv., 553.
- Eckhardt, H., iv., 550 *sq.*
- Eckhel, i., 484, 498, 499.
- Eclipse of the sun, noticed by Theophanes, v., 556.
- Eloga, v., 557; criminal law of, 560.
- Edessa, i., 497; inundation of, iv., 547; history of, by Josua, 553; account of, by Fulcher of Chartres, vi., 547.
- Edictum Theodorici*, iv., 566.
- Egypt, population of, i., 505; diocese of, ii., 576, 578; persecution in, iii., 518; monasticism in, iv., 560 *sq.*; occupation by Nicetas, v., 551; conquest of, 573; relations with Venice, vi., 551.
- Eichel, J., iv., 550.
- Ekkehard of Aura, vi., 549.
- Ektag, iv., 576.
- Ektel, iv., 576.
- Ekthesis Chronike*, vii., 340.
- Elba, island, v., 549.
- Elesboas, iv., 577.
- Eleusis, Goths at, iii., 527.
- Elias and Ross, their translation of Mirza-Haidar, vii., 341.
- Ellis, iii., 516.
- Encratites, Gnostic sect, ii., 567.
- Engel, vi., 570.
- Enmann, i., 480.
- Ennodius, iv., 554, 566.
- Epanagoge*, v., 557.
- Ephemeris Epigraphica*, i., 484.
- Ephraem Syrus, ii., 566.
- Epiphanius, Bishop of Ticinum, iv., 554.
- Epiphanius, collaborator in *Hist. Tripart.*, iv., 555.
- Epirus, i., 489.
- Episcopate, origin of, ii., 568 *sq.*
- Ernoul, vi., 550.
- Esegel, Bulgarian tribe of, vi., 574.
- Esimphaeus, iv., 577.
- Etheria of Spain, iv., 583.
- Eudoxia, wife of Arcadius, iii., 534.
- Eudoxia, wife of Valentinian III., iii., 515 *sq.*, 526.
- Eugippius, iv., 554.
- Eumenius of Augustodunum, i., 481.
- Eunapius, ii., 564 *sq.*, 590.
- Eupaterios, Duke of Cherson, iv., and *note*.
- Euphemius, revolt of, v., 534.
- Euphrates, course of, ii., 597.
- Eusebius of Caesarea, his works, ii., 564; a source of Socrates, 566; on conversion of Antoninus, 569; on conversion of Armenia, 592; on religion of Constantine, 595.
- Eusebius, Bishop of Rome, ii., 569.
- Eustathius of Antioch, ii., 566.
- Eustathius of Epiphania, iv., 544.
- Eustathius of Thessalonica, vi., 541.
- Eutharie Cillica, iv., 555, 564.
- Euthymius, iv., 561.
- Eutropius, historian, i., 480, 482; in the *Hist. Misc.*, iii., 517; German transl. of, iv., 543; *Historia*, edited by Paul the Deacon, v., 543.
- Eutropius, eunuch, iii., 533 *sq.*
- Eutychianus, on Julian's Persian war, 564 *sq.*
- Eutychius, Alexandrine Chronicle of, 589; v., 545.
- Evagrius, iv., 543 *sq.*, 550 *sq.*, 567; count of, v., 526.
- Evans, A. J., iii., 580.
- Ewald, Paul, on letters of Pope Gregory, v., 541.
- Exarchs*, of Italy and Africa, iv., 543.
- Excerpta de legationibus*, i., 477.
- Excerpta de virtutibus*, i., 477.
- Excubitores*, ii., 585.
- Executors, testamentary, v., 560.
- Expediit contra Turcos*, vi., 547.
- Ezerites, vi., 560.
- FALCANDUS HUGO**, History of, vi., 543.
- Falco, vi., 546.
- Falconi, Nicolas, vi., 553.
- Fallmerayer, on the Hellenes, v., and *note*.
- Farlati, ii., 567.
- Fasti, Consular, ii., 538.
- Fasti Vindobonenses*, iii., 517.
- Fausta, ii., 560, 565 *sq.*
- Faustus of Byzantium, i., 494; character of his work and sources, ii., 515 *sqq.*
- Feliciassimus (tyrant), i., 499.
- Felix, military command of, iii., 533.
- Ferrini, v., 561.
- Fertig, on Ennodius, iv., 555.
- Festa, N., vi., 543.
- Festus (Rufus), i., 492; a passage (*Brev.*, 27), 591.
- Fiebiger, i., 488.
- Fihl, battle of, v., 572.
- Filow, i., 487.

- inlay, G., i., 490, 504; on Justinian's coinage, iv., 571; on the Acciajoli, vi., 577 *sq.*; *History of Greece*, vii., 347.
- Irmis, i., 502.
- Irth, J. B., ii., 567.
- Iscus, i., 493.
- lavianus, ii., 564.
- lavinus Clemens, ii., 571.
- lavinus Vopiscus, writer of *Hist. Aug.*, i., 479 *sqq.*
- larence, Acciajoli at, vi., 578; San Lorenzo, *ib. note*.
- aderati, in army, ii., 585.
- örster, R., on Libanius, ii., 562.
- ortrenn, iii., 521.
- ournier, v., 570.
- ourteen Regions (Rome), i., 500.
- rähn, O. M., vi., 567 *note*.
- ranks, war with (291 A.D.), i., 503.
- redegarius, iv., 558; v., 542.
- reeman, E. A., on tyrant Constantine, iii., 530 *sq.*; on Aetius and Boniface, 536 *sq.*
- rexenses, the, iv., 579.
- rick, C., ii., 565.
- riedländer, i., 485; iii., 519; iv., 559, 571.
- riedrich, v., 569; vi., 563.
- rigeridus, *see* Renatus.
- ritigern, iii., 523.
- roehner, i., 485.
- ronto Ducaus, iv., 561.
- rumentius, apostle of Ethiopians, iii., 518.
- ruchs, i., 485.
- ulcher of Chartres, account of, vi., 547.
- uloo, account of the First Crusade, vi., 548.
- u-lin, iv., 570.
- urneaux, ed. of Tacitus, ii., 572.
- uthorc, the, iv., 561.
- ynes-Clinton, i., 485.
- aiseric, iii., 515.
- alatia, province, i., 489.
- alicia, Avars in, v., 548.
- alla Placidia, iii., 515.
- allia Narbonenses, province, i., 488.
- alliae, Diocese of, ii., 576, 581.
- allienus (Emperor) character of, i., 480 *sq.*; relations with Thirty Tyrants, 498 *sq.*; with Oedenathos, i., 501; prevents senators from serving in army, ii., 586.
- amurrini, iv., 583.
- ardthausen, i., 492; ii., 564.
- asmul, vi., 543.
- attilusi, the, of Lesbos, send Ducas to the Sultan, vii., 339.
- Gaudentius, iii., 515.
- Gauderic, Bishop of Velletri, vi., 571 *note*.
- Gaul, Diocese of, *see* Galliae; provinces under Diocletian, ii., 581.
- Gay, vi., 554.
- Gedeonov, vi., 575.
- Gelasius, Pope, ii., 596.
- Gelzer, H., on Sextus Julius Africanus, ii., 559; on Armenian History, 591 *sqq.*; on Eastern bishoprics, 596; on John of Antioch, iv., 552 and *note*; on demes, 568; on Michael Syrus, v., 546; sketch of Byzantine history, 547; on George Cyprius, 550; vi., 556 *sq.*
- Gemoll, A., i., 481.
- Gems, trade in, iv., 571.
- Genesius, Joseph, Imperial History of, v., 534.
- Gennadius, Continuator of Jerom, *De V. Ill.*, iv., 556.
- Gennadius, exarch of Africa, iv., 580.
- Genovefa, Life of, iii., 538.
- Genunians, iii., 521.
- Geoffrey Malaterra, vi., 545.
- George the Cypriote, v., 550 *sq.*
- George the Monk, Chronicle of, v., 533; vi., 544, 563 *sq.*
- George Pisides, on Persian wars of Heraclius, v., 527.
- George, St., identity of, ii., 596 *sq.*
- George the Syncellus, his Chronicle, v., 530.
- Geongen, iv., 575.
- Gepids, the, v., 548.
- Gerland, E., vi., 554.
- German campaigns of Diocletian, i., 503.
- Germania Secunda, incorporation of, i., 503.
- Germania, superior and inferior, provinces, i., 488.
- Germanicus Maximus*, i., 503.
- Germans, invasion of Asia Minor (258 A.D.), i., 497.
- Germanus, Patriarch, Life of, v., 532, 567.
- Gesoriacum, taken by Constantius, i., 503.
- Gesta Francorum*, iv., 558; author of, vi., 546.
- Gesta Henrici II. et Ricardi I.*, vi., 550.
- Getica* of Jordanes, i., 495.
- Gfrörer, v., 547; vi., 560.
- Gibb, E. I. W., vii., 347.
- Gidulianov, iv., 583.
- Giesebrecht, vi., 545.
- Gieseler, ii., 566; vi., 562.
- Gildo, revolt of, iii., 526.

- Gilo of Toney, vi., 548.
 Ginzcl, J. A., vi., 572.
 Girard, F., iv., 559.
 Glagolitic alphabet, vi., 571.
 Gleye, C. E., iii., 536 *note*; iv., 544, 552.
 Glubokovski, N., ii., 566.
 Glycas, Michael, v., 540.
 Glyceria, St., island, John Zonaras at, v., 589.
 Gnosticism, theories on origin of, ii., 567.
 Goeje, Professor de, v., 544, 573.
 Goetz, L. K., vi., 572.
 Gold, in Arabia, v., 570.
 Goodspeed, E. J., ii., 573.
 Gordas, vi., 574, *see* Grod.
 Gordians, elevation of, i., 493 *sq.*
 Görres, F., i., 488; ii., 559; on persecutions of third century, 572; on *Vita Artemii*, 587; on Younger Licinius, *ib.*; on St. George, 596; mentioned, iv., 584.
 Gothic alphabet, iv., 561.
 Gothic Weihnachtspiel, vi., 540 *note*.
 Gothofredus, ii., 519.
 Goths, origin of, i., 495; history of, *ib. sq.*; division of, 497; pacification of, by Theodosius, iii., 523; in Greece, 527; of the Crimea, iv., 578; Tetraxite, *ib.*; exclusion from civil offices, iv., 564.
 Goutzen, iv., 560.
 Goyau, i., 485.
 Grado, iii., 588.
 Gran, capture of, by Mongols, vii., 343.
 Grapin, E., ii., 559.
 Gratian, Emperor, iii., 511 *sq.*
 Greece, i., 490.
 Greek fire, vi., 560, 562.
 Greek language supersedes Latin, v., 556.
 Green, J. R., iv., 559.
 Gregentius, iv., 578.
 Gregg, ii., 572.
 Gregoras, Nicephorus, *see* Nicephorus.
 Gregorovius, F., i., 486; iii., 527; v., 547; vi., 554 *sq.*
 Gregory the Great, Pope, Letters of, v., 540, 569.
 Gregory II., Letters of, v., 567; policy of, 568.
 Gregory, Illuminator, Life of, ii., 591; Apocalypse of, *ib.*; consecration of, 592.
 Gregory Magistros, vi., 565.
 Gregory Nazianzen, his will, iv., 581.
 Gregory Nyssen, on theological subtleties in Constantinople, iii., 528.
 Gregory, presbyter, Bulgarian (tenth century), iv., 551.
 Gregory of Tours, iv., 558 *sq.*; *Historia Francorum* of, v., 542.
 Greuthungi, i., 497.
 Grimme, H., v., 544.
 Grod, King, iv., 574.
 Grossu, N., v., 532.
 Grove, i., 485.
 Grosvenor, E. A., ii., 574.
 Grupp, G., i., 485.
 Grützmacher, on Pachomius, iv., 52.
 Guenther, O., iii., 519.
 Guérin, i., 490.
 Guibert, Abbot of Nogent, vi., 547.
 Guidi, I., v., 546.
 Guiragos Gandsaketsi, vii., 342; *see* Cyriac.
 Gülденpenning, A., ii., 566; iii., 532.
 Gündel, i., 487.
 Gundlach, W., iv., 550.
 Gundobad, iv., 566.
 Gunthigis, i., 496.
 Güterboch, K., iv., 559.
 Gutschmidt, A. von, i., 494; *emendation* in Ammianus, ii., 563; Agathangelos, 591.
 Guyard, S., ii., 598.
 Gwatkin, H. M., ii., 566.
 Gyaros, vi., 580.
 Gycia, vi., 560.
Hadith, v., 542.
 Hadrian, Emperor, policy of, i., *see* fortifications of, i., 486; *rescript* concerning the Christians, ii., 569.
 Hadrian II., Pope, ordains Cyril and Methodius, vi., 571.
 Hadrianople, battle of, iv., 582.
 Hadrianus, Rufinus Synesius, iii., 519.
 Haenel, iii., 519.
 Hagenmeyer, H., vi., 547, 550.
 Haidar, Mirza, vii., 341.
 Haithon, Armenian Prince, *visita* *et* *golia*, vii., 342.
 Haithon, Monk of Prémontré, vii., 343.
 Haitum, vi., 558.
 Halcomb, Mr., on Synesius, iii., 510.
 Hamäh, in Syria, vi., 558.
 Hamilton, F. J., iv., 558.
 Hanan Jesus, Patriarch, v., 558.
 Hannibalianus, share in the *emendation* A.D. 835, ii., 589.
 Hardy, E. G., ii., 570.
 Harlez, de, i., 495.
 Harmonius, son of Taurus, iii., 533.
 Harnack, Ad., ii., 567, 569; iv., 561; persecution of Christians, ii., 572.
 Harris, J. Rendel, ii., 596.
 Hartel, iv., 554.
 Hartmann, L. M., iv., 559.
 Hartmann, M., on Byzantine *rebellion* Italy, v., 547.

- aruspices, under Constantine, ii., 594.
 atoh, Dr., on the Episcopate, ii., 568.
 atzidakēs, G. N., vi., 567.
 aury, J., iv., 546 sq.; 548, 550, 567.
 averfield, F., i., 489; iii., 521.
 aythonus, *see* Haitum.
 ealy, ii., 572.
 ebdomon, site of, near Constantinople, ii., 574.
 ecker, on Julian, ii., 564.
 eer, i., 481.
 efele, ii., 567; on the Iconoclastic edicts of Leo, v., 567.
 egel, C., v., 547.
 eikel, ii., 559.
 eimbach, W. E., v., 551, 565.
 einemann, L. von, vi., 554.
 einrich, A., iv., 552.
 eisenberg, A., iv., 588; on Acropolis, vi., 542 sq.; ed. of Blemmydes, 543.
 elena, St., ii., 595.
 elenopontus, v., 550.
 eliogabalus, iv., 582.
 eliopolis, old customs at, iv., 581; battle of, v., 573.
 ellas, theme of, vi., 557 sq.
 eller, J. E., v., 552.
 enderson, B., i., 487; ii., 572.
 enze, W., i., 491.
 enzen, i., 484.
 eraclius, Emperor, his race with Nicetas, v., 551 sq.; confused with Heraclonas, 573; his alliance with the Bulgarians, vi., 567.
 erennius Dexippus, i., 478.
 ergenröther, J., on Photius, vi., 539.
 erodian, his history, i., 478.
 erodotus, imitated by Procopius, iv., 548.
 ertz, on Ammianus, ii., 564.
 ertzberg, H., iv., 557.
 ertzberg, G. F., i., 490; v., 547.
 erzog, i., 489, 492, 508.
 eskel, A., vi., 545.
 esperius, iii., 512.
 esychius Illustis, historian, iv., 544.
 esychius of Jerusalem, ii., 566, 574.
 ettner, i., 489.
 ettner, F., i., 508.
 eyd, iv., 571.
 eydenreich, on legends of Constantine the Great, ii., 595.
 ilarion, Palestinian monk, iv., 561.
 ilgenfeld, on Gnosticism, ii., 567.
 ille, G., iii., 517 note.
 illger, F., vi., 546.
 ippolytus of Rome, World Chronicle of, ii., 560; *Liber Generationis* of, v., 542.
 irsch, F., v., 533; vi., 545.
 Hirschfeld, i., 489.
 Hirschfeld, H., v., 542.
 Hirth, F., iii., 522; iv., 570.
 Hirth, W., iv., 575.
 Hispania citerior or Tarraconensis, i., 488; ulterior, *ib.*
 Hispellum, Inscription of, ii., 593.
Historia Augusta, account of, i., 478 sqq.
Historia Belli Sacri, vi., 547.
Historia Miscella, iii., 517 sq.; v., 542.
Historia Monachorum in Aegypto, iv., 561.
 Hiung-Nu, the, iii., 522; iv., 575.
 Hochart, ii., 572.
 Hodgkin, T., i., 496 sq.; on Notit. Dign., ii., 577; on Salvian, iii., 518 sqq., 528; on Radagaisus' invasions, 529; on Boniface and Aetius, 536 sq.; on Maximus and Valentinian, *ib.*; on Cassiodorus, iv., 555, 559; on Gregory the Great, v., 541; on letters of Gregory II., 566.
 Hoffmann, iii., 516.
 Höfner, i., 485.
 Holder, O., ii., 596.
 Holder-Egger, O., iii., 516 note.
 Holl, iv., 561.
 Holländer, A., i., 485.
 Holm, F., v., 554.
 Holmes, W. G., iv., 559.
 Holston, iv., 560.
 Homo, i., 485, 500, 502.
 Honorias, province, ii., 577, 579; v. 550.
 Honorius, Emperor, restores walls of Rome, i., 501; cause of death, iii., 517.
 Hopf, K., v., 547; vi., 566 note, 579, 581; vii., 346.
 Hopkins, R. V. N., iv., 582.
 Hormizd III., iii., 521.
 Houtama, v., 545.
 Howorth, H. H., on the Avars, v., 549 note.
 Hubert, H., v., 556, 569.
 Hübner, i., 489.
 Hübschmann, H., iv., 582, 583.
 Huelsen, i., 500, 505.
 Hugo of Burgundy, vi., 559.
 Hume, i., 506.
 Hundertmark, i., 485.
 Huneric, iii., 515.
 Hunfalvy, vi., 568, 570.
 Hungarians, relations with the Patzinaks, vi., 558; account of, by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 559; early history of, 572 sqq.
 Hungary, Avars in, v., 548 sq.; invasion of, by Subutai, vii., 343.
 Huns, the, origin of, iii., 522.
 Hunziker, i., 485; on Diocletian's persecution, ii., 572.

- Hutton, W. H., ii., 574; on Aphthartodocetism of Justinian, v., 554.
 Hydatius, *see* Idatius.
 Hypatia, iii., 510 *note*.
- LAUDAS, iv., 580.
 Ibelin, John, vi., 576 *sq*.
 Iberia, conversion of, iv., 583.
 Iberians (Caucasians), vi., 560.
 Ibn Abd-al-Hakam, v., 545.
 Ibn al-Athir, vi., 552.
 Ibn Foslan, Arabic traveller, vi., 567.
 Ibn Hishām, v., 543 *sq*.
 Ibn Ishāk, v., 543 *sq*.
 Ibn Khallikān, vi., 552.
 Ibn Kutaiba, v., 545.
 Ibn Mukaffa, v., 545.
 Ibn Rusta, vi., 572 *sq*.
 Ibn Sad, v., 543.
 Ibn Serapion, ii., 596.
 Icaria, vi., 581.
 Iconoclastic Synod, v., 556.
 Idatius, *Pasts* of, ii., 565 *sq*.
 Ifsadaias, iv., 579.
 Ifland, J., iii., 519.
 Ignatius, Deacon, his *Life* of Nicephorus, v., 530.
 Ignatius, Patriarch, *Life* of, by Nicetas Paphlagon, v., 532.
 Illyria (province), i., 488.
 Illyricum, Diocese, ii., 580, 587, 590; part of, annexed to Prefecture of Illyricum, iii., 526.
 Illyricum, Prefecture, ii., 587, 589 *sqq*.; Stilicho's designs on, iii., 526 *sq*.
 Illyricum (province), i., 488.
 Ilovaiski, vi., 575.
 Imād ad-Dīn, vi., 552.
 Image worship, defended by John of Damascus, v., 529.
Imperator, title of, i., 498; ii., 575.
Imperial Chronicle, i., 480, 482, 505.
 Imperial titles, ii., 575.
Imperium Orientale, ii., 574.
 Incertus Auctor, *see* Anonymus.
 Ingenuus, tyrant, i., 499.
 Inheritance, law of, v., 559.
 Inscriptions, i., 484.
 Interest, rates of, v., 565 *sq*.
 Ireland, Scots of, iii., 520.
 Irene, suggests history of Alexius to Bryennius, v., 537.
 Isidore, Decretals of, v., 569.
 Isidorus of Seville, iii., 517; iv., 557.
 Isperich, Bulgarian King, vi., 569.
 Istrin, V., iv., 552.
Italia Pontificia, iii., 519.
 Italy, population of, i., 505; its divisions and political geography c. 600 A.D., v., 549 *sq*.; exarchs of, iv., 581.
- Italy, Diocese of, ii., 582.
 Ithaca, vi., 579.
Itinerarium regis Ricardi, vi., 549.
 Ius Latinum, nature of, i., 490-1.
- JACOBI, R., on Paul Diaconus, v., 541.
 Jackson, H., iv., 571.
 Jaffé, iii., 519.
 Jagić, V., vi., 572.
 Jahn, A., iii., 520.
 Jalāl ad-Dīn, vi., 553 *sq*.
 James of Edessa, iv., 553.
 Jazyges, the, ii., 590.
 Jazygia, Avars in, v., 549.
 Jeep, L., ii., 566, 589; iii., 514.
 Jerome, St., on Lactantius, i., 482; version of Eusebius, ii., 511; chronicle of, 565; iii., 516; dispute with Rufinus, 518.
 Jerusalem, churches of Constantine, ii., 597; Church of St. Sophia, ii., 597; Mosque of Omar, *ib.*; Dome of the Rock, *ib.*; date of capture of, v., 557; Assises of, vi., 576 *sq*.
Jes, books of, ii., 568.
 Jireček, C., on ethnology of the Sarmatians, ii., 590; on the Bulgarians, vi., 564; on the Bulgarian Empire, 570; mentioned, vii., 342.
 Johannis Diaconus, iii., 538.
 John Anagnostes, vii., 340.
 John of Antioch (Salmas. and Constantine), on Boniface and the Pope, iii., 536 *sq*.; identity of, iii., 552.
 John of Biclarum, iv., 557 *sq*.
 John Cameniatas, on capture of Iconoclona, v., 535.
 John of Cappadocia, iv., 545, 546; 549 *note*.
 John Comnenus, v., 537 and *note*; of punishment under, 561.
 John of Damascus, v., 529; date of Orations on Image Worship, 567.
 John Diacrinomenos, iv., 544.
 John of Ephesus, v., 525.
 John of Epiphania, v., 525 *sq*.
 John of Jerusalem, v., 529.
 John the Lydian, iv., 544 *sq*.
 John Malalas, iv., 550 *sqq*.; his *ex* *Arum*, 578.
 John Mag. Mil., hero of the *Jak*, iv., 556, 579 *sq*.
 John the Monk, relation to the *Artemii*, ii., 587, 590.
 John of Nikiu, v., 545.
 John Psaltes, iv., 577.
 John Rogatinus, iv., 580.
 John Sikeliotes, iv., 552; v., 538 *sq*.
 John of Sirmium, v., 526.

- ohn, tyrant in fourth century, iii., 515.
ohn, sent by Justinian, as bishop to Yemen, iv., 578.
ones, H. S., on Arch of Constantine, i., 504.
oppa, vi., 550.
ordan, i., 500 *sq.*
ordanes, i., 495, 505.
orga, N., vii., 342.
örs, P., iv., 559.
ortin, *Remarks on Eccl. Hist.*, iii., 523.
osephus, i., 487, 505.
osua Stylites, iv., 553; v. 546.
ouguet, iv., 582.
ovian, Emperor, iii., 527; military reforms of, 585.
ugria, vi., 574.
ulian, the emperor, his works, ii., 561 *sq.*; his reference to Jesus in letter to the Alexandrians, 563; iii., 527.
ulius, Capitolinus, writer of *Hist. Aug.*, i., 479 *sqq.*; on chronology of 238 A.D., i., 494.
ulleville, Petit de, ii., 562.
ullian, L., i., 489, 491; ii., 577.
ünemann, i., 487.
ung, i., 486, 490, 505; iii., 520, 526.
unghans, G. W., iv., 558.
unius Cordus, i., 480 *note*.
us Italicum, i., 493.
us Latinum, history of, i., 491.
usti, i., 494.
ustin I., in the Secret History, iv., 546, 567, 584; embassy to Hira, 577; embassy to Axum, 579.
ustinian I., Scholae under, ii., 584; traffic in offices under, 586; his Church of St. Sophia at Jerusalem, 597; treatment by Procopius, iv., 546 *sqq.*; date of death, 557; position under Justin, 567; at Nika riot, 568; portraits of, 571; his dealings with the Kotrigurs, etc., 573 *sq.*; his rearrangement of the Armenian provinces, v., 550 *sq.*; his heresy, 554 *sq.*; legal works of, 557; navy of, vi., 560.
uvaini, account of, vii., 340.
üzjāni, vii., 340.
ZABARS, vi., 559, 573.
Zaibel, i., 484.
Zaidu, vii., 343.
Zainites, Gnostic sect, ii., 567.
Zalinka, E., i., 502.
Zalligas, P., iv., 569; v., 565.
Zalopathakes, i., 490.
Zamāl ad-Dīn, vi., 552.
Zämmel, i., 489 *sq.*
Zanalites, vi., 559.
Kan-Ying, iv., 570.
Karlowa, i., 492; iv., 559.
Kaufmann, F., iv., 562.
Kaufmann, G., iv., 562.
Kazachia, vi., 560.
Kecharitomene, monastery of, v., 537.
Kehr, P. F., iii., 519; v., 568 *note*.
Kehr, K. A., vi., 546.
Keim, Th., ii., 570.
Keller, R., iii., 520, 526.
Kellett, F. W., on Gregory the Great, v., 541.
Kenyon, F. G., v., 547.
Kertsch, vi., 574.
Kéza, Simon de, vi., 572.
Khudāi-nāma, the, v., 544 *sq.*
Kiepert, i., 485.
Kiepert, H., v., 550 *note*.
Kiev, vi., 574.
Kipp, iv., 559.
Király, i., 486.
Kirchner, on Procopius, iv., 550.
Kirpitschnikow, A., ii., 595.
Kitāb al-Uyun, v., 545.
Klebs, i., 481, 485.
Klein, i., 485; on Raymond of Agiles, vi., 547.
Klimek, ii., 562.
Knaack, iii., 522 *note*.
Knecht, A., v., 554.
Knöll, P., iii., 516; iv., 554.
Kobad, King, iii., 521.
Koch, on Julian, ii., 562.
Koch, J., iii., 514.
Köpke, R., iii., 520.
Koran, the, v., 542.
Kormisōs, vi., 569.
Kornemann, E., i., 480, 486, 491, 505; iv., 583.
Kostoboks, the, ii., 590.
Kotragoi, the, iv., 573.
Kotragos, iv., 573.
Kotrigurs, iv., 572 *sqq.*; v., 548; vi., 567.
Krashennnikov, M., iv., 550, 567.
Krause, J. H., vii., 347.
Kretschmayer, H., iii., 538.
Krüger, iv., 558 *sq.*
Krumbacher, K., iv., 550 *sq.*, 552 *note*; v., 534; on Cinnamus, v., 588; on Glycas, 540; on Chalcondyles, vii., 339; mentioned, 345.
Krusch, B., iii., 538; iv., 558; v., 542.
Krypiakiewicz, P. F., v., 528.
Kugler, B. von, vi., 548, 554.
Kuhn, i., 491.
Kuhn, E., v., 530.
Kulakovski, iv., 574 *sq.*; vi., 556.
Kunik, E., vi., 575.
Kurt, Bulgarian king, vi., 567 *sq.*

- Kurth, G., iv., 558.
 Kurtz, E., v., 585.
 Kutan, chief of the Cumans, vii., 344.
 Kuun, Géza, vi., 574 *note sq.*
 Kuvrat, iv., 573; *see* Kurt.
- LABARUM, the, ii., 595.
 Labourt, J., iv., 559.
 Lactantius, and authorship of the *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, i., 488; mentioned, 508.
 Ladeuze, iv., 561.
 Laelianus, *see* Lollianus.
 Laguntan, the, iv., 580.
 La Jonquière, Hist. of Ottoman Empire, vii., 342.
 Lamprecht, K., iv., 582.
 Lampridius, *see* Aelius Lampridius.
 Lampros, S., vii., 345.
 Lanciani, i., 500 *sq.*
 Lanckoronski, i., 490.
 Land, tenure of, etc., v., 561 *sqq.*
 Landulfus Sagax, iii., 518.
 Lane-Poole, S., ii., 596; v., 544, 547; on the Sabians, 570; on Saracen coins, vi., 555; on Ottoman Turks, vii., 342.
 Langlois, V., i., 494; ii., 591.
 Langobardi, iv., 584.
 Langres, battle at, i., 503.
 Lasaulx, E. V., ii., 567.
 Laribus, iv., 580.
 Latin language, disuse of, v., 556.
 Latyshev, V., iv., 574 *sq.*
 Lau, G. T., on Gregory the Great v., 541.
 Lausus, chamberlain, iii., 510.
 Lavissee, iv., 559.
 Law, development of, in eastern provinces from Constantine to Justinian, iv., 581 *sq.*; degeneration of, 582; Græco-Roman, v., 556.
 Lazi, federates of empire, ii., 585.
 Lazica, Abbot Maximus dies at, v., 529.
 Lebas-Waddington, i., 484, 490.
 Lebedia, Hungarians in, vi., 573.
 Le Blant, E., ii., 570, 578.
 Leclercq, ii., 567.
 Lécrivain, C., i., 479 *sq.*
 Lees, W. N., v., 544.
 Legatus Augusti, i., 492.
 Legatus legionis, i., 486.
 Leger, L., vi., 544 *sq.*
 Legion, size of, i., 486; in fourth century, ii., 584.
 Legrand, vii., 345.
 Leopoldt, iv., 560.
 Lemnos, vi., 581.
 Leo, i., 485.
 Leo I., Emperor, ii., 585; inauguration of, iv., 584.
 Leo III., Emperor, legislation of, 557; agricultural code of, 557; correspondence with Pope Gregory, 566; Iconoclastic Edicts of, 567; navy, vi., 562.
 Leo VI., Emperor, laws of, on marriage, v., 559; novel of, 559; tactics, vi., 540; relations with Tarasius, vi., 540.
 Leo Diaconus, his history, v., 535.
 Leo Grammaticus, chronicle of, v., 557.
 Leo, Librarian of Monte Cassino, 545.
 Leontius of Byzantium, iv., 567.
 Leontius, Bishop of Caesarea, ii., 592.
 Leontocomis, theme of, vi., 557.
 Leovigild, iv., 557.
 Lépaule, i., 485.
 Lesbos, vi., 581.
 Lesne, v., 570.
 Le Strange, G., ii., 598; vi., 554.
 Letronne, i., 484, 490.
 Leucas, *see* Santa Maura.
 Leunclavius, v., 565.
 Leuthold, H., iv., 548, 550, 559.
 Leuva (league), iii., 537.
 Lewis, T. H., ii., 597.
 Libanius, works of, ii., 562; iii., 506.
 Liber Historie Francorum, iv., 552.
 Liber Pontificalis, v., 540.
 Liber Pontificalis of Ravenna, iii., 510.
 Liberius, iv., 565.
 Lichudes, funeral oration of Psellus, v., 536.
 Licinius, Emperor, ii., 588 *sq.*, 594.
 Licinius the Younger, ii., 587.
 Liebenam, i., 491; ii., 578.
 Liebermann, F., vi., 549.
 Liegnitz, battle of, vii., 348.
 Lieutenants of Emperor, i., 492.
 Lightfoot, Bishop, ii., 568.
 Limenius, iii., 585.
 Limes germanicus, i., 502.
 Limesblatt, i., 503.
 Limitanei, ii., 584.
 Lindenschmitt, i., 487.
 Lindsay, T. M., ii., 569.
 Lingenthal, Zachariä von, iv., 552; 561, 565; vi., 540.
 Linselmayer, A., ii., 570.
 Livadia, vi., 579.
 Loewe, G., iv., 556 *note*.
 Loewe, R., iv., 573, 575.
 Löhner, J., i., 485, 493.
 Lollianus, tyrant, i., 498.
 Lombard, A., v., 547, 556.
 Lombards, the, chronology of their conquests, v., 549 *sq.*
 Lombardy, theme of, vi., 559, *see* Lombardia.
 Longinianus, iii., 535.

ōning, E., ii., 568.
 őring, W., i., 504.
 őr, v., 570.
 őrwie, W., ii., 569.
 ucilian, iii., 535.
 ucius, Martyr (second century), ii., 571.
 ucius, Patriarch of Alexandria (fourth century), iii., 518.
 udwig, F., iii., 520.
 uetjohann, C., iv., 554.
 ugdunensis, province, i., 488.
 umbroso, i., 490.
 upus, life of, iii., 538.
 upus protospatharius, vi., 546.
 urz, v., 570.
 usitania, province, i., 488.
 ycandos, theme of, vi., 557.
 ycaonia, province, ii., 579.
 ycia, province, i., 489; ii., 579.
 yons, council of, vi., 541.

 AAS, P., v., 528.
 acarius, iv., 560.
 acedonia, diocese of, ii., 576, 580.
 acedonia, province, i., 488; ii., 580.
 acedonia, theme of, vi., 557.
 acler, F., v., 528.
 oLean, N., ii., 559.
 acrianus, father of tyrants, i., 498; his son, *ib. sq.*
 adāini, al., v., 545.
 aeatae, the, iii., 521.
 agister *memoriae*, i., 482.
 agister *militum*, iii., 584; iv., 565.
 agister *officiorum*, origin of, ii., 576.
 agnus of Carrhae, ii., 565.
 agyar, origin of name, vi., 574. For Magyars, *see* Hungarians.
 ahmūd II. of Hamāt, vi., 563.
 ahon, Lord, iv., 559.
 ainotes, vi., 560.
 ajo, policy of, vi., 546.
 ajus *Imperium*, i., 493.
 akin, al- (Elmacin), v., 545.
 alchus, iv., 543 *sq.*
 allet, E., on Procopius, iv., 550.
 alta, vi., 578.
 amertinus, Claudius, ii., 562.
 anasses, Constantine, his History of the World, v., 539.
 andean, Semitic dialect, v., 570.
 ansūr, al- (caliph), v., 543.
 ansūr (Sāmanid), v., 544.
 ansūr, father of John of Damascus, v., 529.
 annel Comnenus, history of, by Cinnamus, v., 538; funeral oration on, vi., 541.
 ansikert, vi., 560.
 aphrian, v., 546.

Mar Apas Catina, ii., 593.
 Mar Izdbuzid, v., 553.
 Marcellinus, *see* Ammianus.
 Marcellinus, Bishop of Rome, ii., 570.
 Marcellinus, Count, chronology of, iv., 556.
 Marcellus, Bishop of Rome, ii., 569.
 Marcion, ii., 567.
 Marczali, H., vi., 572 *note*.
 Mardaites, vi., 560.
 Margat, capture of, by Crusaders, vi., 549.
 Mariades, name of Cyriades, i., 497.
 Marin, E., iv., 561.
 Marius, of Aventicum, iii., 517; iv., 557.
 Marius, tyrant, i., 499.
 Marius, Maximus, i., 480 *note*.
 Marmarides, the, iv., 580.
 Maron the Stylite, v., 525.
 Marquardt, i., 484 *sq.*, 487 *sq.*, 491; iv., 575, 582; v., 526, 548.
 Marr, N., ii., 593.
 Marriage, law of Justinian concerning, v., 557; second marriages, 558.
 Marta, battle of, iv., 580.
 Martin, the Abbé, iv., 553.
 Martin, Pope, speech of, in Lateran Council A.D. 549, v., 540.
 Martin de Canal, iii., 538.
 Martini, E., iv., 544.
 Martroye, F., iv., 559.
 Martroye, P., iii., 520.
 Marsbān, iii., 534.
 Mas Latrie, M. de, ed. of Ernoul and Bernard, vi., 551, 582.
 Mason, Rev. J., ii., 572.
 Masrūg, King, iv., 578.
 Massilia, Gallic chronicle written at, iii., 516.
 Masūdi, v., 545.
 Matthew of Edessa, vi., 553.
 Matthias, on Pytheas, i., 496.
 Mauretania (provinces), i., 489.
 Maurica, battle of (Châlons), where situated, iii., 537 *sq.*
 Maurice, Emperor, iv., 550, 568, 580; v., 550; *Strategicon* of, 546.
 Maxentius, relations to the Church, ii., 570.
 Maximian, Emperor, German campaigns of, i., 503 *sq.*; military reforms of, ii., 584.
 Maximian, Archbishop of Ravenna, iii., 517; iv., 554.
 Maximin, death of, i., 498 *sq.*
 Maximus, Emperor, iii., 537.
 Maximus of Saragoessa, iii., 517; iv., 557.
 Maximus, Abbot, account of, v., 528.
 Mayer on monasticism, iv., 561.

- Mayer, E., v., 569.
 Mazzuchelli, iv., 556.
 Melber, J., edition of Dion Cassius, i., 478.
 Meleda, island, iv., 560.
 Meletius, priest of Balkh, v., 553.
 Mēliarakēs, A., vi., 554.
 Melingi, vi., 560.
 Melioranski, V., v., 532.
 Mellobaudes, comes domesticorum, iii., 521.
 Mellobaudes, trib. armaturarum, iii., 521.
 Melos, *see* Milos.
 Memor (tyrant), i., 499 *sq.*
 Memorius, Life of, iii., 538.
 Menander, protector, iv., 550; history of, v., 525.
 Mendelssohn, L., ii., 564 *sq.*; iii., 525.
 Merlin, i., 500.
 Merobaudes, minister of Gratian, iii., 521.
 Merobaudes, poet, iii., 515.
 Merten, E., iv., 553, 559.
 Meruzanes, ii., 592.
 Mery-on-Seine, iii., 538.
 Mesa, inscription of, iv., 566.
 Mesopotamia, province, i., 489; geography of, ii., 597; province under Maurice, v., 550.
 Mesrop, ii., 592 *note*.
 Métayer system, v., 563.
 Methodius, Patriarch, v., 532.
 Methodius of Patara, vi., 544.
 Methodius, apostle of the Slavs, vi., 544, 570 *sq.*
 Meursius, iv., 561.
 Meyer, E., i., 505.
 Meyer, P., i., 478, 483; ii., 559.
 Meyer, P. M., iii., 519.
 Michael III., Emperor, vi., 571.
 Michael Akominatos, v., 538.
 Michael Cerularius, Patriarch, v., 536.
 Michael Glycas, *see* Glycas.
 Michael, Hugo, ii., 564.
 Michael of Melitene ("the Syrian"), v., 526, 546 *sq.*
 Michael the Syncellos, *Symbolum Fidei* of, vi., 544.
 Michael the Janissary, vii., 346.
 Michaud, Bibliothèque of the Crusades, vi., 552; History of the Crusades, 554.
 Miconos, vi., 580.
 Middleton, i., 500.
 Miednikov, N. A., v., 578.
 Mijatovich, on Constantine, last Greek Emperor, vii., 347.
 Milan, edict of, ii., 594.
 Miller, W., vi., 554, 581.
 Milne, J. G., i., 490; v., 547.
 Milos, vi., 580.
 Mirza Haidar, account of, vii., 341.
 Mispoulet, i., 492.
 Mitteis, L., iv., 581 *sq.*
 Modares, General, iii., 523.
 Moesia, provinces of, i., 488; Akro settlement of, 495; provinces in the and fourth centuries, ii., 580.
 Mœsiarum Dioecesis, ii., 576, 580.
 Mohammad, the Prophet, sources for his life, v., 542 *sq.*; his treaty with the Koreish, 570; with Prince of Aila, 7.
 Mohammad II., Sultan, history of, Critobulus, vii., 340.
 Mombritius, *Sanctuarium* of, ii., 596.
 Mommsen, i., 482 *sq.*, 487 *sq.*, 491, 495, 501; on attitude of empire to Christianity, ii., 570 *sqq.*; on life at Verona, 576; on Polemius Silvius, 579; on the military organization under Diocletian and Constantine, 584 *sq.*; on the Protectores and Domestici, 585 *sq.*; on Prosper and other chronicles in his *Chronica Minora*, iii., 516 *sq.*; on *Magister Militum*, 535; on Venetia, 538; on Cassiodorus, iv., 555 *sq.*; on Macellinus, Victor Tonn. and other chroniclers, 556 *sq.*; on Ostrogoth kingdom, 562 *sq.*
 Monasticism, origin of, iv., 560 *sqq.*; eighth and ninth centuries, v., 531.
 Moncada, vi., 551.
 Monceaux, ii., 567.
 Monferatus, edition of *Ecloga*, v., 561.
 Mongols, origin of, vii., 342; invade Europe, *ib.*
 Monod, G., iv., 558.
 Monophysites, v., 525.
 Monothelitism, v., 528.
 Montenegro, rise of, i., 490.
 Monticolo, iii., 538.
 Moors, wars with (sixth century), v., 579.
 Moravia, vi., 559; conversion of, 571.
 Morcelli, ii., 567.
 Mordtmann, Dr., on topography of Constantinople, ii., 574; vii., 347.
 Morea, *Chronicle* of, vi., 543; derivation of name, 566.
 Mortreuil, v., 561.
 Moses of Chorene, i., 494; ii., 591 *sq.*, iv., 582.
 Muager, vi., 574.
 Mücke, J. F., ii., 561.
 Muir, W., v., 544, 547, 572.
 Muirhead, J., iv., 559.
 Mukan, iv., 575 *sq.*
 Mukaukas, v., 574.
 Müllenhoff, i., 495.
 Müller, C., i., 478, 480 *note*, 494, 497, 500.

Müller, J., i., 485.
Mundir, Al-, iv., 577.
Mundus, oracle concerning, iv., 572.
Municipia, definition of, i., 490.
Munroe-Smith, on *princeps*, i., 492.
Muntaner, Ramon, vi., 551.
Muralt, E., v., 547.
Mursa, Ingenuus defeated at, i., 499.
Musheg, Armenian Prince, v., 528.
Mutilation, use of, as punishment, v., 561.
Muzuron, v., 550.
Myconos, *see* Miconos.
Myos Hormos, iv., 570.
NAEMORIUS, iii., 585.
Nahr al-Malik Canal, ii., 598.
Nakshi Rustan, inscriptions at, i., 497.
Narfio, vi., 580.
Narbo Martius, iii., 515.
Narratio, concerning Emperors of Theodosian and Valentinian houses, iii., 517.
Narses, *see* Nerses.
Narses of Lampron, St., vi., 558.
Nau, v., 546.
Nausa, vi., 580.
Navy, Roman, i., 487; Byzantine, vi., 560 *sqq.*
Naxos, vi., 581.
Nazarius, panegyrist, i., 481; ii., 562.
Neander, ii., 566.
Negri, G., ii., 561.
Negroponte, vi., 581.
Nerses, Armenian Catholicus, ii., 592 *sq.*
Neshri, *World-view* of, vii., 347.
Nestle, E., ii., 559, 596.
Nestor, *Chronicle* of, vi., 548; *Life* of Boris and Gieb, 544.
Nestorians, Catholic Patriarch of, v., 558.
Neumann, C., on the Byzantine Empire, v., 536; on Byzantine navy, vi., 560.
Neumann, C. J., ii., 561, 570.
Newton, Sir I., on comet of 581 A.D., iv., 581.
Ney, on Claudian, iii., 514.
Nibelungenlied, iv., 566.
Nicephorus I., Emperor, fiscal laws of, v., 561.
Nicephorus II., Emperor, *Novels* of, v., 564 *note*; vi., 540.
Nicephorus Bryennius, v., 587.
Nicephorus Callistus (Xanthopulos), iv., 548.
Nicephorus Gregoras, vi., 585; account of, 542.
Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople, v., 580; *Life* of, by Ignatius, 530 *sq.*; vi., 569.

Nicetas, his race with Heraclius, v., 551.
Nicetas Akominatus, v., 588.
Nicetas, David Paphlagon, his *Life of Ignatius*, v., 532.
Nicetas, Abbot of Medikion, v., 532.
Nicetius, Bishop of Trèves, his letter to Justinian, v., 554.
Nicolaites, Gnostic sect, ii., 567.
Nicolas, Pope, *Responses* of, vi., 568; death of, 571, 572.
Nicolaus Mysticus, letters of, v., 585.
Nicomedia, mint at, iv., 571.
Niculitzas, v., 536.
Niebuhr, i., 491; edits *Merobaudes*, iii., 515.
Niemann, i., 486.
Nieri, A., iii., 510.
Nika sedition, iv., 549, 553, 568 *sq.*
Nikaria, vi., 581.
Nimbus of Emperors, ii., 575.
Nio, vi., 580.
Nisibis, v., 550; battle of A.D. 541, iv., 579.
Nissen, i., 489.
Nisyros, vi., 581.
Nobadae, the, iv., 579.
Nola, churches at, iii., 512.
Nöldeke, Th., i., 494; iii., 522; v., 542 *sq.*, 546.
Nomophylax, v., 557.
Nonnosus, iv., 578.
Norberg, his edition of the *Sidra Rabba*, v., 570.
Norden, W., vi., 554.
Noricum, province, i., 488; iv., 554.
Northcote and Brownlow, on the Catacombs, ii., 570, 578.
Novara, Philip of, vi., 576.
Novellae, iv., 558.
Novempopuli, province, i., 488.
Novgorod, vi., 574.
Notitia Dignitatum, ii., 577 *sqq.*
Notitia Galliarum, ii., 577, 581.
Notur, iv., 575.
Novels of Justinian, v., 557; of Macedonian and other emperors, 557-565 *passim*.
Numidia, province, i., 489; ii., 588;
Numidia miliciiana, *ib.*
Nūr ad-Dīn, vi., 552.
OBERHUMMER, ii., 574.
Obrs, the, v., 548.
Odenathus, tyrant, i., 498 *sq.*, 501.
Odoacar, his grant to Pierius, iv., 560; nomination of consuls by, 562 *sq.*; mentioned, 566.
Oedesius, iii., 518.
Ohnesorge, W., ii., 560, 577 *sq.*, 582.
Oium, Gothic migration to, i., 496.

- Oltarzhevski, Father, iv., 561.
 Olympia, Goths at, iii., 527.
 Olympias, wife of Arsak, ii., 592.
 Olympias (deaconess), life of, iv., 583.
 Olympiodorus, ii., 565 sq.; iii., 511, 526.
 Oman, C. W., v., 547; vi., 540, 554.
 Omar, mosque of, ii., 597.
 Omortag, inscription of, vi., 568-570.
 Onagri, i., 487.
 Onglos or Oglos, vi., 567.
 Ophites, Gnostic sect, ii., 567.
 Opitz, Th., i., 482.
 Optatus, value of his work, ii., 595; iii., 515.
 Optimaton, theme, vi., 557 sq.
 Oracles, in Procopius, iv., 572 sq.
 Orades, the, ii., 581 note, 590.
 Orchon inscriptions, the, iv., 575 and note.
 Orelli, i., 484.
 Oribasius, memoirs of, ii., 564.
 Oriental History, authorities for, i., 494.
 Orientius, iii., 516.
 Origen, *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, iii., 518.
 Orleans, siege of, by the Huns, iii., 588.
 Orosius, iii., 518; a passage of, 524; on divine governance, iii., 518.
 Orphans, guardianship of, v., 559.
 Orzianine, v., 550.
 Ostrogoths, account of, i., 497; relation of Ostrogothic Kingdom to Empire, iv., 568 sq.
 Ozniensis, John, vi., 564.

 PACATUS, Drepanius, iii., 512.
 Pachomius, Abbot, iv., 560 sq.
 Pachymeres, George, account of, vi., 542.
 Paeanius, i., 482.
 Pagans, of Asia Minor, v., 525.
 Paganoi, vi., 559.
 Paganus (Baian), Bulgarian prince, vi., 569.
 Paeanius, translator of Eutropius, i., 482.
 Palaeologus, Theodore, *Monodia* on, ii., 560.
 Palaia, vi., 544.
 Palatini (troops), ii., 584 sq.
 Palohus, iv., 548.
 Palestine, monasticism in, iv., 561.
 Palladius of Hellenopolis, iii., 510; iv., 560 sq.
 Pallas de Lessert, iii., 520.
 Pallmann, R., iii., 520, 528.
 Palma, Cornelius, i., 486.
 Palmieri, A., iv., 588.
 Palmyra, surrender and destruction of, i., 501 sq.
 Pamphylia (province), i., 489.
 Pamprepius, iv., 548.

 Panchenko, B., iv., 545, 548 sq., 567, 584.
 Pancirolì, ii., 577.
 Panegyrici Latini, i., 481.
 Pannonia, Diocese of, ii., 580.
 Pannonia, provinces of, i., 488.
 Panodorus, ii., 568.
 Pap, King, ii., 592 sq.
 Papagia, vi., 560.
 Papadimitriu, vii., 340.
 Papadopoulos-Kerameus, A., ii., 561, 589; vii., 345.
 Papencordt, F., iii., 520.
 Paphlagonia, provinces of, v., 55 theme of, vi., 557.
 Papianilla, iv., 553.
 Pappadopoulos, I. B., vi., 554.
 Pardessus, on silk trade, iv., 569; mentioned, v., 565.
 Pargoire, iv., 561; v., 561.
 Paris, P., vi., 560.
 Parker, E. H., iii., 522; iv., 575 sq.
 Paros, vi., 580.
 Parsi religion, i., 494 sq.
 Parthey, ii., 596.
 Parthia, iv., 570.
 Partsch, J., iv., 556, 580.
 Paschal Chronicle, see *Chronicon Paschale*.
 Paspatis, A. G., on Palace of Constantinople, ii., 574; vii., 347.
 Passau, See of, vi., 571.
 Pastrenek, F., vi., 572.
 Patkanian, on Sebeos, v., 528.
 Patmos, vi., 580.
 Patrae, vi., 580.
 Patria of Constantinople, vi., 541.
 Patria potestas, v., 559.
 Patrimonium of St. Peter, v., 569.
 Patronius, iii., 535.
 Patzig, E., iv., 552 sq.; v., 534, 535.
 Patzinaks, iii., 522; vi., 558 sq., 571.
 Pauliani, followers of Paul of Samosata, vi., 565.
 Paulician heresy, vi., 562.
 Paulinus (patriarch) flies to Grado, 588.
 Paulinus of Nola, iii., 512; iv., 584.
 Paulinus of Pella, iii., 512.
 Paulinus of Périgueux, iii., 512.
 Paulinus, author of *V. Ambrosii*, 512, 516.
 Paulus Diaconus, in *Hist. Misc.*, 517; Lombard history of, v., 541.
 Paulus, of Samosata, vi., 565.
 Pauly-Wissowa, i., 485.
 Paxo, vi., 579.
 Pears, E., iv., 582; vi., 551, 554; 842, 846.
 Peasant proprietors, v., 561 sqq.

- Peisker, J., iv., 584.
 Pelham, H. F., i., 491.
 Peloponnesus, theme of, vi., 557 *sq. note* ; horse tribute in, 560 ; Slavs in, 566.
 Pentapolis, the maritime and the inland (in Italy), v., 549.
 Peratic demes, iv., 568.
 Peregrinata Silvias, iv., 588.
 Pernice, v., 527, 551.
 Perōz, iii., 521.
 Perron, Anquetil du, i., 494.
 Perrot, i., 490.
 Persarmenia, iii., 534.
 Persecutions, early, of Christians, ii., 570 *sqq.* ; iv., 583.
 Persia, lists of kings of, iii., 521 ; v., 551.
 Persian army, iv., 584.
 Perts, ii., 588.
 Peter, Abbot, on the Paulicians, vi., 563 *sq.*
 Peter the Deacon, vi., 545.
 Peter the Patrician, *see* Anonymous Continuer of Dion, i., 478 ; iv., 545 ; vi., 540.
 Peter, H., his edition of *Hist. Aug.*, i., 479 *sq.*
 Petersen, i., 486 ; on Arch of Constantine, 504.
 Petit de Julleville, i., 490.
 Petra in Arabia, i., 486.
 Petrie, W. M. F., iv., 559.
 Petschenig, iii., 516.
 Pfeilschifter, G., iv., 559.
 Pfitzner, i., 487.
 Phanagoria, iv., 578.
 Philip Sidetes, ii., 566.
 Philippi, episcopi at, ii., 569.
 Philippon, Dr. A., vi., 566.
 Philostorgius, ii., 565 ; used in Vit. Artemii, 590.
 Philotheus, protospatharius, vi., 541 ; *Cletorologion* of, 557.
 Phlegon on Roman Feasts, ii., 565.
 Phocaea, Ducas at, vii., 339.
 Pholegandros, vi., 580.
 Pholoe, Stilicho at, iii., 525.
 Photius, Patriarch, vi., 539, 563, 564 ; friend of Cyril, 571.
 Phrantzes, George, account of, vii., 339.
 Piadha, vi., 578.
 Piauvonius Victorinus, *see* Victorinus.
 Pichlmayer, F., i., 482.
 Pictones, iii., 520.
 Picts, the, iii., 520.
 Pierius, grant of Odovacar to, iv., 560.
 Pinder, M., iv., 559, 571.
 Pippin, King, v., 568 ; donation of, 569.
 Pirogoff, i., 482.
 Pisa, vi., 578.
 Piscopia, vi., 581.
 Piso, tyrant, i., 499.
 Pistis Sophia, the, ii., 567.
 Placido de Meester, Don, v., 528.
 Placidus (Valentinian III.), iii., 515.
 Planta, i., 489.
 Plato, Abbot, Life of, by Theodore Studites, v., 531 *sq.*
 Plato, philosopher, opinion of Psellus concerning, v., 536 ; imitated by Gregoras, vi., 542.
 Plew, J., i., 480 *note*, 486.
 Pliny, i., 495.
 Pliska, vi., 569.
 Pogodin, vi., 544, 575 ; vii., 347.
 Poland, invasion of, by Mongols, vii., 343.
 Polemius Sylvius, ii., 577 *sqq.*
 Political demes, iv., 568.
 Pollentia, battle of, in Prudentius, iii., 514 ; date of, 527 *sq.*
 Pollio, *see* Trebellius P.
 Polycandro, vi., 580.
 Polycarp, martyrdom of, ii., 571.
 Polydeukes, Julius, v., 538 *note*.
 Pomerium (Rome), i., 500.
 Pomptine marshes, iv., 566.
 Pontiff, Augustus as supreme, i., 492.
 Pontus (province), i., 489.
 Pontus Polemoniacus, v., 560 *sq.*
 Popov, A., vi., 568.
 Population of Greek and Roman world, i., 505.
 Porta Rusciae, Subutai, at, vii., 343.
 Possidius, iii., 516.
 Postumus, tyrant, i., 498 *sq.*
 Praefectus, *morum*, i., 492 ; Praetorian, i., 493 ; transformation of Praetorian Prefecture, ii., 576.
 Praepositus of Council, ii., 576.
 Praetextatus, proconsul of Achaëa, iii., 527.
 Praetorian Guards, i., 493.
 Praetorian prefects, changes under Severus, i., 493 ; lose military command, iii., 534.
 Präseke, J., vi., 542, 544.
 Praxagoras, ii., 561 ; quoted, 588 *sq.*
 Prefect, Praetorian, *see* Praefectus.
 Prefectures, divisions of empire, instituted by Constantine, ii., 575.
 Preger, Th., ii., 574.
 Preslav, vi., 569.
 Preuschen, E., ii., 559 ; iv., 560 *sq.*
 Preuss, i., 485.
 Prince of the Senate, i., 492.
 Princeps, i., 492 ; *P. senatus*, *ib.*
 Priscian, panegyrist, iv., 544.
 Priscus, historian, iii., 511, 537 ; iv., 544.
 Probus, i., 500, 502.
 Prochiron, legal handbook, v., 557.

- Procopius of Cæsarea, legendary stories in, iii., 536 *sq.*; life and works, iv., 545 *sqq.*; style, 546; *Secret History*, 548 *sq.*; oracles in, 572 *sq.*
- Procopius of Edessa, iv., 545.
- Procopius of Gaza, iv., 544.
- Procuratores*, i., 492.
- Prosopographia imperii Romani, i., 478.
- Prosper Tiro (Gibbon's Prosper), iii., 516; iv., 555; Gibbon's Prosper Tiro, iii., 516; continuation of Prosper, 517.
- Proectores*, origin of, ii., 585 *sq.*
- Provinces of Roman Empire, i., 488 *sq.*; iv., 582.
- Prudentius, iii., 514 *sq.*
- Psellus, Constantine, account of, v., 535; renaissance spirit of, 537.
- Pseudo-comitatenses*, ii., 584.
- Pseudo-Dionysius, v., 529.
- Pseudo-Symeon, v., 534, 539.
- Pseudo-Wākidi, v., 544.
- Ptolemæus, martyr (second century), ii., 571.
- Ptolemais (Cyrenaic), iii., 510.
- Ptolemy, iii., 522.
- Pyrrhus, patriarch, v., 529.
- Pytheas of Massilia, i., 495.
- Quæstor sacri palatii*, ii., 576.
- Quietus, tyrant, i., 498 *sq.*
- Quinque Provinciæ, ii., 576.
- Raḥxi, vi., 564.
- Radagaisus, iii., 525; chronology of his invasions, 529 *sq.*
- Radloff, W., iv., 575.
- Radulph of Caen in Palestine, vi., 548.
- Rætia, militia in, i., 487; province, 488; invaded by Radagaisus, iii., 529 *sq.*
- Ralph of Coggeshall, chronicle of, vi., 549.
- Ramnaud, A., iv., 568; vi., 541, 556.
- Ramon Muntaner, vi., 551.
- Rampolla, iv., 561.
- Ramsay, W. M., i., 490; ii., 570, 596.
- Ranke, L. von, i., 494; on Zosimus, ii., 565; *Weltgeschichte*, 566; on division of empire A.D. 335 and 387, 569; on Constantine's attitude to Christianity, 593; on Procopius, iv., 550.
- Rappaport, i., 485.
- Rashīd ad-Dīn, account of, vii., 340.
- Ratchis, Lombard king, v., 541.
- Rationales*, ii., 576.
- Ratislav, Moravian king, vi., 571.
- Rauschen, G., iii., 520.
- Ravenna, San Vitale, iv., 554; mint at, 571.
- Rawlinson, G., i., 494; iv., 555, 584.
- Raymond of Agiles, vi., 547.
- Raynaud, F., iv., 571.
- Reccared, King, iv., 557, 584.
- Recinarius, iv., 579.
- Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, v., 519.
- Regillianus or Regalianus, tyrant, i., 486.
- Regula Antonii*, iv., 560.
- Reinaud on relations of China with Roman Empire, iv., 569; his extracts of Arabic historians, vi., 552 *sq.*
- Reinelt, iv., 584.
- Reinhardt, on Julian, ii., 562.
- Reinkens, on Procopius, iv., 550.
- Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, iv., 550.
- Rendall, W., ii., 561.
- Rent of land, v., 563.
- Res privata*, i., 498.
- Réville, on the Episcopate, ii., 568 *sq.*
- Rhodian code*, v., 565.
- Rhodes, province of, vi., 556; island rulers of (after 1204), 581.
- Rhys, J., iii., 520 *sq.*
- Riant, ed. of *Annales Gammenses*, v., 549, 551.
- Richard of London, Canon of the E. Trinity, vi., 549.
- Ricoherio, Christoforo, vii., 346.
- Richter, H., *Weströmisches Reich*, 519.
- Richtofen, F. von, iv., 570.
- Reimer, military command of, iii., 520.
- Riese, i., 489.
- Ripa Gothica*, ii., 589.
- Ritterling, i., 487.
- Robert the Monk, of Rheims, his translation of the *Gesta*, vi., 548.
- Robert of Flanders, Count, vi., 547.
- Robertson, ii., 566.
- Robinson, J. A., v., 529.
- Roby, H. J., iv., 559.
- Rodd, Sir K., vi., 554.
- Rode, on Julian, ii., 561.
- Roesler, i., 505; vi., 568.
- Roger de Flor, vi., 551.
- Rohden, i., 485, 490.
- Röhricht, *History of Crusades*, vi., 520; ed. of *Regesta Regn. Hierosol.*, v., 519.
- Ῥωμαίων*, by Cassius Dio, i., 477.
- Roman Empire, population of, i., 486; periods of, v., 554.
- Romana*, by Jodanes, i., 496.
- Romanus I., land legislation of, v., 563 *sq.*; vi., 557, 560.
- Romanus II., novel of, v., 564 *note*.
- Romanus III., land legislation of, 562.
- Romanus, Governor of Africa (14th century), iii., 521.

- lome, walls of, i., 500; population of, 505; restored, iii., 525; Theodosius I. at, 524; mint at, iv., 571.
- lomuald, Archbishop of Salerno, vi., 546.
- loncière, C. de la, vi., 560.
- lose, A., iv., 559.
- losenstein, on Stilicho, iii., 520.
- loss, E. D., vii., 844.
- lossi, ii., 570.
- losweyd, iv., 560 *sq.*
- lothkegel, F., i., 481, 485.
- loutmanians, origin of, i., 505 *sq.*; mentioned, vi., 570.
- loxolani, the, ii., 591.
- lubió y Lluch, vi., 552.
- lufinus, tr. of Eusebius, ii., 559; source of Socrates, 566; source of *Chronica Gallica*, iii., 516; his life and work, 518 *sq.*; mentioned, iv., 561.
- lufus Festus, *see* Festus.
- luggiero, E. de, i., 485.
- lühl, ed. of Eutropius, i., 482.
- luotsi, vi., 575.
- lussians, relations with the Patzinaks, vi., 558; origin of Russian states, 574 *sq.*
- LABAS, St., iv., 561; monastery of, v., 529.
- labatier, iii., 519.
- labians, v., 570.
- labinos, vi., 569.
- labinus, C. Suetrius, corrector Italia, i., 502.
- labinus of Heraclea, his Acts of Councils, ii., 566.
- labiri, the, iv., 573; v., 548.
- laciondon, Monastery of, v., 531.
- sachau, iv., 584.
- sachs, i., 481.
- jackur, v., 569.
- jacy, Sylvestre de, vii., 346.
- lad ad-Din, Ottoman historian, vii., 347.
- sadée, E., i., 485.
- safarik, on Sarmatian peoples, ii., 590; on Avars, v., 548 *sq.*
- saglio, i., 486.
- saladin, vi., 552, 576.
- salamis Island, vi., 580.
- salkowski, C., iv., 559.
- sallet, von, i., 502.
- salonae, iii., 526.
- salt, sold by the Bulgarians, vi., 570.
- salvian, iii., 518.
- salvius, iii., 585.
- samaria, Gnosticism originated in (?), ii., 567.
- sambulpur, i., 491.
- samo, Slavonic realm of, v., 542.
- samos, theme of, vi., 557; Island, 581.
- samosata, i., 497.
- samuel of Ani, vi., 553.
- sanaturkes, iv., 578.
- sandiehl, iv., 573.
- sangarius, Bridge of the, iv., 547.
- sangiban, iii., 588.
- santa Maura, vi., 579.
- santorin, vi., 580.
- sapor I., visits Antioch, i., 497.
- sapor II., iii., 521.
- sapor III., iii., 521.
- saraceno, Agnes, vi., 579 *note*.
- sardica, ii., 592.
- sardinia, province, i., 488; vi., 558.
- sarkel, vi., 560.
- sarmatians, not Slavs, ii., 590.
- sarmizegetusa, capital of Dacia, i., 496.
- sarrasa, Peter, vi., 579.
- sarrazin V., on Theodore Lector, ii., 566; iv., 544.
- sarus, general, iii., 580.
- sarwey, O. von, i., 503.
- sathas, C., his *Bibliotheca Græca*, v., 536.
- saturninus, tyrant, i., 499.
- sauerbrei, P., on Zonaras, v., 539.
- sauley, De, iii., 519.
- savigny, iv., 559.
- scala, R. von, iv., 570.
- scandzia, Gothic origin in, i., 496.
- scarpanto, vi., 581.
- schaфарик, *see* safarik.
- schaube, v., 569.
- schefftlein, J., iv., 550.
- sehenk, K., v., 567 *note*.
- sohenkl, C., iii., 516.
- schlosser, F. C., v., 547.
- schlumberger, M. G., vi., 550, 558, 562.
- Scholæ*, of guards, ii., 584.
- schiller, H., i., 494 *sq.*, 498 *sq.*, 503; on Constantine's religion, ii., 594 *sq.*
- schiwietz, iv., 561.
- schlumberger, G., vi., 552, 556.
- schmidt, John, Dr., vi., 543.
- schmidt, W. A., iv., 569.
- schmidt, L., i., 494 *sqq.*; iii., 519 *sqq.*; iv., 559; v., 541 *note*.
- schmitt, J., vi., 548.
- schneider, i., 485; v., 532.
- schneiderwirth, i., 494.
- Schnoudi, Life of*, iv., 560.
- schoenemann, i., 490.
- schöne, A., ii., 560.
- schranz, i., 485.
- schröter, F., vi., 546.
- schuchardt, C., iv., 584.
- schulte, de, v., 570.
- schulz, A., i., 486; iv., 550.
- schultze, V., ii., 559 *sq.*, 567, 593 *sq.*

- Schurz, i., 486.
 Schwarz, i., 478; ii., 559, 561 *sq.*
 Schwarzlose, v., 547, 567 and *note*.
 Sciathos, vi., 581.
Scili, Acts of Martyrs of, ii., 572.
 Scopelos, vi., 581.
 Scott, C. A., iv., 562.
 Scots, the, iii., 520.
Scriptores post Theophanem, v., 584.
 Scylitzes, John, continuator of Theophanes, v., 538.
 Scyllace, iv., 555.
 Scyros, vi., 581.
 Seythia, province of, vi., 556.
 Sebmös, v., 528, 551.
 Sebastea, clisurarch of, vi., 557.
 Seckel, v., 570.
 Secundus, Lombard historian, v., 541 *sq.*
 Seeck, O., on *Historia Augusta*, i., 479; on panegyric orations, 481; on Lactantius, 483 *sq.*; on chronology of, 288 A.D., i., 498; on Eusebius, ii., 559; on Ammianus, 564; his *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 566; ed. of *Notitia Dig.*, 577; on Crispus and Fausta, 586 *sq.*; on younger Licinius, 587; on Constantine's religion, 594; on Constantine's attitude to Donatists, 595; on Libanius, iii., 509; ed. of Symmachus, 511; on battle of Verona, 528; on *Egyptians of Synesius*, 582 *sq.*; mentioned, iv., 559, 583.
 Segusia, *see* Susa.
 Seger, J., on Nicephorus Bryennius, v., 587.
 Selencia, theme of, vi., 541; clisurarch of, 557.
 Semenov, A., iv., 574 *note*.
 Semulpur or Semah, i., 491.
 Senate, under the Goths, iv., 565.
 Sepp, on the Dome of the Rock, ii., 597 *sq.*
 Septem provinciae, ii., 576, 581.
 Serapamon, iv., 560.
 Serapis, iv., 561.
 Serbs, vi., 559.
 Serdica, *see* Sardica.
 Serfene, vi., 580.
 Serfs, v., 562.
 Sergius, Patriarch, v., 527; composer of the *Standing Hymn*, *ib.*
 Seriphos, vi., 580.
 Servia, i., 490; vi., 559.
 Servius, wall of, i., 500.
 Sethites, Gnostic sect, ii., 567.
 Seuffert, O., ii., 595.
 Severinus, St., iv., 554.
 Severus, Alexander, iv., 582 *sq.*
 Severus, Septimius, principate of, i., 49; constitution of, *ib.*; persecutions, ii., 572; wears military *sagum* at Rome, 575.
 Severus, *see* Sulpicius Severus.
 Seville, attached by the Bäs, vi., 571 *note*.
Sexagenarii, ii., 576.
 Sextus, Aurelius Victor, i., 482.
 Sextus Julius Africanus, ii., 559.
 Shäh-näma, v., 544.
 Shapür, i., 494 *sq.*, 497.
Shepherd of Hermas, vi., 565.
 Shestakov, S., iv., 543, 562; v., 584.
 Sicilia, province, i., 488.
Sicilian chronicle, v., 534.
 Sichel, v., 569.
 Sidonius Apollinaris, i., 497; *found* Church of St. George, ii., 558; account of works, iv., 553.
 Sieglin, i., 485.
 Sievers, R., i., 485; ii., 562.
 Sifanto, vi., 580.
 Sigisvult, iii., 587.
 Sigriane, monastery near, v., 530.
 Silk, trade in, iv., 571.
 Silvania, iv., 583.
 Silzibul, iv., 576.
 Sikeliotes, John, *see* John.
 Sikeliotes, Peter, vi., 562 *sq.*
 Sikino, vi., 580.
 Simeon, Beth Arsam, iv., 577.
 Simon the Magian, ii., 567.
 Simonsfeld, iii., 588.
 Simson, v., 570.
 Si-ngan-fu, inscription of, v., 551 *sq.*
 Singara, date of battle of, ii., 581.
 Siouffi, M., v., 570.
 Siphnos, vi., 580.
 Sirmondus, discovers *Merobaudes*, i., 514.
 Skrine, F. H., vii., 844.
Σκυθικά, i., 478.
 Slavs, Sarmatians wrongly identified with, ii., 590; origin of, iv., 557; their influence on land tenure, 562; of Peloponnesus, vi., 580, *v. sq.*; conversion of, 570 *sq.*; alphabet, 571.
Small Questions of Mary, treatise of, 568.
 Smith, W., *Dict. of Antiq.*, i., 485, *v.* 491.
 Smits, J. C. P., iv., 582.
 Snopek, F., vi., 572.
 Socrates, Eccl. History of, ii., 566.
 Sohm, R., iv., 559.
 Solomon, African wars of, iv., 556; position in Africa, 580.

- 3ommer, i., 494.
 3ophanene, province, ii., 578 ; v., 550.
 3ophene, v., 550.
 3otiriadis, G., iv., 552.
 3oteriupolis, vi., 560.
 3oumelpour, mine of, identity of, i., 491.
 3ozomen, ii., 566 ; iv., 588.
 3pain, how assigned in divisions of empire in third and fourth centuries, ii., 588 *sq.* ; vi., 559.
 3pain, diocese of, ii., 588.
 3parta, Phrantzes Prefect of, vii., 389.
 3partian, *see* Aelius Spartianus.
 3phendoplok, vi., 559.
 3piegel, i., 495.
 3poli, i., 496.
 3prenger, *Life of Mohammad*, v., 548.
 3reznevski, v., 533 ; vi., 544 *note* ; vii., 346, 347.
 3rkulj, vi., 544 and *note*.
 3sanang Ssetsen, Mongol prince, vii., 342.
 3tampali, vi., 581.
 3tassulevich, J., vii., 347.
 3tein, i., 498.
 3tein, F., iv., 558.
 3tephanus, i., 500.
 3tephen, Deacon of St. Sophia, v., 532.
 3tephen II., Pope, v., 556 ; letter of, 569 *note*.
 3tephen, St., the Younger, v., 532.
 3tephens, W. R. W., iii., 520.
 3ternbach, L., v., 527.
 3tevenson, W. B., vi., 554.
 3tevenson, W. H., iv., 559.
 3tewart, Major Charles, vii., 341.
 3tilicho, in inscriptions, iii., 524 ; his expeditions to Greece and Illyricum, 525 *sqq.* ; his policy and relations to Alaric, *ib.* *sqq.* ; against Radagaisus, 529 *sq.* ; measures against Constantine, 530 ; official position of, 535.
 3t. Martin, V., ii., 591 *sq.*
 3tones, precious, trade in, iv., 571.
 3trakosch-Grassmann, on the Mongols, vii., 344.
 3treit, L., vi., 551.
 3treitberg, i., 497.
 3truck, A., v., 547.
 3trzygovski, J., on Tyche, ii., 595.
 3tubbs, Bishop, vi., 577.
 3tudent's Roman Empire, i., 490 *sq.*
 3tudniczka, i., 486.
 3ubutai, invades Hungary, vii., 343.
 3udhaus, ii., 564.
 3uetonius, i., 479 *sq.*, 482.
 3uhomlinov, vi., 544 *note*.
 3ulpicius Severus, on persecutions, ii., 571 ; chronicle falsely ascribed to, iii., 516 *note* ; mentioned, iv., 561.
 3urius, iv., 560.
 3usa (Italy), v., 549.
 3weden, Finnish name for, vi., 575.
 3ybel, H. von, vi., 547, 554.
 3ymeon Magister, chronicle of, v., 533.
 3ymeon Metaphrastes, v., 533.
 3ymmachus, Q. Aurelius, iii., 511.
 3yncellus, George, i., 478, 505 ; ii., 568.
 3ynesius of Cyrene, iii., 510 ; the *Egyptians* of, interpretation of, 582 *sq.*
 3ynopsis Sathas, v., 589.
 3yra, vi., 580.
 3yracuse, estates of Pierius at, iv., 560 ; siege of, by Saracens, v., 584.
 3yria (and S. Palæstina), province, i., 489 ; division of Syria, *ib.* ; mention of, in Chinese sources, iv., 570.
 3yrian Chronicles, v., 546.
 3yro-Roman Code of Law, iv., 581.
 Ta μετά Αλέξανδρον, i., 478.
 Tabari, v., 544 *sq.*
 Tābiūn, the, v., 543.
 Tacitus, i., 495.
 Tafel, L. F., vi., 541.
 Taktikon, vi., 557.
 Taman, Goths in, iv., 573.
 Tancred, vi., 548.
 Tanfani, L., vi., 579.
 Tapur, iv., 576.
 Tarasius, *Life of*, v., 532.
 Tardif, v., 570.
 Tardu, iv., 576.
 Tarichi Ali Osman, vii., 347.
 Taron, vi., 560.
 Tarraconensis, i., 488, 489.
 Ta-ts'in, iv., 570 ; v., 552 *sqq.*
 Taugast, iv., 576.
 Tarasius, Patriarch, vi., 539.
 Taurus (præt. pref. third century), a protector Aug., ii., 586.
 Taurus, Palladius Rutilius (præt. pref. fourth century), iii., 533.
 Tavernier, Ball's translation of, i., 491.
 Tedardi, Jacques, on capture of Constantinople, vii., 344.
 Tegyard, F. I., iii., 524.
 Tēnos, *see* Tinos.
 Tephrike, Peter Sikeliotēs at, vi., 564.
 Terbuniates, vi., 559.
 Ter-Mikelian on Armenian Church, ii., 591.
 Ter-Minassiantz, E., ii., 591.
 Ter-Mkrttschian, Karapet, vi., 563.
 Terrel, vi., 569.
 Tessier, M. J., vi., 561.
 Tetrazite Goths, iv., 573.
 Tetricus, tyrant, i., 499 *sq.*, 502.
 Teuffel, W. S., i., 446, 485 ; iv., 550 *sq.*
 Thackeray, F. St. J., iii., 514.

- Thalassius, son-in-law of Ausonius, iii., 512.
- Thebes, vi., 579.
- Themes, vi., 541, 556 *sq.*
- Themistius, works of, ii., 562; iii., 509.
- Theoclius, i., 480.
- Theodora, wife of Justinian I., her character, iv., 549; her influence, v., 525; life of, 532.
- Theodora, wife of Theophilus, related to Photius, vi., 539.
- Theodore of Cyzicus, chronicle of, v., 539.
- Theodore Daphnopates, v., 535.
- Theodore Graptus, *Life* of, v., 532.
- Theodore of Heraclea, dragon-slayer, ii., 597.
- Theodore Lascaris, vi., 541 *sq.*; letters of, 543.
- Theodore Lector, iv., 544; excerpts from, v., 531.
- Theodore Metochites, learning of, vi., 542 *sq.*
- Theodore (monk), iv., 560.
- Theodore, secretary, v., 527.
- Theodore of Studion, works of, v., 531; *Life* of, *ib.*; his *Life of Plato*, 532.
- Theodoret, ii., 566.
- Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, military command of, iii., 535; iv., 555; nomination of Consuls by, 562 *sq.*; table of marriage alliances of his family, 563; *magister militum*, 565; right of coining and making laws, *ib.*; his draining of Pomptin marshes, 566; connection with Verona, *ib.*
- Theodorus, *see* Theodore.
- Theodosiopolis, its siege by Mermeroes, iv., 579; capture of, vi., 540.
- Theodosius I., extent of his share of empire, ii., 590; Symmachus' panegyric, iii., 511; Gothic wars of, 523; visit to Rome, 524; military system of, iii., 535.
- Theodosius (abbot), iv., 561.
- Theodosius, count (executed A.D. 396), iii., 521.
- Theodosius of Militene, v., 533.
- Theodosius, a monk, on capture of Syracuse by the Saracens, v., 534.
- Theodosius of Peshtcherski, vi., 544.
- Theodotus, i., 500.
- Theognostos, grammarian, v., 534.
- Theophanes of Byzantium, v., 525.
- Theophanes, his *Chronography*, v., 530; lives of, 531; chronological difficulties in, 556; an emendation in, 567 *note*, 571 *note*; vi., 559; on Bulgarians, 567 *note*.
- Theophano, lives of, v., 535.
- Theophilus, his paraphrase of the *Institutes*, v., 557.
- Theophylactus Simocatta, iv., 550; 525; account of, 526.
- Thera, vi., 580.
- Therasia, vi., 580.
- Thermia, vi., 580.
- Therungi, i., 497.
- Thessalonica, Church of St. George, ii., 596; mint at, iv., 571; capture of, by Cretan pirates, v., 535, 540; Norman siege of, vi., 541.
- Theudebert (Merovingian), iv., 553.
- Thirty Tyrants, i., 497.
- Thomas, C., v., 532.
- Thomsen, V., iv., 575.
- Thracia, province, i., 488; use of name, ii., 588; theme of, vi., 539 *sq. note*.
- Θρηναί, on the capture of Constantinople, vii., 346.
- Thucydides, imitated by Procopius, ii., 546 *sq.*; imitated by Critobulus, v., 340.
- Thumb, A., vi., 566.
- Tigris, course of, ii., 597.
- Tillemont, i., 493.
- Timisitheus, iv., 582.
- Timotheus, Catholic Patriarch, v., 535.
- Timur, campaign of, in Asia Minor, v., 340; memoirs of, 341.
- Tinos, vi., 580.
- Tiran, King of Armenia, ii., 592.
- Tiridates, *see* Trdat.
- Titles, purchase of, v., 566.
- Titus, Emperor, on Jews and Christians, ii., 571.
- Tocilescu, G., i., 486.
- Tomaschek, W., iv., 575.
- Tontain, J., iii., 520.
- Tortosa, capture of, vi., 549.
- Toulouse, doctrines of Bogomils at, v., 565.
- Trajan, conquests of, i., 485; policy regard to Christians, ii., 571.
- Transigritana, iv., 583.
- Transylvania, ruled by Crum, vi., 570.
- Trdat, King of Armenia, ii., 591 *sq.*
- Trebellianus, tyrant, i., 499.
- Trebellius Pollio, writer in *Hist. Ab.* i., 479 *sqq.*, 497, 499 *sq.*
- Tresves, Francesco de, on capture of Constantinople, vii., 344.
- Tribunitian power of the Emperor, 492.
- Tribunus militum Augusti*, i., 486.
- Tripolis, capture of, vi., 549.
- Trivet, Nicholas, vi., 549.
- Troitski, J., iv., 561.

- Troyes, relation to battle of Châlons, iii., 538.
Trustees, v., 560.
 Eudebod of Sirrai, vi., 547.
 Euluin, iv., 565.
 Eumen, iv., 576.
 Furcomans, iii., 522.
 Turkey, decline of, i., 490.
 Turks, the, origin of, iv., 575 *sqq.*
 Turxanth, iv., 576.
 Tusculo Ubertino, hexameter books of, vii., 345.
Tutela, v., 559.
 Tyche of Constantinople, cult of, ii., 593, 595.
 Tyrants, the thirty, i., 497 *sqq.*
 Tzakones, vi., 566.
 Tzimisces, John, a letter of, vi., 553.

 UCHTANES of Edessa, vi., 553 *note*.
 Ulfilas, alphabet of, iv., 561.
 Ulpia Trajana, i., 486.
 Umar, vi., 569.
 Unger, on chronology of Synceilus, ii., 568.
 Unogundurs, iv., 578.
 Uranius, his letter to Pacatus, iii., 512.
 Ursicinus, iii., 585.
 Usener, H., i., 496; iv., 555.
 Uspenski, Th., iv., 568; vi., 539, 557, 569.
 Utigurs, *see* Uturgurs.
 Uturgurs, iv., 572 *sq.*; v., 548; vi., 567 *sq.*
 Uzes, vi., 558.

 VAHRAH of Edessa, vi., 553.
 Valaršapat, ii., 591 *sq.*
 Valens, Emperor, his share of the empire, ii., 590; persecutes, iii., 518; military command of, iii., 585.
 Valens, tyrant, i., 499.
 Valentinian I., his dominion, ii., 590; Symmachus on, iii., 511.
 Valentinian II., his dominion, ii., 590.
 Valentinian III., iii., 515, 537.
 Valeria, Illyric province, ii., 580.
 Valeria, Italian province, ii., 582 and *note*.
 Valerian, Emperor, defeat of, i., 497.
 Valkash, king of Persia, i., 494.
 Vallentin, i., 489.
 Vámbéry, A., iii., 523.
 Varangians, vi., 574.
 Varges, on Pytheas, i., 495.
 Várhely, name of Sarmizegetusa, i., 486.
 Vári, R., iv., 584.
 Vasates, the, iii., 512.
 Vasil'ev, A., iv., 578; v., 547.
 Vasilievski, B., on Tetraxite and Crimean Goths, iv., 575; v., 584, 586.
 Vegetius, i., 486 *sq.*
 Veligosti, Slav settlement at, vi., 566.
 Venice, iii., 588; vi., 551; founding of, described by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 559; navy, 561.
 Verina, Empress, iv., 543.
 Verona, battle of, iii., 514; date of, 528 *sq.*; connection of Theodoris with, iv., 566.
Verona, List of, ii., 576, 578 *sqq.*
 Verturiones, iii., 521.
Vexillatio, ii., 584.
Vicarius a sacris consiliis, ii., 576.
 Victor Tonnennensis, iv., 557, 567.
 Victor, *see* Sextus Aurelius V.
 Victor, the Younger, Epitome, ii., 564; a passage in (41, 20), 589.
 Victorina or Victoria, mother of Victorinus, i., 499.
 Victorinus, tyrant, i., 499.
 Victorius, Paschale of, iv., 555.
 Victory, Altar of, in Roman senate house, iii., 511, 514.
 Viennensis, Diocesis, ii., 576, 581.
 Villari, P., iii., 519.
 Villehardouin, vi., 550.
 Vincentius, iii., 585.
 Vinech, vi., 569.
 Visigoths, account of, i., 497.
Vita Artemii, ii., 587; source of Philostorgius, 590.
Vita Euthymii, v., 585.
Vita Stephani Junioris, v., 567 and *note*.
Vita Vedastis, iv., 558.
 Vitalian, iv., 567.
 Vlasto, E. H., vii., 347.
 Vogel, i., 485; iv., 555.
 Vogeler, A., v., 542 *note*.
 Vogt, on Claudian, iii., 514; on Stilicho, 520.
 Vogüe, de, i., 498, 502.
 Voigt, i., 484.
 Volkmann, R., iii., 510.
 Vologeses, king of Persia, i., 494.
 Vopiscus, *see* Flavius V.
 Vram Šapuh, king, ii., 591.
 Vulcacius Gallicanus, writer in *Hist. Aug.*, i., 479 *sqq.*
 Vulcano (Vurcano, Ithome), vi., 578.

 WACHMUTH, i., 478, 485.
 Waddington, i., 490, 501.
 Wagener, i., 482.
 Wabballath, son of Zenobia, i., 499, 501.
 Waitz, iv., 562.
 Wākidi, v., 548 *sqq.*
 Walachia, Avar rule in, v., 548.
 Walther, iv., 559.
 Wassersleben, v., 570.
 Waterfalls of the Dnieper, vi., 575 *sq.*

- Weber, S., ii., 591.
 Weber, W., i., 486.
 Weil, H., v., 542 sq.
 Weingarten, iv., 560.
 Weis, ii., 570.
 Weise, J., v., 547.
 Wei-Shu, iii., 522.
 Wellhausen, on Mohammad, v., 544.
 Westberg, F., iv., 584; vi., 568.
 Wiegand, on battle of Strassburg, ii., 561.
 Wietersheim, iii., 520.
 Wilcken, on circus factions, iv., 568.
 Wilken, F., on Abulfeda, vi., 558; on Crusades, 554.
 Willems, i., 492.
 William of Apulia, his poem, vi., 545.
 William of Tyre, vi., 550.
 Willmans, G., i., 484.
 Wilson, Sir C., ii., 597 sq.
 Windisch (battle at), i., 508.
 Wirth, A., i., 485; iv., 551.
 Wisbaum, W., on Gregory the Great, v., 541.
 Wölflin, i., 481 sq.
 Wolfsgruber, C., on Gregory the Great, v., 541.
 Wollschack, Th., on Gregory the Great, v., 541.
 Wotke, on finding of Cross, ii., 596.
 Wright, W., ii., 559; iv., 558; his Syrian Literature, v., 546.
 Wroth, W., iv., 558, 571; vi., 554.
 Wulff, O., iv., 588.
 Wünsch, R., iv., 544.
 Wüstenfeld, his Arabic historiography, v., 542, 543.
 Wylie, translator of Chinese annals, iii., 522.

 XENOPOL, A.D., i., 486, 505 sq.
 Xiphilin, his abridgment of Dion Cassius, i., 477 sq.; friend of Psellus, v., 586; director of law school at Constantinople, 557.
 Xpoviká (Dexippus), i., 478.

 YAKSUM, iv., 578.
 Yakūbi, v., 545.

 Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai, minister of China, 842.
 Yermük, battle of the, v., 571.
 Yezdegard I., iii., 521.
 Yezdegard II., iii., 521, 534.
 Yüan Shi, vii., 341.
 Yüan ch'ao pi shi, Secret History of the Mongol dynasty, vii., 342.
 Yüan shi lei pien, Hist. of the Mongols, vii., 341.

 ZABEGAN, iv., 568, 573.
 Zacharias of Mytilene, iv., 553 sq.
 Zachlums, vi., 559.
 Zacynthus, see Zante.
 Zangemeister, C., iii., 518.
 Zante, vi., 579.
 Zend Avesta, i., 494 sq.
 Zeno, Emperor, iv., 543 sq., 554.
 Zenob of Glak, ii., 591 sq.
 Zenobia, tyrant, i., 498, 501.
 Zeugma, bridge, iv., 571.
 Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, iii., 520.
 Zhu-zhu, v., 548.
 Zia, vi., 580.
 Zichia, vi., 560.
 Zigabenos, Euthymius, monk, vi., 561.
 Zimmert, K., vi., 554.
 Zippel, i., 490.
 Ziwsa, iii., 515.
 Zlatorski, V. N., v., 584; vi., 569.
 Zöckler, on St. George, ii., 596; mentioned, iv., 561.
 Zonaras, epitome of Dion Cassius, 478; on Macrianus, i., 498; account of, ii., 589; Candidus, a source, iv., 543; account of his work, 589.
 Zoroastrian religion, i., 494 sq.
 Zorzi Dolphin, vii., 346.
 Zosimus, relation to Dexippus, i., 477; on history of tyrants, i., 499; on history, ii., 564; tendency in favor of Magnentius, 589; on Stilicho, iii., 525, 535; on invasion of Bagaisus, 529 sq.
 Zotenberg, v., 544 sq.
 Zuhri, v., 548.

ERRATA, ETC. IN VOLS. I.-VII.

(A great number of the corrigenda and emendations in the following list are due to Mr. E. Harrison, of Trinity College, Cambridge.)

VOL. I.

- P. 7, l. 8. read "ravaged".
- P. 79, l. 17. read "policy" with 1st 4to ed.
- P. 89, n. 64, l. 2. read "Crispus".
- P. 147, l. 14. the 1st 4to ed. has "office," which is probably correct.
- P. 148, n. 36, l. 3. after "75" insert "[*leg.* '74']".
- P. 169, l. 2. for "states" read "state".
- P. 237, l. 1. read "villages" with 1st 4to ed.
- P. 378, n. 108, l. 3. for "*colonis*" read "*coronis*".
- P. 403, n. 79, l. 1. "Victor" should have small initial.
- P. 405, n. 87, l. 1. read "Sarmatam".
- P. 484, l. 14 from foot. read "benefactor".
- P. 471, l. 6 from foot. for "war-like" read "warlike".

VOL. II.

- P. 21, l. 9. insert comma after "powers".
- P. 51, n. 135 ad fin. for "Prudent," read "Prudent.".
- P. 52, n. 187. read "Cyprian."
- P. 52, n. 138. read "Tertullian."
- P. 100, l. 5 from foot. read "or the theatre" with 1st 4to ed.
- P. 128, l. 2. possibly read "the" for "their" with 1st 4to ed.
- P. 133, n. 156, l. 3. for "Anthemius" read "Anthimius [*leg.* Anthimus]".
- P. 264, n. 18, l. 1. for "quidem" read "quaedam".
- P. 264, n. 18, l. 6. after "concideret" insert "[*leg.* 'arbitrium r.v. succideret']".
- P. 288, l. 8. omit "the" after "from".
- P. 320, l. 16. for "former" read "formal".
- P. 344, n. 116, l. 4. for "poor" read "pure".
- P. 353, n. 7, l. 1. for "agitur" read "igitur".
- P. 356, l. 16. for "of" read "as".
- P. 360, l. 9. read "dialectics".
- P. 369, l. 10. read "counsels".
- P. 370, l. 7 from foot. for "fears" read "fear".
- P. 375, l. 3. insert comma after "memory".
- P. 381, n. 92, l. 3. after "excitaret" insert "[*leg.* 'excitavit']".
- P. 401, n. 141, l. 1. read "supererat" in one word.
- P. 441, n. 49, l. 3. after "ours" insert "[but see Plato, Laws, IV. 713]".
- P. 445, n. 58, ll. 4 and 5. insert comma after "avium" and after "nives".
- P. 452, n. 79, l. 1. read $\lambda\sigma\chi\acute{o}\varsigma\ \psi\upsilon\chi\eta$.
- P. 506, l. 2. insert comma after "Augustus".
- P. 518, n. 43, l. 1. read "flumen".
- P. 547, l. 7. insert semicolon after "Jovian".
- P. 558, l. 10. read "appeared".

VOL. III.

- P. 86, l. 9. insert comma after "cruelty".
 P. 47, n. 120, l. 2. for "procorum" read "porcorum".
 P. 77, l. 13. for "enured" read "inured".
 P. 120, l. 16. for "sacred" read "secret".
 P. 133, n. 127, l. 4. read "scaturiente".
 P. 144, n. 11, l. 4. read "orbis".
 P. 149, n. 22, l. 2. insert comma after "sanctionem".
 P. 152, n. 32, l. 4. read "Βυζαντινὰ".
 P. 160, n. 50, l. 3. delete "to" before "the Roman".
 P. 169, n. 69, l. 4. for "increase" read "decrease".
 P. 226, n. 96, l. 2. for "had" read "has".
 P. 246, n. 40, l. 2. insert comma after "court".
 P. 261, n. 24. for "civibus" read "civilibus".
 P. 280, n. 79, l. 1. read "Augustin."
 P. 280, n. 79, l. 2. read "Grot.)".
 P. 299, last l. read "versification".
 P. 304, l. 2. delete "so".
 P. 309, n. 26, l. 3. read "Numatian."
 P. 310, n. 30, l. 4. read "Quadringenties".
 P. 358, n. 152, l. 3. read "repeated".
 P. 370, l. 4 from foot. for "appeared" read "appear".
 P. 373, n. 182, l. 1. read "οὐκ ἐτι".
 P. 379, n. 2, l. 2. for "night;" read "night."
 P. 382, l. 3. Notice that by "the last year of the fourth century" is read
 "A.D. 399".
 P. 385, n. 16. insert comma after "report".
 P. 387, l. 7 from foot. read "cities".
 P. 395, n. 41, l. 2 from end. read "Opera Chrysostom."
 P. 412, l. 18. read "fire-temples".
 P. 414, n. 82, l. 5. read "Aedificiis".
 P. 423, n. 12, l. 2. read "revolt".
 P. 427, n. 21, l. 3. for "514" read "414".
 P. 444, n. 8, l. 3. read "praesulem".
 P. 471, l. 2 from foot. for "Lord" read "lord".
 P. 490, n. 45, l. 3. after "simili" insert "[*leg.* 'simile']".
 P. 490, n. 45, l. 4. after "referuntur" insert "[*referantur, Mommsen et*
better MSS."]".
 P. 507, n. 80, l. 4. after "tamen" insert "[*leg.* 'tantum']".

VOL. IV.

- P. 32, n. 79. insert comma after "Barbarians".
 P. 35, n. 86, l. 5. for "heretios" read "heresies".
 P. 40, l. 11 from foot. "antagonists" seems to be an error for "antagonis".
 P. 49, n. 118, l. 2. for comma read point before "Sigonius".
 P. 65, l. 13. for "angelic" read "*angelic*".
 P. 68, n. 25, l. 6. for "this" read "his".
 P. 92, l. 10 from foot. for "field" read "fields".
 P. 100, l. 6. for "rights" read "rites".
 P. 106, n. 2, l. 2. for exclamation read colon.
 P. 110, l. 3 from foot. for "Soissons," read "Soissons;" and for "Belg"
 read "Belgie".
 P. 120, n. 46, l. 3. read "Burgundian".
 P. 121, marg. note, l. 6. for "332" read "532".
 P. 123, l. 20. for "should" read "would".
 P. 123, l. 21. for "would" read "should".
 P. 140, l. 1. read "loyal".
 P. 144, n. 108, l. 3. read "*Lemanum*".

- P. 157, l. 18. for "justify" read "satisfy".
 P. 162, n. 145, l. 2. for exclamation read semicolon.
 P. 205, l. 6 from foot. read "Campania".
 P. 208, ll. 16, 17. transpose "at his summons" to follow "appeared".
 P. 244, n. 64, l. 2. after "21" insert "[22 (26)]".
 P. 251, n. 84. after "parenti" insert "[parente]", and after "persolvit" insert "[*leg.* 'persolvit genitoris']".
 P. 274, n. 132, l. 1. read "the tone".
 P. 274, n. 132, ll. 2, 3. for "lie" read "lye".
 P. 275, n. 135, l. 3. read "Texeira".
 P. 283, n. 151, l. 3. read "*βασιλέως*".
 P. 294, l. 5 from foot. for "patrons" read "patron".
 P. 297, n. 18, l. 5. for "at" read "of".
 P. 316, n. 46, l. 3. insert comma after "soldiers".
 P. 317, l. 2. read "respectful".
 P. 331, n. 80, l. 4. read "successively".
 P. 345, l. 23. for "smile," read "smile;" and for "possess ;i" read "possess,".
 P. 354, l. 1. read "treasure".
 P. 372, l. 17. Potidaea was a Corinthian not an Athenian colony.
 P. 379, l. 16. "their" seems to be an error for "his".
 P. 387, l. 4. read "questions".
 P. 399, n. 82, l. 2. after "et a" insert "[omit a]".
 P. 403, l. 7. read "immemorial".
 P. 423, l. 6. "freedmen" is evidently an error for "freemen".
 P. 447, l. 3. insert comma after "hill".
 P. 459, n. 109, l. 3. read "Lycophront".
 P. 487, n. 56, l. 3. after "nimis" insert "[*leg.* 'nimias']".
 P. 498, n. 86, l. 2. read "Mucius".
 P. 504, n. 108, l. 2. read "*actionibus, patrum jura*".
 P. 513, n. 134. after "invisit" insert "[*leg.* 'dimisit. Cp. below, vol. vi. p. 90, n. 66']".

VOL. V.

- P. 22, l. 14 from foot. "invention" seems to be an error for "intervention".
 P. 92, n. 115, l. 4. for "oera" read "sera".
 P. 117, n. 26, l. 6. after "scraped" add ": *δοτρακον* means a sherd."
 P. 136, l. 5 from foot. "freedmen" should be "freemen" (*liberos*).
 P. 144, n. 89, l. 2. "has" seems to be an error for "had".
 P. 177, l. 6. "immoveable" seems to be an error for "moveable".
 P. 216, n. 58, l. 3 from end. for "Roman" read "Russian".
 P. 277, n. 85. read "*βασιλείαι*".
 P. 278, l. 6. "the powers" may be an error for "his powers".
 P. 281, n. 44, l. 1. after "Longobardi" insert "[*leg.* 'Langobardi']".
 P. 294, n. 71, l. 1. read "*Italiae*".
 P. 294, n. 75, l. 2. read "[by] Constantine".
 P. 296, n. 80, l. 4. read "*μῆς*".
 P. 313, n. 125, l. 1. read "Francofurt."
 P. 334, l. 3 from foot. read "sequestered".
 P. 356, l. 5. for "had" read "has".
 P. 359, n. 74, l. 2. read "Fénelon".
 P. 398, l. 7 from foot. for "bid" read "bade".
 P. 402, l. 1. for "oruelty" read "credulity".
 P. 408, n. 82, l. 3. "recapitulated" may be an error for "recapitulates".
 P. 432, n. 23, l. 4. for "on" read "under".
 P. 432, n. 23, l. 5. for "darts" read "dust".
 P. 448, l. 9 from foot. We should expect "imprudent" instead of "prudent".
 P. 471, l. 4 from foot. for "of the" read "or the".
 P. 493, n. 168, l. 2. read "*κτελεγονσι*".
 P. 498, n. 186, l. 2. read "fuggirono".

- P. 498, n. 187, l. 5. read "forget".
 P. 501, ll. 4, 3 from foot. no paragraph.
 P. 504, n. 203, l. 6. for "state" read "date".
 P. 508, n. 211, l. 2. "tables" seems to be an error for "table".
 P. 512, n. 219, l. 3. insert comma after "chief".

VOL. VI.

- P. 4, n. 6, l. 1. for "deserved" read "deserves".
 P. 12, n. 24, l. 4. for "the text" read "that text".
 P. 44, l. 2. delete "and".
 P. 45, l. 5. for "fishermen" read "fisherman".
 P. 60, n. 136, l. 3. for "cast" read "casts".
 P. 65, n. 2, l. 4. for "slavish" read "lavish".
 P. 69, n. 10, l. 10. for "Brunk," read "Brunk."
 P. 77, l. 11. for "manufactures of" read "manufacturers to".
 P. 80, n. 35, l. 3. read "Bas-Empire".
 P. 81, n. 36, l. 1. for "potentissime" read "potentissimus [*leg.* 'potentissime']".
 P. 90, l. 18. read "Such had ever been".
 P. 90, l. 1. from foot. read "Berenice".
 P. 131, l. 17. for "Jew" read "Jews".
 P. 134, l. 5. insert comma after "limits".
 P. 159, n. 69, l. 4. read "d'Ukraine".
 P. 160, n. 72. after "τοῖς" insert "[*leg.* 'ταῖς']".
 P. 161, l. 18. for "prince" read "princes".
 P. 168, n. 96, l. 1. insert point after "Montacut".
 P. 189, l. 3. from foot. for "natural" read "martial".
 P. 191, n. 44. read "are produced".
 P. 191, n. 48, l. 3. read "περιφανής".
 P. 197, l. 13. for "were" read "was".
 P. 200, l. 12. for "successors" read "successor".
 P. 222, l. 11. for "unfortunate" read "fortunate".
 P. 230, l. 11. from foot. read "measure of policy or reason".
 P. 235, n. 6, l. 4. read colon for comma before "300".
 P. 261, n. 60, l. 2. read "le sac".
 P. 272, n. 6, l. 9. read "commisise".
 P. 291, n. 51, l. 2. after "vix" insert "[*leg.* 'ut vix']".
 P. 297, n. 62, l. 1. after "Soodras" insert "[*leg.* 'Soodra']".
 P. 297, n. 62, l. 5. delete comma after "Beglerbeg".
 P. 298, n. 68, l. 3. read "stone bridge".
 P. 302, l. 7. for "trode" read "trod".
 P. 309, n. 89, l. 3. for "trode" read "trod".
 P. 320, l. 13 from foot. for "future" read "fortune".
 P. 322, l. 6. read "Cedron".
 P. 326, l. 7 from foot. for "pilgrims" read "pilgrim".
 P. 326, n. 124, l. 5. for "potens" read "potius".
 P. 340, l. 11. for "their" read "her".
 P. 343, l. 5. for "actions" read "action".
 P. 347, n. 38, l. 1. read "iste [*leg.* 'isti']".
 P. 348, l. 12. for "in Jerusalem" read "of Jerusalem".
 P. 353, n. 52, l. 3. for "Abhed" read "Adhed".
 P. 355, n. 58. delete "He did not—Aleppo".
 P. 367, l. 6 from foot. for "neutral" read "neuter".
 P. 398, l. 5 from foot. for "usurpers" read "usurers".
 P. 396, l. 8 from foot. for "claim" read "claims".
 P. 408, n. 72, l. 1. read "piscatorum".
 P. 411, l. 5 from foot. read "stone bridge".
 P. 411, ll. 16-18. So author's text, but the sense requires that "former" and "latter" should be interchanged.
 P. 428, l. 2. for "his" read "this".

429, l. 18. for "form" read "forms".

437, l. 17. for "a merit" read "the merit".

440, l. 8 from foot. for "their" read "the".

453, l. 16. read "adoptive".

465, l. 5. for "success" read "increase".

526, n. 36, l. 1. read "some true pearls".

VOL. VII.

7, n. 22. for "Chang-Tsong" read "Chang Tsung"; and for "Niu-Chi" "Nü-chih". Niu-chi is the French translation. The term Nü-chih was used in 1081 for Nü-chên, the chên being part of the personal name of the Emperor of that time, to whom the Nü-chên Tartars were subject. When the Kitans were overthrown the original name was revived. The name Manchu from 1616. I am indebted to Professor H. W. Giles for this note.